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HISTORY
OF THE
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY
OF
FRIENDS,

FROM ITS RISE TO THE YEAR 1828.

BY

SAMUEL M. JANNEY,

AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN," "LIFE OF GEORGE FOX," ETC.

*While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children
of light.* — JOHN xii. 36.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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HISTORY

OF THE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY

OF

FRIENDS,

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE PRESENT

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1867, by

SAMUEL M. JANNEY,

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District of Pennsylvania.

PREFACE TO VOLUME III

THE third and fourth volumes of this work have been delayed by causes connected with the late civil war, my residence being in that section of the country which was subjected to its ravages. Often while engaged in this labor of love, my attention was arrested and my feelings affected by hearing the roar of artillery, affording painful evidence that the sanguinary conflict was then in progress, with all its attendant horrors of carnage and death. Happily those painful scenes have passed away, law and order have, in a great measure, been restored, and freedom has been conferred upon millions who never before enjoyed its blessings. May we not hope that the benign spirit of Christianity will now be permitted to exert its salutary influence, extending to all classes the reign of justice and mercy, and restoring the fraternal relations that have been broken.

In offering these volumes to the public, I deem it proper to observe, that only a part of the abundant materials provided have been embraced in them. I have endeavored to select and digest that portion which appeared to be most interesting and instructive.

This history, being intended to terminate with the year 1828, many interesting characters that have since taken an

active part in the Society of Friends do not come within its scope, and some who were prominent before that date, have, for want of room, been unavoidably excluded.

I now submit the result of my researches to the judgment and candor of the public, trusting that the Author of all good will cause some salutary fruits to spring from the contemplation of the many exemplary characters herein delineated, who through life were devoted to the service of God, and in death were blessed with the assurance of a happy immortality.

SAMUEL M. JANNEY.

LINCOLN, LOUDOUN COUNTY, VA.,

Fourth month 10th, 1867.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

FRIENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

1691-1700.

Convincement of Thomas Story, 13 — His Experience, 15 — Settles in London, 24 — His Testimony concerning W. Penn, 24 — Account of Thos. Wilson, 25 — Of Jas. Dickenson, 27 — Embark for Barbadoes, 28 — Wonderful Preservation, 29 — Account of John Richardson, 31 — Death of Patrick Livingston, 32 — Of Lilius Skene, 33 — Affirmation Act, 34 — Epistle against arming their Ships, 36 — On Schools, 36 — Account of Richard Claridge, 37 — Frs. Camfield, 40 — John Fothergill, 41 — Death of Stephen Crisp, 43 — Of And. Soule, 45 — Of Peter Gardiner, 46 — Of John Whitehead, 46 — Of Chas. Marshall, 47 — Of John Crook, 49.

CHAPTER II.

AMERICA.

1691-1700.

Visit of T. Wilson and J. Dickenson, 50 — Indian War in New England, 51 — Death of J. Deleval, 51 — Of Thos. Lloyd, 52 — Of Thos. Janney, 53 — Of Thos. Wardel, 54 — Shipwreck of R. Barrow and others, 55 — Notice of Mary Cross, formerly Fisher, 56 — Death of R. Barrow, 57 — Second Visit of J. Dickenson, 57 — Notice of John Archdale, Governor of North Carolina, 58 — Ministering Friends in Civil Offices, 59 — Government of Pennsylvania, 60 — W. Penn displaced from his Government, 61 —

Restored to it, 62 — Welsh Colonists, 63 — Ellis Pugh, Rowland Ellis, C. Evans, Evan and John Evans, 64 — Edward Foulke, 65 — Wm. Ellis and A. Atkinson visit America, 65 — T. Story and R. Gill arrive, 65 — Yearly Meeting in Maryland, 66 — Dr. Griffith Owen, 67 — T. Story at Merion, 67 — Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, 68 — Yearly Meeting, 69 — Death of R. Gill, 69 — Arrival of W. Penn, 70 — Account of J. Logan, 70 — T. Story, 71.

CHAPTER III.

SEPARATION OF GEORGE KEITH.

1691-1700.

His Residence in England, 71 — Removal to New Jersey, 72 — Takes a School in Philadelphia, 72 — Travels in New England, 73 — Dispute with T. Fitzwater and W. Stockdale, 73 — Urges the Adoption of a Creed, 76 — Disciplinary Proceedings against Keith, 77 — The Keithians set up Separate Meetings, 80 — Testimony against Keith, 82 — He brings his case before London Yearly Meeting, 83 — T. Story's Objections to such Appeals, 83 — Action of London Yearly Meeting, 84 — "The Snake in the Grass;" Character of its Author, 86 — Answers to it, 87 — G. K. ordained a Priest; comes to America as a Missionary, 87 — His Party dies out, 88 — Examination of his Doctrines, 89.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND.

1700-1710.

London Yearly Meeting, 91 — Captives in Barbary, 92 — Account of Samuel Bownas, 92 — His Experience in the Ministry, 94 — Accession of Queen Anne, 97 — Address of Friends, 98 — Account of Ranters in Cumberland, 98 — Account of Thos. Wilkinson, 101 — Death of Margaret Fox, 102 — Of Amb. Rigg, 103 — Of Tacy Davis, 103 — Of John Blaykling, 104 — Of Gilbert Latey, 105 — Of Ann Camm, 106 — Account of James Wilson, 107 — Death of I. Alexander, 108 — Of Thomas Camm, 109 — Of Richard Davies, 109 — Of Wm. Ellis, 110 — Of John Banks, 111 — Of William Crouch, 113.

CHAPTER V.

AMERICA.

1701-1710.

W. Penn's Government of Pa., 114 — Departure for England, 116 — His care for Indians and Africans, 117 — Jno. Richardson's Visit to Nantucket, 119 — Mary Starbuck, 124 — Jno. Estaugh and E. Haddon married, 124 — John Salkeld, 125 — Second-day Morning Meeting in Phila., 126 — Remarkable Sermon of J. S. 128 — Account of Thos. Chalkley, 130 — Richard Johns, 131 — Indian War in New England, 132 — T. Story, 133 — Samuel Bownas, 134 — Imprisoned on Long Island, 136 — Release and Travels, 139 — J. Estaugh and R. Gove captured, 141 — Labors in Martinique, &c., 142 — Death of J. Simcock, 144 — Of S. Jannings, 144.

CHAPTER VI.

EUROPE.

1711-1730.

London Yearly Meeting, 145 — Sufferings for Tithes, 145 — Friends in Frederickstadt, and the Czar of Muscovy, 146 — Death of W. Edmundson, 147 — B. Holme in Ireland, 150 — Thos. Story, 150 — Death of T. Ellwood, 150 — Act against Schism, 151 — Accession of George I., 152 — Death of S. Waldenfield, 153 — Of W. Penn, 154 — Of Chr. Story, 156 — Thos. Story's Testimony to the Loyalty of W. Penn, 160 — Affirmation Act, 161 — Death of G. Whitehead, 164 — Of R. Claridge, 166 — Friends in Scotland, 168 — Death of R. Scott, 168 — Of D. Wallace, 170 — Of Christian Barclay, 171 — Of Alex. Seaton, 171 — Friends in Ireland, 172 — Death of J. Bancroft, 172 — Of Thos. Wight, 173 — Of Thos. Wilson, 174 — Of A. Jaffray, 175.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICA.

1710-1730.

Government of Pennsylvania, 177 — J. Logan, 177 — Rise of Testimony against Slavery, 178 — German Friends, 179 — W. Penn, 180 — Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, 181 — Yearly Meeting of London, 182 — Yearly Meeting of N. E., 184 — Condition of

Friends, 185 — Visit of T. Wilson and J. Dickenson, 185 — Of Thos. Thompson, J. Langdale, and B. Holme, 186 — Death of S. Carpenter, 187 — Of Griffith Owen, 187 — Account of Ed. Andrews, 188 — Of Richard Johns; Of William Haig and Mary Haig, 190 — Of Joseph Glaister, 192 — Visits of John Danson, J. Hadwin, E. Rawlinson, Lydia Lancaster, and Rebecca Turner, 192 — Visits of J. Appleton, Margaret Langdale, and Marg. Payne, 193 — Visit of John Fothergill, 193 — Indian Affairs and Sufferings in Massachusetts, 197 — Visit of S. Bownas, 198 — Robert Jordan and Sons in Virginia, 198 — Yearly Meeting in Maryland, 198 — Increase of Friends in America, 201 — Death of Vincent Caldwell, 202 — Of Ant'y Morris, 202 — Of Thomas Lightfoot, 203 — Of C. Pusey, 203 — Of Hannah Hill, 204 — Of Richard Hill, 205.

CHAPTER VIII.

EUROPE.

1731-1750.

Education, 206 — Sufferings for Tithes, 207 — Conduct of Clergy, 208 — Notice of John Fothergill and Family, 211 — Dr. J. Fothergill, 211 — Samuel Fothergill, 212 — Sus'a Croudson, 215 — Marriage of S. F., 216 — Notice of Luke Cock and J. Richardson, 216 — Account of James Gough, 217 — Of D. Hall and Alex. Arscott, 218 — Remarks on Ministry, 220 — Address to the King, 221 — Death of Samuel Overton, 222 — Of Aaron Atkinson, 223 — Of John Gurney, 223 — Of B. Bangs, 224 — Of James Dickenson, 225 — Of Thomas Story, 226 — Of George Rooke, 228 — Of John Fothergill, 229 — Of Evan Bevan, 231 — Of Robert Barclay, 232 — Of Mungo Bewley, 233 — Of Joseph Gurney, 234.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA.

1730-1750.

Successors of W. Penn, 235 — Condition of Pennsylvania, 236 — Arrival of Thos. Penn, 236 — Of John Penn, 237 — Governors of Pennsylvania, 238 — Military Supplies demanded, 238 — Scruples of Friends, 239 — J. Logan advocates Military Defences, 239 — Testimony against Slavery advancing, 240 — Notice of Ralph

Sandiford, 241 — His Book against Slavery, 242 — Censorship of the Press, 243 — Notice of B. Lay, 245 — Jno. Richardson and H. Frankland travel in America, 246 — Notice of John Burton, Wm. Backhouse, and Jos. Gill, from England, 247 — Settlement of Friends at Monocacy, Md., 248 — At Hopewell, Va., 248 — At Fairfax, Va., 248 — Amos and Mary Janney, 248 — Settlement at Goose Creek, Va., 249 — Jacob and Hannah Janney, 249 — Notice of D. Stanton, 250 — Of John Griffith, 251 — State of Abington Meeting, 255 — Notice of J. Churchman, 256 — Death of Jos. Jordan, 261 — Of Isaac Norris, 262 — Of Jos. Kirkbride, 262 — Of T. Chalkley, 263 — Convincement in Tortola, 267 — Death of J. Cadwallader and J. Estaugh, 269 — Of Robert Jordan, 270 — Of Samuel Preston, 271 — Of Ann Roberts, 272 — Increase of the Society, 272.

CHAPTER X.

EUROPE.

1751-1765.

Correction of the Calendar, 274 — Condition of the Society, 275 — Notice of C. Peyton, 276 — D. Stanton visits England, 277 — John Kendall, 277 — John Churchman and W. Brown visit Europe, 278 — John Pemberton, 278 — Advice of London Yearly Meeting, 279 — Account of Samuel Neale, 282 — Mary Peisly and Cath. Peyton, 283 — Travels of J. Churchman and J. Pemberton, 284 — Letters of J. C. and S. Fothergill, 285 — S. Fothergill and J. Dixon go to America, 287 — Death of B. Kidd, 287 — Of S. Bownas, 288 — Of J. Richardson, 289 — Of David Hall, 290 — Of Mary Peisly Neale, 291 — Of D. Hollis, 290 — Of Lydia Lancaster, 294 — Jos. White in England, 297 — Labors of the Yearly Meeting Committee, 298 — Education, 301 — Books; Purver's Translation, 302 — F. Hart prosecuted for libel, 303 — Women's Yearly Meeting proposed and deferred, 304.

CHAPTER XI.

AMERICA.

1751-1756.

Testimony against Slavery, 306 — Account of J. Woolman, 306 — Of A. Benezet, 314 — Advices of Yearly Meeting, 317 — La-

Friends, 185 — Visit of T. Wilson and J. Dickenson, 185 — Of Thos. Thompson, J. Langdale, and B. Holme, 186 — Death of S. Carpenter, 187 — Of Griffith Owen, 187 — Account of Ed. Andrews, 188 — Of Richard Johns; Of William Haig and Mary Haig, 190 — Of Joseph Glaister, 192 — Visits of John Danson, J. Hadwin, E. Rawlinson, Lydia Lancaster, and Rebecca Turner, 192 — Visits of J. Appleton, Margaret Langdale, and Marg. Payne, 193 — Visit of John Fothergill, 193 — Indian Affairs and Sufferings in Massachusetts, 197 — Visit of S. Bownas, 198 — Robert Jordan and Sons in Virginia, 198 — Yearly Meeting in Maryland, 198 — Increase of Friends in America, 201 — Death of Vincent Caldwell, 202 — Of Ant'y Morris, 202 — Of Thomas Lightfoot, 203 — Of C. Pusey, 203 — Of Hannah Hill, 204 — Of Richard Hill, 205.

CHAPTER VIII.

EUROPE.

1731-1750.

Education, 206 — Sufferings for Tithes, 207 — Conduct of Clergy, 208 — Notice of John Fothergill and Family, 211 — Dr. J. Fothergill, 211 — Samuel Fothergill, 212 — Sus'a Croudson, 215 — Marriage of S. F., 216 — Notice of Luke Cock and J. Richardson, 216 — Account of James Gough, 217 — Of D. Hall and Alex. Arscott, 218 — Remarks on Ministry, 220 — Address to the King, 221 — Death of Samuel Overton, 222 — Of Aaron Atkinson, 223 — Of John Gurney, 223 — Of B. Bangs, 224 — Of James Dickenson, 225 — Of Thomas Story, 226 — Of George Rooke, 228 — Of John Fothergill, 229 — Of Evan Bevan, 231 — Of Robert Barclay, 232 — Of Mungo Bewley, 233 — Of Joseph Gurney, 234.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA.

1730-1750.

Successors of W. Penn, 235 — Condition of Pennsylvania, 236 — Arrival of Thos. Penn, 236 — Of John Penn, 237 — Governors of Pennsylvania, 238 — Military Supplies demanded, 238 — Scruples of Friends, 239 — J. Logan advocates Military Defences, 239 — Testimony against Slavery advancing, 240 — Notice of Ralph

Sandiford, 241 — His Book against Slavery, 242 — Censorship of the Press, 243 — Notice of B. Lay, 245 — Jno. Richardson and H. Frankland travel in America, 246 — Notice of John Burton, Wm. Backhouse, and Jos. Gill, from England, 247 — Settlement of Friends at Monocacy, Md., 248 — At Hopewell, Va., 248 — At Fairfax, Va., 248 — Amos and Mary Janney, 248 — Settlement at Goose Creek, Va., 249 — Jacob and Hannah Janney, 249 — Notice of D. Stanton, 250 — Of John Griffith, 251 — State of Abington Meeting, 255 — Notice of J. Churchman, 256 — Death of Jos. Jordan, 261 — Of Isaac Norris, 262 — Of Jos. Kirkbride, 262 — Of T. Chalkley, 263 — Convincement in Tortola, 267 — Death of J. Cadwallader and J. Estaugh, 269 — Of Robert Jordan, 270 — Of Samuel Preston, 271 — Of Ann Roberts, 272 — Increase of the Society, 272.

CHAPTER X.

EUROPE.

1751-1765.

Correction of the Calendar, 274 — Condition of the Society, 275 — Notice of C. Peyton, 276 — D. Stanton visits England, 277 — John Kendall, 277 — John Churchman and W. Brown visit Europe, 278 — John Pemberton, 278 — Advice of London Yearly Meeting, 279 — Account of Samuel Neale, 282 — Mary Peisly and Cath. Peyton, 283 — Travels of J. Churchman and J. Pemberton, 284 — Letters of J. C. and S. Fothergill, 285 — S. Fothergill and J. Dixon go to America, 287 — Death of B. Kidd, 287 — Of S. Bownas, 288 — Of J. Richardson, 289 — Of David Hall, 290 — Of Mary Peisly Neale, 291 — Of D. Hollis, 290 — Of Lydia Lancaster, 294 — Jos. White in England, 297 — Labors of the Yearly Meeting Committee, 298 — Education, 301 — Books; Purver's Translation, 302 — F. Hart prosecuted for libel, 303 — Women's Yearly Meeting proposed and deferred, 304.

CHAPTER XI.

AMERICA.

1751-1756.

Testimony against Slavery, 306 — Account of J. Woolman, 306 — Of A. Benezet, 314 — Advices of Yearly Meeting, 317 — La-

bors of J. Woolman and others, 318 — Travels of Mary Peisly and C. Peyton, 318 — Travels of S. Fothergill, 320 — A. Farrington and S. Emlen go to Europe, 326 — Notice of William Hunt, 326 — Of Mary Griffin, 327 — Death of Jas. Logan, 328; His Library, 333 — Wm. Logan, 334 — Death of J. Pemberton, 334 — Account of the Pemberton Family, 337 — Death of Michael Lightfoot, 336 — Of Susanna Morris, 336 — Of Peter Andrews, 337 — Of John Evans, 337 — Of Abraham Farrington, 338.

CHAPTER XII.

PENNSYLVANIA.

1755-1765.

Hostility of Indians, 339 — Militia Bill and War Tax, 340 — The Moravians prepare for War, 341 — Indian War, 342 — Friendly Tribes, 343 — Friends confer with Indians, 344 — Some Friends retire from the Assembly, 345 — Test Oath, 346 — Deputation of English Friends, 347 — The Friendly Association, 347 — Treaty of Easton, 348 — The Long Walk, 349 — Peace concluded, 350 — Meeting for Sufferings instituted, 351 — Philadelphia Yearly Meeting on War Taxes, 352 — Second Treaty of Easton, 353 — Tax on Proprietary Estates, 353 — Peace with France, 354 — Indian War, 355 — Paxton Massacre of Indians, 356 — Address of Friends, 357 — Arrival of John Penn, 358 — Dis-satisfaction of People, 359 — Determination to throw off the Proprietary Government, 360 — Peace with Indians, 361 — Religious Indians, 362 — Visited by J. Woolman, 363.

CHAPTER XIII.

EUROPE.

1765-1780.

London Yearly Meeting, 366 — J. Elliot imprisoned for Tithes, 366 — Friends visit Holland, 367 — R. Willis and Wm. Hunt visit Europe, 367 — Death of W. Hunt, 369 — J. Woolman and S. Emlen visit England, 370 — Death of J. Woolman, 373 — Notice of Jas. Wilson, 375 — Of Abm. Shackelton, 375 — Death of S. Fothergill, 376 — Of Susanna Fothergill and Sophia Hume, 381 — Epistle of London Yearly Meeting on Voting, 382 — D. Barclay and Doctor Fothergill oppose the War, 383 — Advice of

Yearly Meeting, 384 — Ackworth School, 385 — Death of Doctor Fothergill, 386.

CHAPTER XIV.

AMERICA.

1765-1775.

Ministers from England, 390 — Rhode Island Yearly Meeting, 391 — Visit of Thos. Gawthorp, 391 — Abigail Pike and Rachel Wilson, 391 — Jos. Oxly, 392 — Samuel Neale, 392 — Eliz. Robinson and M. Leaver, 392 — Robert Walker, 392 — Notice of D. Ferris, 393 — Of Comfort Hoag, 396 — Of Joshua Evans, 397 — Of Wm. Matthews, 398 — Of Mary Brooke and Margaret Elgar, 399 — Wm. Amos, 400 — Geo. Dillwyn, 402 — Rebecca Jones, 403 — John Simpson, 404 — James Simpson, 405 — Evan Thomas, 408 — Abel Thomas, 410 — Jas. Thornton, 413 — Nicholas Waln, 414 — Job Scott, 417 — David Sands, 418 — Remington Hobby, 421 — Death of Daniel Stanton, 422 — Notice of Benedict Dorsey, 423 — Death of John Churchman, 425.

CHAPTER XV.

AMERICA.

1775-1780.

Account of Warner Mifflin, 426 — Testimony against Slavery, 428 — Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1776, 429 — Compensation to Slaves, 430 — New England Yearly Meeting, 430 — New York Yearly Meeting, 431 — Maryland Yearly Meeting, 432 — Virginia Yearly Meeting, 433 — Letter of Patrick Henry, 434 — North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 435 — Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania, 436 — Memorials to Legislatures, 436 — Abolition Society of Pennsylvania, 437 — Association in London for Abolishing Slave-trade, 438 — Efforts to civilize Indians, 439 — Z. Heston and J. Parrish visit them, 439 — Indian Lands at Hopewell, Virginia, 440 — Compensation offered, 441 — Remarkable Preservation, 441.

CHAPTER XVI.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION — SUFFERINGS OF FRIENDS.

1775-1781.

Peace Principles of Friends, 443 — They oppose the War, 444 — Their Address and Testimony, 445 — Change of Government in

Pennsylvania, 448 — Continental Money, 449 — War-taxes, 450 — Test Oaths, 451 — Conscription, 452 — Friends taken from Virginia, 453 — False Charges, 454 — Resolves of Congress, 455 — Arrest of Friends, 457 — Exiles in Virginia, 460 — Winchester and Hopewell, 462 — Death of T. Gilpin, 463 — Of John Hunt, 463 — Release of Exiles, 464 — Deputation of Friends to Camps, 465 — G. Washington and W. Mifflin, 466 — Notice of Joshua Brown, 467 — Society of Free Quakers, 468.

CHAPTER XVII.

EUROPE.

1780-1800.

American Friends in England, 469 — Women's Yearly Meeting in London established, 470 — Condition of the Society, 471 — Rebecca Jones in England, 472 — Friends in South of France, 473 — Rebellion in Ireland, 474 — Precautions of Friends, 475 — Abm. Shackelton's Account, 476 — Peril of Protestants, 477 — Devastation of the Country, 479 — Friends' Meetings kept up, 480 — Martyrdom of John and Samuel Jones, 482 — Preservation of Friends, 484 — Subscriptions to Relieve Sufferers, 486 — Scarcity of Food and American Contributions, 487 — Death of Claude Gay, 487 — Of S. Grubb, 489 — Of John Gough, 491 — Of Esther Tuke, 492.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AMERICA.

1780-1800.

The Nicholites, 493 — They join the Society of Friends, 497 — Friends in Canada, 499 — In Western Pennsylvania and Ohio, 500 — Establishment of Ohio Yearly Meeting, 501 — Rise of Testimony against the Use of Spirituous Liquors, 501 — Education, 503 — Monthly Meeting Schools, 504 — West-town Boarding-school, 504.

HISTORY

OF THE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

CHAPTER I.

EUROPE.

1691-1700.

IN the year 1691, the Society of Friends in England gained a valuable accession to its ranks in the conviction of Thomas Story. He was born about the year 1662, at Justicetown, near Carlisle, in Cumberland.¹ His parents were members of the Church of England, and occupied a respectable position in society. His mind was very early brought under the influence of divine grace, inclining him, even in childhood, to seek the Lord, to love solitude, and to read frequently the Holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament, in which he chiefly delighted.²

As he advanced towards manhood, he found much to obstruct his spiritual progress, in the circumstances by which he was surrounded. His father intending him for the study of the law, gave him a liberal education, and sent him to a fencing-school to learn the

¹ Testimonies concerning Public Friends, London, 1760.

² T. Story's Journal.

sword exercise, then deemed a manly accomplishment adapted to fashionable life. Having attained a considerable proficiency in this art, and likewise in the practice of music, he was introduced into a gay circle of acquaintance, whose conversation and pursuits were unfavorable to a growth in piety; but through divine grace he was preserved from gross immorality.

In order to initiate him in the study of the law, he was placed with a counsellor in the country, whose family being sober and religious, he had the advantage of serious society and private retirement, which tended to his improvement. At this time he generally attended the national worship at the cathedral in Carlisle, and being concerned to examine attentively the truths of religion, he became dissatisfied with the ceremonial service in which they were engaged, for it appeared to him that they had retained an abundance of the relics of popery. Their formal "prayers, postures, songs, organs, cringings and shows," their worshipping towards the altar, their bowing when the name of Jesus was mentioned, seemed to him to be little else than an abridgment of the popish mass. He attended the "christening" of a child at the house of a relative, and was much burdened with the lifeless ceremony that he witnessed. After the baptismal rites had been performed, the priest exhorted them to prayer, the substance of which was this: "They thanked God that he had been pleased to regenerate that infant with his Holy Spirit, to receive her for his own child by adoption, and to incorporate her into his holy church." Thomas Story asked the priest privately, "whether he believed that that ceremony, for which there is no foundation in Scripture, either for making little children the subjects of baptism,

signing them with the sign of the cross, promising and vowing in their names, believing and confessing in their stead, sprinkling them only with water, &c., did really then, or at any time to come, regenerate those children?" At which he only smiled and said No; but it being an established order in the church, the practice could not be omitted. Then, said Story, "you do but mock God, in giving him thanks for that which you do not seriously believe he has effected."

He continued, however, for some time to attend the national church, conforming to its mode of worship, mingling with fashionable society, and like others of his class wearing a sword for ornament and defence. During this time the secret touches of divine grace were often felt, causing "many ebbings and flowings" in his mind, as the temptations common to youth were presented; and although he was preserved from guilt in the sight of men, yet not so before the Lord, "who seeth not as man seeth, but looketh on the heart."

The providential means by which he was awakened to a sense of his condition, may be best related in his own words, as follows:

"Intending to go to a country church with an acquaintance, as we were riding gently along, my horse stumbled, fell and broke his neck, and lay so heavy upon my leg that I could scarce draw it from under him; yet I received no hurt; but as we stood by him a little, I had this consideration, that my own life might have been ended by that occasion, and I did not find myself in a condition fit for Heaven, having yet no evidence of that necessary qualification of regeneration; which brought great heaviness over my mind, that did not totally depart till through the infi-

nite mercy of God I was favoured with further knowledge and a better state. Hitherto I had however the grace of God in me only as a manifester of evil and of sin, a word of reproof, and a law condemning and judging those thoughts, desires, words, passions, affections, acts and omissions which are seated in the first nature and rooted in the carnal mind, in which the suggestions, temptations and influences of the evil one work and prevail: by which divine grace I was in some good degree enlightened, reformed, and enabled thereby to shun and forbear all words and actions thus known to be evil, and moral righteousness restored in my mind, and thereby brought forth in me. I became then sequestered, weaned, and alienated from all my former acquaintance and company; their manners and conversation, though not vicious (for such I never liked), became burdensome, tedious and disagreeable; for they had not the knowledge of God nor such a conversation as I wanted. And yet, I did not know the divine grace in its own nature, as it is in Christ, not as a word of faith, sanctification, justification, consolation and redemption; being yet alive in my own nature; the Son of God not yet revealed in me nor I by the power of his holy cross, yet mortified and slain; being without the knowledge of the essential truth, and in a state contrary to him and unreconciled. But the Lord did not leave me there." * * * * "My mind being truly earnest with God, thirsting unto death for the knowledge of the way of life, he was pleased to hear the voice of my necessity; for I wanted present salvation, and the Lord knew my case could not admit of further delay; and therefore being moved by his own free mercy and goodness even in the same love

in which he sent his son, the beloved, into the world, to seek and save the lost; on the first day of the Second month in the evening in the year 1689, being alone in my chamber, the Lord brake in upon me unexpectedly, quick as lightning from the heavens, and as a righteous, all-powerful, all-knowing, and sin-condemning judge; before whom my soul as in the deepest agony trembled, was confounded and amazed, and filled with such awful dread as no words can reach or declare." * * * *

"But in the midst of this confusion and amazement, where no thought could be formed, or any idea retained, save grim eternal death possessing my whole man, a voice was formed and uttered in me, as from the centre of boundless darkness, 'Thy will, O God, be done, if this be thy act alone, and not my own, I yield my soul to thee.'

"In the conceiving of these words from the Word of Life, I quickly found relief; there was all-healing virtue in them; and the effect so swift and powerful, that even in a moment all my fears vanished, as if they had never been, and my mind became calm and still, and simple as a little child; the day of the Lord dawned, and the Son of Righteousness arose in me with divine healing and restoring virtue in his countenance, and he became the centre of my mind. In this wonderful operation of the Lord's power denouncing judgment in tender mercy, and in the hour of my deepest concern and trial, I lost my old self, and came to the beginning of the knowledge of Him the just and the Holy One, whom my soul had longed for. I now saw the whole body of sin condemned in my own flesh; not by particular acts, as while travelling in the way to a perfect moral state only, but by

one stroke and sentence of the great and all-awing judge of the world, of the living and of the dead, the whole carnal mind with all that dwelt therein was wounded and death begun; as self-love, pride, evil thoughts, and every evil desire, with the whole corruption of the first state and natural life.

“Here I had a taste and view of the agony of the Son of God, and of his death and state upon the cross, when the weight of the sins of all human kind were upon him, and when he trode the wine-press alone, and none to assist him. Now all my past sins were pardoned and done away, my own willings, runnings, searchings and strivings were at an end; and all my carnal reasonings and conceivings about the knowledge of God and the mysteries of religion, were over; which had long exercised my mind, (being then natural) both day and night, and taken away my desire of food and natural repose. But now my sorrows ended, and my anxious cares were done away; and this true fear being to me the initiation into wisdom, I now found the true Sabbath, a holy, heavenly, divine and free rest, and most sweet repose.

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

“The divine essential Truth was now self-evident, there wanted nothing else to prove it. I needed not

to reason about him, all that was superseded and immersed by an intuition of that divine and truly wonderful evidence and light, which proceeded from himself alone, leaving no place for doubt or any question at all. For as the sun in the open firmament of heaven is not discovered or seen but by the direct efflux and medium of his own light, and the mind of man determines thereby, at sight and without any train of reasoning, what he is, even so, and more than so, by the overshadowing influence and divine virtue of the Highest, was my soul assured, that it was the Lord. I saw him in his own Light, by that blessed and holy medium, which of old he promised to make known to all nations; by that eye which he himself had formed and opened, and also enlightened by the emanation of his own eternal glory. Thus was I filled with perfect consolation which none but the Word of Life can declare or give. It was then, and not till then, I knew that God is love, and that perfect love which casteth out all fear. It was then I knew that God is eternal light, and that in Him is no darkness at all.”¹

While Thomas Story was passing through this interesting stage of religious experience, he kept within his own breast the sorrows and the joys that attended the spiritual conflict; but there was an observable alteration in his deportment. He became more serious and retired, laid aside his sword, burnt his instruments of music, and divested himself of superfluities in his apparel. He declined the attendance of public worship, not then knowing that there was any people with whom he could join in communion, and inclined

¹ T. Story's Journal, p. 14.

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

"As the nature and virtue of the divine essential truth increased in my mind, it wrought in me daily a greater conformity to itself, by its own power, reducing my mind to a solid quietude and silence, as a state more fit for attending to the speech of the Divine Word, and distinguishing of it from all other powers, and its divine influences from all imaginations and other motions. And being daily fed with the fruit of the tree of life, I desired no other knowledge than that which was given in consequence of the strength of mind and understanding thence arising."

Having ceased to attend the Cathedral, he went one afternoon to a meeting where a dissenting minister of high repute usually preached. While seated there, with his mind retired in a devotional spirit, he sought for an evidence whether the Lord would own that worship by his sensible presence, and whether it was the place for himself to worship; but his mind became filled with darkness and overwhelmed with

trouble, insomuch that he could hardly remain till the meeting was ended.

In one of his seasons of private devotion, the people called Quakers were suddenly, and with some surprise, brought to his mind, and so strongly impressed on his remembrance, that he had a secret inclination to inquire further concerning their principles. In the year 1691, he attended a Friends' meeting at Broughton, in Cumberland. A minister spoke on some doctrinal points, chiefly in opposition to predestination, as held by the Presbyterians, but his remarks made little impression on Thomas Story. "My concern," he says, "was much rather to know whether they [the Friends] were a people gathered under a sense of the enjoyment of the presence of God in their meetings, or, in other words, whether they worshipped the true and living God, in the life and nature of Christ the Son of God, the true and only Saviour. And the Lord answered my desire according to the integrity of my heart. For not long after I had sat down among them, that heaven y and watery cloud overshadowing my mind brake into a sweet abounding shower of celestial rain, and the greatest part of the meeting was broken together, dissolved and comforted in the same divine and holy presence and influence of the true, holy and heavenly Lord; which was divers times repeated before the meeting ended. And in the same way, by the same divine and holy power I had been often favoured with before, when alone; and when no eye but that of Heaven beheld, or any knew but the Lord himself, who in infinite mercy had been pleased to bestow so great a favor." "The meeting being ended, the peace of God, which passeth all understanding of

natural men, and is inexpressible by any language but itself alone, remained as a holy canopy over my mind, in a silence out of the reach of all words; and where no idea but the Word himself can be conceived.”¹

Soon after this, he was subjected to a trial of his faith. He had been employed by an acquaintance to write deeds of conveyance for some valuable property, and was one of three witnesses to their execution. The title being disputed was to be tried at the Assizes, and the other two witnesses being absent, his testimony was deemed essential. He was applied to by the holder of the property, to whom he answered, “I am concerned, it should fall out so; I will appear, if it please God, and testify what I know in the matter, and do what I can for you that way; but I cannot swear.” This unexpected scruple threw the man into a passion, and, with an oath, he replied, “What, you are not a Quaker, sure?” Prior to this time no one had called him a Quaker, nor had he assumed the appellation; but after a pause, during which he clearly saw that all swearing was forbidden, he was enabled to say, “I must confess the truth, I am a Quaker.” This avowal was followed by a burst of passion from the disappointed applicant, who threatened to enforce the utmost rigor of the law against him, saying, “What! must I lose my estate by your groundless notions and whims?” Thomas Story was apprehensive he might, by his refusal to swear, be subjected to fine and imprisonment, but he adhered to his determination, and enjoyed sweet peace of mind in the assurance of divine favor.

¹ T. Story's Journal, 33.

The next morning he proceeded towards the Hall where the judges sat; but on the way he met his acquaintance in a very different mood from that in which he had left him. "I can tell you good news," he said, "my adversary has yielded the cause, we are agreed to my satisfaction." Thus he was relieved from his painful position; but the change that had taken place in his religious views, being reported abroad, excited the derision of some and the sorrow of others among his acquaintance, while his father was grieved and mortified at beholding a course of conduct that he could not appreciate.

As Thomas Story continued watchful and obedient to the intimations of the divine monitor, he advanced in spiritual knowledge; and was diligent in the attendance of religious meetings, which became a source of instruction and enjoyment.

In meetings, his heart was frequently brought into tenderness through the influence of divine grace, and "that tenderness," he observes, "was in its nature an involuntary ministry, being an operation of the Spirit without words." * * * * "Being but a child in the knowledge of the invisible operation of the Word of Truth, and its effects, by instruments in a way of silence and sympathy, I had looked at its effects only in myself for my own strength and consolation, and yet could not but observe that at the same instant as Truth broke in upon me in an eminent manner, it affected the living part of the meeting in the same way at the same time. And it is clear to my understanding by experience, that there is a communication of divine love through the one Spirit, and that unspeakable, among the sanctified in Christ, at this day as well as in time past; and that

in a state of holy silence, as the members of Christ sit together in their heavenly places in him.”

In the early part of the year 1692, he travelled as companion with Andrew Taylor, an able minister of the gospel, and near the close of the same year, he went in like manner with John Bowstead, on a religious mission to Scotland. It was during this journey that the mouth of Thomas Story was first opened in public ministry, a service in which he afterwards became one of the most eminent of his day.

The practice of the law not being congenial to his feelings on account of the temptations and excitements to which it would expose him, he declined it, although at that time he had no other prospect of a livelihood. He afterwards settled in London and found employment as a conveyancer, which afforded him a comfortable living and allowed him time to attend to his religious engagements.

Before his removal to the metropolis, and while yet a resident in Cumberland, he was appointed in the year 1693, to attend the Yearly Meeting in London; and that eminent minister of the gospel, John Banks, being under a like appointment, they travelled together. At Edmonton they met with William Penn, and with him Thomas Story contracted an intimate friendship, that continued through life. Their minds were, doubtless, very congenial, both being richly endowed by nature, highly improved by education and enlightened by divine grace. Thomas Story acknowledges in his Journal that he was much encouraged by the fatherly care of the ministers in general, “but especially of that great minister of the gospel and faithful servant of Jesus Christ, William Penn, who abounded in wisdom, discretion, prudence,

love and tenderness of affection with all sincerity above most in that generation.”

The Yearly Meeting was a season of divine favor and spiritual refreshment. Epistles were received from meetings of Friends in Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. In the Epistle then issued by the Yearly Meeting of London, mention is made that Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson were in attendance, and that they had given an account of their recent travels and religious labors in the American provinces and the West Indies.

The two ministers from whom this report was received, being at that time prominent in the Society, some account of their lives and religious experience is deemed appropriate.

Thomas Wilson was born at Soulby, in the county of Cumberland, about the year 1654. His parents being members of the Church of England, he was educated in that profession. In his youth he hungered after righteousness, and thirsted for the water of life; but found little comfort from the ceremonial observances in which he participated. On attending an evening meeting of the people called Quakers, his secret prayers were offered up, that the Lord would be pleased to make known to him, whether the doctrine and worship of that people were consistent with the true way of salvation. After some time a Friend began to speak, “exhorting to an inward waiting upon the Lord in faith to receive power over every unclean thought; by which heavenly power they might glorify and praise the holy name of the Lord through the ability of his own free gift.”

While listening to this communication, his heart

was melted into tenderness, the Lord's power arose over all opposition, and a secret prayer was breathed, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me." A season of deep spiritual conflict ensued, during which he felt condemnation for sin, and was made willing to dwell under the righteous judgments of God, being convinced that this was the way to come to the mercy-seat.¹ In this state of humiliation he was shown that he must cease from will-worship and the doctrines of men, and relying upon the gift of God within him, he sat down among Friends in their silent meetings.

It was then, he says, "the great power of God did wonderfully break in among us, and many young people were convinced of the inward work of God, and turned to the Lord with all their hearts. The meeting in general became very tender and heavenly-minded, and Friends had great love one to another, the heart-melting power of the Lord being much felt and inwardly revealed, when no words were spoken by either man or woman. In this state we travelled in the silence of all flesh, in which times the Lord often renewed our strength in the inward man, so that we knew and experienced what the apostle exhorted the primitive Christians unto, even Christ to dwell in us by faith, and the renewings of the Holy Ghost increased and were shed on us abundantly in our meetings, whereby some were so filled that they were concerned to declare and preach the things of the kingdom of God, and what he had done for their souls. One of the first that came forth in prayer and supplication to the Lord was William

¹ Journal of Thomas Wilson, Dublin, 1728, p. 5.

Greenup, and I was the next that came forth there in a testimony for the Lord, which was in very great fear and much trembling. The word of the Lord in and through me was as a devouring fire, burning against all sin and iniquity, and the Lord made us cry aloud to turn the people from all vain worships to the living God that is a Holy Spirit, and the precious life of Jesus broke in wonderfully amongst us, so that we felt drawings to visit other meetings in the country, wherein the Lord's heavenly power was plentifully enjoyed amongst us, and several convinced of the truth, who turned to the Lord with all their hearts and joined with Friends."

In 1682, being then in his twenty-eighth year, he visited Ireland on a mission of gospel love, and labored successfully in the cause of truth. After attending many meetings, he came into the county of Wicklow, when the "motion of Life" or religious concern under which he travelled appeared to cease, and deeming it unsafe to go forward, he turned back to the county of Wexford and engaged in harvesting. While Thomas Wilson was thus employed in manual labor, James Dickenson, a young minister from Cumberland, came into the neighborhood, and their hearts being brought by divine love into near sympathy and unity, they concluded to travel together in their religious service.

James Dickenson was born in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1659. His parents were exemplary Friends, who educated their children in the way of righteousness, exhorting them to fear the Lord, and to mind the light, or measure of grace bestowed upon them.

His worthy parents being removed by death, while

he was yet in his youth, he so far departed from their counsel as to be drawn into a course of vanity and levity that destroyed his own peace. Being, through divine mercy, visited by the "reproofs of instruction," his mirth was turned into mourning, and deep sorrow became his portion. As he waited on the Lord and submitted to his righteous judgments, he was enabled to achieve a victory over sin, and to rejoice in the assurance of divine favor.

When he was nineteen years of age, he was called to bear a public testimony to the gospel of Christ, "warning Friends to be more inward and faithful to the manifestations of the light and grace of God in their souls."¹

In 1682, he went to Ireland on a gospel mission, and meeting with Thomas Wilson, as already related, they found their prospects of service to coincide, and proceeded as companions in brotherly love, and much unity of feeling. In the service of the gospel, these two faithful ministers frequently travelled together. They performed many extensive journeys through England, Wales, and Ireland; and in the year 1691, they embarked for Barbadoes, under a religious concern to visit the meetings of Friends in America. England and France being then at war, and a French fleet cruising in the channel, great apprehensions were felt that they would be captured; but before they sailed, they received, as they believed, a satisfactory assurance of divine protection. James Dickenson said to his companion, "The Lord has shown me that the French fleet will encompass us on both sides, and also behind, and come very near, but the Lord will send a great mist and darkness between

¹ Journal of James Dickenson, pp. 7, 18. London, 1745.

us and them, in which we shall sail away and see them no more.”¹

They set sail from Falmouth, having eighteen ships in company, and in a few days met the French fleet of sixty sail, which endeavored to surround them, and fired many broadsides at them. All the English ships, except three, were taken. Their deliverance is thus related by James Dickenson, whose account is corroborated by the Journal of Thomas Wilson.²

“After all our fleet had struck and were taken by the French, except our ship and two others, and they were coming up to take ours, about the first hour in the afternoon, a thick fog came on and spread around us, which prevented them in their design; the fog continued for about four hours, and then it became clear, and we discovered a large ship to windward from the skirts of the French fleet, which bore down upon us; but before she got up with us, the fog came on again and encompassed us about; the night came on, and we saw her no more. Then not only ourselves, but all the ship’s crew, confessed it was the Lord’s doings. Next day, we espied two ships to leeward, to which we hoisted the English colours and they answered, being the two of our own company which had escaped the French. And when First-day came, the masters, and several of their crews and passengers of the other two ships, came aboard ours, and we had a meeting on the quarter-deck. The Lord’s power was with us, and Truth’s testimony was declared amongst them; several confessed thereto, and our hearts were broken in a sense

¹ T. Wilson’s Journal. p. 24.

² Journal of James Dickenson, p. 7. London, 1745.

of God's love and wonderful mercies that overshadowed our souls in secret retirement upon the deep ocean. The captain of our ship was a very loving, kind man to us."¹

When they were in the latitude of Barbadoes, a ship to windward bore down upon them, which the captain supposed was a French privateer. He directed his ship to be made ready for action, and ordered the men and passengers to take their stations for fighting; but turning to Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson, he said, "As for you, I know it is contrary to your principles to fight. The Lord forbid I should compel any man contrary to his conscience! Take your quarters with the doctor." At this the other passengers expressed their dissatisfaction; and the Friends, in order to show that they were not actuated by cowardice, took their seats on the quarter-deck. When the ship came up, it proved to be an English vessel.

They landed at Barbadoes in the Sixth month, and found a general sickness prevailing. During two months they remained on the island, and had many meetings, to which the people flocked in great numbers, and the gospel was preached with good effect to the tendering of many hearts. The poor blacks who attended, were much affected, "the tears running down their cheeks and naked breasts."

Their service being ended, they embarked for New York. Their travels and labors in America will hereafter be noticed.

For some years prior to this date, John Richardson had been frequently engaged in the service of

¹ J. Dickenson's Journal, p. 48; and J. Wilson's, p. 26.

the gospel, and subsequently he became well known throughout the Society as an eminent minister.

He was the son of William Richardson, of the eastern part of Yorkshire, who was among the first proselytes to the doctrines of Friends, for which he was a public advocate, as well as a patient sufferer.

John Richardson was born in the year 1666, and very early was made acquainted with the precious visitations of divine grace; but not yielding entire obedience to this holy monitor, he did not, for some years, attain that victory over sin and that true peace of mind which he earnestly desired. He passed through many painful conflicts and spiritual baptisms, concerning which he has left this record:

“Read and understand the afflictions of thy brother, thou that hast come through great tribulations, and hast washed and made thy garments white in the blood of the Lamb; this is the beginning of that baptism which doth save, and of that washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which the Lord sheds upon the believers in abundance; this is the blood that sprinkleth the heart from an evil conscience, that the children of men, thus changed, may serve the living and true God; this is the life which converts the world, even as many as are converted; this is the virtue, life, and blood which maketh clean the saints’ garments, and inwardly washeth them from all filthiness, both of flesh and spirit.” * * * “This was the day of my baptism into the love of God, and true faith in his beloved Son, as also into a feeling of, or sympathy with him in his sufferings, which were unutterable, and I found that ministration changed; that which had been unto death was now unto life, and the ministration which

was of condemnation unto the first birth, when that was slain, and in a good degree nailed or fastened to the cross of Christ, the power of God; then the good prevailed over the evil, and working out the evil in the mind, and also in the members, made all good or holy. The Lord's living power, and consuming, burning Word, when it works and prevails, brings into subjection and maketh the very heart a ground holy in men." ¹

In his eighteenth year John Richardson was called to the gospel ministry, and between the twentieth and twenty-eighth year of his age, he travelled, in the exercise of his gift, through most parts of England four times, and twice through most of the counties of Wales. His travels in America and his extensive labors in the gospel of Christ will hereafter engage our attention.

Patrick Livingston, a native of Scotland, has been noticed as one of the instruments employed by the Shepherd of Israel in gathering his flock in that country. After his marriage he settled in England, and in his latter years dwelt, with his family, in the city of London. He continued faithful and diligent in the Lord's service to the end, and frequently visited his native country in the love of the gospel.

The day before his decease he said, "I am in unity with all faithful Friends, and in love to all men." * * * "Blessed be the Lord God for evermore. Oh! that thy life may arise in full dominion over all, and that Friends may feel it so in all their assemblies;—that they may be kept in love, concord and unity together,

¹ Life of J. Richardson, London, 1774, pp. 10, 12.

and show it forth in word, work, testimony, life and conversation unto all."

He died the 15th of the 4th month, 1694, about the sixtieth year of his age.¹

About three years later, Liliās Skene of Aberdeen, a woman greatly beloved by Friends in Scotland, was called to exchange the sorrows of time for the joys of eternity.

In the monthly meeting record of her death, it is stated, that, "On the 21st of the 4th month, 1697, it pleased the Lord our God to bring to the sweet harbour of his everlasting rest, a long-tossed vessel upon the waves of many afflictions, namely, Liliās Skene, widow of Alex^r. Skene, sometime bailie of Newtyle." * * * "Among the professors she was one of the most eminent, but was brought out from them, by a strong hand, unto the precious Truth, about the year 1667, in which she lived about thirty years, in a true measure of honesty, though attended with deep temptations and tribulations; and died in the seventy-first year of her age."²

The Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, although greatly relieved by the Act of Toleration, were yet exposed to much suffering on account of their testimonies against taking oaths and paying tithes. The subject of granting them relief with regard to oaths was brought before Parliament in the years 1693 and 1694, but without success. In 1695 the application was renewed, and a deputation, consisting of George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, Thomas Lower, John Taylor, and Daniel Quare, waited on

¹ Piety Promoted, I. 114.

² J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, 241.

the King, in order to obtain his influence with the members of both houses of Parliament. He received them kindly, heard them patiently, and promised to recommend their case to some of the leading members of Parliament. This promise he fulfilled, and in the Lower House, an act, accepting their solemn affirmation instead of an oath, was moved by Edmund Waller, and passed without difficulty; but in the House of Peers it was opposed by some of the bishops,—a body that has almost invariably stood in the way of religious liberty. They insisted on having the affirmation so worded as to make it almost equivalent to an oath; but this was resisted by the Earl of Carbury and some others of the temporal peers, who evinced much interest in the success of the measure. The act was passed in the year 1696, allowing Friends to affirm in these words: “I, A. B., do declare, in the presence of Almighty God, the witness of the truth of what I say.”¹

This act, for seven years, was, at its expiration, continued for eleven years, and afterwards, in the year 1715, made perpetual; but the form of affirmation was not satisfactory to Friends, being, as they thought, too much like an oath. They applied for an amendment in 1721, and obtained their request.²

The epistles issued by the Yearly Meeting of London, during many successive years, show that the Society, both in Europe and America, was generally in a prosperous condition. Accounts from Amsterdam gave information that unity, peace, and prosperity prevailed among Friends in Holland, and that John Clause, a minister then lately deceased, had found

¹ G. Whitehead, C. P., 655.

² Gough, III. 410.

great openness among the people to receive the messengers of Truth. The Mennonists in that country evinced a sympathy with Friends, and the Pietists continued under the reproach of being called Quakers.

In another epistle the Pietists are mentioned as a people in Germany by some called Quakers, that had sprung from the Lutherans. Many of them were persons of learning, and ranked among the gentry. They were persecuted by the Duke of Saxony, but tolerated by the Duke of Brandenburg.¹

William Edmundson, and other faithful Friends from Ireland, being at the London Yearly Meeting in 1694, expressed their sense of "the great goodness of God to them in that kingdom in granting them peace and great plenty; but above all in exalting his name and prospering his truth amongst them, and the great peace and unity amongst Friends there, and the good effect of their great care in the exercise of holy discipline, for the preservation of all professing truth, in the ancient pure way and path thereof."

The epistle of 1695 alludes to differences among Friends in America through the defection of Geo. Keith, but expresses a hope that an improvement was taking place. Three years subsequently, this hope was realized by accounts received from the American provinces, showing that Friends were generally preserved in love and unity, and that the holy principle of Truth was extending its influence.

Accounts from the meetings of Friends in various parts of Great Britain, showed that they were generally maintained in unity and peace, but exactions and imprisonments on account of tithes still continued.

¹ Epistles, 1693 and 1694.

The number of Friends imprisoned on this account in the year 1695 was 134, and the whole number reported during a period of ten years was 664.¹

In one of the epistles a complaint is noticed, that some ship-masters who made profession with Friends, carried guns in their ships, "supposing thereby to defend and secure themselves and their ships, contrary to their former principle and practice, and to the endangering of their own and others' lives." Quarterly and Monthly meetings are recommended to deal with such ship-masters, "in God's wisdom and tender love, to stir them up and awaken their consciences, that they may seriously consider how they injure their own souls in so doing, and what occasion they give to make the Truth and Friends suffer by their declension." * * * * The epistle proceeds: "Dear Friends, You very well know our Christian principle and profession in this matter, both with respect to God and Cæsar, that because we are subjects of Christ's kingdom, which is not of this world, we cannot fight [*John* xviii. 36]; yet, being subjects of Cæsar's kingdom, we pay our taxes, tribute, &c., according to the example of Christ and his holy apostles, relating to Christ's kingdom and Cæsar's; wherein we are careful not to offend [*Matt.* xvii. 27, and xxii. 20; *Rom.* xiii. 6, 7], being also very glad, and much satisfied in the many testimonies given at this meeting, of our Friends' innocency, and quiet and peaceable behaviour under the outward government, as becomes our Christian principle and profession."²

In the epistles about this period the subject of a guarded religious education of Friends' children was

¹ Appendix to London Epistles.

² London Epistles, 1693.

repeatedly mentioned, and advices were issued to the subordinate meetings, "To see that schools, and schoolmasters who are faithful Friends and well qualified, be placed and encouraged in all counties, cities, great towns or places where there may be need. And that such schoolmasters (as much as may be) sometimes correspond with one another, for their help and improvement in such good and easy methods as are most agreeable to the truth, and the children's advantage and benefit. And that care be taken that poor Friends' children may freely partake of such education, in order to apprenticeship."¹

In the year 1696, Richard Claridge began to frequent the meetings of Friends, among whom he subsequently became a prominent member. He was born at Farmborough, in the county of Warwick, in the year 1649. As soon as he was capable of learning he was sent to school, where he made rapid progress, and in his seventeenth year he was entered at Baliol College, Oxford. He became a good classical scholar, graduated with credit, and was ordained a deacon. In the year 1672 he was ordained a priest in the Church of England, and the following year was inducted as rector of Peopleton, in Warwickshire. According to his own account, he was very industrious in performing the customary exercises of his office. "He studied hard for his sermons, and what he collected, or composed for that end, he delivered with a show of fervency and affection which was very taking with his auditory." He preached repentance and regeneration in Scripture phrases, while he was a stranger to both. After officiating as a priest nearly

¹ Epistles, 1695.

twenty years, he was, through the visitations of divine grace, enabled to see the inefficacy of the rites in which he was engaged, and to feel the necessity of a change of heart. He was convinced that the ceremonies of his church, with her sacraments, ordinations and tithes, were mere human institutions, but to relinquish them was no easy task, for both interest and honor were at stake. "It was hard to flesh and blood to part with a good living and settled income, and to depend on Providence for a supply. Nor was it a light thing for him, who had been a minister of that church nearly twenty years, to subject himself to reproach and contempt, and to be counted a fool by those who formerly held him in honour."¹

On the 18th of the 8th month, 1691, he preached his last sermon as a clergyman of the Church of England, taking for his text, *Matt.* xv. 19; "But in vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;" he laid before his auditory:—

"1. The unscripturalness of a national church under the gospel.

"2. The false constitution of parochial churches.

"3. The novelty and usurpation of diocesan bishops over presbyters.

"4. The unreasonableness of composing liturgies, litanies and forms of common prayer, and imposing their use upon the people.

"5. The false call of the present ministers of the Church of England.

"6. The irregular administration of the ordinances of Christ by them.

"7. Their unscriptural manner of receiving members into communion."

¹ Life of Rd. Claridge, by Joseph Besse. London, 1726, p. 12.

He, soon after, resigned his benefice, and being satisfied that infant baptism was not a Christian institution, he joined himself to the Baptists and was initiated by immersion. When he came out of the water, a by-stander approached him, and taking off his hat, accosted him thus: "You are welcome, sir, out of one form into another." These words struck him with force, and often returned with weight upon his mind. He soon became a preacher among the Baptists, and being talented, learned and zealous, was highly esteemed. After he had been thus engaged in the city of London upwards of two years, he declined to officiate as minister, and being urged by the brethren to take his communion with them, his answer was, "He could not, and that the Lord had shown unto him that the very foundation of the Baptist churches was out of course, and there was a higher dispensation than what they were under. Their dispensation was that of John, a lower dispensation, which was to vanish; but the dispensation of the Spirit which is to continue, was higher. Here God teaches his people himself."

Being led to examine the principles and practices of the Society of Friends, he became convinced that they were established on the right foundation, and that their doctrines were consistent with the Scriptures of Truth. He began to frequent their meetings, and found their ministry lively and edifying; their worship was owned by the gracious presence of God, ministering abundant consolation to weary and waiting souls.

"In a state of humble silence and patient waiting upon God he remained a considerable time, passing through the dispensation of condemnation and min-

istration of judgment, until he came to witness the ministration of life and peace, and to walk in the light wherein the Christian fellowship stands.”¹

While passing through this stage of religious experience, he was visited, at times, by several members of the Society of Friends in the city of London. Among these was Francis Camfield, of whom he writes as follows: “I felt that life by which this ancient disciple and faithful minister of Christ spake. He said it was a great thing to know a being purged from our old sins and to know the holy war. ‘All true Christians,’ said he, ‘are come into this holy war; and as they are kept in their watch, and waiting before the Lord, so they are holpen against the enemy not only to resist but to overcome him.’ He exhorted to wait in the strength of the Lord and to take heed of making haste, but to be still before him in the measure of the gift bestowed, and to wait for the Lord’s openings.”

As Richard Claridge continued watchful and obedient, he advanced in divine knowledge, and was called to the gospel ministry; serving God “in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.” During the remainder of his days he continued steadfast in fellowship with Friends, an approved minister, recommending, by holiness of life and conversation, the doctrines he preached. He followed the occupation of a teacher of youth, and in the year 1700 he removed from London to Barking in Essex, where he kept a boarding-school for some years.²

John Fothergill, about the year 1697, appeared as a minister of the gospel, in which service he after-

¹ Life of R. Claridge, 28, 32.

² Life of R. Claridge, 91. Piety Promoted, II. 361.

wards became eminent. He was born in the year 1676, at Carr-End, a respectable-looking mansion, which stands on the bank of the quiet lake of Semerwater, in a small sequestered dale, connected with the larger valley of Wensleydale, in Yorkshire.¹ His parents, Alexander and Ann Fothergill, not only professed with Friends, but were religiously concerned to feel after, and live up to, the holy principle of Truth. "This led them into a godly care to train up their children in the fear of the Lord, and to take them to religious meetings frequently, both on First-days and on other days of the week. His mother especially, by her reverent frame of mind manifested in her countenance and deportment while waiting upon God, made a deep impression upon his feelings, so that he was very early convinced of the existence of an Almighty, holy, omniscient Being; and that there is in man an immortal soul, that will be held accountable for the deeds done in the body. When he was about eleven years old, his mother was removed by death, and for want of her watchful care he became less circumspect in his conduct and less mindful of his soul's best interest. Yet through adorable mercy he had many awakening visitations of divine grace, which led him to bemoan his condition and seek in prayer for salvation. "Thus he wrestled several years, and durst not believe that he had gained any effectual victory." At length through the power of Christ and his spiritual baptism, after many painful conflicts, judgment was brought forth unto victory, and he rejoiced in the light of the Lord. In relation to this happy change, he writes: "The blessed presence of the Saviour of the world, which

¹ Crossfield's Memoirs of S. Fothergill, 1.

at times filled and overshadowed my soul, in my thus following him, through mourning, is never to be forgotten by my soul.”¹

This was about the seventeenth year of his age. In the following year his father was prosecuted for non-payment of tithes and imprisoned at York, a distance of about forty miles from his home. John being the eldest son then living, the care of the other children and business of the farm devolved upon him, which, with his father's poor state of health, brought him under much concern and solicitude. A kinsman who was not a Friend, urged him strongly to allow him to agree with his father's prosecutor for his discharge, and to have the money reimbursed afterwards; but he says, “When I considered a little, my understanding was fully satisfied that it was the mind and cause of God that this testimony against tithes, in this dispensation, should be borne, and that what suffering soever might attend our faithfulness to him, he could readily make up, and I then believed he would; as on the other hand, that he could soon blast and consume any seeming advantages that might be hoped for, by giving way to selfish reasoning or shrinking from the faithful and reverent bearing of that testimony.”

His father, after about six months' imprisonment, was released; but did not long survive his liberation. He died the 6th of the 7th month, 1695.²

John Fothergill relates in his Journal, that during his minority, their meeting was favored with the services of an ancient and truly valuable minister, and that the query often arose in his mind, “How

¹ Account of John Fothergill, London, 1754, p. 5.

² Memoir of S. Fothergill, 4.

shall we do, and what will become of us when he dies?" This led him to consider the means by which that minister became so valuable, and he saw that others, by obedience to the teachings of divine life and power, would be fitted for similar services.

The minister, on whom perhaps they leaned too much, being removed by death, there was soon after an abounding of divine life in the meeting, and within two years, five persons appeared as ministers of the gospel, to the satisfaction and comfort of their Friends. Among these, John Fothergill was one who became afterwards widely known and highly appreciated for his spiritual gift.

When called to this responsible service, he was in the twenty-first year of his age, and throughout a long life he evinced his devotion to his divine Master, by abundant and successful labors, both in his own country and in foreign lands.¹

Among those removed from works to rewards, during this decade, were several Friends, whose eminent services and peaceful deaths may appropriately claim our attention.

1. Stephen Crisp of Colchester in Essex, being, in the latter part of his life, through indisposition of body, unable to travel in the service of the gospel, was diligent in the attendance of meetings in Colchester and London, where, in the exercise of his gift, he was truly acceptable. He had been sojourning at the house of William Crouch in London, but for the benefit of pure air he was taken, a short time before his death, to a country house at Wansworth, four miles from the City. About four days before he died, he said to George Whitehead, who came to

¹ Account of John Fothergill, London, 1754.

visit him: "I see an end of mortality, yet cannot come at it; I desire the Lord to deliver me out of this troublesome and painful body. If he will but say the word, it is done. Yet there is no cloud in my way. I have a full assurance of my peace with God in Christ Jesus; my integrity and uprightness of heart are known to the Lord; and I have peace and justification in Christ Jesus, who made me so; that is, upright to God." To a Friend he observed, "I have fought the good fight of faith, and have run my course, and am waiting for the crown of life that is laid up for me." To another he said, "Serve the truth for the simple truth's sake, and it will preserve thee to the end, as it hath done me." In his great pain of body, feeling the word of patience to support him, he said to the friends watching with him, "Grow in the word of patience, that it may keep you also in the time of need." Near his close, he said, "Remember my dear love in Christ Jesus to all." On the 28th day of the 6th month, 1692, he died in the Lord, about the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was interred in Friends' burying-ground at Burchill-fields, London.¹

Stephen Crisp was endowed with superior talents, well improved by education, and above all, he was deeply instructed in the school of Christ. Being thus prepared for service in the Church, he was eminently useful both in gospel ministry and Christian discipline. In his public ministry, being clear in expression, agreeable in delivery, and deeply imbued with experimental knowledge of the truth, he attracted crowded audiences, and made a lasting impression upon many. He travelled much in Holland

¹ S. Crisp's Works, 13. Piety Promoted, I. 111.

and Germany, where he left many seals of his ministry; and after his death, the Yearly Meeting of Amsterdam issued a memorial to commemorate his services. His writings are worthy of attentive perusal.

2. Andrew Sowle, of London, was in early life convinced of the principles of Truth as professed by Friends; and being obedient, became willing to endure with cheerfulness the many afflictions and persecutions that attended him. He was a printer by trade, and engaged freely in printing Friends' books, when he had large offers of advancing himself in the world, made to him by his relatives, if he would have desisted therefrom. For several years together he was exposed to continual danger on that account, his house being often searched, and his printing materials and presses broken to pieces, as often as they found any Friends' books in the process of being printed. At one time about a thousand reams of printed books were taken from him; yet he was never heard to complain, but he would say he was glad to have anything to lose for the truth, and that the Lord had made him worthy to be a sufferer for it. On such occasions he would sometimes set forth meat and drink for his persecutors, endeavoring to overcome evil with good. His reproofs to those who had done amiss, were so kind and so convincing, that a servant of his said, he stood more in awe of a reproof from him, than the severest treatment of another. "His end," said he, "being in love to convince me, that I have done that which is not right."

In his last sickness, he evinced his usual serenity of mind. William Penn coming to visit him the night before he departed, asked him how he did; he

answered with much cheerfulness, his satisfaction and peace of mind were great, and that he waited for his change. His visitor then kneeled down and prayed that the Lord would give him the reward of his labor, for through him many blessed truths had been brought into the world. After prayer was ended, he acknowledged William Penn's love, telling him he was well satisfied in his condition, and in the truth of God, which he had professed, and that he had nothing to do but wait in the will of God, till his change came. He finished his course the 26th of the 10th month, 1695, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.¹

3. Peter Gardiner, who resided near Castle Hedingham, in Essex, being on his return from a gospel mission to Scotland, was taken suddenly ill with the small-pox at Carlisle, in Cumberland. A few days before his departure he was visited by John Bowstead, who asked "how it was with him?" He answered, "Ah, John! I am sick in body, but the Lord reigns gloriously in Zion: his power is over all his enemies." He dictated a brief letter to his friends, in which he says, "I have sweet peace with Him, that is the Redeemer of Israel, and am now waiting for my pilot to conduct me to my long home." He died in the early part of the year 1695.²

4. John Whitehead has been noticed³ as one of the early proselytes to the doctrines of Friends, who labored and suffered much for the cause of truth. His last imprisonment in the year 1684, in Lincoln Castle, impaired his health and strength so as to disable him from travelling much more in the service

¹ Piety Promoted, I. 116. ² Barclay's Friends in Scotland, 227.

³ Vol. I. 143, 245.

of the gospel. In a "Testimony" concerning him, by Friends at Thealby, in Lincoln, they say: "Some of us, the last time we were with him, a little before he departed this life, heard him say, 'that he had laboured whilst his strength lasted, and that now he had nothing to do but to die; and kneeling down, he supplicated the Lord for the preservation of all his people, committing us with himself into his hand and arm of protection.' The sense of that life, power, and presence of the Lord that was then felt, remains as a testimony upon our spirits of his well-being with the Lord." He departed this life the 24th day of the 7th month, 1696.

5. Charles Marshall was convinced of Friends' principles in the year 1654, at Bristol, as already related.¹

Being filled with love, and a religious concern for the good of others, he travelled much in the service of the gospel, and continued through life a faithful laborer in the Lord's vineyard. In the year 1682, while residing at Tetherton in Wiltshire, he was prosecuted for tithes, and his case being removed to London, he was arrested and committed to the Fleet-prison, where he remained two years. The priest who had procured his imprisonment, becoming at length uneasy, came to the prison, released him, and soon after died.

The family of Charles Marshall having removed to London during his imprisonment, he continued to reside there after his release; being much engaged in visiting the sick, soliciting the government for the relief of sufferers, and preaching the gospel.

In his last sickness, which continued four months,

¹ Vol. I. pp. 203, 205.

he was enabled, through divine aid, to endure with patience the pain and debility that attended him, bearing witness in many fervent expressions to the goodness of God. William Penn and other Friends, on visiting him a day or two before his departure, found him in a heavenly frame of mind. "As one filled with the love, life, and power of Christ, he prayed after a very earnest manner, that the Lord would preserve his people and carry on his work among them and exalt his Truth."

"I have two things," he said, "that lie upon me to express to Friends, which I desire may be communicated to them."

"The first is, that they gather down into the immortal Seed and Word of Life in themselves, and be exercised in it before the Lord, and duly prize the many outward and inward mercies and blessings and heavenly visitations, that the Lord has eminently bestowed upon them, since the morning of the day of his blessed visitation, then shall they grow and be preserved in a living freshness to him: and the Lord will continue his mercies to them, and they shall not want his divine refreshing presence in their meetings together before him.

"The second thing is, that those Friends to whom the Lord hath given great estates, ought to cast their bread upon the waters, and do good therewith in their life-time; for those who are enjoyers of such things should see that they are good stewards thereof. Oh, the many poor families that such persons might be a help to! how easily might they, with a little, assist many a family to live in the world! and what a comfort would it be for such to see the fruits of their charity in their life-time."

He departed in peace the 15th of the 9th month, 1698, aged sixty-one years.¹

6. John Crook, after his convincement, as related in a preceding volume,² being taken at a meeting, was imprisoned at Northampton, and there made acquainted with the mysteries of Christ's kingdom, of which he became an eminent minister. In a testimony concerning him, by Richard Thomas, it is said: "After he and we came to embrace the light of Christ Jesus, which shined into our dark hearts, we could say from an inward sense, That which condemned sin in us, as it was obeyed, became our justification; which through death, became life and peace through Christ Jesus." In his latter days, some time before his death he would say, "That the furnace of afflictions was of good use to purge away the dross and earthly part in us."

He was long afflicted with infirmity of body, and endured his severe sufferings with patience, expressing the inward joy and peace he had with the Lord. He finished his course the 26th of the Second month, 1699, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was buried at Sewel, in Bedfordshire.³

¹ Journal of C. Marshall, Piety Promoted, and J. Whiting's Memoir.

² Vol. I. 220.

³ J. Crook's Works. Piety Promoted, I. 170.

CHAPTER II.

AMERICA.

1691-1700.

AMONG those who, about this date, visited the American Continent as ambassadors for Christ, were Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson. Having embarked at Barbadoes, as already related,¹ they landed at New York on the 23d of the 9th month (November), 1691; and, after visiting some meetings at Long Island, they proceeded to Philadelphia.

Their religious labors in Pennsylvania were arduous and effectual. Large numbers flocked to their meetings; and the houses, in some places, being too small to contain them, they were held in the open air in mid-winter, the ground being covered with snow. "There is," writes James Dickenson, "a tender-hearted people in that country, who love the Lord. We laboured and travelled for their growth and settlement in the Truth; after which, being pressed in our minds to get on our journey, we passed through the woods in deep snow, and crossed the rivers upon the ice, until we came to Chester River, in Maryland, where we had some service."²

After visiting the meetings of Friends in Maryland, they pursued their journey to Virginia, and thence to Carolina. Their arduous labors were rewarded with many comfortable meetings among the scattered colonists of Carolina, who, having seen no

¹ Chapter I.² Journal of J. Dickenson, p. 52.

gospel messengers among them for some years, welcomed the travellers with heart-felt joy.¹

Having attended many meetings in the Southern Provinces, as well as in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Long Island, they proceeded to New England, where an Indian war was then raging, and in Massachusetts the people generally, except Friends, had gone into garrisons for protection. These devoted ministers travelled unmolested, and held many precious meetings, in which Divine goodness was near to bless their labors. At Boston they embarked for Barbadoes, where they held meetings among Friends and others; after which they visited Antigua and Nevis, and then returned to their native country.

About this time, several of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, who had occupied prominent positions in civil and religious society, were removed by death.

1. One of these, John Deleval, was the son of a merchant of New York, where he was a captain in the militia; but being convinced of Friends' principles, he laid aside his sword and became a valiant in the Lamb's warfare.² Having received a gift in the ministry, he was an earnest and faithful advocate of Truth. He removed to Philadelphia, where he married Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Lloyd. As a member of the Provincial Council, he was much engaged in civil affairs, but did not neglect the higher duties of his religious station; and having done his day's work in due season, "he finished his testimony with a heart full of love to God and his people."³ He died in the 6th month, 1693.

¹ Journal of T. Wilson, 29.

² Whiting's Mem., 231

³ Testimony of James Dickenson.

2. Thomas Lloyd has been noticed, in a preceding chapter, as one of the most useful and influential among the colonists of Pennsylvania.¹

As President of the Council, and subsequently as Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, he exercised a most salutary influence upon the interests and progress of the colony. Nor did the cares of civil government withdraw his attention from his religious duties as a minister of the gospel; for he was not a seeker of political power, his high position being pressed upon him, and accepted with reluctance, from a sense of duty.

In a testimony concerning him, by Haverford Monthly Meeting, it is said: "His sound and effectual ministry, his godly conversation, meek and lamb-like spirit, great patience, temperance, humility and slowness to wrath; his love to the brethren, his godly care in the Church of Christ, that all things might be kept sweet, savory and in good order; his helping hand to the weak, and gentle admonitions, we are fully satisfied, have a seal and witness in the hearts of all faithful friends who knew him, both in the land of his nativity and in these American parts."

He was taken with a malignant fever the 5th of the 7th month, 1694, and though his bodily pain was great, he bore it with much patience. Not long before his departure, some Friends being with him, he said, "Friends, I love you all. I am going from you, and I die in unity and love with all faithful friends. I have fought a good fight and kept the faith which stands not in the wisdom of words, but in the power of God. I have sought not for strife and contention,

¹ Vol. II., Ch. XXVII.

but for the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the simplicity of the gospel. I lay down my head in peace, and desire you may all do so. Friends, farewell all." He died on the 10th of the Seventh month, 1694, aged about forty-five years.¹

3. Thomas Janney has already been mentioned² as one of the early colonists of Pennsylvania, who occupied a prominent position in religious and civil society.

As a minister of the gospel he visited the churches in New England, Rhode Island, Long Island, and Maryland. In the year 1695, he went, in company with Griffith Owen, to visit his brethren in England, where in the course of his travels he was taken ill at Hitchin. Two of his relatives from Cheshire going thither to visit him; he said to one of them: "It is some exercise to think of being taken away so far from my home and family, and also from my friends and relations in Cheshire. My care hath been for my sons, that they may be kept in the fear of God. I have been a good example to them. I have a care upon me, that they may be kept humble while they are young, that they may bend their necks under the yoke of Christ. If I am taken away, I am very clear in my spirit, I have answered the requirings of God. I have been faithful in my day, and I have nothing that troubles my spirit; my spirit is very clear." He also expressed his concern for his brethren of the ministry, especially the young, that they might observe the leadings of God's spirit in their ministry, and not lean upon their own natural parts.

After this, he recovered so as to be able to reach

¹ Penn'a Memorials, 24; Proud's History of Penn'a; Smith's Hist. Ch. X.

² Vol. II. p. 393.

Cheshire, but after some time his disease returning, he said to his sister, "If it be the will of God that I be taken away now, I am well content." He departed in much peace of mind the 12th of the Twelfth month, 1696, aged sixty-three years, having been a public minister forty-one years.¹

In the year 1694, Robert Barrow of Westmoreland, and Robert Wardel of Sunderland, in the county of Durham, went forth in the love of God to preach the gospel in America. They were both far advanced in years, but eminently qualified for religious service; the former having an excellent gift in the ministry, the latter more remarkable for a talent in the administration of Church discipline. They commenced their labors in Pennsylvania, travelled through nine of the British Provinces, and attended three hundred and twenty-eight meetings for divine worship, in which they were enabled to labor with acceptance and to reap the reward of peace. Their service on the continent being accomplished, they embarked for the West Indies, and after visiting the meetings of Friends in Antigua and Bermuda, they proceeded to Jamaica, where Robert Wardel was taken ill, and died in peace the 22d of the Second month, 1696.²

Robert Barrow, after remaining about four months in Jamaica, took passage for Philadelphia in the bark Reformation, Joseph Kirle, master. Among the passengers were Jonathan Dickenson, of Philadelphia, and Mary, his wife, with their infant child, and several of his slaves, both men and women. After being some days at sea, they encountered a violent storm, which shipwrecked their vessel on the

¹ Pa. Mem. 30. Bowden, II. 120. Smith's Hist. Ch. V.

² Piety Promoted, I. 138.

coast of Florida. They succeeded in reaching the shore with a part of their baggage and stores; these, however, were soon taken from them by a band of Florida Indians, who made them prisoners, stripped them of nearly all their clothing, and treated them in the most inhuman manner. These savages were supposed to be cannibals; they were naked, except a piece of plaited straw around their waists, and their gestures were violent. After robbing the vessel and seizing the baggage which the crew and passengers had carried on shore, they came towards their prisoners with loud cries and furious gestures, placing themselves each behind one, having their arms extended with knives in their hands, ready to execute their bloody design, and only waiting for their chief to begin. One of the Friends describing this scene of terror, says: "On a sudden it pleased the Lord to work wonderfully for our preservation, and instantly all these savage men were struck dumb, and like men amazed for the space of a quarter of an hour, in which time their countenances fell, and they looked like another people."¹

One of the prisoners being able to speak Spanish, they generally agreed to assume the name of Spaniards in order to save their lives, for it was known that the savages of Florida stood in awe of the Spanish power. Robert Barrow could not participate in this species of deception, even to save his life; and being directly asked the question, "Are you a Nickaleer?" that is, an Englishman, he answered, "Yes." For his plain dealing he was stripped of his clothes, which till then, on account of his age, he had been permitted to retain.

¹ God's Protecting Providence, &c., by Jo. Dickenson.

During two months they suffered the most severe hardships, from hunger, exposure, and fatigue. Being compelled to lie without shelter on the ground, exposed to heavy storms, dews and changes of temperature, most of the company were much exhausted, and Robert Barrow particularly, being an aged man, was scarcely able to travel. At length they reached the Spanish garrison-town of St. Augustine, where they were kindly received by the governor, and their wants supplied, as far as his means would suffice. He sent them in boats to Charleston, S. C., where they were cordially received by the public authorities and lodged at the houses of their friends.

Robert Barrow, writing to his wife from this place, after mentioning the severe illness he had endured, arising from his privations and exposure, thus speaks of his kind hostess: "At length we arrived at Ashley River, and it pleased God I had the great fortune to have a good nurse, one whose name you have heard of, a Yorkshire woman, born within two miles of York; her maiden name was Mary Fisher, she that spake to the great Turk; afterwards William Bayley's wife. She is now my landlady and nurse. She is a widow of a second husband, her name is now Mary Cross."¹

It appears that this remarkable woman had been married to her second husband, John Cross, of London, in the year 1678. They emigrated to South Carolina, where it is supposed she passed the remainder of her eventful life.

From Charleston, Robert Barrow, accompanied by Jona. Dickenson and family, took passage to Philadelphia, where they safely arrived on the 1st of the

¹ MS. Letter of R. Barrow, quoted by Bowden, I 41.

Second month. Robert Barrow was extremely feeble from disease; he could not be removed that night, but to his friends who came to see him he expressed his great satisfaction that the Lord had granted his request, that he might lay down his bones in that place. He made mention of the goodness of God to him, and that his presence had attended him in all his exercises. Next morning he was removed to the house of Samuel Carpenter, where he slept a considerable time: the same day, friends coming to visit him, he rejoiced, putting forth his hand, and saying, "Although my body be weak, my mind is sound and memory good; and the Lord hath been very good to me all along to this very day, and this morning hath sweetly refreshed me." Afterwards he said, "It is a good thing to have a conscience void of offence, both towards God and towards men." He departed this life the 4th of the Second month, 1697.

In the summer of 1696, James Dickenson arrived in York River, Virginia, on his second religious visit to Friends in America. He travelled through the provinces of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, preaching the Word of Life to large and attentive audiences. The Yearly Meeting in Maryland, which he attended, proved to be a season of divine visitation to many, and "the affairs of the church," he writes, "were managed in God's fear and wisdom, nothing appeared but love and unity among Friends; the meeting held four days, and ended with praises and thanksgiving unto the God and Father of all our mercies, who, with his dear Son, is worthy thereof."¹ He afterwards proceeded to

¹ J. Dickenson's Journal, 97.

North Carolina, and Governor Archdale travelled with him through that province. "We had good service," he says, "in that wilderness country, and found a tender people who were glad to be visited."

John Archdale was a member of the Society of Friends, and one of the Proprietaries of Carolina. His residence was in England, but the affairs of the province having fallen into disorder through the incapacity of the governor and the unfitness of its political institutions, he was induced, at the request of the board of proprietors, to embark for the colony and administer its government. By his great abilities, justice, and moderation, he was enabled to reconcile contending factions, to restore harmony among the colonists, and to secure the confidence of the Indians, with whom he established an amicable intercourse. After governing a few years, he returned to England; but before he embarked, the Council presented to him an address to be transmitted to the proprietors, expressing the deep sense they had of their paternal care for the colony in the appointment of a man of such abilities and integrity to the government, who had been so happily instrumental in establishing its peace and security. He was subsequently elected a member of Parliament for High Wycombe, but being unwilling to take the oath required, he was not allowed his seat in the House.¹

In four of the British colonies, viz., Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, Friends constituted at one time so large a proportion of the population, that they believed it incumbent on them to accept offices in the civil government, and

¹ The Friend, Vol. III. p. 162.

they found nothing in such employments incompatible with their religious tenets, so long as oaths were not required, nor warlike measures contemplated. In Pennsylvania this was more especially the case, and in the early history of the colony, the executive, legislative, and judicial powers were generally in their hands; some of those occupying the highest offices being ministers of the gospel.

In the biography of William Penn this subject having been fully examined,¹ a detailed statement of it is not deemed needful here; but a brief review of some points affecting the religious testimonies of the Society may not be inappropriate.

Although the charter of Pennsylvania, granted by Charles II., invested William Penn with the powers of a "captain-general," to levy, muster and train all sorts of men, "to make war by sea and land against barbarous nations, pirates, and robbers," we have no reason to suppose this power was conferred upon him at his own request, nor does it appear that it was ever exercised in a warlike manner. The judicial power and the constable's staff were found to be sufficient to preserve order and administer justice, while the Christian course pursued towards the Indians rendered them the firm friends and kind neighbors of the colonists. There was, indeed, a charge made by George Keith or his adherents against the Friends concerned in the government, that they violated their peaceable principles in the use of arms to capture a pirate. The case referred to was that of Babit and his crew, who, in the year 1691, stole a small sloop from the wharf at Philadelphia, and going down the

¹ See Janney's Life of Penn.

river committed several robberies. Information being given to the magistrates, they granted a warrant for the apprehension of the robbers, by virtue of which they were captured and brought to justice. It appears, however, that the capture was effected by Peter Boss and one or two others, without taking with them any warlike weapon.¹

The constitution of Pennsylvania, framed by the Proprietary, with the aid or concurrence of the first colonists, was a noble charter of freedom. In the preamble, Penn defines "the great end of all government to be: to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

The code of laws, drafted in England, and passed with amendments by the first Colonial Assembly, was remarkable for its liberality. Penn looked upon reformation as the great end of punitive justice, and, in pursuance of this idea, he exempted from the infliction of death about two hundred offences which were capitally punished by English law.² The colonial laws were subject to repeal when not consistent with the laws of England, and, probably for this reason, the death penalty was permitted to remain for wilful murder; but there appears to have been no instance of its enforcement while the colony was governed by Friends. The sentiment expressed in the laws, that every prison should be a work-house, and the humane regulations established for jails, gave rise

¹ Smith's Hist. Pa., Ch. VII.

² Tyson's Address. Hist. Soc. Pa.

to the penitentiary system in which Pennsylvania has taken the lead.

The early settlers being mostly Friends, the legislative and judicial powers were for some time almost entirely in their hands. In the first Colonial Council, composed of eighteen members, six were ministers of the Society, and a still larger number of Friends in that station were members of the Assembly.

While Penn was in the Province he presided in the Council, and so largely were the practices of Friends recognized by the representatives of the people, that the sittings of the Assembly were opened by an interval of solemn silence, in order that the members might turn their thoughts, and offer up their secret prayers to Him, who alone can direct in the path of true wisdom.¹

In the fourth year of the reign of William and Mary, the government of Pennsylvania was withdrawn from the hands of William Penn, and by a royal commission transferred to Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York. This measure was urged by the enemies of the Proprietary, on the plea that no defence had been provided by the Colonial Government against the French and Indians, who threatened the frontier, and that the province and the territories were at variance. In the spring of 1693, Col. Fletcher, accompanied by a military retinue, came to Philadelphia to assume the executive functions. He summoned the Assembly, and presented a requisition from the Queen for aid, in men and money, to defend the frontiers of New York against the French and Indians. The Assembly, after asserting their privileges which had been infringed by the Governor,

¹ Watson's Annals.

passed a Tax Bill, the proceeds of which they presented to the King and Queen. The Governor at first refused the bill, because nothing was granted for the defence of New York; but he finally approved it and confirmed the laws before existing in the colony. The following year he made another requisition for means to feed and clothe the Indians, in order to secure their friendship. The Assembly laid a tax similar to that of the previous year, but directed that out of its proceeds two hundred pounds each should be paid to Thomas Lloyd and William Markham, for their services while acting as deputies of the Proprietary, and the remainder to be appropriated to the general expenses of the government. "Fletcher rejected the bill, and the Assembly, asserting their right to appropriate their money at their pleasure, was dissolved."

The government was soon after restored to William Penn, by a royal patent dated 1694; but he, not being able then to proceed to Pennsylvania, appointed his cousin, Capt. William Markham, as Deputy Governor. This appointment was made with a view to satisfy the Committee of Trade and Plantations, Markham having been before appointed to the same station under Governor Fletcher.

In order that the civil power might be in hands "more suitable to the mind and improvement of the colony," the Proprietary appointed two Friends, John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter, assistants of Markham in the administration.¹

¹ See Janney's *Life of Penn*, Chap. XXVIII., where it is shown that Penn, on resuming the government, did not "undertake to supply money and men for the general defence of the frontier," as stated in *Dixon's Life of Penn*. He promised that he would

During five years that elapsed from the reinstatement of Penn in his government until his second arrival in the colony, the affairs of the province appear to have been conducted in harmony, and the tide of immigration continued to flow, bringing valuable accessions to its civil and religious society.

Among those who contributed to the stability and prosperity of the colony, the Welsh families settled at Gwynedd, [*i. e.*, North Wales,] may appropriately be noticed. The township, consisting of 10,000 acres, was, in the year 1698, purchased by William Jones, Thomas Evans, Robert Evans, Owen Evans, Cadwallader Evans, Hugh Griffith, Edward Foulke, Robert Jones, John Hugh, and John Humphrey. Only the two last were then Friends; the others were churchmen.

These held their meetings at Robert Evans', and there Cadwallader Evans was in the practice of reading from the Bible to the people. He was going, as usual, to his brother Robert's, when, passing near the road to Friends' meeting held at John Hugh's and John Humphrey's, it seemed to be impressed on his mind "to go down and see how the Quakers do." This he mentioned to his friends at the close of his own meeting, and they all agreed to go to the Friends' meeting next time. They did so, and were so well satisfied, that they never again met in their own worship.

carefully transmit to the Council and Assembly of Pennsylvania all such orders as should be given by her Majesty, to provide for the safety and security of the colony, &c. The Assembly declined to comply with military requisitions, but they voted money for the Queen's use, leaving to her and her council the disposal of it.

These Welsh colonists, as well as those settled some years earlier at Merion, Haverford, and Radnor, were persons of excellent character, and some of them possessed of good estates. Among them were several eminent ministers, and many who proved to be very serviceable both in civil and religious society.

Ellis Pugh was a native of Dolgelly, in Wales, born in the year 1656, and convinced of Friends' principles in his eighteenth year by the ministry of John Ap-John. In his twenty-fourth year he came forth in the ministry, and afterwards emigrated to Pennsylvania, where he arrived in 1687. He was of a meek and quiet spirit, of few words, sound in judgment, and highly esteemed for his work's sake.¹

Rowland Ellis was born in Merionethshire, North Wales, in the year 1650, and united with Friends in the twenty-second year of his age. He settled with his family in Pennsylvania in the year 1697, and lived to old age, highly esteemed for his virtues and his services both in church and state. He was a minister of the gospel, and had a sound judgment in the administration of Christian discipline.²

Cadwallader Evans entered into fellowship with Friends about the year 1698, and continued steadfast through life. He received a gift in the ministry, and his communications, "though short, were instructive, lively, and manifestly attended with divine sweetness."

Evan Evans and John Evans came with their parents from Wales, and settled at Gwynedd in the

¹ Penna. Memorials, and Preface to Ellis Pugh's Salutation to the Britains.

² Penna. Memorials, p. 91.

year 1698. They were both ministers, "favoured with excellent gifts," and highly esteemed for their virtues and services.

In addition to these, William Trotter, Ann Roberts, Jane Jones, Ellen Evans, and Mary Evans are mentioned in the Book of Memorials as ministers of Gwynedd Meeting soon after its settlement.

Edward Foulke, with his wife and nine children, came from Wales and settled at Gwynedd in the year 1698.¹ His descendants are very numerous.

About the beginning of the year 1698, William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson, of Yorkshire, England, arrived in Maryland, and spent more than a year on the American continent, in the service of the gospel. They visited the meetings of Friends from Carolina to New England, and their labors were highly appreciated, being accompanied with the evidence of divine life.

Near the close of the same year, Thomas Story and Roger Gill, from England, arrived in Virginia, on a gospel mission; and after visiting and appointing meetings in that province, they proceeded through the wilderness to North Carolina. During their journey, Thomas Story made inquiry concerning the Indians in that region, and was informed that "they were just, loving, courteous (in their way), and harmless to all that are so to them; but if wronged or abused, revengeful." The immoralities found among them, "such as drunkenness, swearing, and the like," they have learned from Europeans, who make greater pretences to religion, but yet are worse in practice.² He also paid particular attention to the

¹ Comly's Miscellany, III. 369.

² T. Story's Journal, p. 156.

condition of the colored people, some of whom were slaves in Friends' families. He found several among them that had a sense of religion, and some who were convinced of the Truth as professed by Friends. He exhorted them to be inward with the Lord, in order that they might know the work of the power of God in themselves, to change their minds from a state of nature and sin to an heavenly condition.

Leaving Carolina, they returned through Virginia, and thence to Maryland, where they attended the Yearly Meeting at West River. It was a season of divine favor, though at one sitting interrupted by an Episcopal clergyman who came to oppose, and objected to the views advanced concerning predestination. The doctrines of Friends were explained by Thomas Story and Richard Johns, a minister of that meeting, after which the priest was called upon to prove that the sprinkling of infants was a gospel ordinance, and the payment of tithes a Christian duty. He attempted to reply, but was so unsuccessful in his effort that one of his hearers cried out, "We'll pay you the tobacco, being obliged thereto by law (that is, forty pounds of tobacco for every negro slave), but we'll never hear you more." Another of his hearers exclaimed, "Sir, you have broken a canon of the church: you have baptized several negroes, who being infidels, baptism ought not to have been administered to them." This charge not being answered, Thomas Story said to the people, "If those negroes were made Christians in your sense, and members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, received into the church of Christ, as your language is

at the time of sprinkling, how can you detain them any longer as slaves?"¹

The Yearly Meeting was attended by Doctor Griffith Owen, a ministering Friend from Philadelphia, and Aaron Atkinson from England, who was then on a religious mission to Friends in America.

Thomas Story and Roger Gill continued their travels and attended meetings in Pennsylvania. At Merion they had a meeting with the Welsh Friends, "several of whom," says Thomas Story, "appeared in testimony in the British tongue, which I did not understand; yet being from the word of Truth in them, as instruments moved thereby, I was as much refreshed as if it had been in my own language, which confirmed me in what I had thought before, that where the spirit is the same in preacher and hearer, and is the truth, the refreshment is chiefly thereby, rather than by the form of words or language, to all that are in the same spirit at the same time; and this is the universal language of the Spirit, known and understood in all tongues and nations, to them that are born of him. But in order to the conviction of such as know not the truth; for the begetting of faith in such as do not yet believe therein; for the opening of the understanding by the form of doctrine, and declaration of the necessary truths of the gospel and kingdom of God, intelligible language uttered under the immediate influence of the spirit of truth, is indispensably necessary; as also for the edifying of the Church, the body of Christ, in general."²

While travelling in New England, T. Story and his companion had many interesting conversations with

¹ T. Story's Journal, 175.

² Journal, p. 177.

the people and some public controversies with the clergy, in which the simple and spiritual doctrines of Friends were successfully vindicated in opposition to the popular theology.¹

At that time there was a law in Massachusetts requiring that each township should be provided with at least one able, learned, orthodox minister, who should be supported by a tax levied upon the inhabitants; but in some townships the people deeming it an imposition and an infringement of their religious liberty, evaded the law, by nominating several ministering Friends and returning their names as the choice of the people. The Friends thus chosen sometimes visited them, holding meetings among them, as they found liberty in the truth, and were very acceptable to the people; but they did it freely and without reward from man.

Thomas Story and Roger Gill, after leaving New England, in the year 1699, proceeded to Philadelphia, in order to attend the Yearly Meeting. The yellow fever was then raging in the city, and there were six, seven, and sometimes eight deaths a day for several weeks together. Some Friends at Burlington had written to Friends in Philadelphia, proposing to postpone the Yearly Meeting till cooler weather, on account of the sickness; but it was answered that until the meeting was come together they had no power to adjourn. Advice was issued, however, that such only should attend as were necessarily concerned in the service of the meeting, because of the infection and the incapacity of Friends and of the inns in town to entertain the usual number.

¹ Journal, 178 to 219; and Conversations of T. Story, by N. Richardson.

The meeting was held four days with unusual solemnity; Friends were comforted with the overshadowing of divine power, the fear of contagion was taken away, and the affairs of the church were transacted in wisdom and harmony. It was remarked that none were taken ill of the fever during the time of the meeting, either of Friends in attendance or citizens of the town. Some were taken afterwards and died, but the disease soon disappeared.

Thomas Story relates that his companion Roger Gill was taken with the fever soon after the Yearly Meeting. "Meetings being appointed," he adds, "I could not stay with him; and when I took leave of him, he told me he was pretty easy, and not very ill; yet I departed under a great load upon my spirit, and suspected the worst; for he prayed in the Yearly Meeting with great zeal and earnestness, "that the Lord would be pleased to accept his life as a sacrifice for his people, that a stop might be put to the contagion;" and I had thought in the meantime that he would be taken at his word, though no such sacrifices, in such cases, are required, only therein appeared his great love and concern for Friends, whom he had come so far to see.¹

During his illness he said, "The Lord hath sanctified my afflictions to me, and hath made my sickness as a bed of down." He took leave of his friends and sweetly passed away on the 2d of the Eighth month, 1699.

On the 1st of the Tenth month, 1699, William Penn, with his family, arrived at Chester, Pennsylvania, having come with the intention of making their permanent home in the Province. During the

¹ Journal, 225.

fifteen years that had elapsed since he left the colony he had passed through much severe affliction, having been bereaved of his first wife and his eldest son, and through false accusations brought under suspicion and arrest by the government. He endured his deep trials with equanimity, being sustained by a consciousness of rectitude and an unwavering trust in divine protection. On leaving his native land, he was furnished by the Second-day's meeting of ministering Friends in London with a certificate, which, after alluding to his eminent services in the gospel ministry, his successful efforts in pleading the cause of the oppressed, his tribulations arising from the malice of his enemies, and his meekness in forgiving them, concludes by stating that he parted with their meeting in great love, and was in true unity as an approved minister of Christ.

Another certificate from Friends of Bristol, where he had been some time sojourning, expresses their high esteem for him "as a man, a good Friend, and a true Christian." And a third certificate from Horsham Monthly Meeting contains an affectionate and beautiful tribute to his moral worth and religious character.¹

He was accompanied on his voyage by James Logan, whom he had engaged as his secretary, and who afterwards acted a distinguished part in the affairs of Pennsylvania. He was born at Lurgan, in Ireland, in the year 1674; his parents were from Scotland, where their valuable estates had been confiscated under a charge of participation in the conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie. He was endowed with rare talents, which were developed early by education,

¹ See Janney's Life of William Penn, 416.

for in his thirteenth year he had attained a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He afterwards attained sound proficiency in mathematical studies, and continued through life to cultivate literature and science. His name will often occur in the progress of this history.

Thomas Story, having accomplished his religious mission, was ready to return to England, when William Penn, who highly appreciated his abilities and integrity, solicited him to remain in Pennsylvania, and take office under his government. He consented, and was appointed a member of the Council of State, Keeper of the great seal, Master of the Rolls for recording patents of land, and one of the Commissioners of Property.¹

CHAPTER III.

THE SEPARATION OF GEORGE KEITH.

1691-1700.

GEORGE KEITH, a native of Scotland, well educated, and endowed with a superior intellect, has already been mentioned in this work as a minister and controversial writer, who was for many years highly esteemed in the Society of Friends.

About the year 1682 he removed to England, and took charge of a Friends' school that had previously been taught by Christopher Taylor, at Edmonton, in the county of Middlesex. He had not long been

¹ Journal of T. Story, p. 245.

thus engaged, when he was informed against at the quarter sessions for Hertfordshire, for preaching and teaching school without license; upon which the justices tendered him the oath, and on his refusing to take it they committed him to jail.¹

At that time, England was so much under the influence of ecclesiastical domination, that no one was permitted to teach the languages without a license from a Bishop; and, in several instances, Friends' were subjected to suffering for imparting classical knowledge without the requisite sanction. George Keith removed to London, where he hoped to follow the profession of a teacher without molestation, but there he found among the clergy the same persecuting spirit, and in the year 1684 was imprisoned five months in Newgate.²

About this time it was thought by some of his friends, that he began to decline in his faith and steadfastness, evincing impatience under persecution, and a spirit of self-importance not compatible with the meekness and humility of a disciple of Christ.

After his liberation from Newgate, he emigrated to New Jersey, where he was employed in determining the boundary line between East and West Jersey, and in 1689 he removed to Pennsylvania.³ Friends in Philadelphia being desirous to establish a school for their own children and others, in which the poor should be taught gratuitously, engaged his services at a salary of £50 per annum for the first year, in addition to the profits of the school, and the use of a dwelling-house. If he remained two years more,

¹ Gough, III. 320.

² Besse, I. 473. Bowden, II. 77; and Gough, III. 321.

³ Bowden, II. 77.

his school was to be made worth £120 per annum. He taught but one year, and was then succeeded by his usher, Thomas Makin, a classical scholar, who received a salary of only £40, with the use of a dwelling-house and school-room.

About this time, probably soon after George Keith had relinquished his school, he travelled in New England, visiting meetings and holding disputations with other religious professors. Being exceedingly addicted to argument, and having engaged in speculations on theological questions of no practical importance, he sought controversy, and is said to have indulged this propensity in a very unbecoming manner.¹

On his return to Philadelphia, he soon began to manifest in his deportment some symptoms of a dissatisfied and aspiring mind, finding fault with his brethren in religious profession, urging new regulations in the Society, and complaining that there was too great a slackness in the administration of the discipline. His proposals not being acceded to in the manner he expected, he became still more captious, charging some ministers, generally esteemed, with preaching false doctrines, although it was thought they held forth the same views formerly advocated by himself.

Being present at a meeting where William Stockdale and Thomas Fitzwater spoke as ministers, he charged them with preaching false doctrine, because "they set forth the light of Christ to be sufficient to salvation, and he declared to Thomas Fitzwater in the presence of several Friends, that he himself did not believe the light was sufficient without something

¹ Proud's History of Pennsylvania, I. 364; and Jennings's "State of the Case."

else." This being afterwards mentioned by Fitzwater, Keith complained against him to the Monthly Meeting. On investigation, it appeared by the evidence of many competent witnesses, that Fitzwater's report was true, and the Meeting exonerated him from the charge of having made a false statement; but, inasmuch as he had told it in Keith's absence, and without first seeking a reconciliation with him, they thought it proceeded from a wrong spirit; upon which Fitzwater readily acknowledged, that, though the charge was true, he had rashly mentioned it.

Keith likewise complained to the Meeting of Ministers, that Stockdale had charged him with preaching two Christs, because he preached Christ within and Christ without. Stockdale denied that the words were so spoken, and alleged against Keith, that, besides calling him an ignorant heathen, he had used several other vilifying expressions.¹ The meeting decided that Stockdale was censurable for the words he uttered, which were offensive to many sound and tender Friends; but that George Keith's manner of proceeding against him was not pursuant to gospel order, inasmuch as he had not in the first place dealt with him in a private and friendly manner, nor could they hold Keith excusable for his indecent expressions towards Stockdale, who was his senior both in years and religious experience.

There can be no doubt that Keith had forsaken the great fundamental principle of the Society of Friends: the universality of the light of Christ or divine grace, and its sufficiency, if obeyed, to effect the salvation of mankind. At a subsequent monthly meeting he was accused by Fitzwater and Stockdale of having, on

¹ Smith's Hist., in Hazard's Reg., VI. 242.

this point, departed from the doctrine of Friends, and their charge was supported by the testimony of several others. Keith objected to their evidence on the ground that they were prejudiced against him, and his party made an effort to obtain the condemnation of his accusers, but without success. At the close of the meeting, after the clerk and some others had withdrawn, Keith and his party remained behind, and in an irregular manner adjourned, to meet the next morning at the school-house. This adjourned meeting, composed of Keith and his adherents, proceeded to condemn Thomas Fitzwater and William Stockdale for holding unsound doctrines and falsely charging Keith therewith, and a minute was made requiring them to desist from their ministry until they had acknowledged their errors. This minute, Keith and his party desired to have recorded in the monthly-meeting book, but the demand was resisted, and at Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, which was held soon after, it was decided that the adjourned meeting at the school-house was not a true Monthly Meeting of Friends, and therefore its proceedings were null and void.¹

Another complaint, made by Keith against the Quarterly and Monthly meetings, was, that they refused to sanction the book called "The Christian Faith of the People of God called Quakers, in Rhode Island," and the printing of it by William Bradford of Philadelphia, which had been sanctioned by the adjourned meeting at the school-house. In Keith's book, called "The Plea of the Innocent," he asserts

¹ Jennings's State of the Case, p. 3. Ellwood's Epistle, pp. 25, 26, 27. Bowden's Hist., II. 80.

that hundreds among Friends see the necessity for a confession of Faith. He also states that he knew of none given forth *by the body of Friends*, and challenges the production of it, if there be one, concerning all necessary things. He admits that particular accounts had been given forth by particular Friends, but none *by the body of Friends* or any *Yearly Meeting*, except the Rhode Island sheet, which he says, "Friends here opposed."

In Thomas Ellwood's Epistle, concerning Keith and his party, he opposes their notion of *outward bonds* of communion, and quotes a passage from Barclay's "Apology," showing that, although the Friends were gathered together into the belief of certain principles and doctrines, by the mere force of truth upon the understanding and its power and influence upon their hearts, yet they had also a more inward and invisible bond, "to wit, the life of righteousness."

The epistle of Friends in England concluded with an earnest and tender exhortation to cultivate a spirit of charity and moderation; it had however but little effect upon Keith and his adherents, for they being actuated by party zeal and bigotry, were more disposed to look out for occasions of offence than to seek a reconciliation with their brethren. At a subsequent meeting, Keith openly avowed the doctrines he had been charged with, and which he had before endeavored to conceal. Thomas Lloyd told him, on behalf of himself and others whom he had accused, that they believed all things written in the Scriptures concerning our Saviour's birth, death and resurrection, to which he hastily replied, "But is it absolutely and indispensably necessary to all and every one of mankind to believe it? For if thou

dost not so believe, I will not own thee as a Christian, though thou mayest be a devout heathen.”¹ At another meeting he called Thomas Lloyd an impudent man and a pitiful governor, asking him why he did not send him to jail, telling him his back had long itched to be whipt, and that he would print and expose them all over Europe.

His railing accusations against individuals and meetings continued to increase in virulence, until at length he charged a meeting of ministers with being come together to cloak heresies and deceit, and that there were more damnable heresies and doctrines of devils among the Quakers than among any other profession of Protestants. This being minuted and read to him, he did not disavow it; and he told the committee appointed to lay before him the injury he was doing the cause of Truth, that “he trampled upon the judgment of the meeting as dirt.”

The Meeting of Ministers in Philadelphia having in vain labored with George Keith in order to convince him of his unchristian conduct, and to effect a reconciliation, at length published a declaration of their disunity with him. In this document, after describing his turbulent behavior and railing accusations, they say: “We have offered in several meetings for his satisfaction, and to prevent strife among us, and for preserving the peace of the church, to deliver a confession of our Christian faith, in the words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Author of the Christian faith, and in the words of the apostles and disciples, his faithful followers; or we would declare our belief in testimonies of our ancient Friends and faithful brethren, who were generally received

¹ Gough, III. 330. Smith, Chap. VIII.

by us ; or we would concur and agree upon a confession and have it transmitted for the approbation of the Yearly Meeting here or the Yearly Meeting at London ; yea, it was offered unto him at the same time that a confession concerning the main matters of controversy should be given out of a book of his own ; but all was slighted as insufficient." * * * *
“ We are hereby brought under a religious constraint, and to prevent other meetings of being further injured by him, to give forth this testimony, strained as it were from us by his many and violent provocations, viz.: That we cannot own him in such ungodly speeches and disorderly behaviour, or in his separate meetings, and that we disown the same as proceeding from a wrong spirit, which brings into disorder inwardly, and leads into distraction and confusion outwardly. And until he condemn and decline the same, we cannot receive him in his public ministry, and would have him cease to offer his gift as such among us, or elsewhere among Friends, till he be reconciled to his offended brethren. And as to those few of our brethren in the gift of the ministry who are gone out with George Keith into his uncharitable and dividing spirit, (the miserable effects whereof many of us have sufficiently known in Old England and other parts,) our judgment is, that whilst they continue such, they become unqualified to the work of the gospel, as degenerating from the guidance of God's blessed and peaceable spirit in their hearts, from whence proceeds the effectual New Testament ministry, and being turned from the peaceable fruits thereof, are gone to uncharity and contention. And now all you who have walked in fellowship and communion with us, and are drawn aside through incon-

sideration or otherwise into the spirit of separation and prejudice against our meetings, orderly established, and wherein we have been often mutually refreshed together, we cannot but in the fear of God, and in love to your souls, admonish you also of the insecurity of your present state, and that therein we cannot have unity with you, and unless you return from under that spirit, dryness and barrenness from the Lord will be your reward.”¹

This declaration or testimony, dated the 20th of the Fourth month, 1692, was signed by twenty-eight members of the Meeting of Ministers. The meeting directed that it should not be published until Keith had an opportunity of hearing it read to him, and to such others as he approved of, and that a copy should be prepared for him. This he refused until the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, which was held four or five days after, and there, by his consent, it was read to him, and a copy given him the following day. The testimony of disownment was doubtless adopted by the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, and published by its authority.² It was also sent to other monthly meetings, as a matter in which all were interested, and was adopted by them

Abington Monthly Meeting, held at Frankford on the 27th of Fourth month, 1692, adopted the follow-

¹ Smith's Hist. of Pennsylvania, Hazard's Reg., VI. 280. This declaration is signed by Thomas Lloyd, John Willsford, Nicholas Waln, Wm. Watson, George Maris, Thomas Duckett, Joshua Fearne, Evan Morris, Richd. Walter, John Symcock, Griffith Owen, John Bowen, Henry Willis, Paul Saunders, John Blounston, Wm. Cooper, Thomas Thackary, Wm. Biles, Saml. Jennings, John Delevel, Wm. Yearly, Joseph Kirkbride, Walter Fawcitt, Hugh Roberts, Robt. Owen, Wm. Walker, John Lynam, George Gray.

² Gough, III. 333; and Smith's Hist., Ch. IX.

ing minute: "A paper of condemnation given forth by a public meeting of Friends at Philadelphia against George Keith and his separate company was this day read in our Monthly Meeting." In this instance the meeting was not unanimous, and Keith asserted that the "far greater part of those present forbade the reading of it;"¹ but Samuel Jennings, in his book called "The State of the Case," replied that although a party in the meeting was against the reading, yet it might easily be proved that "the far greater part pressed and desired it."

Bucks Quarterly Meeting, held the 17th of Sixth month, 1692, received the testimony against George Keith, and approved it.

Separate meetings were set up by Keith and his adherents at Philadelphia, Burlington, Neshaminy, and other places, in which they assumed the appellation of "Christian Quakers and Friends." They issued a counter testimony, signed by twenty-eight of them, disowning all those concerned in denying George Keith; and soon after another paper, called an "Expostulation with Samuel Jennings, Thomas Lloyd, and the rest of the twenty-eight unjust judges and signers of the paper of condemnation against George Keith and his friends." These papers being drawn up with much adroitness, had a considerable influence upon many Friends, and a wide schism ensued. "Father and son, husband and wife, friends and relations, that had usually worshipped together, though still professors of the same faith in the main, were now seen going to different places of worship."²

George Keith and Thomas Budd having, in a pub

¹ Plea of the Innocent.

² Smith's Hist., Chap. VIII.

lication called the "Plea of the Innocent," brought defamatory accusations against Samuel Jennings, a judge of the Provincial Court, were presented by the Grand Jury, and being brought to trial were fined five pounds each; but the fines were never exacted.

George Keith and his adherents wrote and caused to be printed a paper styled, "An appeal from the twenty-eight judges to the spirit of true judgment in all faithful Friends called Quakers, that meet at this Yearly Meeting at Burlington, the Seventh month, 1692." But instead of giving a friendly notice of this appeal, they posted it in various public places, about nine days before the Yearly Meeting. When the time for Yearly Meeting was come, Keith and his party met in the court-house, whence they sent to Friends assembled for worship, a paper in the nature of a challenge, requiring a hearing of their appeal. This paper was introduced by one of the party climbing up to a window of the meeting-house, (although the door was open;) and standing there with his hat on, he read a part of it, while Thomas Janney was engaged in vocal supplication.

The morning meeting of ministers had sent a written notice to George Keith, that in case he had any thing to propose to that Yearly Meeting, either as a friend or opposer, he should have a suitable hearing and answer, provided he would wait till the day appointed for business, which was the last day of the meeting; the early part of the week being usually occupied with meetings for worship. This proposition he affected to consider an evasion, and he gave notice for the people to meet him the next day at Friends' Meeting-House, after the meeting for worship was over, at which time they accordingly met.

Some persons were deputed by the ministering Friends to acquaint George Keith and the people with him, that they were willing to hear him the following day,—being the day appointed for business,—but he would not listen to them, and immediately withdrew to the court-house. There he and his party drew up a testimony against Friends, signed it that night, and afterwards put it in print as the judgment of their Yearly Meeting, signed by Robert Turner, Griffith Jones, and others.¹ After this, he still persisted in his vituperations, calling Friends in their religious meetings, hypocrites, snakes, vipers, bloodhounds, and other abusive epithets.

The Yearly Meeting held at Burlington, the 7th of the Seventh month, 1692, confirmed the judgment against George Keith, and issued an epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly meetings, in which, after alluding to the proceeding in his case, it declares: “We find it our duty to join with our brethren in their testimony against that spirit of reviling, railing, lying, slandering, and falsely accusing, which hath risen and acted notoriously in George Keith and his adherents, which hath led them into a mischievous and hurtful separation. And we do hereby declare that we have not nor cannot have unity in spirit with any of them, until they return and repent of their evil aforesaid. Therefore, dear friends, all you that love Sion’s peace and concord amongst brethren, and regard your everlasting welfare, beware of being taken or defiled by that spirit; and forasmuch as contention and strife is its food, avoid as much as may be all contests and debates with those that

¹ Smith’s Hist., Chap. IX.

are in it.”¹ This epistle was signed by two hundred and thirteen Friends, among which are the names of the most eminent colonists of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Within a few months after the disownment of George Keith, his adherents had grown to be a considerable people as to numbers. Several of them had been well approved as ministers, which contributed to strengthen the hands of the others. They held meetings for worship at stated times, in Philadelphia, Burlington, and other places, numbering in all about fifteen meetings.² In Burlington they built a meeting-house, and in Philadelphia they set up a meeting for discipline. George Keith, George Hutchinson, Thomas Budd, and others, officiated as ministers among them.³ They adopted a creed, called themselves Christian Quakers, and issued a testimony against the main body of the Society of Friends, as being unsound in the Faith.

In addition to the judgment of the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, those for New England, Maryland, and Long Island gave forth testimonies condemnatory of Keith and his adherents.⁴

In the year 1694, George Keith, accompanied by his friend Thomas Budd, went to England, and brought his case before the Yearly Meeting of London. Although that body did not claim appellate jurisdiction over the yearly meetings in America, it consented to examine the case, which was probably done in accordance with the wishes or by consent of Friends in Pennsylvania.

¹ Smith's Hist., Chap. IX.

² Hist. Acct. of Soc. for Propagating the Gospel, &c.

³ Smith's Hist. Chap. ix.

⁴ Bowden, II. 94.

The disadvantages that would result from the practice of allowing appeals from meetings in foreign lands, to be made to London Yearly Meeting, subsequently claimed the attention of Thomas Story, as stated in his Journal.¹ He says the Yearly Meeting of London "would be thereby rendered as a stage of contention by every unruly spirit who could make a party and wrong interest in and among such as himself; and would render London as a kind of head of the churches; but the proceedings of Rome remain in too glaring characters for any men of knowledge, truth, and friends to the rights and privileges of mankind to submit to, or promote any such thing in this Society now, or in the succession of ages."

A full account of the case of George Keith was sent over in an epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and Samuel Jennings and Thomas Duckett, from America, being in London, they were able to confront George Keith and Thomas Budd. In addition to their evidence, the meeting had the testimony of Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson, just returned from a religious mission to America, during which they had a full opportunity to witness the turbulence of Keith, and the deplorable effects of his apostasy.²

The letters and epistles forwarded by Friends in America, and the various publications of George Keith relating to the schism, were read in the meeting. These, together with Keith's oral defence, and Samuel Jennings's reply, occupied six days; and on the seventh day, the meeting entered upon the con-

¹ Newcastle Edition, 1747, p. 726.

² Journals of T. Wilson and J. Dickenson; and Gough's Hist.

sideration of the case. After much deliberation, and again hearing Keith in his defence, the meeting appointed a committee to prepare a document embodying its judgment, which being produced at another sitting was adopted. In this paper, the conduct of George Keith in printing and publishing on the subject was condemned, and he was advised "either to call in his books, or at least to publish something to clear the Society from the gross errors he had charged upon a few, and to retract the bitter language in them." In reference to the separation, it states, that the blame "lay at George Keith's door," and that he ought to use his utmost endeavors to remove it by promoting a reconciliation. The course pursued by the magistrates of Philadelphia towards Keith and his companions did not meet the approval of the Yearly Meeting. "It had been better they had not meddled with it, but quietly have borne it and passed it by." * * * "And lastly, this our solemn meeting in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, doth exhort and charge all them that have separated, to meet together with other Friends in the love of God, and humbly to wait for his power to repair the breach, reconcile and reunite them in his tender love; and earnestly supplicates the God of all our mercies to remove all prejudices and offences out of their minds, and to effect this good end which our souls have deeply and in great humility and brokenness of heart, travailed for in this meeting, and are still in travail for, that the great reproach may be removed, and God's truth exalted, and his church's peace restored and preserved." ¹

¹ A True Account of the Proceedings, Sense, and Advice, of the People called Quakers. London, 1694.

The judgment and advice of the meeting being delivered to George Keith in writing, was soon after printed by one of his party, with invidious reflections, and Keith himself resorted to the press to vindicate his cause, seeking to produce a schism among Friends in England, as he had done in America. His publications were answered by Thomas Ellwood, George Whitehead and Richard Claridge, and his efforts to found a party met with but little success. At the succeeding Yearly Meeting in London, the conduct of George Keith was again taken into consideration; he was allowed to read a written defence, and on his withdrawal the meeting determined with unanimity to make a minute of disownment against him.

He now set up a separate meeting at Turner's Hall, in London, which at first was attended by a crowded audience attracted thither by curiosity. He published a challenge to William Penn, George Whitehead and others, to attend his meeting, and answer charges he should make, on a certain day, against the Society of Friends; but they not being disposed to dispute with him, drew up their reasons in writing and sent them to be read there. He soon after wrote and published a narrative of his proceedings, which was answered by Thomas Ellwood, in a manner satisfactory to Friends.

About this time the Society was attacked with great virulence by an anonymous writer, whose book was entitled, "The Snake in the Grass." The author was found to be Charles Leslie, a son of an Irish bishop. He was of a bitter persecuting spirit, and wrote in the most scurrilous manner against Jews, Roman Catholics, Socinians, Quakers, and others. He abused Archbishop Tillotson, and having embraced the doctrine of the divine right of kings, he

entered into a traitorous correspondence with the Pretender. He joined in the rebellion of 1715, and on the defeat of the Pretender fled for his life and took refuge in Italy. This scurrilous and malignant writer was thought by Thomas Ellwood to be a coadjutor of George Keith, both being actuated by a desire to cast odium upon the Society of Friends and very unscrupulous as to the means of effecting it.

The "Snake in the Grass" was answered by George Whitehead, who published in 1697 "An Antidote against the Venom of the Snake."

A second edition of Leslie's book, enlarged, being published, it was answered by Joseph Wyeth of London, in 1699, under the title of "Auguis Flagellatus, or a Switch for the Snake." Leslie still persevered in his hostility, and published, in the year 1700, "A Defence of the Snake in the Grass," and in 1702, "A Reply to Auguis Flagellatus." These envenomed attacks upon the reputation of the Society consisted chiefly of misrepresentations, garbled quotations from Friends' books, and slanders that have long since passed into oblivion.

George Keith, having ingratiated himself with the English clergy, was, in the year 1700, ordained a priest in the Established Church. About two years after his ordination, he went to America as a missionary in the service of "The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts." His professed object was to "gather Quakers from Quakerism to the mother church.¹ During this tour he met with John Richardson and Samuel Bownas, ministering Friends from England, both of whom he challenged to meet

¹ J. Richardson's Journal, p. 107.

him in public disputations. The former of those Friends answered him effectually, the latter declined the challenge as being unworthy of his notice.

A few of the adherents of George Keith in Pennsylvania and New Jersey followed him to the Episcopal church. Some returned and became reconciled to the Society of Friends; but many continued in the Separation. "These, by resigning themselves as they said to the guidance of Scripture, began to find water in the commission, *Matt.* xxviii. 19; bread and wine in the command, *Matt.* xxvi. 26, 30; community of goods, love-feasts, kiss of charity, right hand of fellowship, anointing the sick for recovery, and washing the disciples' feet, in other texts. The Keithian Quakers ended in a kind of transformation into Keithian Baptists. They were called Quaker Baptists, because they still retained the language, dress and manners of Quakers. But they ended in another kind of transformation, into Seventh-day Baptists, though some went among the First-day Baptists and other societies."¹ Such was the end of the sect which assumed the appellation of Christian Quakers. On the return of George Keith to England he was inducted into the rectory of Elbarton, where he officiated as a priest of the Established Church. "His income was good, but he was embroiled in angry disputes with his parishioners, and evinced an unusual degree of clerical rapacity, and descended to great meanness in exacting his tenths from the most indigent, and on produce too of the most insignificant description. He remarked, shortly before his death, which took place in 1714, that "He did believe if

¹ Edwards, quoted by Bowden, II. 102.

God had taken him out of the world when he went among the Quakers and in that profession, it had been well with him.”¹

Although the ground of George Keith’s disownment was not his doctrines, but his turbulence and slanders, nevertheless there was a marked difference between the doctrines he promulgated, in the latter part of his life, and those generally held by the Society of Friends.

A brief summary of his views, extracted from his Answer to Barclay’s Apology, is here subjoined.

1. In answer to Barclay’s assertion that “the object of faith and revelation of the knowledge of God to every true Christian is *inward, immediate, and objective,*” Keith denies “that it is so immediate as to be given to every true Christian without the External Word [the Scriptures] and all outward means of instruction.”² He maintains that immediate revelation has ceased, but the Holy Spirit operates upon the hearts of the faithful through the Scriptures and other means of grace.

2. Keith held the doctrine of original sin in its utmost extent, affirming that “the faculty of the will in infant children is corrupted,” and “doth necessarily denominate them sinful.” That all are, at birth, “defiled by sin and *guilty,* by the original defilement conveyed by our first parents.”³

“As for the infant children of *believing parents,*” he says, “we are warranted from Scripture to believe that they who die in infancy die in a state of salvation, being called holy. 1 *Cor.* vii. 14. But for the

¹ Gough, IV. 147. Bowden, II. 104. Proud, I. 370.

² The Standard of the Quakers Examined. London, 1702. p. 61.

³ The Standard, &c., pp. 161, 162.

infant children of infidels dying in infancy, that came into the world both with the guilt and filth of original sin upon them, we are to leave them to God's uncovenanted mercies, as well as adult persons who have lived as honestly and uprightly as they could, in conformity with the law or light within them."¹

3. He objects to Barclay's Sixth Proposition, which teaches that this "evangelical and saving light," being given to all men, they who obey it are saved by it, even though they may have no knowledge of Christ's coming and sufferings in the flesh; and hence it is concluded that virtuous heathens, both before and since the Messiah's advent, have been saved.

In opposition to these views, Keith maintains, "That the doctrine of our Saviour's death and sufferings (together with the other doctrines delivered in the holy Scriptures, so necessarily connected with it that it cannot be understood without them) is essential to Christianity, and absolutely necessary to our eternal salvation, in some measure to be known and believed by us."² He further declares that Barclay "is very erroneous to affirm and argue that heathens are saved by obedience to the light within, without all knowledge and faith of Christ's manhood, and of his death and sufferings, so making the doctrine of his death and sufferings no essential of Christianity."³

4. According to Barclay, "this saving spiritual light is the gospel." * * * * "For the gospel is not a mere declaration of good things, being the power of God unto salvation to all those that believe. 1 *Rom.* i. 16."

¹ The Standard, &c., p. 159.

² *Ibid.* p. 180.

³ *Ibid.* p. 208.

This view is controverted by Keith, who maintains that the gospel is the *doctrine* of salvation by Christ Jesus. "St. Paul," he says, "called the doctrine or doctrinal truth that he preached, the gospel, and that gospel the power of God to salvation, because it was a powerful and efficacious doctrine, by the power of the Spirit of God, for the conversion and salvation of such as believe it."

In his criticism on the Apology, Keith upholds the commonly received doctrines of original sin, the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, and imputed righteousness. He also embraced the doctrines of the Church of England concerning the sacraments.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND.

1700-1710.

AT the Yearly Meeting of London, in the year 1700, reports received from the quarterly meetings in England and Wales, and epistles from Friends in Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Bermudas, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, represented the condition of the Society as prosperous, and gave cheering accounts of the increase of Christ's spiritual government. Information was received that Friends at Dantzic were under suffering for their religious testimonies, and that those residing at Frederickstadt were exposed to danger from the ravages of war. The Epistle from London Yearly Meeting alludes to

the care still extended by Friends of Great Britain for the redemption of their brethren held captives in the Barbary states, and that the king had agreed for the ransom of all the English captives there. The epistle thus continues: "Although now, as heretofore, Friends have acquainted the government that we intend to redeem our Friends at our own charge, nevertheless Friends are so far willing to encourage a public collection for the said service, that when the collectors shall come with the briefs to Friends' houses, we hope Friends will be inclined to extend their charity, in common with their neighbors, towards the redemption of the other English captives."

"Concerning the present sufferings of Friends in this nation. First, by imprisonments;—Notwithstanding ten have been discharged since last year, forty remain prisoners, mostly for tithes, by priests and impropiators. Secondly, by goods taken away;—The accounts now received amount to above £4700, most of which is on the account of tithes."

The London Epistle of 1702 mentions the redemption of all the Friends held captive in Barbary, being seven in number, including one from Pennsylvania; and the epistles issued during the ten years succeeding, mention continued distrains for ecclesiastical demands, amounting to more than £4000 per annum, while the number of Friends imprisoned on the same account ranges from twelve to forty persons.

About the beginning of this century, Samuel Bownas had become prominent as a minister in the Society, concerning whose life and religious labors some account may appropriately be given. He was born in Westmoreland, within the compass of Strickland Monthly Meeting, about the year 1676. Being

left an orphan, he was in his thirteenth year placed with an uncle who treated him unkindly. Afterwards he was apprenticed to Samuel Parat, a blacksmith, and a very worthy Friend, with whose family he generally attended meeting. He was, for some years, careless and indifferent about his spiritual condition, but being present at a meeting attended by Ann Wilson, she uttered these words with much power: "A traditional Quaker, thou comest to meeting as thou went from it the last time, and goest from it as thou came to it, but art no better for thy coming; what wilt thou do in the end?" This was so appropriate to his condition, that like Saul he was smitten to the ground and cried in secret, "Lord, what shall I do to help it?" It was then he received an inward intimation, to this effect, "Look unto me and I will help thee." His feelings being deeply affected, he shed many tears, and from that time became an earnest seeker for the Truth. He longed for the time to come for their religious meeting, and when there, his mind was soon fixed and stayed upon God, experiencing a degree of enjoyment before unknown, and having his spiritual faculties so quickened and enlightened, that he seemed another man. He saw clearly that he had hitherto been contented with a mere form of religion derived from education, being brought up in plainness of dress and address, which, though good in its place, did not make him a true Christian; for there is no other door into the true fold but by the Spirit of Christ.

It was not long before he was called to the gospel ministry, being then in his twentieth year. When the term of his apprenticeship was nearly expired he went, with his master's consent, to visit some meet-

ings in Lancashire and Yorkshire, being accompanied on the journey by Isaac Alexander, a young minister highly esteemed. During this visit Samuel Bownas was deeply tried with poverty of spirit, inasmuch that he was almost ready to conclude he was mistaken in his mission. As they went on their way, he said to his companion, "Oh, that I were in my master's work again, and favored with my former enjoyments of divine life, how acceptable it would be!" He afterwards found that this state of poverty was of great service to qualify him to speak to others who were in the like condition, and that the various trials he met with were permitted or ordered by Divine wisdom in order to promote his spiritual growth and establishment in a true living ministry.

With the same companion he afterwards went on foot to visit the meetings of Friends in Scotland, having first consulted some of the elders at home, who furnished them with certificates of concurrence.

Samuel Bownas having, according to the testimony of his friends, attained to great eminence as a minister of the gospel, the following remarks from his Journal may be profitable to others engaged in the same line:

"I found I often hurt myself by speaking too fast and too loud, against which I endeavoured to guard as much as I could; but oft when I felt my heart filled with the power of divine love, I was apt to forget myself and break out; I found it proper therefore to stop, and after a short pause, with some secret short prayer for preservation, and that I might be supplied with matter and power that might do the hearers good. Thus I went on and grew sensibly in experience and judgment; and became in some small

degree skilful in dividing the word. I had been straitened in my mind respecting searching the Scriptures, lest I should thereby be tempted to lean upon them, and by gathering either manna or sticks on the Sabbath-day, death would ensue; but at last I had freedom to examine the text, and to consider where the strength of the argument lay, both before and after the words I had repeated: by which conduct I saw I was often very defective, in not laying hold of the most suitable part to confirm the subject or matter I was upon, and this conduct did me great service. But then another difficulty lay in my way, which was this: some former openings would come up, which I durst not meddle with, lest by so doing I should become formal and lose that spring which I had always depended upon; but the Lord was pleased to show me that old matter opened in new life was always new, and that it was the renewing of the spirit alone which made it new, and that the principal thing I was to guard against was, not in my own will to endeavour to bring in old openings, without the aid of the Spirit; and that if I stood single and resigned to the divine will, I should be preserved from all errors of this nature.”¹

Another portion of his religious experience is worthy of consideration. His intimate friend, Isaac Alexander, while attending the General Meeting at Bristol, had, in strong and positive terms, prophesied of a great mortality which the Lord was about to bring as a judgment upon the people for their pride and wickedness. Some of the elders thought proper to examine him concerning this extraordinary mes-

¹ S. Bownas's Life, p. 18.

sage, and not being satisfied, advised him to return home, which he did under great trouble. He was received by his friends in much love and tenderness, and continued to be highly esteemed for his gift in the ministry. When this affair came to the knowledge of Samuel Bownas, he took it much to heart, and a concern came upon him to go to London with a similar message. Accordingly he went to that city, and called together some of the most experienced of the brethren, to wit, James Dickenson, John Bowstead, Peter Fearon, Benjamin Bangs, Robert Haydock, and some others, to whom he gave a plain and honest account how it came upon him, which was not till after he had heard how his former companion had returned home from Bristol. "The Friends," he says, "found there was a strong sympathy between us, and very justly supposed, *that* to be the moving, if not the only cause of the concern I was under, and very tenderly advised me to keep it in my own breast, till I found how the Lord would order it; for, if he was the Author, I should find more of it; if not, it would die of course. But if I found it grew upon me, I should let any of them know it, and they would consider what steps to take in a matter of so great consequence, as going forth in a prophecy of that nature. And the fatherly kindness they showed me was very affecting to me, one or the other of them making it their business to visit me every day; and, as they said, I found the concern went off, and I became easy without publishing it.¹

In the intervals between his religious engagements, Samuel Bownas wrought at his trade as a blacksmith,

¹ Life of S. Bownas, p. 24.

and sometimes, in summer, was employed in mowing or reaping. In the Eighth month, 1701, he set out for Scotland, being accompanied by Isaac Thompson, a young man, who had an acceptable gift in the ministry.

On their journey they met with James Dickenson, then on his way to Ireland, and he accompanied them to Dumfries, where he preached in the street to a quiet and attentive audience. He then parted with them, and they proceeded on their way visiting meetings until they came to Ury, where they attended the Quarterly Meeting, and “found Friends in a sweet frame of spirit, being in dear unity one with another.”

At Jedburgh they were imprisoned in the Tolbooth for a short time, but it was the means of attracting an immense audience in the street, to whom, after their liberation, they preached the gospel with freedom and acceptance. Soon after Samuel Bownas had returned from this journey, his thoughts were turned towards a visit to America, which will hereafter be noticed.

On the death of King William the Third, in 1702, Anne, the second daughter of King James II., who was married to Prince George of Denmark, succeeded to the throne. As usual on such occasions, addresses of congratulation were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, and Friends deemed it their duty to testify their fidelity to the Queen. Their address, presented by George Whitehead, alluded to the late King William as a ruler, “whom God made the instrument of much good to these nations; a prince who indeed desired to be a father of his people, and as such did, by his great example, as well

as precept, endeavour to unite them in interest and affection, and promoted and confirmed a legal liberty to tender consciences, by all which his reign was adorned, to the renown of his memory." After expressing their fidelity and affection for the Queen, they express a hope that her reign may be long and glorious, and that in the end she may attain to eternal happiness.

The Queen having subsequently expressed her resolution to maintain the act of toleration, a second address was prepared by Friends at their next Yearly Meeting, which was presented by William Penn, and, like the first, was graciously received with assurances of continued protection.

In the early part of this century a company of ranters, in the county of Cumberland, began to disturb the meetings of Friends, and their disorderly conduct has probably been without a parallel, both in violence and duration.

It was commenced by Isaac Pearson, who, for indecent conduct towards some women, was disowned, in the year 1706, by the Monthly Meeting of Beckfoot, in the parish of Holm.¹

After his disownment, he continued to attend the meetings for worship, in which his confused attempts at preaching and praying were burdensome to Friends, but he was suffered to remain unmolested.

At length he began to obtrude himself into the meetings for discipline, demanding reparation and satisfaction for the pretended injustice he had sustained in being denied religious communion. He was so turbulent and took up so much time with his "ribaldry," that it was concluded he should be denied

¹ Thomas Story's Journal, p. 469.

admittance. Some other attendants of the meeting, who had been his secret supporters, now came out openly in his defence, and pursued the same course of disturbance, after which it was thought useless to keep him out any longer.

The Quarterly Meeting being appealed to, a committee was appointed in the case, but the ranters refused to meet them, and became more and more abusive, "disturbing the meetings for worship in an unprecedented manner, and treating individuals with outrage and insult."¹ The number of disturbers had now increased to six, namely, Isaac, Job, and Lot Pearson, William, John, and Alice Robinson. After enduring their outrageous conduct four years, the Friends, being apprehensive that the meeting would be laid waste, concluded to apply to the civil power for protection.

At the time of their Quarterly Meeting in the city of Carlisle, the Recorder, on their application, sent persons to the meeting to observe the conduct of the ranters, who were found "shouting, hollowing and rapping," to the great disturbance of the congregation. Two of the Pearsons were committed to prison for want of bail for their appearance at the Quarter Sessions, but William Robinson, on giving bail, was set at liberty.

At the Sessions they were convicted of wilfully disturbing a congregation, for which they were sentenced to fine and imprisonment. Alice Robinson, being at liberty, kept up their system of annoyance for some time, but at length, for some other offence, was taken into custody by the civil power, and sent to prison with her colleagues.²

¹ Coll. of Testimonies. London, 1760, page 47.

² Outrageous Apostates Exposed, &c. England, 1718.

It does not appear how long they were imprisoned, but the remedy resorted to was not effectual; for the ranters continued during two generations to annoy the meetings of Friends in that county.

In the Journal of Thomas Story, under date 1715, we find the following account of a meeting in Cumberland. "The meeting was large, there being Friends from divers parts, but not fully gathered, till John Robinson and his wife began in the meeting with hideous and bedlam noises, and false accusations against Friends in general, to make exceeding great disturbance; accusing me also as a persecutor like Bonner, before I said anything in the meeting." * * * * "Henry Atkinson stood up first to speak, and at the same time close crowding by him, stood this woman, the most hardened and impudent I ever saw in human shape. As soon as he began, she set up her noise, which was very loud, and in the same time he uttered every sentence, she also uttered these words, 'Persecuting Quakers', with some others at some times, containing reproaches against some of the magistrates by name, so that much of what he said could not be heard. When he had done, I stood up; and though I had not given her the least provocation, she served me the same way; but my voice being stronger than hers, and finding out the time she kept in her words, I spoke in the intervals of hers, and so disappointed her in some degree, being rather better heard than Henry. And Richard Wait, praying towards the conclusion of the meeting, she roared out all the time, in the same strain of wicked, diabolical language as before; but, notwithstanding all the rage of Satan, in these his fuming instruments, the Lord's blessed presence was with us, and in the main we had a good meeting."

At a subsequent meeting, disturbed in the same manner, Thomas Story informed the audience of the course that had been pursued by Friends towards these ranters, and justified a resort to the civil power for protection against their long continued annoyance.¹

All the methods adopted for restraining these disturbers were unavailing, for it appears by the Journal of John Griffith, that when he visited the meeting at Holme in the year 1748, he found the Pearsons had been succeeded by others in the same spirit, one of whom, a woman, spoke several times with much rancor. He observes, however, that Friends in the blessed enjoyment of the powerful truth had been in a good degree preserved, and he thought it the liveliest meeting thereabouts, having five or six ministers belonging to it.

It is truly wonderful that an annoyance so distressing, continued for half a century, did not lay waste the meeting. The fidelity of Friends, under circumstances so painful, should be remembered by succeeding generations, as an incentive to persevere, under every discouragement, in maintaining meetings for divine worship.

In a testimony of the Quarterly Meeting of Cumberland, concerning Thomas Wilkinson of Beckfoot, who died in 1731, it is said: "He passed through many and great exercises by the Pearsons, and bore a faithful testimony against them and the spirit they appeared in, at the meeting to which he belonged. As his dwelling was near the meeting-house, he suffered many abuses by them, in their malice and rage; but that which was most afflicting, was the

¹ Journal of T. Story, p. 468.

danger the meeting was in, of being laid waste by them, under which affliction this our Friend stood firm, himself and family being instrumental to uphold the meeting, and were a great strength to Friends." In his last illness, some Friends sitting by him, he said: "He had no trouble in his mind for anything he had done concerning them, they being rebellious against God and his people." Thomas Wilkinson was a serviceable minister of the gospel, and an exemplary Christian. For non-payment of tithes, he suffered imprisonment at Carlisle and in the Fleet at London sixteen years.

During this decade, the Society of Friends in Great Britain was called to mourn the loss of several of its most valued members, whose pious lives and peaceful deaths gave evidence that their affections were not placed on temporal things; "they looked for a better country, that is, an heavenly."

1. Margaret Fox, the widow of George Fox, has frequently been mentioned in this history, as a nursing mother in the Church, who suffered much, and labored faithfully in the righteous cause. She was born in the year 1614; her parents were of honorable repute in Lancashire, and her father, John Askew, was of an ancient family and estate, and a pious, charitable man. Although ten years older than her second husband, she survived him eleven years, during which she continued to reside at Swarthmore Hall. She was a sympathizer with the afflicted, and a benefactor to the poor; a gospel minister highly esteemed, and a faithful elder in promoting Christian discipline. She was preserved in a good understanding to the last, and in the time of her sickness she was in a sweet frame of mind. A friend visiting her,

who had been acquainted with her upwards of forty-five years, she said: "The Lord is with me, and I am with the Lord; and in him only will I trust, and commit all to the divine providence of the Lord, both concerning my children and grandchildren, and all things they do enjoy from him, both in spirituals and temporals; who is the God of all the mercies and blessings to his people throughout all generations; to him be glorious praises forever, amen." At another time she said, "Oh! my sweet Lord, into thy holy bosom do I commit myself freely, and not desiring to live in this troublesome, painful world, it is all nothing to me, for my maker is my husband." * * * * "Come, Lord, I am freely given up to thy will." A little before she departed, she said to one by her, "Rachel, take me in thy arms; I am in peace." She departed this life, at Swarthmore Hall, the 23d day of the Second month, 1702, being near the eighty-eighth year of her age.¹

2. Ambrose Rigge has been noticed as one of the early proselytes to the doctrines of Friends, who suffered a long and grievous imprisonment for his religious testimony. He lived to a good old age, adorning the doctrine he preached to others by a life consistent with godliness. In the time of his last sickness he said, "I am going where the weary are at rest;" and a little before his departure he remarked, "If Friends kept to the root of life in themselves, they would be the happiest people in the world." He died the 30th of the Eleventh month, 1704, aged about seventy, and a minister about forty-nine years.²

3. Tacy Davies, wife of Richard Davies of Welsh

¹ Life of M. Fell. Piety Promoted, III. 53.

² Works of A. Rigge; and Piety Promoted, I. 368.

Pool, in Wales, was a minister of Christ, useful in the church, careful to entertain strangers, and a nursing mother to those in prison for the testimony of a good conscience. She was a true helpmeet to her worthy husband, cheerfully enduring the persecutions to which they were subjected. They lived together to old age, and a Friends' meeting was kept at their house about forty years.

A little before she died she desired her husband to praise the Lord with her for all his mercies, and said, "At this time I feel his living presence to my great comfort." She prayed, saying, "O Lord, thou hast been a father to me, thou hast kept me from evil, and now I trust in thy great name, that thou wilt not forsake me; for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, take me to thyself." And she was heard: about the sixth hour in the afternoon, on the 1st of the Third month, 1705, the Lord in his love and mercy took her to himself, in great quietness and peace, about the ninetieth year of her age.¹

4. John Blaykling of Draw-well, in the parish of Sedbergh, Yorkshire, was born in 1625. He and his wife, with his father and mother, were convinced by the ministry of George Fox, in the year 1652. About three years afterwards he was called to the gospel ministry, and though not eloquent, he was sound, earnest and instructive. He was zealous for good order in the Society, and no less remarkable for benevolence and charity, than for firmness in the administration of discipline.

"He was not only called to believe in and preach Christ Jesus, the truth, the way, and the life; but also to suffer for his name's sake, not only by loss of

¹ Piety Promoted, I. 258.

goods to a great value, but by imprisonment several times at York, for the worship of God and in a firm testimony against tithes."

Not long before his death, his ancient and intimate friend, Thomas Camm, being with him, he said to him, "Thou and I have not sought our own interest, but have devoted ourselves to serve the Lord, his truth and people; he is and will be our great reward in the end of all our troubles. I am greatly satisfied that I have faithfully served the Lord, and done my day's work, and enjoy the earnest of that peace and rest God hath laid up for his people. If thou and I shall never have opportunity to meet again in the outward, yet in eternity our spirits, with the spirits of just men made perfect, shall meet, never to part again." He passed quietly away in the Fifth month, 1705, in the eightieth year of his age."¹

5. Gilbert Latey has frequently claimed our attention, as one of the most active and efficient members of the Society in London. He was particularly useful in applications to men in power for the relief of Friends under suffering, his efforts being more generally successful than those of most others.

In the latter part of his time he delighted in retirement, and dwelt mostly in the country, but his mental faculties and religious feelings were preserved in their usual vigor and liveliness. Having served God, and manifested through life, good will to men, the review of his past life filled him with consolation, and he was often heard to say, "That he had done the work of his day faithfully and was now sat down in the will of God, and his peace he felt abounding towards him; that he waited the Lord's call and time of being

¹ Piety Promoted, I. 271.

removed, and that there was no cloud in his way." A few hours before his departure, he said to those about him, "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus; he is the lifter up of my head, he is my strength and great salvation." In a peaceful frame of mind he departed this life the 15th day of the Ninth month, 1705, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.¹

6. Anne Camm, the wife of Thomas Camm, and daughter of Richard Newby of Kendal, in Westmoreland, was born in the year 1627. Her marriage to her first husband, John Audland, and their conviction by the ministry of George Fox, have already been related.²

She received a gift in the gospel ministry, and became an eminent instrument in the Lord's hand to call many to righteousness. She not only bore testimony to the truth in her public ministry, but suffered much persecution for the righteous cause, and was in life and conversation an example to others. It was her practice often to retire alone to some private place, in order to seek the Lord in prayer; she set apart almost daily some time for reading the Scriptures and other religious books, and she was a diligent attendant of meetings for divine worship.

"She was not forward to appear in preaching or prayer in public meetings; but when she did, it was fervent, weighty, and with the demonstration of the spirit, to the refreshment of the church." * * * *
 "She had wisdom to know the time and season of her service, in which she was a good example to her sex; for, without extraordinary impulse and concern, it was rare for her to preach in large meetings, where

¹ Life of G. Lately; and Gough's Hist., IV. 44. ² Vol. I. 122.

she knew there were brethren qualified for the service of such meetings.”¹

In her last illness she said, “I bless the Lord I am prepared for my change. I am full of assurance of eternal salvation and a crown of glory, through my dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom God the Father hath sent to bless me, with many more, by turning us from the evil of our ways into the just man’s path, which shines more and more to the perfect day. If God now please to finish my course and take me out of this earthly tabernacle, I am well content.”

She expressed to her husband much affectionate concern for her children and grandchildren, particularly for one who had not prized his religious privileges. “Ah! my prodigal son,” she said, “what shall I do for him? I have prayed and longed for his return. The time may come, God grant it may, but I shall not see it in my time. He is my son, the son of a godly father, and therefore I cannot but love him. Tell him it is his immortal soul’s well-being that I am concerned for; not so much for his outward state here, for that, though never so miserable, will quickly end. And, my dear, though our counsel has not had the desired end, yet I do entreat thee, remain a father to him in repeated counsel. Leave him not to run on in the way of misery, but labour and pray for his return.”

She closed her earthly career in sweet peace, on the 30th of Ninth month, 1705, in the seventy-ninth year of her age. Her funeral was attended by many Friends from about thirteen adjacent meetings, and

¹ Piety Promoted, I 322.

was a season of great solemnity.¹ Isaac Alexander was there, and eminently favored in his gift to set forth the goodness and justice of God, the glory of truth, the happiness of obeying it, and the lasting infelicity of neglecting and rebelling against it. James Wilson, who was present, had hitherto been inclined to deride the ministry of such illiterate preachers; but on this occasion he was so thoroughly penetrated with a clear sight of his own case, that he stood up and acknowledged his error, and begged the prayers of all good Christians that he might be forgiven.² He afterwards joined the Society of Friends, and became an eminent minister of the gospel.

7. Isaac Alexander was not permitted long to continue in the exercise of his spiritual gift, being in the same year called from the labors of time to the rewards of eternity. During his last illness he said, "Oh! I have seen glorious things, yea, such things as I never saw before. I beheld a friend lately deceased in a glorious place, and that I was to be with him, and I said it is enough to be there. Oh! such salvation! I am glad I can say, O death, where is thy sting? and grave, where is thy victory?" To some friends who visited him he related how the Lord raised him from nothing to bear a testimony for him, and "Wheresoever the Lord drew me," he said, "I followed him, both in this nation and others, and I sought not favour or interest among men." * * * * "I have discharged my duty to all people, so that I find nothing but that I am fully clear." After a little time he broke forth in a sweet harmony, and lifted up his voice in praise to the Lord, saying, "O

¹ Piety Promoted, I. 328.

² Life of James Gough, 58.

Lord God, though my exercises and pain of body abound, thy power and life do much more abound and carry me over all." He died the 12th of the Twelfth month, 1705, in his twenty-fifth year, having been a minister eight years.¹

8. Thomas Camm, the son of John Camm, of Camsgill, in the County of Westmoreland, was born in the year 1641 of pious parents, and from his childhood was inclined to be religious, seeking the company of the wise and good. He was early visited with "the day-spring from on high," and yielding obedience to the heavenly call, became in due time qualified as an ambassador for Christ. He was very diligent in the work of the Lord, and was made instrumental to convince and establish many in the way of truth. Being endued with heavenly wisdom, and clothed with humility, he was very serviceable in promoting unity among the brethren, and administering a salutary discipline in the Society.

Near the conclusion of his days, he said, "I have great peace and satisfaction in that I have done the will of God. I do not know that I have much more to do, the time of my departure seems to draw nigh; but I am well satisfied. I bless the Lord I can say with the Apostle, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but to them also that love his appearing.'" He departed in peace, as one falling into a deep sleep, on the 13th of the First month, 1707, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.²

9. Richard Davies, of Welsh Pool, in Wales, was

¹ Piety Promoted. I. 315.

² Ibid. I. 396.

one of the early proselytes to the doctrines of Friends, whose eminent services have been noticed in the progress of this history. When far advanced in years, he continued to travel occasionally and to labor diligently in the cause of truth. His last journey was in the year 1706, when he attended the Yearly Meeting of London, and many other meetings in England and Wales, preaching with acceptance, and returning to his home with the reward of peace. His last sickness was very short; he had but little to say, and quietly breathed his last on the 22d of the First month, 1708, being in the seventy-third year of his age.¹ In a testimony concerning him, by Friends of the Quarterly Meeting held at Dolobran, in Montgomeryshire, he is said to have been wise and prudent, a man of great experience, and very willing to advise and counsel in things relating to the gospel and also to outward affairs. "The Lord blessed him with a good gift in the ministry, and he was made an able minister of the gospel, sound in judgment, and well received by most people who heard him."

10. William Ellis, of Airton, in the county of York, was born in the year 1658, and about the eighteenth year of his age was convinced through the ministry of Roger Haydock, of the principles held by Friends. In the twenty-first year of his age, he was called to the gospel ministry, and according to the testimony placed on record by York Quarterly Meeting, "he was an able minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit, his doctrine dropping like the dew, and like small rain upon the tender grass;

¹ Account of Richard Davies, p. 256.

the Spirit of God accompanying him in the delivery of the same, he was of great comfort and benefit unto the churches, both at home and abroad, where the Lord did order him." A few days before his departure, being visited by a Friend, he spoke of the time of his convincement, saying, "It was a glorious day for me," and further added, that he had large tokens that the day of his death would be so likewise. He died on the 4th day of the Fourth month, 1709, in the fifty-first year of his age. By his last will, and that of his widow, Alice Ellis, a considerable property was left to trustees, for the purpose of applying the income to the putting out of poor children to apprenticeships. This benevolent bequest having long been applied as directed, has rendered the names of the donors familiar to many in Yorkshire.¹

11. John Banks, of Cumberland, has frequently been noticed in this work as an eminent minister of Christ. In the year 1690, he was released from a grievous imprisonment of six years and nine months in Carlisle, having been incarcerated by George Fletcher, of Hutton Hall, for tithes to the amount of eight shillings and six pence. After his release, he continued to labor in the work of the ministry, in England and Ireland. In the year 1696, he removed and settled in Somersetshire, where he was very serviceable, both in gospel ministry and church discipline. About two months before his death, he paid a religious visit to the neighboring meetings of Friends; and at Somerton, the congregation being very large, he was favored in a remarkable degree to preach the glad tidings of salvation.

¹ Life and Cor. of W. & A. Ellis. Piety Promoted, I. 417.

Many Friends came to see him while he lay sick. After a time of waiting in silence upon the Lord, he said, "Dear Friends, I counsel you in the love and fear of God, to keep to your meetings, for the worship and service of God, both First-days and week-days; and also Monthly and Quarterly meetings, which were set up by the power of God, to keep things in good order amongst us." * * * "Although I am weak in body, and do not know whether I may live much longer or not, I am however strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, and have nothing to do but to die; for I am rich in faith towards God, and my cup is full of the love of God."¹ He died in peace the 6th of the Eighth month, 1710, aged seventy-three years. In a Preface, by William Penn, to the Journal of John Banks, he says he had known him above forty-four years, and adds this testimony: "He was a heavenly minister of experimental religion, of a sound judgment and pious practice, valiant for truth upon the earth, and ready to serve all in the love and peace of the gospel." * * * "Thus I first met him, and as I received his testimony through its savour of life, so I was kindly encouraged by him in the belief of the blessed doctrine of the light, spirit, grace and truth of Christ in the inward parts, reproving, instructing, reforming and redeeming those souls from the evil of the world, who were obedient thereunto. He was a means of strength to my soul in the early days of my conviction, together with his dear and faithful brother and fellow-traveller, John Wilkinson of Cumberland, formerly a very zealous and able Independent minister."

¹ Supplement to the Journal of John Banks.

It is proper to observe, that there were two John Wilkinsons. The one here alluded to by William Penn had been a clergyman, and was convinced by the ministry of George Fox in 1657. He became an approved and valuable minister among Friends, and continued faithful till death, which took place in 1675. The other was John Wilkinson of Westmoreland, who was concerned with John Story in producing a schism in the Society.

12. William Crouch was among the early converts to the doctrines of Friends in the city of London.¹ He continued to reside in that city many years, and was eminently useful as a visitor of the sick and imprisoned, and a benefactor of the indigent. His friend Richard Claridge has left this record concerning him: "That his treasure was in heaven, and for the treasures of this world, he put no value upon them any further than to be his servants for necessary uses, and to do charitable acts therewith to others. His charity was large many ways, being ready to assist such as were in trouble or under affliction of any sort, where either his advice or purse was wanting. He was in particular a great support to the poor of the neighbourhood, after he removed into the country, often distributing, by other hands, largely of his charity to them; nor did the strangers in distress go empty-handed away from his gate."

The Lord enriched him with a large stock of spiritual and experimental knowledge, which he had been gathering and treasuring up for many years. And though he lived not upon his former experiences, but upon Christ the living bread and only nourish-

¹ See Vol. I., p. 196.

ment of the immortal soul, yet those experiences of the loving-kindness of God were comfortable to him in the openings of life to remember, and helpful to him in giving counsel to others.

The day before he died, a friend who had made him several visits in his illness, went to see him, and found him very weak. After sitting some time with him, waiting upon the Lord, he was moved to supplicate the Most High on his behalf, who was pleased to answer the cry of his servant, and they were greatly comforted together in a sense of the Lord's presence and goodness. After prayer, he expressed his great satisfaction in that heavenly visit, and said as before, he had now nothing to do but to die, and waited for the time when it should please God to call him out of this world and take him to his eternal rest. He departed this life the 13th of the Eleventh month, 1710, aged about eighty-two years. Thus he died, in a good old age, rich in faith, fruitful in good works, and cheered with the hope of a blessed eternity.¹

CHAPTER V.

AMERICA.

1701-1710.

DURING the two years of William Penn's residence in his province, he was assiduously engaged in promoting measures for its prosperity, by enacting and enforcing salutary laws, and by granting a new char-

¹ R. Claridge's Preface to Papers of W. Crouch, London 1712.

ter adapted to the wants and wishes of the people.¹ One of the most difficult and delicate subjects that claimed his attention was a requisition from the King that the province of Pennsylvania and territory annexed should furnish 350 pounds sterling towards erecting forts on the frontiers of New York. This demand being for a warlike purpose, could not be granted without a violation of Friends' peaceable principles; but the Proprietary, on being reinstated in his government, had engaged to transmit to the Assembly all the requisitions of the crown, and therefore he laid the King's letter before the Assembly, without expressing any sentiment as to the course that should be pursued. The representatives of the people were thrown into a state of painful embarrassment, for being nearly all Friends, they thought they could not conscientiously comply; but if they refused the subsidy, they had reason to dread the displeasure of the British government. After some days' delay, the Assembly answered, declining to comply with the King's requisition, assigning as a reason the taxes already levied and the quit-rents due. They stated, moreover, that the adjacent colonies had done nothing in the matter, and therefore they postponed it to another session, desiring that the Proprietary would represent their condition to the King, and assure him of their readiness to comply with his commands, "as far as their religious persuasions would permit."

Very soon after this decision, the governor received letters from England, informing him that a bill was before the House of Lords for annexing to the crown the several proprietary governments, and that there

¹ For particulars, see Janney's Life of Penn.

was no hope of staving it off longer than the next session, unless the proprietary would make his appearance in person and answer the charges made against his government by evil-minded persons. William Penn, although reluctant to forego his cherished purpose of remaining in the province, felt the necessity of repairing to England, in order to defend his interests and those of the people.¹ He, therefore, began to make the needful preparations for his departure; among which, not the least in importance, was the confirmation of the good understanding existing between himself and the Indian tribes.

He had, indeed, soon after his arrival, turned his attention to the means of promoting the welfare of both the Indians and the Africans inhabiting the province. At the first Monthly Meeting, which took place in Philadelphia, in 1700, he proposed that some measures should be adopted for this purpose, and expressed an earnest desire that Friends might fully discharge their duty to this class of their fellow-beings, and especially in regard to their spiritual advancement.

A meeting was accordingly appointed to be held once a month, more particularly for the colored people, and measures were taken for more frequent communication with the Indians by means of interpreters, which the governor agreed to provide. As soon as his pressing engagements in Philadelphia would permit, William Penn with his family settled at Pennsbury manor, on the Delaware, and while residing there he made frequent excursions into the country, to visit the meetings of Friends, and to become more

¹ He sailed for England in November, 1701. See Janney's *Life of Penn.*

familiarly acquainted with the Indians. On one of these visits he was present at an Indian feast, which took place near a beautiful spring overhung by the branches of lofty trees.¹ Several bucks were killed, and hot cakes, made of wheat and beans, were served up. He invited the Indians to visit him, and some of their kings and queens, attended by many of their followers, partook of his hospitality at the manor. It was his practice to receive them in his hall of audience, which was a large room furnished with a long table, two forms of corresponding length, and some oaken chairs.

After renewing his treaties with several tribes, he laid before his Council the great impositions that were practised upon the unsuspecting Indians, in the way of trade, and advised that measures should be taken for their protection. It was accordingly resolved that the Indian trade should be conducted by a company of individuals selected for their integrity, with a joint stock, under certain restrictions in relation to the sale of spirituous liquors to the natives. The company was also to use means to bring them to a just sense of the value of the Christian religion, but more particularly by setting before them an example of integrity and candor, in their dealings and intercourse with them, and also to avail themselves of opportunities for instructing them in the vital principles of Christianity. These resolutions, it is said, "were carried into execution so far as was judged requisite or found practicable."²

John Richardson, being then engaged in a gospel mission in the colonies, witnessed a part of the kindly

¹ Account of Friends and Indians. London, 1844. ² Ibid., p. 60.

intercourse between the Indians and the Friends, of which he has left the following account: "I was at William Penn's country house, called Pennsbury, in Pennsylvania, where I staid two or three days, one of which I was at a meeting and a marriage, and much of the other part of the time I spent in seeing, to my satisfaction, William Penn and many of the Indians (not the least of them) in council and consultation concerning their former covenants, now again revived upon William Penn's going away for England; all which was done in much calmness of temper and in an amicable way. To pass by several particulars, I may mention the following: one was, 'They never first broke covenant with any people,' for, as one of them said, and smote his hand upon his head three times, 'that they did not make them in their heads,' but, smiting his hand three times on his breast, 'they made them there in their hearts.'" * * * "And withal, I observed that they did not, nor I suppose never do, speak two at a time, nor interfere in the least one with another, in all their councils. Their eating and drinking was in much stillness and quietness." * * * * "William Penn said, he understood they owned a superior power, and asked the interpreter what their notion was of God in their own way? The interpreter showed by making several circles on the ground with his staff, till he reduced the last into a small circumference, and placed, as he said by way of representation, the Great Man (as they termed him) in the middle circle, so that he could see over all the other circles, which included all the earth." * * * * "After William Penn and they had expressed their satisfaction, both for themselves and their people, in keeping all their former

articles inviolate, and had agreed that if any particular differences did happen amongst any of their people, they should not be an occasion of fomenting or creating any war between William Penn's people and the Indians, but justice should be done in all such cases, that all animosities might be prevented on both sides forever; they went out of the house into an open place not far from it, to perform their cantico or worship." This worship consisted chiefly in singing "a very melodious hymn which affected and tendered the hearts of many who were spectators." Both men and women sat on the ground in a circle around the fire, and when the singing was over, "they rose up, danced a little around the fire, and parted with some shouting like triumph or rejoicing."¹

At another time, John Richardson visited the Indians in their wigwams, and preached to them through an interpreter, showing them that the Great Spirit required them to abstain from drunkenness, theft, and all kinds of wickedness, in order that they might receive his blessings, and be rewarded with his love. They were much affected, smote their hands upon their breasts, and the tears ran down their naked bodies. They answered, that all he delivered to them was good, and, unless the Great Man had sent him, he could not have told them those things. On being asked how they knew it was good, they again smote on their breasts, and replied, "The good man here (meaning in their hearts) told them what had been said to them was all good."

The travels and religious labors of John Richardson in America, were attended with interesting inci-

¹ J. Richardson's Journal, p. 136 to 141.

dents and beneficial results that are deemed worthy of notice here. He arrived in the river Patuxent, in Maryland, in the First month, 1701, being accompanied by John Estaugh, a worthy young minister from Essex county, England. After attending some meetings in Maryland, they proceeded to Virginia and North Carolina, where they found great openness among the people to hear their gospel message, and met with many tender-hearted Friends scattered through those "wilderness countries." Returning through Maryland and thence to Pennsylvania, "We found," says John Richardson, "many who loved to hear the testimony and doctrines of truth; but too few there were who took up the cross daily, and followed Christ in the way of self-denial, and knew the thorough work of regeneration, so as to have their garments washed and made white in the mystical blood of the lamb. These are not polluted with the sins and iniquities of the world, who have experienced this blood to sprinkle the heart from an evil conscience."¹

When they came into Pennsylvania, John Estaugh thought it his duty to go back to Virginia; but John Richardson, feeling his mind clear of that Province, was called, as he believed, to visit the churches in the Jerseys and New England. Being thus called into different fields of service, they were under the necessity of parting; and in order that there might be no evil surmises on the part of any, they called together some of the Friends and Elders of Philadelphia, and having acquainted them with their prospects, they took leave of each other in much brotherly affection.

John Richardson, pursuing his journey, came to

¹ J. Richardson's Journal, p. 68.

Rhode Island at the time of the Yearly Meeting, which he attended. "This meeting," he writes, "was one not to be forgotten, because of the eminent visitation from the Lord that was upon it: I have not often seen the like; I question if there were any dry cheeks for some time in it." During the intervals between the sittings of the Yearly Meeting, several Friends came to him to inquire whether it was usual in England to allow the young, or those who had appeared but little in the ministry, to come into the meetings of ministering Friends. He answered, "Yes, if they were of clean lives, and what they had to say was approved; and it was very likely such might want advice as much as those who were come to more experience in the work of the ministry, if not more." This was the means of enlarging those meetings at that time.

His counsel was also sought in answer to the query: "What Friends might do in case there should be a tax laid upon the inhabitants for building fortifications and providing men and arms for the security of the island?" Such a measure being then in agitation, Friends were desirous to know how their brethren in the mother country would act in a similar case. "I was unwilling," writes John Richardson, "to meddle with it, but the meeting waited a considerable time for my answer and was not willing to go forward without it. At last, when I could not well do otherwise, I signified to that large meeting, 'That I had heard the matter debated both in superior and inferior meetings, and privately, and the most general result was this: Friends did not see an effectual door opened to avoid the thing, that tax being mixed with the other taxes, although many Friends are not so easy

as they could desire: neither have we any further sway in the government than only giving our voices for such as are concerned therein; therefore, as things appear to me, there is a great disparity between our circumstances and yours here, for you have a great interest here and a great share in the government, and perhaps may put such a thing by in voting, considering the body of Friends and such as are friendly with whom you have an interest. Therefore look not for help from the mother, wherein she is not capable of helping herself, and thereby neglect your own business, but mind your own way in the Truth, and look not out.”¹ Friends appeared well satisfied with these views.

After the Yearly Meeting, he proceeded to the Island of Nantucket, having for his companion John Bates, a ministering Friend from Virginia. They were conveyed thither in a sloop commanded by Peleg Slocum, “an honest public Friend,” of Rhode Island, and they had for a fellow-passenger, Susanna Freeborn, another minister from the same place.

On their arrival at Nantucket, they went to the house of Nathaniel Starbuck, who had been convinced by the ministry of Thomas Chalkley. His mother, Mary Starbuck, was esteemed by the people of Nantucket as a judge among them, for little business of moment was transacted without her advice. She had a husband, and John Richardson remarks, that “he was not a man of mean parts, but she so far exceeded him in soundness of judgment, clearness of understanding, and an elegant way of expressing herself, and that not in an affected strain, but very natural to her, that it tended to lessen [or obscure] the qualifications of her husband.” At

¹ Journal, p. 131.

their house, by her invitation, a meeting was appointed and general notice given. Soon after the congregation was assembled, the Lord's power began to operate upon their hearts, and under its influence John Bates spoke in the early part of the meeting.

"I sat," says John Richardson, "a considerable time in the meeting, before I could see my way clear to say anything, until the Lord's heavenly power raised me and set me upon my feet, as if one had lifted me up, and what I had first in commission to speak, was from the words of Christ to Nicodemus, viz., 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' Nay, the natural and unregenerate man cannot so much as see the heavenly and spiritual kingdom of Christ, which stands not only in power, but also in righteousness, joy and peace in the Holy Spirit; and to be born again is not to be done unperceivably, no more than the natural birth can be brought forth without trouble; and to pretend to be in Christ and not to be new creatures, is preposterous; and to pretend to be new creatures and yet not able to render any account how it was performed, is unreasonable; for it could not be, as I urged before, without our knowledge; for to be born again signifies to be quickened and raised into a spiritual and new life, by which the body of the sins of the flesh is mortified and we come to live a self-denying life. Those who are crucified with Christ are crucified to their sins, that as he died for sin, we ought to die to sin. In that state we live not after the flesh, although we live, as the apostle said, in the flesh; but the life which these live is through faith in the Son of God. And to have all this, and much

more wrought in us, and we know nothing of it, is unaccountable.”

During the delivery of these expressions, Mary Starbuck was earnestly attentive, though silently striving to resist the doctrines declared; but at length submitting to the power of truth, she lifted up her voice and wept. Others being wrought upon by the power of divine grace, there was “a universal cry and brokenness of heart,” accompanied by abundance of tears throughout the audience. The scene was deeply impressive,—the preacher, almost overcome by his feelings, could scarcely proceed, while Mary Starbuck, rising from her seat, and trembling with emotion, said, “All that ever we have been building, and all that ever we have done, is pulled down this day; and this is the everlasting truth.”

There was that day a “great convincement” among the people of Nantucket; many of them were afterwards joined in fellowship with Friends, and both Mary Starbuck and her son Nathaniel became ministers of the gospel.¹

John Richardson, after performing the service assigned him in the American colonies, embarked for Bermuda and Barbadoes, in both of which islands he had satisfactory meetings, and then he returned to his native country with the reward of peace.

John Estaugh, after his return to Virginia, completed the service to which he was called in the American provinces; and then being freed for a while from any concern to travel in the exercise of his gift, he was married to Elizabeth Haddon, and settled with her on her estate called Haddonfield, in New Jersey. She was the daughter of John and Elizabeth Haddon,

¹ J. Richardson's Journal, 87, 92.

of London, born in the year 1682, and well educated. Her parents having an estate in lands in the province of New Jersey, proposed coming over to settle, and sent persons to make suitable preparations for their reception; but they being prevented from coming, their daughter Elizabeth, then a maiden less than twenty years of age, came over with her father's consent, and fixed her habitation where he proposed to have settled. She was endowed with great natural abilities, which being sanctified by divine grace, rendered her eminently serviceable, as a benefactor of the poor, a sympathizer with the afflicted, and an influential member of religious society. She and her excellent husband lived long together in tender affection, and when he was called to travel in the gospel ministry, she cheerfully resigned him to the Master's service.

John Salkeld visited America in the year 1700, on a gospel mission, having previously been engaged in that service in Ireland and the West Indies. He was born the 16th of the First month, 1672, at Coldbeck, Cumberland County, England. His parents were members of the Society of Friends, and endeavored to bring him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. His education was limited, yet sufficient to qualify him for his station in life. Being endowed with much ready wit, and a keen sense of the ludicrous, he found much difficulty in bringing these attractive but dangerous talents under the discipline of the cross; yet through the powerful visitations of divine grace, he was induced to yield his own will, and submit to the refining process of Christ's spiritual baptism. When called to the gospel ministry, his bright talents were made in-

strumental of much good to others; yet as divine grace does not obliterate, but rather sanctifies and restrains the natural characteristics of the human mind, he continued through life to be distinguished for his wit and humor, which on some occasions were probably indulged so as to become a thorn in the flesh, from which he would gladly have been delivered. Many anecdotes illustrating his humorous character have been handed down by tradition; but we must not from these, even if authentic, form our idea of the man; for they probably occurred at distant intervals, while the main bent of his mind and the chief occupation of his time were in solemn and successful efforts to call sinners to repentance, and plead the cause of Truth.¹ In his travels in the ministry through his native country, he at times went on foot, but wherever he came, his gift made way for him, and he grew in reputation until he was esteemed a powerful minister of the gospel.

In the early part of the year 1701, he visited New England, and returned in time to attend the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia held in the Seventh month of that year. He was one of the ministers who attended the first sitting of the Seventh-day morning meeting in Philadelphia, which continued to be held regularly for nearly one hundred years. "In the Yearly Meeting of 1701, a weighty concern was felt, "that those who appear in the ministry may be carried on in the life and power of God; that Friends move with the power and cease with the power." * * * "It was further observed, that some people have

¹ Biographical Sketches, Friend, Vol. XXXIII., p. 372.

taken occasion to reflect on the Truth and Friends, by the ministry of both men and women among us using unseemly noises, tones and gestures, and drawing their words at great length, with Ah's! drowning the matter. Also placing things on the Lord when their words were not savory nor sensible, with many needless repetitions both in doctrine and prayer." These things, with unsound expressions and imperfect quotations from the Scriptures occasionally heard, having occasioned Friends to seek for a remedy, the meeting agreed, "That there should be a meeting of ministering Friends of men and women weekly on the Seventh day at Philadelphia, and quarterly in the respective counties, at such time and place as the Friends concerned respectively shall agree upon.¹ We are informed by tradition that the ministers present at these Seventh-day meetings in Philadelphia, usually notified the meeting where they expected to attend divine worship the next day, and if there were any ministers that had no particular service in view, they were sometimes recommended to attend particular meetings, if way opened.

These meetings, after the official appointment of elders, became meetings of ministers and elders, and after being held in Philadelphia on Seventh days for about fifty years, were changed to Second days. It is said, that after this change it became customary to review some of the public discourses that had been delivered the preceding day, and the criticisms of some of the elders became at length so burdensome, that it was found necessary to lay down the meeting.

At a General Meeting of Ministers, held in Bur-

¹ The Friend. Philadelphia, Seventh month 28th, 1860.

lington, on the 7th of the First month, 1702, the following minute was made, viz:—

“John Salkeld gave a good account of his travels in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. There is a loving people in each of those places, and especially in Carolina, amongst many that are not yet fully in the profession of Truth. He had, in each place, divers large and good meetings, in which the Lord’s blessed power did much appear to his glory and his people’s comfort. He did further caution, that such as travel in the ministry in those parts, may be well qualified for their service, the meetings being much mixed, some watching for evil, and others too ready to take offence and be stumbled.”

John Salkeld, some years afterwards, emigrated to Pennsylvania, and settled at Chester. He travelled several times through most of the Provinces. “He had a clear, distinct, intelligible method and utterance in his ministry, which being often attended with great life and authority, generally had an uncommon reach upon his auditory, and was sometimes crowned with great success.”

It is related of him, that at a meeting he attended during his travels, while sitting in silence, he felt an impulse to make a sudden noise by rapping with his cane, and immediately after he delivered this brief testimony: “Resist the devil this once, and he will not trouble thee again.” After the meeting, some of the elderly Friends expressed dissatisfaction with his conduct, which seemed to them strange, if not disorderly. He answered, “If ever I have known the Divine commission to preach, I think what I have done this day is in obedience to my Master’s command, and there I must leave it.” About a

year afterwards he met with a man who reminded him of what had taken place in that meeting, saying he was the person for whom that singular service was intended, and that it had been the means of saving him from an awful death. Some time prior to that memorable meeting, he had been in a desponding state of mind, and that morning had walked out with a rope in his pocket, intending to put an end to his life. As he drew near the meeting-house, he concluded to go in and sit with Friends, thinking he would afterwards execute his purpose. The sudden rap of the cane aroused his attention, and the encouraging language of John Salkeld enabled him to resist the temptation. He found the truth of the promise verified in his experience, for he was never afterwards tempted in the same manner.¹

Thomas Chalkley, with his family, arrived in Maryland in the latter part of the year 1700, and spent the winter at Herring Bay, where there was a settlement of Friends. In the spring of 1701 he removed to Philadelphia, and bought a lot of ground on the Delaware, where he followed his calling, when not engaged abroad in religious services. This eminent minister was born in Southwark, England, in the year 1675. His pious parents were careful to train him up in the fear of the Lord, and very early in life he was made acquainted with the work of divine grace inciting him to goodness and reproving him for evil. "I very well remember," he says, "the work of God upon my soul, when I was about ten years of age; and particularly at a certain

¹ Comly's Miscellany, Vol. III., p. 67. J. Salkeld died in 1739. Smith's Hist., Chap. IX., in Hazard, VII. 83.

time when I had been rebelling against God and my parents, in vanity and lightness. And as I had offended both, so I was corrected by both, for I had not only the anger of my parents, but the Lord frowned upon me, insomuch that I trembled exceedingly, and was as though I heard an audible voice say to me, 'What will become of thee this night, if I should take thy life from thee?' I was amazed and in great fear; then I covenanted with God that if he would be pleased to spare my life, I would be more sober, and mind his fear more than I had done before."

"About the twentieth year of my age, I was pressed and carried on board a vessel belonging to a man-of-war. I was put down into the hold in the dark, not having anything to lie upon but casks; and what made it worse to me, I was among wicked, debauched men; and as we were shut up in darkness, so was their conversation dark and hellish. In the morning, for which I longed more than the watchman, the lieutenant called us up on deck, and examined us, whether we were willing to serve the king? He called me to him and asked me, if I was willing to serve his majesty? I answered, that I was willing to serve him in my business and according to my conscience; but as for war or fighting, Christ had forbidden it in his excellent sermon on the mount; and for that reason I could not bear arms, nor be instrumental to destroy or kill men. Then the lieutenant looked on me and on the people, and said, Gentlemen, what shall we do with this fellow? he swears he will not fight. The commander of the vessel made answer, No, no, he will neither swear nor fight. Upon which they turned me on shore. I

was thankful that I was delivered out of their hands, and my tender parents were glad to see me again." Soon after this occurrence, he began to appear in the ministry, of which he writes as follows, viz.: "In this concern I felt the gospel-power of our Lord Jesus Christ to work upon my soul, and the word of God was as a seed in my heart, growing and opening in me, speaking to me, and making my understanding faithful in the things of his kingdom; and in that ability, which was given me of God through his grace and holy spirit, I exhorted people to repentance and amendment of life; and I always humbly desired the help and divine influence of God's eternal word therein." * * * "On the expiration of my apprenticeship, having served my father faithfully seven years, I entered more strongly into covenant with my Heavenly Father and master, to serve him all my days, through his assistance; and was soon after drawn forth in the spirit and love of Christ to visit the meetings of Friends."¹

After travelling through England and Scotland, he felt a religious concern to visit the churches in America. Accompanied by Thomas Turner as companion, he embarked on a vessel commanded by Thomas Lurting, and had for his fellow-passengers, Richard Johns of Maryland, and William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson of Yorkshire, England, all of whom were ministers.²

In the spring of the year 1698, they landed on the shore of the Patuxent River, in Maryland. After holding a meeting there, they went to the Cliffs, and at the house of Richard Johns they had another

¹ Journal of T. Chalkley, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, 12; and Smith's Hist., Ch. XIV.

meeting, "wherein God's presence was powerfully felt." During this visit Thomas Chalkley attended meetings in most of the provinces from Carolina to New England, in which his services were blessed to the comfort and edification of many.

Soon after his return home, he entered into the marriage covenant with Martha Betterton, a religious young woman, concerning whom he writes: "She was one who truly loved and feared God, and had an excellent gift of the ministry given unto her, and was serviceable therein."

After their settlement in Philadelphia, in the year 1701, as already related, Thomas Chalkley was permitted to remain at home only a few months, when he was called by a sense of religious duty to visit the islands of Barbadoes and Bermudas. In the year 1703 he visited Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and in travelling through some parts of that wilderness country, he encountered many hardships, but was amply rewarded with the aboundings of divine consolation.

In 1704, he set out, with the approbation of his friends, to visit the churches on Long Island, Rhode Island, and in New England, being accompanied by Joseph Glaister as a fellow-laborer in the work of the gospel. At that time an Indian war existed in some parts of New England, and most of the people, except Friends, resorted to garrisons for protection. Thomas Chalkley and his companion travelled unmolested through the seat of war. "Those Indians," he writes, "began about this time to shoot people down as they rode along the road, and to knock them in the head in their beds, and very barbarously murdered many; but we travelled the country and had

large meetings, and the good presence of God was with us abundantly, and we had great inward joy in the Holy Ghost in our outward jeopardy and travels. The people generally rode and went to their worship armed, but Friends went to their meetings without either sword or gun, having their trust and confidence in God."

Among the many hundreds that were slain, they heard of but three Friends, and their cases were very remarkable. Two of them were men who used to go to their labor without any weapons, depending upon Divine Providence for protection; but a spirit of distrust having taken place in their minds, they at length took weapons of war to defend themselves. Hitherto, the Indians had let them alone, saying, "They were peaceable men and hurt nobody, therefore they would not hurt them;" but now seeing them with guns, they took them for enemies and shot them dead. The other was a woman, who remained with a married daughter and her little children at their habitation, not being free to go to a fortified place for safety. After some time, spent in this manner, she gave way to her fears, and went to stay with another daughter who resided in a garrison. There her mind became clouded with doubt, and in order to alleviate her distress, she started for a friend's house in the neighborhood, but was waylaid by the Indians and killed.¹

Thomas Story was at the same time travelling in New England on a gospel mission, and bears testimony in his Journal to the protecting care of that Almighty Power who called him forth to feed his

¹ T. Chalkley's Journal, p. 46.

flock, protected him in the midst of appalling dangers, and rewarded his fidelity with the sweet incomes of peace and joy.¹

Samuel Bownas landed on the shore of the river Patuxent, in Maryland, in the latter part of the Fifth month, 1702, being his first religious visit to America. Very soon after landing, he received a written challenge from George Keith to dispute with him; but he answered, that he did not think himself obliged to take any notice of one who had been so very mutable in his pretences to religion. He then proceeded on his journey, attending meetings until he came to Hempstead, on Long Island, where he held a meeting in a large barn. George Keith being there, appointed a meeting within hearing at the same hour, and between the two there was a very large concourse. Samuel Bownas having a strong voice, was heard in the other meeting, and being an agreeable speaker, attracted Keith's audience, all of whom, except the clerk and William Bradford, a printer from Philadelphia, left him and came into the Friends' meeting. Keith and Bradford then agreed that the latter should go and listen to Samuel Bownas, in order to ascertain if any advantage could be taken of his doctrines. He went accordingly, and taking out his pocket-book, noted down a few sentences. After the discourse was ended, he stood up and said, "Will you stand by these doctrines in public that have been now preached?" "Thy questions," replied S. Bownas, "being more for contention than edification, I therefore do not think myself obliged to answer them; more especially since, for

¹ Life of Thomas Story, 317.

thy contentious and disorderly walking, thou hast been dealt with and advised in a Christian spirit to repent; but thy persisting in the same has obliged Friends to disown thee. For this reason I have no more to say to thee on this head." Bradford then turned away in an angry manner, saying, "You shall hear of it in another way."

Being instigated by Keith, he went before two justices and made a deposition, from which the following passage is selected:

"The 21st of November, 1702, going into the Quaker's meeting at Nathaniel Pearsal's, deceased, in Hempstead, I heard one Bown, that is lately come out of England, preach, and the first words I heard him say were, The sign of the cross; and thus: Friends, having gone through the Papist baptism, let us examine the Church of England. Well, what do they do? Why, the bishop lays his hand upon those that have learned the languages, and ordains them as ministers. Well, what do they do? Why, they baptize the children, the young children, and sprinkle a little water in their faces, and by this they make the child a Christian, as they say; and for so doing, the children's parents must give the priest four pence or a groat. Indeed, this is an easy way of making Christians for a groat! And how do they do this? Their own Catechism tells us the priest says to the child, What is thy name? The child answers, Thomas, James, Mary, &c. Well, who gave thee this name? The child answers, My god-fathers and godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ. This is brave to be made a member of Christ! Who would not have a little water sprinkled in their faces? And what did

your godfathers and godmothers then for you? Answer: They did promise and vow three things in my name. 1st. That I should renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh. Ay, did they so? This is brave. Well, what did they promise more? 2dly. That I should keep God's holy will and commandments and walk in the same all the days of my life. And yet, in contradiction to this, they plead for sin, term of life, and say they can't keep God's commandments in this life. Why, this is strange, that godfathers and godmothers should promise what they believe they can't perform. And do the godfathers and godmothers thus promise? Yes they do. But this is strange that their God should need a godfather and godmother. But, Friends, our God is the true and living God. In the first of John it is said, 'In the beginning was the word, and the word was God.' But this God has no need of a godfather or godmother."

On this deposition a charge was founded, and a warrant issued for the apprehension of Samuel Bownas, who was taken in a meeting at Flushing; but the sheriff being a moderate man, allowed him to attend the sittings of the Half-year's Meeting during two days more, and also the funeral of a Friend on the third day. He was then examined by four justices, who required him to give bail in the sum of 2000 pounds, which he declined to do, and was committed to the common jail of Queen's County.

After lying in prison three months, he was arraigned before a court held by John Bridges, Chief Justice of the Province, and a bill of indictment against him was laid before the grand jury.

The jury, however, returned the bill, endorsed "Ignoramus;" upon which the judge became very angry, and demanded their reasons. They refused to assign any reasons, and being requested to take back the bill and reconsider it, they did so; but the next day they brought in the same verdict. The judge, instead of releasing the prisoner, showed his tyrannical disposition by ordering him to be confined more closely than before, and threatening "to send him to London, chained to a man-of-war's deck like other criminals."

Samuel Bownas, being returned to prison, was for a while exceedingly depressed; his faith seemed to fail, and he "thought himself the most wretched among men."¹ At this juncture he was visited by Thomas Hicks, a venerable man, who had been Chief Justice of the Province, and was well versed in the law. "Dear Samuel," he said, "the Lord hath made use of you, as an instrument to put a stop to arbitrary proceedings in our courts of justice, which have met with great encouragement since his lordship came here as Governor; [meaning Lord Cornbury, who oppressed the people sorely.] But there has never so successful a stand been made against it as at this time. And now they threaten to send you to England, chained to the man-of-war's deck. Fear not; they can no more send you there than they can send me; for the law, both here and in England, is such that every criminal must be tried where the cause of action is; else, why in England do they remove criminals from one county to another to take their trials where the offence was commit-

¹ Journal of S. Bownas, 89.

ted?" * * * * "But the judge frets because he cannot have his end against you; and besides, the Governor is disgusted also, he expecting to have made considerable advantage by it; but the eyes of the people are now opened, and you are not alone, for it is the cause of every subject, and they will never be able to get a jury to answer their end. Had the Presbyterians stood as you have done, they had not so tamely left their meeting-houses to the Church."

These encouraging remarks had a most salutary influence upon the poor disheartened prisoner, whose faith being now revived, he looked upon the visit of Thomas Hicks as a providential favor.

At that time New York was governed by Lord Cornbury, a son of the Earl of Clarendon. He belonged to the high-church party, was extremely illiberal towards Dissenters, and had in an arbitrary manner silenced some of Presbyterian clergy, putting churchmen in their places.

The executive power in New Jersey was also in his hands, the government of that province having been surrendered to the crown in the year 1702. The chief reason assigned by the British government for claiming this surrender, was the existence of dissensions between the proprietary governments of East and West Jersey, both of which were hereditary and vested in families mostly residing in the mother country. After the surrender, the two governments were merged into one. Under the administration of Cornbury, who ruled despotically and claimed peculiar privileges for his own church, the people were taught to appreciate more fully the lenient sway and liberal policy of their former governors.¹

¹ Smith's History of New Jersey.

A petition for the release of Samuel Bownas was presented to the governor, but without success; and seeing now no prospect of his enlargement, he turned his thoughts upon the best means of earning a subsistence, so as not to be chargeable to his friends. He proposed to a kind-hearted churchman, who was a shoemaker, that if he would furnish tools and materials ready cut out for a pair of shoes, he would pay the same price as if made. He had never learned the business, but was determined to attempt it. The shoemaker, seeing the object he had in view, replied: "It is very honest and honourable in you; but if one of our ministers were in the like state, he would think it too mean to take up such a trade, though it were for bread." He not only complied with the request of Samuel Bownas, but instructed him how to make shoes, and supplied him with work for which he paid him a liberal compensation. This new trade proved to be a great relief, occupying his attention agreeably, and supplying his wants.

Early in the Ninth month, (November, O. S.,) 1703, he was arraigned before another judge, (Bridges being deceased,) and an attempt was made to have him indicted, but the grand jury again refused to find a bill, and he was set at liberty by proclamation, after having been a prisoner nearly a year. There was general rejoicing among his friends, and even the citizens who were not of the same religious persuasion, considered his enlargement as a triumph over the spirit of oppression.

After his liberation he travelled throughout the island, and the people in great numbers flocked to his meetings, many of which were crowned with the evidence of divine life. Thence he proceeded to

Rhode Island and other parts of New England. "In Nantucket," he writes, "I had great satisfaction, for the people not joined with Friends were moderate Baptists, and came generally to meetings, their preacher also with them, who after meeting raised some objections against us that he had from our adversaries' books, and that which he pitched upon mostly was about prayer, that we did not pray to God in the name of Christ, but in our own name. I told him we looked upon it to be our duty to pray to God in Christ's name, and as his name is understood to be his power, we durst not presume to pray to the Father, but as the wisdom and spirit of Christ gave us utterance. He said, it was a gospel truth in its primitive purity."¹

At Newbury he attended a meeting in a large shed used for boat-building. It was a tumultuous assembly, in which two women Friends, who first attempted to speak, were put down by loud cries and rude behavior. At length Samuel Bownas stood up with a bible in his hand, which he opened as though he would take his text. This quieted the people, who said to each other, "He has the word of God in his hand." After alluding to his travels in the service of the gospel, he began his discourse by observing, "that religion without righteousness, was useless and could not profit those who professed it." He then proceeded to show the great improvement true religion made in those who lived under its influence, enabling them to subdue their lusts and passions, and he quoted from the apostle James: "If any man among you seem to be religious and bridled not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, that man's religion is

¹ Life of S. Bownas, 120.

vain." One of the crowd cried out, "Sir, you impose upon us; there's no such text." Samuel made a full stop, and turned to the text which he read from the bible. Many other bibles were opened by the congregation, and the quotation was verified. He then proceeded to treat of faith, distinguishing between true and false faith, and showing that if men did not lead Christian lives they were still but unbelievers, for the same apostle says, "Faith without works is dead." At these words, one of the audience cried out, "You impose upon us; there's no such text." Samuel again paused, and turned to the chapter and verse, while others, who had bibles, did the same, so that the text was immediately verified. He then resumed his discourse, the power of divine truth arose, and there was much tenderness among the people. They desired another meeting, but feeling his mind clear of that place, he proceeded on his way, visiting meetings in most of the provinces from New England to Carolina. Accompanied by Ellis Pugh, who was going on a visit to Wales, he embarked from a port in Maryland, and landed in England in the Tenth month, 1706.

In the year 1704, John Estaugh and Richard Gove embarked at Philadelphia for Barbadoes, on a religious visit, and being taken by a French privateer were carried into Martinique. On their arrival, an officer came on board attended by some persons of rank, and the Friends' certificates from their meetings at home being shown to the visitors, one of them read and interpreted the contents to the rest. On hearing a passage read, in which a desire was expressed "that they might be preserved out of the hands of unreasonable men," one of the company exclaimed,

“See, now! the Spirit hath deceived you, for you are not preserved as they would have it.” One of the Friends answered, “The Spirit has not deceived us; for that was only the desire of our friends for us; but probably there is some service for us even here.” “See now!” rejoined one of the company, “they have come to convert the fathers: we will have you together, and you shall dispute it out.” It proved, however, that none of the fathers, so called, came nigh them, except an old Irish priest, whose province it was to endeavor to convert the prisoners at forty shillings a head for every proselyte. He entered into some discourse with John Estaugh, but found him abundantly prepared to sustain his doctrine. Calling him a heretic, he turned to Richard Gove, who taking his bible, pointed to the text, “Beware of false prophets.” The priest being enraged, endeavored, without success, to wrench the bible out of his hands, and the other prisoners determined the controversy in favor of the Friends. They found among the prisoners and others many opportunities for religious labor, and after about two months detention obtained their liberty. They thought they had as great service at Martinique as in any other part of their travels, although in Antigua some were convinced through their ministry.¹

In the year 1706, Thomas Chalkley, while traveling in Maryland, believed it his religious duty to visit the Indians living near the Susquehanna at Conestogoe. On mentioning his prospect to the elders of Nottingham Meeting, they expressed their unity with it, and thirteen or fourteen Friends agreed to accompany him. Having secured the services of an

¹ Gough, IV, 150.

interpreter, they travelled through the woods about fifty miles, carrying their provisions with them. They were kindly received by the Indians, who, on being informed that the Friends desired to hold a religious meeting with them, called a council to consider the subject, which they discussed with much gravity and deliberation. Some of their women spoke in the council, and Thomas Chalkley having asked the interpreter why they were permitted to do so, he replied, "That some women were wiser than some men." He was further informed, that "they had not done anything for many years without the advice of an ancient grave woman," who spoke much in the council. They said she was an empress, and they paid much deference to her. She said, "She looked upon the coming of the Friends as more than natural, because they did not come to buy or sell, or get gain, but came in love and respect to the Indians, and desired their well-being both here and hereafter; and she further remarked "that these meetings among them might be beneficial to their young people." The Indians assembled were the Senecas and Shawnese. The gospel of Jesus Christ was preached freely to them, showing that he came to save people from their sins, and by his grace and light in the soul, convinces man of his transgressions, reproves him for evil-doing, and, when obeyed, delivers him from sin. To all the views then preached they expressed their assent, "and to that of the light in the soul they gave a double assent, and seemed much affected with the doctrine of truth."¹

Among those who, about this time, were removed

¹ T. Chalkley's Journal, p. 50.

by death, John Simcock, of Chester County, may appropriately be mentioned as one of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, that occupied a prominent place in civil and religious society. He was one of William Penn's first council; was afterwards appointed one of his commissioners of property, and served as speaker of the Assembly.¹ As a minister of the gospel he was sound and edifying, "being endued with a spirit of discerning and a wisdom beyond many in spiritual things."

The day before his departure, his wife and son, with some other friends, being present, he bore a lively testimony to the necessity of dwelling in love. "It is," he said, "the desire and earnest prayer of my soul, that the heavenly spring of true love and stream of divine life may ever be known to spring and run amongst those who would be accounted children of God and followers of Christ Jesus our blessed Lord and eternal Saviour, who laid down his life to be a ransom for fallen man, and to be an atonement for all them that would come to God by Him, who is the living word and promised seed of the covenant." He died the 27th of the First month, 1703, aged about seventy-three years.²

Samuel Jenings emigrated from Buckinghamshire to West New Jersey in 1680. He was then in the station of a minister, and on his arrival was appointed Deputy Governor under Byllinge, the Proprietary. He was afterwards chosen Governor by the Assembly. In 1692 he removed to Philadelphia; but in a few years returned to Burlington, in New Jersey, the place of his former residence. In the year 1707, he

¹ Proud, I. 235. Bowden, II. 253.

² Coll. of Memorials, p. 36.

was speaker of the Assembly, and, as the organ of that body, read to Lord Cornbury, the Governor, a bold and able remonstrance against his arbitrary and unjust proceedings. Samuel Jenings was greatly respected as a governor, being possessed of high endowments, devoted sincerely to the public good, and as a minister of the gospel, he was beloved by his friends for his work's sake. He died at Burlington, in the year 1708.¹

CHAPTER VI.

EUROPE.

1711-1730.

THE condition of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, as reported to the Yearly Meeting of London in 1711, appears to have been generally prosperous. It was, to the members there assembled, a source of heartfelt joy that a merciful visitation of divine grace had been extended to many of the youth in various places, who were recommended, in the epistle of that year, to the Christian care of their elder brethren and sisters, for their help and encouragement in the way of holiness.

The sufferings of Friends for tithes and church rates in England and Wales, during the past year, amounted to 5000 pounds sterling, and there were twelve Friends remaining prisoners for the same. It appears that during the ten years succeeding the

¹ Smith's N. J., p. 352. Bowden, II. 254.

amount of distrains annually, and the number of prisoners for the same, continued to be nearly as great.

There was, at that time, a considerable number of Friends in Frederickstadt, Holstein, who were, with the other inhabitants, great sufferers from the ravages of war. The Swedes having invaded Holstein, were closely followed by the Russians and Danes, whose troops were quartered upon the inhabitants. The Meeting for Sufferings in London being informed of their distressing circumstances, wrote to their brethren in Holland and Germany to visit, on their behalf, the Friends in Holstein, in order to administer the requisite relief.

By accounts received, in 1712, from Jacob Hagan, of Hamburg, who had just returned from Frederickstadt, it appeared that the Czar of Muscovy (called Peter the Great) was there with his generals, and about 4000 men quartered upon the inhabitants. There were from ten to thirty men generally quartered upon a family, and they behaved with such rudeness and insolence as to be hardly endurable. Their horses were kept in the lower rooms of the houses, and the chambers above stairs were full of soldiers and their baggage. Provisions and fuel were scarce and extremely dear, so that many of the citizens found it impossible to satisfy their rapacious guests, while the people inhabiting the country around were ruined by the destruction of their property.

“Last First-day,” writes Jacob Hagan, “the Czar acquainted our Friends he was desirous to come to their meeting, but they replied, the meeting-house was taken up with about twenty or thirty soldiers, who had made it like a stable. We desired that it

might be evacuated, then we might keep our meeting. He immediately gave orders for them to go out, and he came in the afternoon, with about six or seven of his princes and generals, and sat with us still, and it seemed with much patience." Philip De Nair delivered a short discourse; the meeting was satisfactory, and the Czar with his retinue staid about an hour."¹ After that time the meeting-house was kept clear of soldiers, and meetings were peaceably enjoyed by the members.

In the following year the peace of Utrecht was concluded, which put an end to a desolating war that had raged eleven years on the Continent, and in which England had taken an active part. On this joyful occasion, addresses of congratulation being sent up to the throne from most parts of the nation, the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London expressed, in like manner, their satisfaction with the event, and their affection for the Queen.

In the year 1712, the Society of Friends was called to mourn the loss of one of its most beloved and venerated members. The religious labors and patient sufferings of William Edmundson have frequently claimed our attention. He was the earliest and most efficient among the ministers resident in Ireland, who were instrumental in gathering the Society of Friends in that nation, and throughout a long life he continued indefatigable in his efforts to promote the holy cause he had espoused.

During the latter years of his life, he visited the meetings of Friends in Ireland very frequently, and was several times in England and Wales engaged in the service of the gospel.

¹ Gough, IV. pp. 97, 102.

In his eighty-third year, he attended the Quarterly Meeting of Leinster and the Half-year's Meeting at Dublin, in each of which he was enabled to labor efficiently, both in Christian doctrine and church discipline. "When the service of these large and heavenly meetings was over," he writes in his Journal, "I went home in the company of some Friends. Now finding myself unable to endure long journeys, I was content to rest in the will of God, who had lengthened my time to old age, and done great things for me, to whose great and worthy name be praise, glory and honour for ever and evermore." In the year 1712, he attended, for the last time, the National Half-year's Meeting at Dublin; after which his Journal concludes in these words: "Here I took my leave of Friends, never expecting to see their faces any more in that place. When the service of that great meeting was over, which held about three days, in the worship of God and church discipline, I went to my own house in the company of my son Tryal Edmundson and Richard Eves, and found my body could not endure to travel, being now near eighty-five years old."

In the Sixth month of the same year, he was taken ill, when he remarked that "He was willing to die, and well satisfied to go out of this troublesome world, for his day's work was finished." During his few remaining days he uttered many heavenly expressions, indicating his serenity of mind and assurance of Divine favor. "I lie here," he said, "under pain, and would fain be removed; but I am like one that pursues death, and it flees from me, although I see not wherefore my time should be prolonged, my natural parts being decayed; neither see I anything

I have left undone which the Lord required of me when I had strength and ability, or that the Lord chargeth me with any neglect or transgression." After about one month's sickness, he departed in peace, the 31st of the Sixth month, 1712.

Many testimonies to his worth, from meetings and individuals, are prefixed to his Journal. From that of Friends in London the following passages are selected: "He had a sound doctrinal ministry, accompanied with great authority, and therefore might very well be termed a son of thunder; yet in the exercise of his gift, the heavenly oil of the kingdom did frequently drop from his lips to the consolation of his brethren. He was endued with a good understanding in the law of God, recorded by his servant Moses in the holy Scriptures, and was wonderfully gifted in opening the true signification of the types and figures therein contained, sometimes symbolizing them with their antitypes, or things signified thereby, setting forth the design and wisdom of the great lawgiver. And at other times he would particularly describe the vessels of the outward temple, and excellently apply the use of them to a mystical signification relating to the latter house, the temple of God, the glory of which, according to divine prediction, was to excel that of the former. And to render him yet more complete, the Lord was graciously pleased, in a high degree, to qualify him for government in the church, wherein he was zealously as well as early engaged for promoting the holy discipline thereof, and stood firm to the last in opposition to everything that tended to introduce an undue liberty, that the camp of the Lord might be kept clean, so

that the beauty of Truth might shine more brightly among us.”¹

Benjamin Holme, of Yorkshire, this year spent seven months in the service of the gospel in Ireland. He was a man of good natural parts, refined by religion more than by education, who, having an estate sufficient for the supply of his wants, devoted his time mostly to visiting the meetings and families of Friends. In Ireland his services were generally well received by Friends and others, but at Langford he was seized by a priest and thrown into prison. His persecutor becoming uneasy, or apprehensive of censure, sent him a release, on condition that he should promise not to come again, nor hold any meeting in or near Langford. This condition he refused to comply with, saying that no true minister of Christ was his own master, but must answer the requirings of Him that had called him to the service. He was again locked up; but in a short time the priest becoming still more uneasy, sent an order for his discharge.²

The proceedings in this case were based upon the presumption that the Act of Toleration did not extend to Ireland. Three years subsequently, Thomas Story, while engaged in a gospel mission to that nation, was imprisoned in Kilkenny, at the instigation of the bishop, on the same groundless supposition. His detention was short, and his triumph over the haughty prelate complete.

Thomas Ellwood, who had long been an active and influential member of the Society, was this year

¹ Testimonies prefixed to W. Edmundson's Journal.

² Ruty's Rise of Friends in Ireland, 227.

removed by death. After his marriage in the year 1669, he settled at Hunger-Hill, in Hertfordshire, and the Monthly Meeting, to which he officiated as clerk, was held at his house nearly forty years. He did not appear as a minister, but his sound judgment, deep experience and devotedness to the cause of truth, qualified him for the duties of an elder, and his services were highly appreciated by his fellow-members. As a writer in defence of Friends' doctrines and discipline, he was valued for his clear and vigorous style. Many of his works being controversial, are seldom read now; but his excellent and interesting Journal has rendered his name familiar to many. In his last sickness, an intimate friend having called to see him, they sat some time together waiting upon the Lord in silence; and their hearts being affected by a sense of divine goodness, Thomas Ellwood said, "I am sensibly comforted and refreshed in this visit." * * * * "If the Lord hath no more work for me to do, I am content and resigned to his will; and my hearty farewell to all my brethren." When near his end, he said, "I am full of joy and peace; my spirit is filled with joy." He expired the 1st of the Third month, 1713, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

In the year 1714, the last in Queen Anne's reign, the High-Church party being in power, a bill was introduced into Parliament against the growth of schism; intended to prevent dissenters from keeping schools, and virtually to take out of parents' hands their natural right to direct the education of their children. The Society of Friends presented a remonstrance against this unjust measure, and it met with much opposition in both Houses, but the min-

istry had secured a majority of votes; it was passed into a law and received the royal assent. In the London Yearly-Meeting Epistle of that year, the subject is thus alluded to: "There seems at present to hang over us a cloud threatening a storm. Let us all watch and pray; and retire to our munition and stronghold in our spiritual rock and foundation, which standeth sure; that our God may defend, help and bless us as his peculiar people, to the end of our days and time here, and the full fruition of the heavenly kingdom and glory hereafter."

The impending evil which they dreaded, was averted by the Queen's decease on the very day that the act was to take effect.

By the act of settlement the crown descended to George Lewis, of the House of Brunswick, and Elector of Hanover, whose mother, the Princess Sophia, was grand-daughter of James I. of England. George the First, soon after his arrival, declared his firm purpose to maintain the toleration in favor of Protestant dissenters, and many addresses of congratulation were sent up to the throne. George Whitehead presented the address of the Society of Friends, in which they expressed their joy at his accession, their satisfaction with his gracious declaration in favor of liberty of conscience, and their intention to approve themselves his faithful and dutiful subjects.

In the next year, 1715, they presented another address to the King, expressive of their satisfaction that the rebellion in Scotland, in favor of the house of Stuart, had been suppressed.

The act for accepting the solemn affirmation of Friends, being nearly expired, it was by act of Par-

liament this year made perpetual, and extended to Scotland and the Colonies. The original form was, however, still retained, which was considered objectionable by many Friends, who thought it approached too near the character of an oath.

This year, Samuel Waldenfield, who was for many years a highly valued minister in the city of London, was called from the church militant, to the church triumphant in Heaven. He was born about the year 1652, at Edmundsbury in Suffolk. He was religiously inclined from his youth, and about the eighteenth year of his age was convinced of the Truth as professed by Friends, through the ministry of Giles Barnardiston.

In his twentieth year he came forth in the gospel ministry, and subsequently travelled in that service in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and Germany. Through his zealous and efficient labors, many were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. He was charitable and courteous to the poor, by whom he was greatly beloved, and in the church of Christ he was an elder worthy of double honor for his work's sake.

In his last sickness he uttered many sweet expressions indicating a heavenly frame of mind. "I have done the work of my day," he said; "I have peace of conscience. I have wronged no man. I have received a great deal of wrong and injury, but I forgive them all, and I desire that the Lord may forgive me also. I die in charity with all the world. And now I have no occasion to repent that I have endeavoured to live well; and as I have nothing to boast of, I have no occasion to complain; all is well." He died

at Bush Hill, in the county of Middlesex, the 7th of the Eighth month, 1715, aged about sixty-three years.¹

William Penn, after his return to England, as before related, passed through some severe trials, arising from domestic affliction, pecuniary embarrassments, and difficulties attending the government of his province; but through all his vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity, he maintained his equanimity and his confidence in the arm of divine power. In the year 1712, he was seized with a sudden fit of illness supposed to be apoplexy, which being afterwards repeated, impaired his memory, and clouded his intellect so that he could no longer attend to business.

He was, however, favored to retain the highest and best of his endowments—a sense of spiritual enjoyment, and a heart overflowing with love to God and man. A friend who visited him about two years afterwards, found him cheerful and pleasant, but defective in memory. “He accompanied him in his carriage to Reading Meeting, and describes him as rising up there to exhort those present; as speaking several sensible sentences, though not able to say much; and on leaving the meeting to return home, as taking leave of his friends with much tenderness.”

In the autumn of 1714, Thomas Story being in England on a religious visit, went to Ruscombe in Buckinghamshire, where William Penn then resided, and found his mental faculties very much impaired. He was, however, serene and innocent; having a sense of divine things, as appeared by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of truth in an evening meeting held there. “We were,”

¹ Piety Promoted, II. 102.

says Thomas Story, "greatly comforted, so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which so much oppressed him; not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end." After a continued and gradual declension of about six years, he was called to his eternal rest, on the 30th of the Fifth month, (July,) 1718, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and his remains were interred at Jordan's in Buckinghamshire.

Among the eminent men whose names are recorded in history, there are few whose characters have passed through so severe an ordeal as that of William Penn. As an author of religious works, a gospel minister, and Christian legislator, he has had few equals in any age or country; yet being on familiar terms with an unpopular monarch, his name has been unjustly associated with arbitrary measures that he entirely disapproved and endeavored to prevent.

The dispassionate inquirer, who will carefully examine the facts of his history, will find, that after he became a professor of religion, his life was devoted, with unswerving fidelity, to the glory of God and the good of mankind.¹

The remarkable success that attended the planting of his colony, the freedom of its constitution, the liberality of its laws, the benign policy pursued towards the Indians, the long period of uninterrupted peace without military defences, attest the wisdom of its founder, and entitle him to a high rank among the benefactors of our race. It was indeed an ex-

¹ See Janney's *Life of Penn*, Chap. XXII.; and Appendix to Edition of 1856.

emplification of Christian principles, applied to the government of a commonwealth, that stands without a parallel in the history of the world; and as time advances, it will be more and more appreciated until that happy period shall arrive, when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

In this year, Christopher Story, of Cumberland County, was removed by death. He was born at Righhead in that county, in the year 1648, and was sent to school to prepare him for the university; but when the time came for him to go thither, his mother objected, from an apprehension that such an education would alienate him from the love of a country life, and dispose him to sell his paternal inheritance. He was early inclined to a life of piety, but being exposed to evil communications, he was drawn into vain and corrupting amusements. From this condition he was awakened during a severe illness, and set his heart earnestly to seek the Lord in meditation and prayer. After his recovery, hearing of a Friends' meeting, he attended it, and through the ministry of John Wilkinson of Cumberland, his heart was affected by the word of life. At another meeting, he heard Robert Barclay, whose ministry was effectual in confirming the good impressions already produced. In the year 1672, several others being convinced of Friends' principles, a meeting was established at his house.

Concerning this meeting, he writes: "There were some who thought they might live so as to find acceptance with the Lord, and not come under the scornful name of Quaker; but many came to see at last that nothing would do short of confessing Christ

Jesus before men; and all things wrought together for good to them that loved God. When they had stood at a distance for years, thinking to have lived such a life that they might have been equal with us, saw our innocency and how the Lord had preserved us, many of them came and joined with us; and among the rest John Scott of Highberries, who had been convinced for seven or eight years, and his life and conversation had so preached among his neighbors, that many were ready to say, "If John Scott cannot be saved unless he become a Quaker, what must become of us?" Many relations and neighbors followed him, and became honest Friends, and he himself a pillar in the Church. The Lord's loving-kindness continued in sending his servants and handmaids amongst us, building us up in the most holy faith, and to the convincing of others. As our love to the Lord increased, so our care increased in keeping to our silent meetings. Glorious and heavenly times we had, when no words were expressed." * * *

"And though we were at times plentifully fed with the bread which came down from heaven, and sat together at the Lord's table, where the wing of his power was known to overshadow us; yet at other times the Lord tried us with want; and at a certain time it entered my mind as a weighty consideration, why it should be thus; we being the same people, and sometimes had very good and comfortable meetings, and were sometimes very dry and barren in our meeting together. As I was thus concerned in my mind, it opened to me, that there should be seed-time and harvest, summer and winter, unto the end of the world. So I saw clearly there were times to abound, and times to suffer want; and I desired to rest satis-

fied in the will of God. As we sojourned here, desiring nothing more than to follow the Lord fully, he not only led us out of the gross evils which are in the world, but out of the customs and fashions that are evil. So that we were singled out from the world in everything we saw to be needless and superfluous; and the fame of Truth spread, and our meetings were large, and the exercise of the faithful was to draw nearer and nearer to the Lord.”

In the year 1677, Christopher Story gave up to appear in public as a minister of Christ, having, for a considerable time, been drawn to that service by a sense of duty, but waited for a clearer evidence of the divine will. As in most other cases among Friends, his communications were at first in a few words only; but continuing faithful, he grew in the exercise of his gift, until he became “a workman that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.”

He visited the meetings of Friends in England, Scotland, and Ireland, at various times, and appointed meetings among those of other persuasions. His services were highly appreciated by his brethren, his ministry being plain and powerful, reaching to the hearts and consciences of the hearers. And having a gift beyond many in the government of Church affairs, he exercised the same in much wisdom and prudence, laboring to promote the peace and welfare of the body.

As old age came upon him, his zeal and fervency were not abated, as appeared by the living freshness of his ministry, and his constancy in the attendance of meetings, even when under great bodily weakness. He often commemorated the unspeakable kindness

and mercy of God in visiting him in his young years, and to those who came to see him in his last illness, as well as to his own children, he manifested his love by good and affectionate counsel. He departed this life the 6th of the Eleventh month, 1720, aged seventy-two years.¹

In the year 1721, a petition, on behalf of the Society of Friends, signed by 132 of its members, was presented to Parliament, representing that the prescribed form of affirmation allowed to Friends, instead of an oath, was objectionable to many; and praying that leave be given to bring in a bill for such a form of affirmation as may remove those objections. In order to secure the passage of such a bill, Thomas Story applied to the Earl of Carlisle, who readily promised to use his influence in its favor in the House of Peers, and engaged his son, Lord Morpeth, to do the same in the House of Commons, of which he was a member. Application was also made to the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State. The form of the act desired being presented to him, he perused it and said: "You might have had the latter as soon as the former if you had applied for it, for what we did was to serve you in your own way. And you yourselves soliciting for it, we thought we had fully gratified you, having been informed that a very few of you were dissatisfied with the form, and those a sect among you, misled by Mr. Penn in disloyalty to the government, and in favour of the Pretender, and who did not desire it of their present government, hoping for it by another in time; and that those who were satisfied with that form were Mr. Mead's

¹ Life of C. Story, Friends' Library, Vol. I. p. 143.

friends, and principled for the revolution and present government in the house of Hanover: one sect being called Pennites and the other Meadites.”

To this, Thomas Story replied: “This is only a calumny artfully invented to defame our Society, and render the more distressed part of us odious to the king and government, that we might have no relief, and it is a great cruelty and hardship. I added, that I did not know, nor ever heard of any such sect, party, or parties among us so attached to William Penn, or William Mead, or any other person; for we are not a people subject to be led by sect-masters, if any such should appear among us, but to follow God and Christ only in matters of religion; and as such, the denying of all oaths we believe to be a part of our duty. I was long and intimately acquainted with William Penn, and knew his sentiments with respect to the government and Pretender; and though he ever retained a great respect for all that family, I believe he did it in point of gratitude for the protection he had from the Duke of York, afterwards King James, in a time of great persecution, and not from any principle of disloyalty to the present king or his government.”¹ “As to those among us who cannot comply with the present form of the affirmation, I know they are generally as loyal to King George and true to his government as any of his subjects in all his dominions.” Then the Earl of Sunderland, being a very good friend of William Penn, spoke respectfully of him.

¹ This testimony concerning the loyalty of William Penn to the House of Brunswick is well worthy of attention; but has hitherto been overlooked by the biographers of Penn. It is found in the Appendix to T. Story's Journal.

The House of Commons readily complied with the request of the petitioners, and passed an act authorizing the acceptance from Friends of a simple affirmation, without appealing to the Almighty as a witness. When it came before the House of Peers, it was opposed by several of the bishops, particularly by Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, the champion of the High Church party, who reflected upon the Friends with his accustomed acrimony, saying, "he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians." He was seconded by some of the peers, and by the Archbishop of York; but opposed by the Earl of Sunderland, the Duke of Argyle, Kennet bishop of Peterborough, the Earl of Ely, and the Earl of Macklesfield. The bill was, by a large majority, referred to a committee; but when about to be taken up for consideration, the Archbishop of York presented a petition from some of the clergy of London, objecting to the proposed measure as one that would "endanger the legal maintenance of the clergy by tithes."

On the following day, Thomas Story had an interview with the Duke of Somerset, to whom he stated that he had heard both the universities intended to petition against the bill; and as the clergy about London had already done so, he apprehended much trouble and delay; therefore he entreated him to use his interest for the passing of it into a law that day. The Duke said, in reply: "Perhaps Oxford may attempt something in that way, being influenced by the Bishops of York, Chester, Rochester, and the rest of that sort; but if they should, they are obnoxious, and will not be heard; and as to Cambridge,

they have done nothing, and I being their head, they can do nothing without me, and, to make you easy, they shall not do anything against you in this concern." And then he said: "There are a company of fellows calling themselves the clergy in and about the city of London, who have sent in a petition, wherein they pretend to blame both Houses of Parliament for encouraging a sect which they rank with Jews, Turks, and other infidels; as if we were to be imposed upon by them, and receive their dictates, or knew not what we had to do without their directions. And besides, we do not know who they are; for there are above 500 of the clergy in and about London, and we find only 41 names to their petition, and these very obscure. Where is their Sherlock, their Waterland, or any of note among them? Do these fellows see any corn growing in the streets of London that they should meddle in this case?" At the close of their conversation he said, "I am ready to go to the House, where I would not have gone this day, but only to serve you."¹

After some debate, the bill passed that day in the House of Lords, and received the royal assent. By this act the affirmation was established in this simple form, "I, A. B., do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm."

In the Yearly-Meeting Epistle of 1722, the act was referred to in the following terms: "We cannot but with great humility acknowledge the goodness of God in disposing the Legislature to grant us, the last session of Parliament, such form of affirmation as, by accounts received, we find very satisfactory to all the

¹ Appendix to T. Story's Journal, p. 757.

brethren, for which we are truly thankful to God and those in authority.”

It is worthy of note, that when Thomas Story called upon Doctor Bradford, Bishop of Carlisle, to solicit his interest in favor of the bill, he acknowledged the soundness of Friends' doctrine in regard to oaths; saying, “He believed that Christ and his apostles had forbidden all oaths and swearing, and that the time would come when there would not be any such thing in the Christian world;” but he added, “That the present state and circumstances of mankind could not bear such an exemption.” Thomas Story replied in substance: “Since thou art pleased to acknowledge that Christ and his apostles have prohibited all oaths and swearing of every kind, there must be a time to begin to put in practice this Christian precept, by some certain persons or community. A nation is not born in a day; nor did the Lord Jesus himself call and convert all his disciples at once; it was a gradual work, though in the hands of Him by whom the worlds were made. As the professors of Christianity have suffered a great lapse and degeneracy from the doctrines and practice of Christ and his apostles, it has pleased God to raise up and choose us as a people to begin this reformation in doctrine and practice; not by human power, for that is against us; nor by the wisdom of this world of which we have little, nor by its learning or acquirements which we do not pursue; but by the same grace through which our Lord Jesus Christ laid down his life upon the cross for the redemption of mankind. Being mercifully favoured with his grace, and having believed through its operation upon our hearts, we have hitherto suffered for his name's

sake, all things which have been permitted to be inflicted upon us by this nation and others. And we hope we have given proof of our Christian sincerity to all reflecting minds, that our religion does not consist of mere notions about certain gospel truths, but is a real, practical thing, in which we are supported by the wisdom and power of God." The bishop listened with patience to these views, declared himself in favor of liberty to tender consciences, and promised to act a friendly part in promoting the proposed measure.

George Whitehead, whose eminent services as a minister of Christ have frequently been mentioned in this history, had for some years prior to this date been enjoying a serene old age,—the reward of a well-spent life. When above eighty years of age, he continued to bear his testimony in public meetings for worship, to the excellency of that divine grace which had supported him from his youth upward, imparting in expressive language such choice fruits of his own experience, that an attentive hearer could not depart unedified. In meetings for church discipline, where sometimes diversity of sentiments would arise, he expressed his views with a convincing force and solidity of reasoning no less admirable than the unspotted integrity of his gray hairs was honorable. In the latter part of his life he wrote several small tracts, one of which, entitled, "An Epistle to our Christian Friends called Quakers," was composed in the eighty-sixth year of his age. For some weeks previous to his death he was disabled, by pain and debility, from attending meeting; but he continued in a patient, resigned frame of mind waiting for his great change, rather desiring to be dissolved and be

with Christ, saying, "The sting of death was taken away." He expressed, a little before his departure, "That he had a renewed sight or remembrance of his labours and travels, that he had gone through from his first convincement; he had looked upon them with abundance of comfort and satisfaction, and admired how the presence of the Lord had attended and carried him through them all." He departed this life in great peace the 8th day of the First month, 1723, about the eighty-seventh year of his age, having been a minister of the gospel nearly seventy years. His intimate friend, Richard Claridge, has left this testimony concerning him: "The Lord had bestowed upon him such a measure of his divine gifts, of faith, wisdom, judgment, self-denial, patience, love, meekness, utterance and other graces of the Spirit, that he was an instrument in his hand to open blind eyes and turn men from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God."

In the testimony of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting in London, of which he was a member, his virtues and services are acknowledged in the most affectionate terms. "He was," they say, "a tender father in the church, and as such was of great compassion, sympathizing with Friends under affliction, whether in body or mind, a diligent visitor of the sick, and labouring to comfort the mourning soul; careful to prevent, and diligent in composing differences." He was a voluminous writer, but many of his works being controversial are seldom read now. His autobiography, under the title of "Christian Progress," will compensate for perusal.

Within a few weeks after the death of George Whitehead, the Society of Friends in the city of Lon-

don was called to mourn the loss of another eminent minister.

Richard Claridge has already been noticed, and some account of his remarkable experience has been given.¹ After a residence of some years at Barking in Essex, he removed to Edmonton, and thence to Tottenham in the year 1707, where he kept a boarding-school. In the following year he was prosecuted on a charge of teaching school without a license from the bishop. One of the witnesses was the parent of a boy that he had taught gratuitously. After the cause had been argued in court, the jury brought in a special verdict that did not satisfy the prosecutor, and no further proceedings were had in the case. He was afterwards suffered to pursue his vocation unmolested.

In the year 1713, being the sixty-fourth of his age, he relinquished his school and removed to London, where he dwelt the remainder of his days. Being now retired from business, he devoted the greater part of his time to religious engagements, attending the meetings of Friends in and around the city of London, testifying unto others "what himself had experienced, of the power and virtue of that universal, saving grace, which it has pleased God freely to bestow upon the children of men." * * * "He had a peculiar gift of administering suitable advice and consolation to such as were in distress or affliction, whether of body or mind."²

During his residence in the city of London, he was sorrowfully affected with a sense of the evils

¹ See Chapter I. of this volume.

² Besse's *Life of R. Claridge*, p. 300.

that must ensue from the spirit of covetousness then prevailing in the nation, which led many into hazardous enterprises and fraudulent speculations. Among these, the celebrated South-Sea scheme was one that excited sanguine expectations, but ended in disappointment and ruin.

Richard Claridge was concerned, at that time, to bear a zealous and fervent testimony in meetings for public worship, against the sin of covetousness, showing the inconsistency of such an extravagant pursuit of wealth with that state of self-denial and contentment which becomes a Christian. Had his timely admonitions and those of other faithful elders, been duly regarded, their brethren in religious profession would not have joined in such schemes with worldly-minded men, nor have partaken of the disappointment and dishonor that ensued.¹

In the year 1721, his bodily infirmities increasing, he was not able to travel, but continued to be a constant attendant of the adjacent meetings. He was present and preached at the funeral of John Whiting, at the Bull-and-Mouth Meeting, the 16th of the Ninth month, 1722, concerning whom he has left in writing the following character, viz. :—

“He was a faithful servant of Christ, and a free and constant helper of his brethren, who suffered for the testimony of a good conscience, because he could not pay tithes to priests or proprietors.”

Richard Claridge, soon after the decease of his valued friend George Whitehead, was taken with a difficulty of breathing, attended with an inward fever that increased upon him to his end. During his

¹ Besse's Life of Claridge, p. 316.

sickness he expressed to several friends that visited him, his peace and satisfaction of soul, and an humble resignation to the will of God. He departed this life the 28th day of the Second month, 1723, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.¹

On turning our attention to the condition of the Society of Friends in Scotland, we find that it continued to be generally prosperous. The rules of discipline for the preservation of good order and the promotion of practical piety, were administered in a Christian spirit, and a righteous concern was felt for the guarded, religious education of their offspring.

As an evidence of the zest with which they pursued the durable riches that pertain to eternal life, their weekly meetings in rotation, at each other's houses, may appropriately be mentioned. These family gatherings for devotion and conference, they believed were in accordance with the practice of the primitive Christian church, affording a spiritual repast to such as wished to feed at the Lord's table.²

In the year 1723, four of those faithful laborers who had been actively engaged in building up and confirming the Society in "the faith once delivered to the saints," were called to their eternal reward.

1. Robert Scott was born at Montrose, where he several times suffered imprisonment for his faithful adherence to the Christian testimonies borne by Friends. Afterward, he settled at Stonehaven; here it is stated that the public preachers, in like manner as at Montrose, began persecuting him with a view of inducing him to remove. But by the judicious counsel of David Barclay he was induced to stay,

¹ Besse's Life of Claridge, 332.

² J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, p. 234.

and to endeavor to live down or wear out so very unworthy a disposition. This he completely effected by patient continuance in peaceable and upright conduct; for betaking himself to merchandising, by honest dealing and blameless conversation, his influence won upon his neighbors, and at last prevailed even over his opposers, so that most of the clergy round the country sent to him for goods; and the Lord blessed his endeavors with success. In his prosperity, he continued humble and thankful to the Author of every good gift, often praising him for his mercies. He was a great lover of the religious meetings of Friends, often in the throng of business leaving all to attend those held in the middle of the week, and he frequently remarked that he never lost but often gained by the practice, saying those meetings were to him the best of any. When advanced in years, he wisely retired from business; so that he had now nothing to do but to make up his accounts with his heavenly Master. In this, the most important business of life, he was very diligent: often in his closet, three times a day, would he pour forth his prayer to the Almighty, and a living power attended these ministrations, whether in private or in the public meetings.

At length, about the seventy-fifth year of his age, being disabled, by bodily infirmity, from attending the meetings of Friends at their usual place, he begged that they would come and sit with him in his own apartment; which request was readily acceded to, and the practice continued for a month previous to his removal. In the last of these precious opportunities, only two hours before he expired, on the 31st of the Third month, with a clear and audible

voice, he presented his supplications unto Him who had been with him all his life long. After which in a fervent manner he commended his soul to God, adding, "I can do nothing but wait for thy salvation." Then, with clasped hands and uplifted eyes, calling upon the Lord to take his spirit to himself, he yielded it up to Him who gave it.¹

2. David Wallace, of Stonehaven, was born in the year 1660. When about eighteen years of age, being in company with some young men who attended Friends' meetings, he was led by their pious and instructive conversation to attend meeting with them. At a meeting held at Ury, his mind was thoroughly reached by the Lord's power, and he became persuaded these were the people with whom he could have fellowship, and this was for him the pathway to peace. Endued with good abilities, he had also a deep judgment in spiritual things, and his memory in Scripture was so remarkable, that he was termed by some, the Concordance, being commonly able to give chapter and verse to most passages. In his last illness he signified that his peace was made with the Lord, and that he had finished his day's work; admonishing those who came to see him to be obedient to God in their day,—that he was now ready to be dissolved and longed to be with his dear Saviour, to whom at times he would pray fervently, that he would be pleased to be with him through the untrodden valley of death; yet, added he, "I will fear no evil, for the Lord will be with me." In this happy state of mind he quietly passed away on the 4th of the Sixth month, 1723, being sixty-three years of age.²

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, p. 254.

² Ibid. p. 258. Piety Promoted, II. 355.

3. Christian Barclay, the widow of Robert Barclay, of Ury, has already been noticed as a wife worthy of her venerated husband, whom she survived thirty-two years. She was a well-accomplished woman every way, by intellectual endowments, by education, and more especially by those spiritual gifts which qualified her for a minister of the gospel and a benefactor of the poor. She devoted much of her time and attention to healing the sick and relieving the indigent. It is related that "many of her patients would come ten, twenty, thirty, and some even forty miles and upwards; receiving through her care and skill very considerable benefit, for her success was wonderful." The salutary influence of her example had great effect upon her children and grand-children; and she had the happiness to see her efforts on their behalf crowned with the divine blessing. During her last illness she evinced by many pious expressions her unabated desire, that in life and death she might be a faithful servant of the Lord. She yielded up her spirit in great peace, joy and quietness, the 14th of the Twelfth month, 1723, in the seventy-sixth year of her age.¹

One of her daughters, named Christian, treading in the footsteps of her mother, was valued as a faithful laborer in the gospel field. Robert, the eldest son of Robert and Christian Barclay, succeeded to the estate of Ury, and he also succeeded to that spiritual heritage which is purchased by faith and obedience, "whereby the children of all true believers may become the children of God."

4. Alexander Seaton was born in the shire of Aberdeen, about the year 1652. He was one of the stu-

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, p. 258. Piety Promoted, II. 355.

dents of the University of Aberdeen who joined the Society in consequence of being convinced of the rectitude of their principles, during the public discussion held by Robert Barclay and George Keith with the Scotch collegians. Having publicly avowed his religious convictions, he was subjected, like many of his brethren, to imprisonment in the jail of Aberdeen, where he was soon called upon by a sense of duty to offer a word of exhortation to others. He was endowed with a good understanding, and being humble, faithful and sincere, became an able minister of Christ. After his marriage, from a sense of duty, he removed to Glasgow, where a small body of Friends were suffering much persecution, and his faithfulness tended to strengthen their hands, as well as to overcome the malice of their enemies. In 1699 he settled with his family in Ireland, where his character and services were highly appreciated by the Society.

In the latter part of his life he suffered much bodily affliction, which he bore with remarkable patience, evincing by many touching expressions the peace and serenity of his mind. "I partake," he said, "of the earnest of that joy which will never have an end; my Rock, my Fortress, my strong Tower, dwelleth with me and does not leave me nor forsake me; blessed be His name!" He passed to his eternal rest the 23d of the First month, 1723, about seventy-one years of age.¹

Besides the Friend just mentioned, the Society in Ireland had, about this time, to mourn the loss of several beloved and venerated members.

1. John Barcroft was born near Rosinallis in the year 1664. He was the first Friend who settled near

¹ J. Barclay's Friends in Scotland, p. 253.

Edenderry after the civil wars, and was principally instrumental in settling a meeting there, which afterwards became very large. He was religiously inclined from his youth, a diligent attendant of meetings for divine worship, and zealously engaged in seeking for the knowledge of heavenly truth. In his thirty-third year he was called to the gospel ministry; but through modesty and fear, he was deterred from accepting the call until the consolations of the Spirit were withdrawn, and he was for a season left in darkness. Subsequently the Lord was graciously pleased to visit him again, when he gave up to the heavenly call, and in great dread uttered a few words in a meeting, after which he continued to grow in the exercise of his gift, and became a diligent and successful laborer in the work of the ministry. His deportment greatly adorned his profession, being cheerful yet grave, meek and humble, preferring others before himself; a peacemaker, singularly helpful in composing differences, and skilful in Church government. He died in the year 1723, being the sixtieth of his age.

2. Thomas Wight, of the city of Cork, has been noticed in a preceding volume.¹ During the latter portion of his life, he devoted much of his time to the affairs of the Society in recording its minutes and collecting facts relating to its history. He was exemplary in life and conversation, and zealous in promoting the cause of truth. On his deathbed, he expressed his satisfaction that he had not deferred till then the great work of the soul's salvation, and in full assurance of acceptance with God, he died in the Ninth month, 1724, being in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

¹ Vol. I. p. 276.

3. Thomas Wilson has frequently been mentioned in the preceding pages as one of the most eminent ministers of his day. After his return from his second visit to America, he continued to reside near Edenderry, in Ireland, zealously engaged in every good work, until disabled by the decay of his natural strength. When the close of his life drew nigh, he rejoiced that he had been devoted to the service of God, saying, "I feel great peace from the Lord flowing in my soul, and am thankful that I have been made willing to serve him." * * * "Notwithstanding the Lord hath made use of me at times to be serviceable in his hand, I have nothing to trust to but the mercy of God in Christ Jesus." He departed in peace the 20th of the Third month, 1725, about the seventy-first year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his ministry. From the Testimonies prefixed to his Journal, from Friends in Ireland, England, and America, it appears that he was greatly beloved, and that his services as a minister of Christ were highly appreciated and eminently successful.

In the year 1726, another of those faithful standard-bearers who, in Scotland, had been engaged in the Lamb's warfare, was removed from the Church militant.

Andrew Jaffray, of Kingwell, was born in the year 1650, being the son of Alexander Jaffray of the same place, whose eminent services have already been noticed. Up to the period when he became of age, Andrew enjoyed the inestimable privilege of parental counsel and example well adapted to the promotion of his spiritual progress. The good impressions then received were never entirely obliterated; but by giving way to youthful vanity, he

departed for a time from the path of self-denial, though still preserved from gross immorality. In his twenty-fourth year, he was again, through divine mercy, brought under religious conviction, and after passing through the baptism of repentance, he experienced that change of heart and amendment of life which springs from the effectual operation of the Holy Spirit. He cheerfully underwent great sufferings on account of his religious principles, and was a constant fellow-prisoner, at Aberdeen, with David and Robert Barclay, Alexander Forbes, Patrick Livingston, and other early Friends. Being called to the gospel ministry, he was fervent and faithful in the exercise of his gift. His utterance was clear, full, and penetrating; in doctrine he was sound and perspicuous. He travelled in the work of the ministry in his native country and in England,—once, in the year 1698, being accompanied by his daughter Margaret, who, like some females of old, labored with him in the gospel. She was a worthy and zealous preacher of righteousness, as well in life and conversation as in word and doctrine.

Andrew Jaffray, when confined to his bed under the infirmities of old age and disease, bore a clear testimony to the goodness of God to his soul, and mentioned the satisfactory remembrance he had of his labors as a minister of Christ. He departed this life the 1st of the Second month, 1726, aged seventy-six years. In a testimony concerning him, by his friend Robert Barclay, Jr., it is said, “That in the streets of the same city where he had often been reproachfully pointed at for the Truth’s sake and his testimony to it, he, in his latter years, was looked upon with affection and veneration, and blessed as

he passed along." In a paper dictated by him just before his decease, the following passage occurs in relation to the spiritual enjoyments of himself and others during their long imprisonment at Aberdeen: "Oh! the unutterable glory that brake forth and spread even in this country, wherein God Almighty raised up some mean instruments as well as some more honourable, and myself among others, though very unworthy! And when thirty or forty of our ancient Friends were shut up in prison, I cannot but remember this particular instance: that when we were all met in the low Tolbooth, and not a word had been spoken among us, either in prayer or preaching, we breathing in our hearts for power to do the Lord's will, his power at last brake in among us in a wonderful manner, to the melting and tendering of our hearts. And though I was kept very empty a long time, yet at last the glorious power of God broke over the whole meeting, and upon me also, and ravished my heart, —yea, did appear as a ray of divine glory, to the ravishing of my soul and all the living ones in the meeting. So that some of those that were in the town council above, confessed to some of our number with tears, that the breaking in of that power, even among them, made them say one to another, 'Oh! how astonishing it is that our ministers should say the Quakers have no psalms in their meetings; for such an heavenly sound we never heard in either old or new church.' After this, our meetings were often filled with heavenly, divine comfort, to the satisfaction of our souls, and we were often overcome with the love of our God." ¹

¹ J. B. Friends in Scotland, 268.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICA.

1710-1730.

FOR some years prior to this date, frequent dissensions had occurred between the representatives of the people of Pennsylvania and the Deputy Governors, arising from factious opposition on the part of the Assembly and the mal-administration of Governor Evans, which resulted in his recall. During these troubles, James Logan, the Secretary and Agent of William Penn, being a firm supporter of proprietary rights, was impeached by the Assembly on groundless charges, and subsequently an order was issued for his arrest and imprisonment. Governor Gookin interposed by a supersedeas, to prevent the execution of the speaker's writ, and Logan embarked for England, where, after a full hearing, he was triumphantly acquitted, "both by Friends and the civil authorities."¹ He soon after returned to the colony, where he subsequently occupied some of the highest posts in the civil government. The Assembly had for some years been mostly under the influence of persons inimical to the proprietary interest, some of whom were Keithians and others opposed to the collection of quit-rents; but in the year 1710, a reaction took place, the eyes of the people were opened to the deception that had been practised upon them, and at the election that year, not a single member of

¹ For a full account of these matters, see Jauney's *Life of Penn*, chap. 37 and 39.

the former Assembly was returned. Those elected were nearly all Friends, disposed to respect the rights of the Proprietary and to promote his benevolent designs. They chose Richard Hill for their speaker, and their proceedings were characterized by order, decorum, and dispatch. They passed an act in 1711, absolutely prohibiting the importation of negroes for the future,¹—an act that gave great satisfaction to William Penn, but was promptly annulled by the British government. At that time it was the policy of the mother country to keep open a market for slaves in order to enrich her merchants, thus entailing upon the colonies a grievous burden, and inflicting upon the people of Africa the most intolerable evils.

The rise and progress of the testimony against slavery in the Society of Friends, is a subject of much interest, evincing in its gradual development and ultimate triumph, the certainty and safety of divine guidance. George Fox was one of the earliest to call the attention of his brethren to this subject, advising those who held slaves “to train them up in the fear of God,” to cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with them, and after certain years of servitude to set them free.² William Edmundson, in 1675, wrote an epistle to Friends of Maryland, Virginia, and other parts of America, in which he says: “Christ’s command is to do to others as we would have them do to us; and which of you all would have the blacks, or others, to make you their slaves without hope or expectation of freedom? Would not this be an aggravation upon your minds that would outbalance all other comforts? So make their condition your own; for a good conscience void of offence is of more

¹ Watson.

² Journal of G. F., II. 134.

worth than all the world, and Truth must regulate all wrongs and wrong dealings.”¹

In the year 1688, this subject was for the first time brought before the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The record states that “A paper was presented by some German Friends concerning the lawfulness and unlawfulness of buying and keeping of negroes; it was adjudged not to be so proper for this meeting to give a positive judgment in the case, it having so general a relation to many other parts, and therefore at present they forbear it.” This paper from Friends of Germantown meeting, is signed by Garret Henderick, Derick Up-De-graff, Francis Daniel Pastorius, and Abraham, Jr., Den-graff.² It was presented first to the Monthly Meeting at Dublin, thence referred to the Quarterly Meeting at Philadelphia, and finally to the Yearly meeting.

In 1696 the Yearly Meeting issued the following advice to its members: “Whereas several papers have been read relating to the keeping and bringing in of negroes, which being duly considered, it is the advice of this meeting, that Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes, and that such that have negroes be careful of them, bring them to meeting with them in their families, and restrain them from loose and lewd living, as much as in them lies, and from rambling abroad on First days and other times.” It is worthy of notice that their first concern was for the moral and religious welfare of their slaves. As they yielded to this holy impulse, their minds became more and more enlight-

¹ Rise and Progress of Testimony of Friends against Slavery, Philadelphia, 1843, p. 7.

² Bowden, II. 193. Michener's Retrospect, 384.

ened on the subject of slavery, until at length they came to see that no man has a right to seek the advancement of his own interest and convenience at the expense of another, by holding in bondage a fellow creature; thus subjecting him to restraints and burdens grievous to be borne, and impeding the development of his rational faculties. This practice was especially inconsistent in those who believed themselves called to bear a testimony against war, for slavery was founded on war; the Africans being seized by force in their own country, and held by force in the American colonies. We must bear in mind, however, that large numbers of slaves were held in the British possessions when the Society of Friends arose. Some of its early proselytes in America and the West Indies were slave-holders, and others became so for want of due consideration, being influenced by the spirit of the age, and the supposed convenience of slave labor in a new country.

In an unguarded hour, while men slept, the tares were sown, and they could not be immediately eradicated. After they began to bear their noxious fruits, many years of patient labor were required to remove them; but through the wisdom and strength derived from the Lord of the harvest, it was in his own good time accomplished.

William Penn was for a while the owner of a few slaves; but on leaving Pennsylvania for the last time, he liberated them, as appears by a will he then made, which is still extant.¹ He brought before the provincial council, in the year 1700, a law for regulating the marriages of negroes, which was approved in that

¹ See Janney's Life of Penn, p. 438. There is reason to believe that William Penn's intention was not fully effected.

body, but lost in the popular branch. At his suggestion, meetings for worship for the colored people were appointed by Friends to be held once a month.

The Quarterly Meeting of Chester was then the most southern branch of Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, and comprised all the meetings south of Philadelphia Quarter. In the Sixth month, 1711, Chester Monthly Meeting brought the subject of Slavery before the Quarterly Meeting, and the latter concurred in expressing its "dissatisfaction with the buying and encouraging the bringing in of negroes." This conclusion being carried up to the Yearly Meeting, was favorably entertained, and the following advice was issued: "After due consideration of the matter, the meeting considering that Friends in many other places are concerned in it as much as we are, advises that Friends may be careful, according to a former minute of this Yearly Meeting (1696), not to encourage the bringing in of any more; and that all merchants and factors write to their correspondents to discourage them from sending any more."

In the following year the subject was revived in the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania, and mentioned in its epistle to London Yearly Meeting of Friends. After alluding to the advices of former years, it thus continues: "As our settlements increased, so other traders flocked in amongst us, over whom we had no gospel authority, and such have increased and multiplied negroes amongst us, to the grief of divers Friends, whom we are willing to ease if the way might open clear to the general satisfaction. And it being the last Yearly Meeting again moved, and Friends being more concerned in divers other provinces and places, than in these, we thought

it too weighty to come to a full conclusion therein; this meeting therefore desires your assistance by way of counsel and advice therein, and that you would be pleased to take the matter into your weighty consideration, after having advised with Friends in the other American provinces, and give us your sense or advice therein."

The answer of London Yearly Meeting was to this effect: "The importing of Africans from their native country is not a commendable nor allowed practice, and we hope Friends have been careful to avoid the same, remembering the counsel of our blessed Lord, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'"

In reply to this, the Epistle of 1714, from Philadelphia, after stating that none of their members had any hand or concern in bringing negroes out of their own country, expresses a desire that Friends in England would "consult or advise with Friends in other plantations where negroes are more numerous, because, they add, they hold a correspondence with you, but not with us, and your meeting may better prevail with them, and your advice prove more effectual."¹ In the following year, Jona. Dickenson, a Friend engaged in mercantile business in Philadelphia, wrote to his correspondents in Jamaica: "I must entreat you to send me no more negroes for sale, for our people don't care to buy. They are generally against any coming into the country; few people care to buy them, except for those who live in other provinces."²

In the year 1715, Chester Quarterly Meeting

¹ Bowden, II. 199.

² Watson's Annals, p. 482.

again brought the subject before the Yearly Meeting, when the following minute was adopted: "If any Friends are concerned in the importation of negroes, let them be dealt with and advised to avoid that practice according to the sense of former meetings in that behalf; and that all Friends who have, or keep negroes, do use and treat them with humanity and a Christian spirit; and that all do forbear judging or reflecting on one another, either in public or private, concerning the detaining or keeping them servants."

In the ensuing year, Friends of Chester once more brought up the subject, urging, "that the buying and selling of negroes gave great encouragement to the bringing of them in;" and the Yearly Meeting reiterated its former advices against the importation of them, with the following addition: "In condescension to such Friends as are straitened in their minds against holding them, it is desired that Friends do, as much as may be, avoid buying such negroes as shall hereafter be brought in, rather than offend any Friends that are against it; yet this is only caution, not censure."

During the ten years ensuing, the subject is only once referred to, on the Yearly Meeting minutes, and then merely advising Friends to treat with humanity the negroes in their possession, and to abstain from importing any more.¹

It appears that Indian slaves were sometimes brought from Carolina for sale. This practice being repugnant to the feelings of Friends, the Yearly meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in the year 1719, advised its members not to buy or sell them.

¹ Michener's Retrospect, 340, 341.

In New England Yearly Meeting, the earliest notice of any concern on the subject of slavery is a query sent in the Second month, 1716, by the Monthly Meeting of Dartmouth to Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting, asking, "whether it be agreeable to Truth for Friends to purchase slaves and keep them term of life?" This was referred for consideration to the different Monthly meetings composing that Quarterly Meeting. Nantucket Monthly Meeting promptly decided, that "it was not agreeable to Truth for Friends to purchase slaves and keep them term of life." Dartmouth gave a similar answer, and some other meetings expressed a desire, "that no more slaves be brought from foreign parts."

The subject was brought by the Quarterly Meeting before the Yearly Meeting for New England, in the year 1717, where a minute was made, "that a weighty concern rested on the minds of Friends on account of importing and keeping slaves," but no decisive action was taken for many years.¹

The attention of Friends being thus called to the consideration of this important subject, it was not again lost sight of, but was revived from time to time, as will appear in the further progress of this history.

During the early part of this century, the spiritual condition of the Society in Pennsylvania and New Jersey appears to have been very encouraging, and the meetings were visited by many ministers from abroad. The Yearly meetings were largely attended, and highly favored with the aboundings of divine life and love. In the epistle addressed to their brethren of London Yearly Meeting in 1701, they

¹ Rise of Testimony, &c., 43.

say: "We have cause to bless the name of the Lord, that we have the good tidings to send you of his more than common appearance and presence with us in this our Yearly Meeting, where his divine life and love have flowed in an extraordinary manner amongst us." In 1705 they write: "We have had a very large and heavenly Yearly Meeting; the glorious presence of God crowned our assemblies; it was a time of brokenness of heart, and of great refreshment and edification to the heritage of God in these parts; and we hope shall not be forgotten by us." In 1713, they again acknowledge the favor they enjoyed in a very precious, large and heavenly meeting, overshadowed with the presence and power of God.

In relation to the general welfare of the Society, the epistles conveyed the most encouraging tidings. In that of 1711 they say: "It appears that truth in a general way continues to prevail and prosper in this part of the world; the churches everywhere moving and pressing forward towards a perfect standard in all the holy discipline and order." The people generally listened with attention to the public ministrations of Friends, many were convinced of their principles, and new meetings were established. "A visitation," says William Penn, "both inwardly and outwardly is come to America."¹

In the winter of 1713, Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson landed in Virginia, being the second visit of the former and the third of the latter to the American provinces in the service of the gospel. They travelled through Virginia and North Carolina, having many good meetings both among Friends and

¹ Bowden, II. 233.

others, to whom the gospel was preached with acceptance.

They found "a hopeful stock of young people whom the Lord was qualifying for his service, and they received the testimony of Truth with gladness."¹

They travelled through Maryland, and thence to Philadelphia and other parts of Pennsylvania, where the congregations were so large that hundreds could not gain admittance into the meeting-houses. They attended many meetings in New Jersey and Long Island, and then proceeded to Rhode Island Yearly Meeting, where "the universal love of God was held forth, and many hearts were reached and tendered thereby."

After travelling through New England, they returned to New Jersey, and attended the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, where "the Lord's blessed power was richly manifested," and the affairs of the church were managed in love and meekness, to the edification of many. Having accomplished their service in America, they embarked for Ireland, and landed at Cork in the spring of 1715. Thomas Wilson having, twenty years before, fixed his abode near Edenderry, in Ireland, now returned to his home, and James Dickenson took shipping for Cumberland, the place of his residence.

In the year 1715, the meetings of Friends in America were visited by three gospel laborers from England: Thomas Thompson, of Essex; Josiah Langdale, of Yorkshire; and Benjamin Holme, of the city of York. The two former had been engaged in the same service fourteen years previously, and in both

¹ Journal of James Dickenson, p. 144; and T. Wilson, p. 48.

instances were instrumental in promoting the holy cause they had espoused.

Benjamin Holme has already been noticed as a devoted minister of Christ. He was a native of Pen-nith, Cumberland, born in 1682, called to the ministry when only fourteen years old, and three years later engaged in travelling to distant parts in the service of the gospel. He was now in his thirty-fourth year, and had already visited most parts of England, Wales, and Scotland, and some parts of Holland. In America he was engaged in his holy calling about four years, and it is recorded that "divers meetings were settled by him." It was said of him by Friends of his Monthly Meeting, that "It was as his daily food to be found doing the will of God; and a divine ardor and zeal remained on him to the last."¹

Samuel Carpenter, one of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, and for a long period the most prominent among the merchants of Philadelphia, departed this life in the year 1713. He occupied some of the most important posts in the civil government, being a member of the governor's council and treasurer of the province. "Through a great variety of business he preserved the love and esteem of an extensive acquaintance." His great abilities, activity, and benevolence rendered him a useful and valued member of both civil and religious society.²

Griffith Owen, another of the early settlers, and not less distinguished, died in the year 1717. As a minister of the gospel, he was lively and pathetic. As a member of religious society, he was active and exemplary. William Penn, in one of his letters,

¹ Bowden, II. 229. B. Holme died in 1749, aged 67 years.

² Proud, II. 60.,

mentions him as "tender Griffith Owen, who sees and feels." For some years he was an active member of the governor's council. As a skilful physician he was eminently useful in the province. With these qualities, he also preserved the meekness and sincerity of a true Christian, universally beloved through life and lamented at death.¹

Edward Andrews, of New Jersey, although called away from earth in the meridian of life, was instrumental in effecting much good, and is therefore deemed worthy of memorial. His parents, Samuel and Mary Andrews, were exemplary members of the Society of Friends, and through their tender care and counsel his attention was turned very early to seek after divine knowledge. As he grew up to manhood, he swerved from the path of purity in which he had been led, became addicted to vanity and mirth, and for a time desisted from the attendance of religious meetings, being disposed, as he said, to "take his swing in the world." Having removed to a place remote from Friends, where he was brought into association with a loose and disorderly people, he continued to recede from the path of righteousness.

From this condition he was awakened in a singular manner. While working in his field alone, he saw a bone of a man's leg which he had often before handled and thrown carelessly from him; but now the thought arose in his mind, that he would not like, after death, to have his bones thrown about in the open field, and that he ought to do as he would be done by, therefore he must bury that bone. After some reasonings about it, he concluded, as it would

¹ Proud, II. 100.

not be much trouble, he would go and bury it; and having done so, he returned to his work with a peaceful mind. "But while I was at work," he writes, "my heart grew sorrowful; the pure Witness arose in me, and I saw how I had spent many years in vanity; and that it was time to turn to the Lord, and there was a desire raised in me to know God and to receive power from him to forsake sin." Thus we see that by cherishing a virtuous impulse, and performing under its influence even a small duty, the way was opened for a further manifestation of light and life in the soul. As he attended to the teachings of divine grace, he found that he had been indulging too much in mirth and music, and he could not rest satisfied until he had destroyed the instrument that had claimed so large a share of his attention. "When this was done," he writes, "my heart was glad, and I became strong in faith that the Lord would give me power over all my vanities, so that I might grow to God, and spend the rest of my days in his service." Some days after this, the Lord opened my condition to me, and I saw my sins, which made me abhor myself, and I cried out, Lord, be merciful to me! Oh! the bitter days and nights I had,—weeping and mourning, — and there was no man nor woman knew my condition. After some time, I felt the favour of God unto me, and the Lord showed me his people, and my heart was filled with love to all mankind."

Being impelled by a sense of religious duty, he spoke to his neighbors and former companions concerning their vain and unprofitable course of life. Some of them acknowledged their errors; they agreed to meet together on First-days to read the Scriptures and inquire concerning the worship of

God. In these meetings, Edward Andrews found himself required to advocate a pure spiritual worship, and waiting upon God in silence to know his will. Thus he was led to appear in gospel ministry, others were convinced of the same spiritual truths, and a meeting of Friends was gathered and established at Little Egg-Harbor.

Among the earliest converts was William Cramer, who also appeared in the ministry.

Edward Andrews, at the last meeting he attended, preached in the power and authority of Truth, saying he was now fully clear; and just before he was taken sick, he remarked that the Lord had brought him through all his exercises.¹ A memorial from his Monthly Meeting, concerning him, concludes as follows: "He was taken sick the 11th of the Tenth month, 1716; and being sweetly attended with the Lord's presence to the last, he departed this life the 26th of the same month, and his memory lives in the hearts of the faithful."

Richard Johns has been before mentioned, as a prominent Friend, residing at the Cliffs, Calvert County, Maryland. He was born in Bristol, England, in the year 1645, and when he attained to manhood, emigrated to Maryland. He was not then in profession with Friends, but resided with a member of the Society, at whose house the ministers from abroad frequently sojourned. Here, in 1671, he met with George Fox, by whom he was convinced of the principles of Truth. He continued faithful to the end of his days, received a gift in the gospel ministry,

¹ Comly's Miscellany, Vol. VIII. p. 200. Smith's History of Pennsylvania, Chapter XVIII.

and led a life of humble dedication to the service of God.

He was a man of influence in the province, as well as in his own religious society. For many years he was clerk of the Yearly Meeting, and after the death of William Richardson he appears to have been the Friend of most religious weight and of most extensive usefulness within the limits of that body, and his wife was a valuable elder in the church. Their daughter, Elizabeth Stevens, herself a minister in high esteem in Philadelphia, says of her parents: "They lived in sweet harmony until the year 1715, when she departed this life in peace with the Lord." Their hearts and house were open to receive both friends and strangers. A Monthly Meeting was kept at their house for upwards of thirty years. Richard Johns, in a sweet resigned frame of mind, passed from time to eternity, the 16th of the Tenth month, 1717.

In the year 1718, the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina was called to mourn the loss of three valued members, concerning whom it caused to be placed on record, testimonials of regard.

1. William Haig, of Pasquotank County, who removed with his family from Antigua and settled in that province. He is represented to have been "of a loving and sweet spirit," and during his last illness he evinced, by his deportment and expressions, that he was fully prepared to meet the messenger that called him from the trials of time to the rewards of eternity.

2. Mary Haig, wife of the aforesaid William Haig. She was exemplary in life and conversation, affec-

¹ Biographical Sketches, Philadelphia Friend, Vol. 33, No. 52.

tionate in her deportment, and favored with a gift in the ministry. In her last illness she said, "My husband is gone, but I shall not be long a sorrowful widow." * * * "Lord Jesus! thou hast loved me from a child, and I have loved thee ever since I knew thee; my case is not a doubtful one; I come, I come, hasten thou my journey."

3. Joseph Glaister, of Pasquotank County, a native of Cumberland, in Great Britain. He was a valuable minister and very serviceable in the administration of church discipline. He had travelled much in the service of the gospel, and at the close of life was comforted with the assurance of divine favor. In his last sickness he said, "I am very ill, but am clear of all doubt of my salvation, being well assured of it." Thus, at the age of forty-five years, he laid down his head in peace, having expressed his sense of the great love of God to his soul.¹

In the same year, five ministers left England to visit the meetings of Friends in America, and to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation through Christ. These were John Danson, Isaac Hadwin, Elizabeth Rawlinson, Lydia Lancaster, and Rebecca Turner. They came in the same ship with Thomas Chalkley of Pennsylvania, and John Oxley of Barbadoes, both returning from a visit to Great Britain. John Danson was from Swarthmore Monthly Meeting, and Isaac Hadwin from the same county, but no particulars of their gospel labors have been met with. Lydia Lancaster and Elizabeth Rawlinson visited together most of the meetings on the American Continent.² Concerning the former of these two dedicated handmaidens of the Lord, it is related that in

¹ Collection of Memorials, pp. 52, 58.

² Bowden, II. 234.

America "she left many seals of her ministry, both in the edification and help of those who were of the Society, and the convincement of others, gathering them to the great Shepherd of the flock."¹ They both lived to old age, faithful through life and joyful in death.

In 1720, John Appleton, of Lincolnshire, visited the meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and the following year, Margaret Langdale and Margaret Payne came to America in the service of the gospel. The former of these was then the wife of Josiah Langdale; after his death, she married Samuel Preston, of Philadelphia, and "was long an eminent preacher in that city."²

In the year 1721, John Fothergill embarked for America on a gospel mission. He had been engaged in a similar service on that continent in 1706, when he was accompanied by William Armistead, and their united labors were highly appreciated by Friends. On this, his second visit, he was accompanied by Lawrence King, of Yorkshire. They were absent from home three years, and on their return, being at London Yearly Meeting, John Fothergill gave an account of their travels, and of the state of Friends in America, of which the following is an abridgment:

"After a moderate passage, we arrived safely in Virginia, and entered upon our service; and going towards North Carolina, had many large and open meetings both among Friends and others. In both these provinces we found great willingness in the people to hear the truth declared, many of whom appeared tenderly affected. There seemed to be a

¹ Piety Promoted, Part VIII.

² Bowden, II. 234.

comfortable opening among the youth, and some growth in the elder as to religious care. Divine mercy still reaches freely towards them, and in some places there is an increase of righteousness, and truth is in good esteem; but in others the love and friendship of the world occasions a decay.

“In Maryland we found great loss by the decease of many of the elders, and of the more zealous and concerned Friends; yet there are in several parts some who are hopeful and religiously disposed; yet a love of ease and vain liberties have prevailed and hindered the work and honour of truth. There is some openness among several of the neighbouring people, and a gracious extension of divine love to them, as well as of a helpful hand in heavenly wisdom towards Friends.

“In Pennsylvania we found an openness in many places among people of several professions; some were convinced, and received the truth in the love of it. There is a large body of religiously-minded people among Friends, who are growing up in a true care for the honour of truth; yet these are mixed with many earthly-minded, and some loose, libertine people, who occasion much exercise to the right-minded; yet the Lord’s goodness and care is near and over that country, and his truth prospers in it.

“In the Jerseys, Long Island, and New York provinces, there is a considerable number of Friends, and in some places a hopeful openness among other people. Though vain liberties in some, and too much carelessness and indulgence in others, have stained or obstructed the progress and dominion of the work and beauty of truth, yet the visitation of heavenly

love is freely extended in order to repair and build up in righteousness. There are some honestly concerned Friends thereaway, among whom we had a satisfactory labour in the fresh visitation of Divine power and love.

“In Rhode Island and New England we had many meetings and close labour, but, on the whole, much to our satisfaction. There is a considerable body of Friends, and we believe they are increasing in the knowledge of the power of truth, and in stability, righteousness and faithfulness.”

In the Province of Pennsylvania the intercourse between the colonists and the Indians, which had long been friendly and harmonious, was, in the year 1722, for a short time in danger of being seriously interrupted. An Indian of the Five Nations was killed within the limits of the Province somewhere above Conestogoe. The murder was supposed to be perpetrated by two persons of the name of Cartlidge. The Governor, Sir William Keith, immediately commissioned James Logan and Colonel John French to go to Conestogoe and investigate the affair. The sheriff was sent in advance of them, to arrest the reputed murderers. When the commissioners arrived, John Cartlidge was already in custody, and his brother was arrested the following day. A council was immediately called, consisting of the chiefs of the Conestogoes, Shawnese, Ganawese, and Delawares. James Logan made them a speech, in which, after adverting to the firm league of friendship and brotherhood that had been made by William Penn with the Indian tribes, he expressed his great regret that one of their red brethren had been killed, and the willing-

ness of the provincial government to punish the murderer.

The testimony of Indian witnesses was then taken, from which it appeared that John Cartlidge had sold rum to the Indian, who becoming intoxicated, importuned him for more, and persisted in his importunities until the trader, irritated, struck him with so much violence that he died.

The next morning, the commissioners being about to depart with Cartlidge as their prisoner, his wife expressed her grief in loud lamentations, which touched the Indians with sorrow, and they went to comfort her. Before the departure of the commissioners, they sent a messenger to the Senecas, one of the Five Nations, with belts of wampum, to acquaint them with the death of their brother, and endeavor to avert their displeasure. Their answer was received at Philadelphia, bespeaking irritation allayed, but not subdued. Another friendly message was sent, which being accompanied with presents for the chiefs and near relatives of the deceased, had the desired effect. The returning messenger brought the following reply: "The great King of the Five Nations is sorry for the death of the Indian that was killed, for he was his own flesh and blood; but now it is done, there is no help for it." * * * "One life is enough to be lost; there should not two die; the King's heart is good to the Governor and all the English. One struck a gentleman with a knife at Albany. They were sorry for it; but it was made up, and nobody was put to death for it. So they desire John Cartlidge may not die for this; they would not have him killed. John Cartlidge has been a long time bound, and they desire he may be bound

no longer.”¹ In accordance with their request, Cartledge was released, and thus the breach was repaired.

In some parts of New England, Friends were still exposed to suffering on account of their religious testimony, although the bigotry of the clergy and rulers had been greatly restrained since the Act of Toleration. In the year 1692, a law was enacted in Massachusetts for the settlement and support of ministers and schoolmasters, requiring the inhabitants of each township to provide and support an able, learned and orthodox minister. In 1715, another act was passed, vesting in the General Court or Assembly the power to appoint ministers, with the recommendation of any three of the ministers already in orders, who were all Presbyterians or Independents. And by other acts passed in 1722 and 1723, it was ordered that the town of Dartmouth and the town of Tiverton should pay the respective sums of one hundred pounds, and seventy-two pounds and eleven shillings for the support of ministers. These towns were inhabited chiefly by Friends and Anabaptists, who were unwilling to have such ministers set over them, or to pay taxes for their support.

Four members of the Society of Friends, Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, John Aiken, and Philip Tabor, were appointed assessors for those two towns, and they assessed the taxes for the support of the government; but being conscientiously opposed to the hiring of ministers, they refused to assess taxes for their maintenance. For this refusal they were committed to jail, and during their imprisonment

¹ Armistead's *Life of Logan*, pp. 78, 85; and *Proud*, II. 140.

they petitioned the King, George I., stating that they and their families were greatly distressed, and that the people called Quakers had been sufferers to a large amount by the distraint of their property taken from them by violence for the support of such ministers. Their case being brought before the king and council, an order was promptly issued for remitting the additional taxes and releasing the prisoners.¹

In the year 1727, Samuel Bownas landed at Hampton in Virginia, on his second visit to Friends in America. The next day after his arrival, he was entertained at the hospitable mansion of Robert Jordan, a Friend highly esteemed, whose sons Robert and Joseph were both ministers in the Society. They were called to that solemn service about the year 1718, and to their first appearance in that character, the gospel labors of Lydia Lancaster and her companion were under divine aid made instrumental.²

At the time of Samuel Bownas' visit, Robert was in prison for the non-payment of priest's wages, being the second time he had suffered on that account, under a law by which the Church of England was established in Virginia.

Samuel Bownas, after visiting the meetings in Virginia, proceeded to Maryland, where he attended the Yearly Meeting at West River. It held four days; three of them being for worship, and one for church business or discipline. "Many people," he writes, "resort to it, and transact a deal of trade one with another, so that it is a kind of market or exchange, where the captains of ships and the planters meet and settle

¹ Gough, IV., 225.

² Col. of Memorials, p. 109.

their affairs; and this draws abundance of people of the best rank to it."

On approaching Philadelphia, he writes in his Journal: "A great number of Friends came out of the city to meet me, which gave me great uneasiness, fearing I should never be enabled to answer the high expectations that were raised by such conduct; and it were better to forbear such doings, for it is rather a hurt than a help." The meetings he attended in the city were very large, several of them numbering fifteen hundred, and some of them more. Very few of the elders he had met with twenty years before, were now living, and many of the younger generation appeared to be in the form, more than in the power and life of holiness, that prevailed in their predecessors. "Nevertheless," he remarks, "there was a fine living people amongst them, and they were in a thriving good way, several young ministers being very hopeful, both men and women."

Resuming his travels, he attended meetings in New Jersey, and thence proceeded to New England. "The Monthly Meeting at Dartmouth," he says, "was very large, but a narrowness of spirit did some hurt amongst them, and produced some uneasiness which I endeavoured to remove. It was chiefly occasioned by a young man's being, as some thought, too much in the fashion, although plain compared with some others; yet some thought this reason sufficient to refuse his proposal of marriage amongst them, although well recommended from the Monthly Meeting where he was a member. I showed them, that, as he was so well recommended by certificate, they could not reject his proposal according to our discipline. The meeting, after we had some further

conference about it, let the young people proceed, and matters grew easy, and that cloud of difference dispersed and vanished, which was like to hurt both Monthly meetings." On the island of Nantucket, the meetings he attended were very large, "the inhabitants generally inclining to Friends, and there was great love and unity amongst them."

At Lynn he attended their Yearly Meeting, which appears to have been for worship only; and at Salem a similar Yearly meeting, held in connection with a Quarterly meeting for discipline. These were all well attended, and satisfactory.

On reaching Dover, he writes: "It was Yearly Meeting there, they having, in almost every place, once a year, a general meeting, which they call a Yearly Meeting, and by this popular title abundance more people come together in expectation of something extraordinary there to be met with; it held two days, and was to very good content."

At Dartmouth, he attended a general meeting, after which he writes: "This evening, as I was going to bed about ten at night, there was an exceeding great earthquake, that made a noise like the driving of carts or wagons on an uneven causeway; it continued about two minutes to the great surprise of the people. It was felt about 1500 miles, as was after computed, and, as was thought by calculation, was not quite three hours in going that space."

Leaving New England, he travelled through Long Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, attending many meetings. In Virginia he was accompanied by Joseph Jordan, "who had excellent service" in some of the general meetings they attended. At Hampton, Samuel Bownas embarked

for England in the Fifth month, 1728, accompanied by Robert Jordan, Jr., who went on a gospel mission to Friends in Great Britain and Ireland.

Samuel Bownas, in concluding his account of his travels in America, makes the following remarks concerning the increase of Friends in the Provinces: "I had been out of that country somewhat more than twenty-one years, and found so great an increase of the professors of truth, I had a curiosity to examine a little into it,—finding most of the old meeting-houses very much enlarged, some to hold double, some treble, and some four times the people that the old ones would, in my first going thither; and even now some wanted to be either enlarged, or new ones built at proper distances; besides the account of new houses built in that time, in places where none were, nor meetings, but in private houses, which grew so numerous, that necessity put them upon erecting houses to accommodate themselves. In New England and Rhode Island there are twelve; in the government of New York, six; in East and West Jersey, nine; in Pennsylvania, thirteen; in Maryland, four; in Virginia, nine; and in North Carolina, three. In all, there have been fifty-six new meeting-houses built within these two or three and twenty years past, and in these Provinces there are about ten places more that want, where they have none, and many old ones need to be enlarged, not having room for half the people. Now the extraordinary increase of professors [with Friends] is much to be attributed to the youth retaining the profession of their parents and marrying such; for the chief part of the people in Pennsylvania are of this profession, as well as in the Jerseys and Rhode Island, so that young people

are not under the temptation to marry such as are of different judgments in religion, as in some parts."

Among those who, about this period, were summoned to meet the Bridegroom of souls, some names have been preserved on record, that may appropriately claim a place among the memorials of the righteous.

1. Vincent Caldwell was born in Derbyshire, England, about the year 1674; and, being convinced through the ministry of John Gratton, joined in fellowship with Friends about the seventeenth year of his age. Having embraced the truth in sincerity and continuing faithful, a dispensation of the gospel was committed to him, and he not only proclaimed the goodness of God, but by his life and conversation exemplified the doctrine he delivered to others. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in the year 1699, and settled in East Marlborough, in Chester County. He twice visited the meetings of Friends in the Southern provinces, and in the year 1718 he went to Barbadoes and Antigua on a religious mission, where he was made instrumental in gathering many to the fold of Christ. His last sickness continued about six days, during which he was preserved in a sweet, tender frame of mind; taking leave of his wife, children, and friends with Christian resignation. When near his close, he said: "Give me a little water, and I think I shall not want any more, till I drink at that fountain which springs up into eternal life." He died the 10th of the First month, 1720, in the forty-sixth year of his age.¹

2. Anthony Morris emigrated to New Jersey in 1680, and, after residing some years at Burlington,

¹ Col. Mem., 58. Smith's Hist. Pa., Chap. XVIII.

settled in Philadelphia. In the year 1701 he appeared as a minister, being then in his forty-seventh year, and through fidelity in the exercise of his gift his communications were sound and edifying. Having a prospect of much religious labor, he circumscribed his worldly affairs, and devoted his time chiefly to the holy cause he had espoused. He travelled in the work of the ministry in most of the North American provinces, and in the year 1715 he visited Great Britain. When the close of life drew nigh, he was found prepared for the momentous change, saying, "He was favoured with the evidence in himself that he had done what he could, and felt peace." He added, "My hope of eternal salvation is alone in the mercy of God through his son Jesus Christ, the only Saviour and Mediator." He departed this life the 23d of the Eighth month, 1721, aged sixty-seven years.¹

3. Thomas Lightfoot came from Ireland in the year 1716, and settled at New Garden, Chester County, Pennsylvania. His intimate friend Thomas Chalkley speaks of him, in his Journal, as being "greatly beloved for his piety and virtue, his sweet disposition and lively ministry." He died in 1724, at the age of nearly fourscore years.²

4. Caleb Pusey was born in Berkshire, England, about the year 1650, and was educated among the Baptists; but being convinced of the principles of Truth as held by Friends, he became united with them. In the year 1682 he removed to Pennsylvania, and settled in Chester County. He was a worthy elder in the church, sound in judgment, and zealous

¹ Col. Mem., 61; and Smith's Hist., XVIII.

² Ibid.

in maintaining the cause of truth. In civil society he was one of the most influential among the early colonists, being long a member of the governor's council, and several times elected to the Assembly. He died in peace the 25th of the Twelfth month, 1726, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.¹

6. Hannah Hill, wife of Richard Hill and daughter of Thomas Lloyd, was born in Montgomeryshire, Wales, in the year 1666. In early life she came with her parents to Pennsylvania, and her mother being soon after removed by death, the care of the younger children devolved upon her. In her memorial by Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, it is said: "This close trial in the earlier part of her time, was abundantly sanctified to her, for her mind being engaged to seek the Lord for her portion and her father's God for the lot of her inheritance, he was graciously pleased not only to favour her with the knowledge of himself and the enjoyment of his living presence in the days of her youth, but also made her a singular instrument of good and a blessing to her father's family. As she grew in years, her conspicuous virtues, joined with a courteous deportment, justly gained the esteem and favour of most, if not all, with whom she conversed."

Her first husband was John Deleval, a minister and humble follower of Christ, whose decease in 1693 has been noticed. In 1703 she was united in marriage with Richard Hill.

"In the affluent circumstances wherein Divine Providence had placed her, her benevolent disposition was conspicuous in administering to the necessities of the indigent, her charity not being limited to

¹ Smith's Hist., Chap. XIX.; and Col. Mem., 68.

those of her own profession. She was a true servant of the church, and in the sense of the apostle's expressions, "one that washed the saints' feet," receiving with joy into her house the ministers and messengers of the gospel, for whom her love was great. The low and the poor were the objects of her peculiar care. In her younger years she received a gift in the ministry, which she retained with faithfulness to the end; and her discourses, though not long, were delivered with "great modesty and soundness of expression." The power of divine love which attended her through life proved to be her sufficient support at the final hour, and in a sweet frame of mind she closed her well-spent life, the 25th of the Twelfth month, 1726, in the sixty-first year of her age.

6. Richard Hill was born in Maryland, brought up to the sea, and afterwards settled in Pennsylvania. He was twenty-five years a member of the governor's council, several times speaker of the Assembly, for some years first commissioner of property, and during the last ten years of his life one of the provincial judges. He was for many years an active member of the Society of Friends, in which his services were highly appreciated. "He had," says the early historian of Pennsylvania, "by nature and acquisition such a constant firmness, as furnished him with undaunted resolution to execute whatever he undertook. His sound judgment, his great esteem for the English constitution and laws, his tenderness for the liberty of the subject, and his zeal for preserving the reputable order established in his own religious community, with his great generosity to proper objects, qualified him for the greatest services, in every station in which he was engaged, and rendered him of very

great and uncommon value in the place where he lived.”¹ He died in Philadelphia in 1729.

CHAPTER VIII.

EUROPE.

1731-1750.

ALTHOUGH the Society continued to receive frequent accessions to its ranks by the convictionment of persons not educated within its pale, yet there is reason to believe, that, at this date, much the larger number of its members were the children of Friends. Believing as they did, that neither righteousness nor guilt can be transmitted as an inheritance, but that man is endowed with natural propensities, which, if improperly indulged, will lead to sin, they felt the necessity of training their children with assiduous care in the path of rectitude, trusting in divine aid to bless their endeavors. The epistles of London Yearly Meeting for the years 1731 and 1732, contain earnest appeals to parents, urging the fulfilment of their responsible duties in the religious training of their offspring; and referring to their worthy predecessors who in all the relations of life were bright examples of the Christian virtues.

The sufferings of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland for ecclesiastical demands, from the year 1730 to 1750, averaged more than four thousand five hundred pounds per annum, and during the same

¹ Proud, I. 473. An instance of R. Hill's firmness and courage in resisting the exaction of "powder-money" may be seen in Janney's Life of Penn, p. 506.

period there were generally from one to three persons detained in prison on that account.

In order that the clergy might collect their tithes and church-rates without resorting to the Exchequer and Ecclesiastical courts, which were grievously oppressive to their parishioners, a law was enacted by Parliament in 1695, authorizing them to apply to two justices of the peace who could order distraint to be made in a summary manner. But as this law did not prohibit them from resorting to the former ruinous method, some were found among them sufficiently malignant to prosecute the Friends in the Ecclesiastical courts, harassing them with needless costs and sometimes with imprisonment.

In the year 1736, a petition was presented to Parliament on behalf of the Society of Friends, praying that those claiming tithes and church-rates might be restrained from proceedings so ruinous and destructive. "Those prosecutions," say the petitioners, "though frequently commenced for trivial sums from four pence to five shillings, and great part of them for sums not exceeding forty shillings, have been attended with such heavy costs and rigorous executions, that above eight hundred pounds have been taken from ten persons, where the original demands upon all of them collectively did not amount to fifteen pounds. By such prosecutions the favourable intent of the aforesaid act is in a great measure frustrated; and many of the said people suffer as if no such law were in being; though Christian charity must admit, that their refusal of such demands is purely conscientious, since no reasonable man, considering his circumstances and family, would incur such severe sufferings on any other account."

It might have been supposed that an application so reasonable as this, intended not to prevent the collection of tithes, but only to restrain unfeeling men from the infliction of needless suffering, would have met with no opposition; but it soon appeared that the clergy were extremely unwilling to relinquish the power they possessed, to harass their inoffensive neighbors.

A bill for the relief of the petitioners being brought into the House of Commons and printed, the clergy exerted all their influence to defeat it. Several pamphlets were published against it, two of which were reported to be written by bishops, and circulars were sent to the clergy in most parts of the kingdom, in consequence of which petitions from that order came up from many places in England and Wales, praying that the bill might not be enacted into a law. Counsel was heard in behalf of the petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which, after much debate, surmounted all opposition, and was sent up to the House of Lords.

In the Upper House, upon the second reading of the bill, a long debate ensued, when the reality of the grievances intended to be removed being too evident to be evaded, a new argument was brought forward by the bishops and their adherents to defeat the measure. They alleged that the bill as it came from the Commons, was too imperfect to be passed into a law, and the session too far advanced to allow time for amending it. Under this pretence it was defeated, and among the majority voting against it are the names of fifteen bishops.

The course pursued by the clergy of the Established Church on this occasion, evinces the anti-

Christian spirit by which they were actuated. Not content with extorting tithes from persons who declined their services, they insisted on retaining the power to oppress them by ruinous prosecutions and tedious imprisonments. In order more fully to illustrate this subject, a few cases of suffering may appropriately be cited.

1. William Francis, a poor shoemaker in Bedfordshire, was in the year 1707 prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical court, by Christopher Eaton, vicar, for a demand of four pence. The suit was continued until the charges amounted to eighty pounds; and the poor man was excommunicated and imprisoned in Bedford jail above nineteen months, till an act of grace came out and set him at liberty.

2. Adam Laurence and Elizabeth Vokins were prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical court in the year 1702, for a demand of about nine shillings, and on a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, continued prisoners in Reading jail between six and seven years.

3. John Tydd was, in the year 1703, prosecuted in the Exchequer, for a demand of thirty-four shillings for small tithes, and imprisoned in Cambridge Castle six years.

4. Richard Hitchen was, in the year 1704, prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, adjudged at one pound nineteen shillings and six pence, on which the costs were taxed at thirty-eight pounds, and for non-payment he was imprisoned seven years.

5. Ann Henderson, widow, and her son Richard Henderson, were prosecuted by a parson, for tithe-wool, in the Court of Common Pleas. The jury gave a verdict for one penny, and they suffered imprisonment eleven months.

6. Israel Fell, of Lancashire, was prosecuted in the year 1719, for tithes valued at one shilling, and imprisoned four years, till the death of the prosecutor.

In addition to these, and many other like cases of suffering, a number of Friends died in prison, and a great amount of property was taken by exorbitant distrainments.

A Brief Account of these facts being published, called forth answers from some of the clergy who had been exposed to public odium, and Friends continued the controversy by issuing a Vindication of their former statements. In this rejoinder, they allege that they have proved:—

“1. That 1180 persons have been prosecuted.

“2. That 302 of them were committed to prison.

“3. That 9 of them died prisoners.

“4. That the sums sued for were frequently from four pence to five shillings; that in one case a poor widow and her son were imprisoned eleven months on a verdict for one penny for tithe-wool. And that in another case two persons were excommunicated and sent to jail for a demand of but one farthing, each for a church-rate.

“5. That a great part of those prosecutions were for sums not exceeding forty shillings.

“6. That heavy costs and rigorous executions have attended those prosecutions, of which there are a great many instances; in some of which the proportion of the sums levied to the original demand is greater than that of eight hundred pounds for demands of fifteen.”¹

The fidelity of those patient sufferers for the cause

¹ Gough, IV. 301.

of Truth is worthy of perpetual remembrance; but the chief benefit to be derived from a record of such transactions, is to warn succeeding generations against the evils resulting from a mercenary priesthood, and a union of church and state.

John Fothergill, after his return from his second visit to America, was frequently engaged in gospel labors in England, Wales, and Ireland; and in the intervals when not thus employed, he diligently attended to his temporal business for the support of his family. He had six sons and one daughter. Two of his sons, remarkable for their early piety, died young, and two others attained to eminence.

John, the second surviving son, was born in 1712. On leaving school he was placed as an apprentice to a surgeon, and afterwards prosecuted the study of medicine at Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1736. He then passed some time at Leyden and other places on the Continent, and settled in London. He became justly distinguished for eminence in his profession, and as a zealous promoter of science and natural history, as well as for his extensive benevolence and philanthropy, and for his great usefulness as a member of the Society of Friends.¹

Samuel Fothergill, the sixth son of John and Margaret Fothergill, was born at Carr End, Yorkshire, the 9th of Ninth month, 1715. At seventeen years of age, he was apprenticed as a shopkeeper with a Friend in Stockport. He was endowed with bright talents; and his disposition being lively and even volatile, caused his company to be much sought after by a circle of gay acquaintances. Yielding to

¹ Crossfield's Mem. of S. Fothergill, p. 30.

the temptations by which he was surrounded, he abandoned himself to the pursuit of folly and dissipation. His condition at that time is thus described in his own impressive language: "I wandered far from the garden enclosed, and laid myself open to the enemy of my soul; I kept the worst company, and subjected myself to almost every temptation; broke through the fence of the sacred enclosure, and trampled it under my feet; and when for a time I found the least inclination to do good, evil was present with me, and I went on from one degree of iniquity to another. My wickedness so far increased with my diligence, that at length, alas! I beheld the strong wall broken down, the garden-wall destroyed, the mound left defenceless, and no hope left of returning peace to my afflicted soul." * * * "I strayed to that degree that my life became a burden to me, and I wished that I had never been born."

Although he had strayed far from the fold of peace, yet he was not forsaken by the good Shepherd, who often visited him, with "the reproofs of instruction which are the way of life;" nor did he remain long in that perilous condition; but yielding at length to the powerful convictions of divine grace, he cried earnestly for deliverance, and his prayers were heard. He was now twenty years of age, and leaving Stockport, he went to reside in the family of his brother Joseph at Warrington, where his associations were more favorable to the progress of repentance and conversion.

His irreligious conduct had been deeply afflicting to his pious father, whose pure example and faithful admonitions were well calculated to lead him in the path of virtue. Being now about to embark on his

third and last visit to the churches in America, John Fothergill was exceedingly solicitous for the welfare of his son, on whose behalf his prayers had often been put up to the Father of mercies, for his redemption from evil. "Memorable and affecting was their last interview. After once more imparting to his son deep and impressive counsel, he took his leave in these words: 'And now, son Samuel, farewell! farewell! and unless it be as a changed man, I cannot say that I have any wish ever to see thee again.'"

This last appeal from a beloved parent, accompanied as it was by awful solemnity and deep emotion, had a powerful and lasting effect upon Samuel Fothergill. The words of his father remained as if engraven on his heart, and assisted to confirm him in the path of repentance upon which he had entered. Yielding obedience to the heavenly call, he turned his back upon the vanities of the world and the allurements of sin; and having patiently endured that spiritual baptism which purifies the heart, he found acceptance and favor with God.

In a letter addressed to the Monthly Meeting, he acknowledges his deviations in the following language: "I know my sins are so many and so obvious to every one, that it is impossible and needless to recount and remark upon them; for I was then in the bond of iniquity, though it has pleased the Father of Mercies to bring me since into the very gall of bitterness, and into anxiety of soul inexpressible, yea, not to be apprehended by any but those who have trod the same path, and drunk the same cup; yet, blessed be the name of God! he who hath kindled breathings in my soul after him would sometimes break in upon me, and though the waves of Jordan

have gone over my head, his supporting arm was underneath, that I should not be discouraged." * * * "Now I would address myself to the youth among you. In a certain sense of the Divine extendings of that love wherewith he hath loved us, do I salute you with sincere desires that that God who visited our fathers while aliens and strangers to him, may be our God; that we may embrace the day of our visitation, and not turn our backs upon so great a mercy as he, I am sensible, is daily extending. Oh! I have tasted of his love, I have had to celebrate his name; and though unfit for the work, I cannot be easy, nor discharge my known duty, without entreating you to forsake the vanities of the world; for the end thereof is unavoidable sorrow, and endless torment; but happy are they who give timely application in earnestly seeking the Lord, who will (I speak from blessed experience) be found of those who earnestly and diligently seek him, for he has appeared to me (when I was afraid I was forgot) as a morning without clouds, to my exceeding great encouragement and consolation, and strengthened my resolution to follow him who has done so much for my soul."

About the twenty-first year of his age, and very soon after he had given up his heart to the service of God, Samuel Fothergill was called to engage in the gospel ministry. In this solemn service he appeared in humility and much fear, but being watchful and obedient, he grew in his gift, and became very eminent as a minister of Christ. The first meeting between him and his father, after the return of the latter from America, is thus related by his biographer:

"Soon after the return of John Fothergill from

his last visit to America, he went to the Quarterly Meeting at York, which was large, and attended by many Friends from different parts of the nation. His company was very acceptable, and the occasion was in a peculiar degree solemn and instructive. Here he met his son Samuel. Tradition has handed down (and there is no other record of it) a remarkable circumstance connected with this, their first interview, since the return of the father to England. It is said, that from some accidental circumstance, John Fothergill did not arrive in York until the morning of the day of the meeting, and that it was late when he entered the meeting-house. After a short period of silence, he stood up, and appeared in testimony; but after he had proceeded a short time, he stopped and informed the meeting that his way was closed; that what he had before him was taken away, and was, he believed, given to another. He resumed his seat, and another Friend immediately rose, and taking up the subject, enlarged upon it in a weighty and impressive testimony, delivered with great power. It is added, that at the close of the meeting, John Fothergill inquired who the Friend was that had been so remarkably engaged amongst them, and was informed that it was his own son Samuel.” * * * “The good old man received his son as one restored from the spiritually dead, and wept and rejoiced over him with no common joy.”¹

Among the Friends at Warrington who took a deep interest in the welfare and spiritual progress of Samuel Fothergill, was Susanna Croudson, a young woman highly esteemed in the Society, and very

¹ Crossfield's Mem. of S. Fothergill, p. 71.

acceptable as a minister. She was a few years older than himself, and being more advanced in religious experience, her judicious counsel, extended to him at the time of his reformation, had been peculiarly helpful and encouraging. In her he found a friend to whom, in the season of his distress, he could unburden his mind, and whose sympathy was cordial to his feelings. The friendship thus begun ripened into a more tender affection; a correspondence ensued, and in the Sixth month, 1738, they were united in marriage. Their union being founded upon the surest basis, proved to be a happy one; they lived together in true harmony and religious fellowship.

They were often engaged in the love of the gospel to visit the churches, and sometimes being called to different fields of service, their correspondence affords a lively and touching example of Christian faith and conjugal affection. In a letter of Samuel Fothergill to his wife, dated Malton, Fourth month 20th, 1740, he thus speaks of two eminent ministers then far advanced in years and ripe in religious experience: "I was at Castleton, which is Luke Cock's meeting. I spent an hour with that emblem of innocence, and in the afternoon rode ten miles to the house where the ark resteth, *i. e.*, John Richardson's, who went with me next day to Pickering, and I went back with him to his home. On the following day was at Kirby Meeting, to which that man of God belongs. It was a very heavenly season. Oh! let it be forever remembered by all that partook of the benefit of it. The good man said they had always good meetings, but this was a very extraordinary one. The life of truth arose wonderfully, and that father in Israel, John Richardson, took me home, where we

sat up until almost daylight. We then repaired to our respective lodgings; but soon after five in the morning, he came and sat by my bedside, and though weak and very poorly, would accompany me ten miles to this place, and we have here parted in mutual tenderness."

The religious services of Samuel Fothergill are mentioned by James Gough, who met with him at Lancaster in the year 1740. He says: "Here I met with Samuel Fothergill, then young in the ministry, but even then appearing with that solemnity, brightness and gospel authority as gave Friends lively hopes of his proving, as he did through the successive stages of his life, a bright and shining light, a vessel of honour, indeed, of eminent service in the Church of Christ. The public service of the Quarterly Meeting fell to the share of us who were young, though many weighty, experienced ministers were present; and our good Master being with us, it proved a refreshing, satisfactory, and edifying meeting."¹ These two young ministers were then travelling in the service of the gospel with the approbation of their respective meetings, and their religious labors were truly acceptable, being crowned with the evidence of divine life.

James Gough was born at Kendal, in Westmoreland, on the 27th of the Twelfth month, 1712. His parents, John and Mary Gough, were members of the Society of Friends. He early evinced an aptitude for learning, and received a classical education. While very young, his understanding was enlightened by divine grace, so as to see his own deficiencies; and being at a meeting held in Kendal, his

¹ Mem. and Letters of S. Fothergill, 78.

feelings were deeply moved through the ministry of Joseph Jordan, of Virginia, then engaged on a religious mission to England. These good impressions, however, were of short duration, for the seductive influence of evil company enticed him away from the narrow path of self-denial, and delayed his spiritual progress.

In his fifteenth year he was placed with David Hall, of Skipton, in Yorkshire, and employed as usher in his boarding-school. In David Hall he found a kind master and faithful instructor, who labored to promote the best interests of the pupils placed under his charge, and as a minister of the gospel was highly esteemed for his work's sake.

After a residence of several years at Skipton, James Gough went to Bristol, and engaged as usher in the school of Alexander Arscott, who proved to be to him as a kind and tender father. Concerning this worthy Friend, he has left the following testimony: "He was the eldest son of the parson of South-molton, in Devonshire, and himself educated at the University of Oxford with intention to fit him for the same function. But when he was just ripe for preferment, and might have had a fair prospect that way, his father being well-beloved and respected among the great men in that country, he turned his back upon all prospects of this kind, being convinced of the blessed truth.

This was a great mortification to his father and mother, who would both sit weeping by him in the bitterness of their hearts, as I have heard him relate. This, he added, pierced him deeply, as he sincerely desired to be a dutiful son to tender and indulgent parents. A cloud came over his understanding, and

the enemy in his own breast suggested that he was acting quite wrong. But as he humbled himself before the Most High, imploring his direction, he received a fresh sight that he must forsake father and mother for Christ, and be faithful to the manifestation of his will through all events. His parents became afterwards better reconciled to his change when he was settled in good business in Bristol, where he kept school for the children of Friends and others from that time till his decease, being about thirty-five years, and proved helpful to the rest of his father's family in procuring them, by his interest, places for getting a livelihood."

In a testimony from "Friends of Bristol," concerning Alexander Arscott, they say: "His ministry gave evidence of its purity being accompanied with Divine wisdom, power and life, and we hope those writings he has left will prove serviceable to many, both in the present and succeeding generations." His delight was in doing good to all men, and much of his time was spent in serving his friends and neighbors, of which the widows and the fatherless, and such as labored under affliction, had a large share. He departed this life the 30th of the First month, 1737, in the sixty-first year of his age.¹

While James Gough resided at Bristol, he experienced a fresh visitation of Divine love, and yielding to the gracious invitation, he entered into covenant with God, sincerely desiring to live to his praise. About the twenty-sixth year of his age he removed to Cork, in Ireland, where he followed his vocation as a teacher of youth, and in the following year

¹ Collection of Testimonies. London, 1760.

appeared in the gospel ministry. In the exercise of this gift he improved, and was sometimes applauded to his own injury, as he candidly confesses in his Journal. "Being," he writes, "of an active natural disposition, it became a cross to me to be silent, when it was best to be so. And sometimes after I stood up I continued too long, till the testimony, as to the life of it, flattened and grew tedious to the hearers. I wanted too, to imitate some others who, I thought, preached finely." "Among the many good institutions which the discoveries of celestial wisdom have established in our Society, that of faithful elders appointed to watch over the flock, and over the ministry, has been found to be very useful. And though the love of self-honour made me sometimes bear hardly the reproof of a friend, yet I have afterwards, as in the cool of the day, discerned the expediency of it, and been induced to desire to be more careful in future, and to be willing to receive advice as well as to give it."

"O ye whom Christ calls into the work of the ministry, or any other office, give up your lives to him and it, both to do and to suffer what he may order or permit, for the vessels of the Lord's house are to be of *beaten* gold. Every son whom he loves he rebukes and chastens. Then ever receive with a good mind the counsel or the reproofs of a friend." * * * "Applause pleases the creature, but greatly endangers it. Suffering in spirit, though more painful, is more safe."

"I have not so often met with this kind of returns to my ministry as applause, which indeed is an intoxicating and pernicious cup for any to drink without great fear. It ferments the spirits with a false

alacrity; elevates the mind with self-conceit, and an imagined superiority to others, leads into an evil emulation, and even to slight those who are in a much better state, by dwelling in the valley of humility subject to Christ the beloved of their souls."

The first journey of James Gough, in the work of the ministry, was in the year 1740, to the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and part of Yorkshire. In this labor of love he was blessed with divine aid, and returned to his home with the recompense of peace.

About the year 1743 he removed to Mountmeleck, in Leinster, where his service became extensive, being in the centre of a large body of Friends. Subsequently he removed to Bristol, where he kept a school for some years, and then returning to Ireland, he settled in Dublin, where he passed the remainder of his days, recommending by the purity of his life the doctrine he delivered to others. He died in the year 1780, aged sixty-seven.

In the year 1746, an opportunity was afforded to the English Friends of again manifesting their loyalty to the House of Brunswick, and their adherence to the principles of the Protestant reformation. England being at war with France and Spain, the time was thought propitious by the adherents of the house of Stuart, for the representative of that line, Prince Charles, son of the Pretender, and grandson of James II., to assert his claim to the British throne. He accordingly landed in Scotland, and being joined by several clans of Highlanders, defeated a body of the king's troops at Preston Pans, near Edinburgh. He then invaded the North of England and took Carlisle, which spread great alarm throughout the kingdom;

but at the battle of Culloden he was totally defeated and soon after returned to France.

On this insurrection being suppressed, the Yearly Meeting of London adopted an address to the king, expressive of their affection for his government and their detestation of the rebellion.

It was graciously received by the king, with an assurance of his continued protection; and after the Friends, who presented it, had withdrawn, he said to the Duke of Grafton, that he had not received any one which had given him so much real satisfaction.

About this time several Friends who had occupied prominent positions in the Society were called from works to rewards.

1. Samuel Overton was born in the county of Warwick, in the year 1668. In his youth he received a visitation from on high, and being obedient, the Lord was pleased to commit unto him, about the year 1694, a gift in the gospel ministry, in the exercise of which he faithfully labored until prevented by weakness of body, which was a very short time before his death. He was one of the first of those concerned in establishing meetings for church discipline in the county of Warwick, and being a man of sound judgment, he was truly serviceable in that department of religious service. He not only recommended to others a holy and circumspect life, but was himself a pattern of purity in conduct and conversation.

In his last illness, being deeply concerned for the welfare of the church, he fervently prayed that the "Lord of the harvest would send forth more labourers into his harvest." He departed this life the 23d of the Seventh month, 1737, aged sixty-nine, a minister about forty-three years.

2. Aaron Atkinson was born in the county of Cumberland, about the year 1665, and received his education among the Presbyterians. About the twenty-second year of his age, he was through the ministry of Christopher Taylor, convinced of the principles professed by Friends, and joined in communion with them.

Being called to the gospel ministry, by the immediate revelation of divine grace, he became, through obedience, well qualified for that service, and was instrumental in gathering many to the fold of Christ. He travelled extensively as a minister, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America. In the decline of life he was blessed with an assurance of divine favor, and retained to the last a lively sense of Heavenly goodness. He died at Leeds the 10th of the Eighth month, 1740, aged seventy-five years.

3. John Gurney was descended of worthy parents who were among the early sufferers for the cause of Truth in the city of Norwich. They took particular care in the religious education of their children, and had the satisfaction to witness in most of them the blessed effects of their parental endeavors.

The subject of this notice, very early in life, set his heart to seek the Lord, and by submitting to the guidance of his Holy Spirit, he was endued with a good understanding in the mysteries of the gospel, and about the twenty-second year of his age, he appeared as a minister in the assemblies of his Friends, much to their edification and comfort. As he advanced in years, his spiritual gift was enlarged, and he became "an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures."

His life and conversation well corresponded with his doctrine; he lived in the fear of God, and was a

pattern of sobriety, chastity, moderation and temperance, as well as of other Christian virtues; thereby adorning the gospel of Christ. He was eminently useful, not only in religious, but in civil affairs, being qualified, by his excellent judgment and quickness of apprehension, to heal differences and serve the public in works of benevolence. He finished his course in unity with his brethren, and in perfect charity to all men, the 19th of the Eleventh month, 1740.¹

4. Benjamin Bangs was born in the county of Norfolk, the 1st of the Tenth month, 1652, and religiously educated in the principles of the Church of England, by his mother, his father dying when he was young. Before he was twelve years old, the Lord was pleased to extend to him a merciful visitation of his love, by which "a sweet calmness was spread over his mind," and a desire was felt to lead a holy life. Through the seductive influence of evil company, this precious state of mind was in a great measure lost; but about the nineteenth year of his age, while residing in the city of London, he attended a Friends' meeting, where he was again visited with "the day-spring from on high," a spiritual conflict was experienced, and through divine aid he was enabled after many struggles to gain the ascendancy over the imaginations and passions by which he had been led captive. Being soon after called to bear a public testimony to the Truth, he became an able minister of the gospel of Christ, and labored faithfully in various parts of Great Britain and Ireland. In the year 1683 he married and removed to Cheshire; and some years after settled at Stockport, where he continued faith-

¹ Collection of Test. London, 1760.

ful in his religious duties and diligent in the attendance of meetings until disabled by old age and infirmities.

According to the testimony of the Quarterly Meeting of Cheshire, he was an elder worthy of double honor, being an example to the flock, and in doctrine sound, clear, and instructive. When the close of life drew nigh, he often expressed himself to this purpose: "That his work was finished, and he freely resigned, seeing nothing but peace from the Lord upon his spirit." He died the 6th day of the Twelfth month, 1741, in the ninetieth year of his age; "Gathered home as a shock of corn fully ripe, into the garner of God, there to enjoy the blessed rewards of the righteous, in an endless fruition of joy and glory."¹

5. James Dickenson, after his return from America, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, continued indefatigable in labors and travels for the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom; frequently visiting the meetings of Friends in various parts of England, and twice performing a similar service in Ireland. Being at the Yearly Meeting of London in 1727, he laid before the Friends there assembled, "a concern that had been upon his mind for some time, about collecting and printing an account of the deep sufferings which Friends had undergone, that they might be transmitted to future ages for a testimony of the great favours and mercies of God to his faithful people." "The meeting," he writes, "saw it was necessary, and the same was soon after proceeded upon."

About a year before his death he was seized with

¹ Memoirs of B. Bangs, London, 1757, p. 6.

paralysis, which affected his speech; yet there were intervals in which he seemed to surmount the decay of his natural powers, and appeared in a sweet and heavenly frame of mind, intimating that his day's work was done, that God, whom he had served, was still with him, and that he had the evidence of peace and future felicity sealed upon his soul, and was only waiting to be removed; but was fully resigned unto the Lord to wait his time." Thus leaning upon the arm of divine power, he gently departed this life the 6th of the Third month, 1741, aged eighty-three years, having been a minister sixty-five years.¹

6. Thomas Story, after becoming a resident of Pennsylvania, as already related, was much employed in public affairs, and held important trusts by appointment of the Proprietary; but in order that secular business should not interfere with the duties of his higher calling, he was allowed the privilege, when called from home in the service of the gospel, to perform his official duties by deputy. He frequently visited the meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and sometimes travelled into the other provinces, preaching the gospel, and affording counsel and encouragement to the brethren in the administration of church discipline. In the year 1709 he visited the West Indies, and the vessel in which he took passage being captured by a French privateer, was carried into Martinique; but he was treated with kindness, and suffered to go under a flag of truce to Antigua, one of the English Islands.

In the year 1714 he embarked for Barbadoes, and after attending a number of meetings there, he

¹ Journal of Jas. Dickenson, London, 1745, p. 171.

proceeded to England, where he resided during the remainder of his life. He continued indefatigable in his labors in the service of the gospel, visiting various parts of Great Britain and Ireland, and extending his travels to Holland and Germany.

Some time before his death he was taken with paralysis, which affected his speech, after which he seldom appeared in the ministry, signifying, "That his day's work seemed to be over." He continued in a sweet frame of spirit, and attended meetings when able. He departed this life at Carlisle, the 21st of the Fourth month, 1742, aged near eighty, a minister about fifty years.

Thomas Story was one of the most eminent ministers of the Society. In a testimony concerning him, by Carlisle Monthly Meeting of Friends, it is said, that, "being a man of great qualifications, and these sanctified and made instrumental by Divine wisdom, rendered his ministry very convincing and edifying; so that he was acknowledged, not only by our Society, but also by other people, to be a truly great and evangelical minister." Being well educated, and having a taste for literature and science, he acquired a general knowledge of Natural Philosophy and most branches of the Mathematics, but his favorite studies were those which more immediately related to Christ's spiritual kingdom, and the happiness of mankind.¹

His correspondence with James Logan affords evidence of the philosophical turn of his mind, and one passage in particular is so remarkable as to be deemed worthy of insertion here. "In Yorkshire," he says,

¹ Armistead's Miscellanies, Vol. V., 125.

“I spent some months, especially at Scarborough, during the season, attending the meetings, at whose high cliffs and the great varieties of strata therein, and their present positions, I further learned and was confirmed in some things; and that the earth is of much older date, as to the beginning of it, than the time assigned in the Holy Scriptures, *as commonly understood*, which is suited to the common capacities of human kind, as to six days’ progressive work, by which I understand certain long and competent periods of time, and not natural days, the time of the commencement and finishing of all those great works being undiscoverable by the mind of man, and hid in that short period, ‘In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.’ And then the author goes on to set forth the further modifications of the terraqueous globe, and, I conjecture, very long after it had its being with the rest of the worlds.”¹ This passage having been written before the science of Geology was founded, must be considered a remarkable anticipation of a theory now generally acknowledged.

7. George Rooke was born in the county of Cumberland, England, in the year 1652. He was educated in the National Church, but about the twentieth year of his age, being convinced through the ministry of John Graves, he joined in profession with Friends. In his twenty-fifth year he was called to the gospel ministry, and zealously devoted himself in the prime of life to the promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth. In 1679, he went on this account into Scotland, accompanied by Peter Fearon;

¹ Mem. of J. Logan, by W. Armistead. London, 1851, p. 155.

and it being a time of civil war, they travelled on foot by the advice of George Fox, because, if they had ridden, their horses would in all probability have been taken from them.

He visited Ireland four times in the service of the gospel, and in the year 1686 settled in Limerick. He resided in that city during the memorable siege in 1690, when the Irish successfully repulsed the English under King William; but before the second siege, which resulted in the capture of the city, he removed with his family to Cumberland. In 1693, he returned to Ireland and settled in Dublin, where he continued to reside during the rest of his life. He was an able minister, and his labors were crowned with success in the conviction of many. In preaching he was clear and lively, even to extreme old age; in prayer reverent, weighty, and concise; in deportment meek and humble; diligent in reading the Holy Scriptures, and accurate in quoting them. He retained his integrity, as well as understanding and memory, to the last, and expired the 7th of the Twelfth month, 1742, being in the ninety-first year of his age, and about the sixty-seventh of his ministry.

8. John Fothergill, after his return from his third visit to America, was unremitting in his endeavors to serve his divine master, both at home and abroad. In 1742, being then in his sixty-seventh year, he went to Ireland on a gospel mission, where he attended sixty meetings in about eleven weeks, although he often travelled in pain by reason of his increasing infirmities.

In the same year, he attended a General Meeting

¹ Ruty's Rise of Friends in Ireland, 334.

at Pickering, in the County of York. These meetings, which were held once a year, were mostly very large, being held in an open place and resorted to by thousands of the neighboring people. In 1744, he was at London Yearly Meeting for the last time, and notwithstanding his great debility, he attended the several sittings, "under that exemplary, reverent, watchful frame of mind which rendered his company truly acceptable and serviceable."

He afterwards attended the Circular Yearly Meeting at Worcester, and was enabled in that large assembly to bear a noble Christian testimony to the all-sufficiency of that Power which had preserved, supported, and guided him in the way of holiness, and is able to do the same for all the children of men. On returning to his home, he was able during some weeks to attend meetings, in which his ministry was clear and lively. When no longer able to attend at the meeting-house, the mid-week meetings were held during some weeks at his house, as long as he was able to sit up. When the time of his departure drew nigh, and the power of expression was almost gone, he was heard to say several times in a very fervent and emphatic manner, "Heavenly Goodness is near, Heavenly Goodness is near;" thus acknowledging to the last a sense of the Lord's presence. He died the 13th of the Eleventh month, 1744, aged sixty-nine years, having been a minister nearly fifty years.

He was remarkably qualified, both for Church discipline and Christian ministry; his services being highly appreciated in Monthly, Quarterly, and General meetings, in which he approved himself a wise counsellor and an able ambassador of Christ.¹

¹ *Life of J. Fothergill, London, 1754.*

9. Evan Bevan was born in Glamorganshire, Wales, about the year 1678, and received a liberal education at Oxford, where he attained to great proficiency in his studies. On leaving college he studied law, and afterwards practised at the bar in Glamorganshire. After some time, it pleased Divine Providence to visit him in an extraordinary manner, causing him to experience deep anguish and sorrow of heart, until by this fiery baptism he became as a vessel purified for the Lord's service. During that season of deep probation, he was constant in his attendance on the prayers of the National Church, strict in the observance of its ceremonies, and frequent in the exercise of private devotion; yet the burden that rested on his mind continued to increase. At length he met with Barclay's Apology for the true Christian Divinity, by the reading of which, and by turning his mind inward to the divine gift, according to the doctrine of Friends, he obtained a victory over his spiritual enemies, banished his disorderly imaginations, and secured peace to his soul.

Having joined himself in communion with Friends, he relinquished all prospect of worldly advancement, and kept a school in their meeting-house at Pontymoyle, for about thirty-five years. He instructed his pupils in the Latin and Greek languages, Geography, and various branches of Mathematics, but he conscientiously refused to teach them from any of the heathen authors, lest he should deprave their taste and alienate their minds from the pure principles of Christianity. It is greatly to be regretted that this salutary caution has not been more generally observed by parents and teachers; for nothing can be more absurd, as well as pernicious, than to imbue

the susceptible minds of youth with the licentious ideas and corrupt principles found in many of the heathen authors that are read in classical schools and colleges.

The chief concern of Evan Bevan was to preserve his pupils in innocence, and to promote their growth in piety; for this purpose he generally, in the evening, convened his family and scholars to wait upon the Lord in silence, in order to receive immediately from the source of all good that spiritual bread which alone can sustain the soul. As a minister of the gospel, he was highly esteemed by his brethren, though not extensively known. His discourses were brief, lively, and instructive, being seasoned with grace, and accompanied with divine unction.

Having lived as a bright example of the Christian virtues, he departed this life the 17th of the Second month, 1746, aged about sixty-seven years. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."¹

10. Robert Barclay of Ury, eldest son of the author of the Apology, was born at Aberdeen, the 25th of the First month, 1672. Very early in youth he evinced a pious disposition, and having the inestimable advantage of wise and exemplary parents, his steps were guided in the path that leads to permanent happiness. In his sixteenth year he went with his father to London, and for some time they frequented the King's court at Windsor, where on account of his father's interest which created many dependants, he was much caressed; yet then, as well as through his whole life, his conversation was chaste

¹ Collection of Testimonies, London, 1760.

and blameless; for of him it may be truly said, "He remembered his Creator in the days of his youth."

As he advanced in years, he dedicated himself more earnestly to the great work of religion, and when about twenty-two years of age, he was called to preach the everlasting gospel, directing his hearers to Christ, the power and wisdom of God, who can heal all the maladies of the soul.

When the close of life drew nigh, he waited with patience and meekness for his dismissal from the concerns of time, saying, "Not mine, but the Lord's will be done in every thing." He quietly and peacefully expired, the 27th of the First month, 1747, aged seventy-five years.

11. Mungo Bewley was born in Cumberland, England, in the year 1677. In youth he was favored with a tender visitation of the love of God, and so great became his concern to attend the mid-week meetings of Friends, that during his apprenticeship he earnestly requested his master, "Either to assign him his work, that he might make preparation against the meeting-time, or to be allowed to pay for the time, after his apprenticeship expired."

He removed to Ireland and settled in Edenderry, where he received a gift in the gospel ministry, and became a lively and powerful advocate of Truth. He several times visited the meetings of Friends in England, Scotland, and Wales; once he went on a gospel mission to Holland, and once to America, in all of which his labors were instrumental in promoting the holy cause he had espoused. In the administration of church discipline his services were highly appreciated, being well qualified by sound judgment

and spiritual discernment. His lamp being filled with the oil of the Heavenly kingdom, burned brightly to the last, and he quietly departed this life the 3d of the Third month, 1747, in the seventieth year of his age.

12. Joseph Gurney was born in the year 1692. He was blessed with religious parents, by whom he was carefully watched over and instructed in the principles of Christianity. His mind was very early visited with the day-spring from on high, and through fidelity to his religious convictions he grew in the knowledge of heavenly truth. In his twenty-first year he was constrained by a sense of duty to appear as a minister of Christ, and his communications being attended with life and power, were acceptable and edifying. He was a man of great humility, universally beloved and respected as a pattern of benevolence, moderation and temperance.

In his last illness he expressed his great satisfaction that he had made it the business of his whole life to be prepared for such a time, and in some of the last words he uttered he signified that "he was happy." He died the 5th of the Third month, 1750, aged fifty-eight years.¹

¹ Col. of Testimonies, pp. 209, 238.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA.

1730-1750.

IN the government of Pennsylvania the legislative and judicial powers being, up to this date, chiefly in the hands of Friends, some notice of the condition of the Province and the administration of its civil affairs is deemed appropriate.

After the decease of William Penn, his proprietary rights were inherited by his three sons, John, Thomas, and Richard; but they being minors, their mother, Hannah Penn, acted for some years as executrix of the estate, conducted the correspondence with the Secretary, James Logan, and appointed the deputy governors. She was endowed with sound judgment and extraordinary energy, which enabled her to fulfil her important trust with remarkable success. The increasing value of property in the province furnished the means to liquidate the debt contracted by her husband in founding the colony, and the proprietary estates in Pennsylvania became exceedingly valuable.

At the death of the Founder, the office of deputy governor of the Province was filled by Sir William Keith, who continued in office until the year 1726. He was popular with the people, and his administration was beneficial to the Province, but he was thought to be neglectful of the proprietary interest, and was therefore superseded by the appointment of Patrick Gordon, whose administration of ten years was prudent and prosperous.

The condition of the colony, at this date, is thus described in a contemporary work published in England.

“That Pennsylvania which has not any peculiar staple, (like Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland,) and was begun to be planted so late as 1680, should at present have more white inhabitants in it, than all Virginia, Maryland, and both the Carolinas, is extremely remarkable! And although the youngest colony on the continent,¹ they have by far the finest capital city of all British America; and the second in magnitude. The causes usually assigned for this vast increase of white people in so short a time are these, viz. : First, their kind treatment of the Indians, their neighbours; hereby rendering that province absolutely safe from their attempts. Some, indeed, have gone so far as to assert, that they are the only British colony that have treated the poor native Indians with humanity: for, that no other British colony admits of the evidence of an Indian against a white man, nor are the complaints of the Indians against white men duly regarded in other colonies; whereby these poor people endure the most cruel treatment from the very worst of our own people without hope of redress. And all the Indian wars in our colonies were occasioned by such means. Secondly, the excellency of Pennsylvania’s laws, whereby property is effectually secured to all its inhabitants. Thirdly, the unlimited toleration of all manner of religious persuasions, without permitting any claims to ecclesiastical power to take place.”

In the year 1732, Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietaries, arrived in the province. In an address

¹ Georgia was not settled till 1733.

presented to him by the General Assembly, they express their joy at his arrival in the following terms: "Our long and ardent desires to see one of our honourable Proprietaries amongst us are now fulfilled; and it is with pleasure we can say thou art arrived at a time when the government is in perfect tranquillity; and that there seems to be no emulation amongst us, but who shall, by a peaceable and dutiful behaviour, give the best proof of the sense they have of the blessings derived to us, under our late honourable Proprietary, your father, whose goodness to his people deserves ever to be remembered with gratitude and affection."

In his reply, he thanked them for their address, and assured them that he looked upon the interest of Pennsylvania and that of his family as being inseparable. He resided in the province nine years.

John Penn, the eldest of the Proprietaries, arrived in the year 1734, and the Assembly, in a similar address, expressed their satisfaction, which was augmented by the consideration that he was born in the city of Philadelphia. He remained but a year in the province; his presence being required in England, on account of the controversy with Lord Baltimore, concerning boundaries, which still remained unsettled. At his departure the Assembly addressed him as follows: "It is with pleasure we can now say it was not in vain we promised ourselves from thee that affection and regard, which is natural for a good man to have for the place of his nativity. That humility, justice and benevolence which has appeared in thy conduct since thy arrival here has very deservedly gained the esteem and affections of the people, and we do with truth say, thy leaving us at this

time gives an universal concern to the inhabitants of this province.¹

He never returned to the province, but died unmarried in the year 1746.

On the death of Governor Gordon, in 1736, the executive authority devolved upon the council, of which James Logan was president; and during two years it was administered with ability and success, until the arrival of Governor Thomas, who continued in office nine years.

In the early part of his administration he had some warm contests with the Legislature, on account of the supplies he demanded for military purposes. Much the greater portion of the inhabitants at that time were not in membership with Friends, but they evinced their continued confidence in the Society, by returning to the Assembly a large majority of that peace-loving people. The governor, at first, undertook to induce them by argument to abandon their religious scruples against warlike measures, and finding his efforts unavailing, he resorted to intimidation, which proved equally fruitless. When he came to understand more fully the character of the people, he acted with greater circumspection, and generally obtained from the Legislature, in the form of donations of money to the king, all that he could reasonably expect from them. Their religious principles would not allow them to vote appropriations expressly for military uses, but they were willing to support civil government, and to provide the king with needful supplies, leaving to his discretion the disposal of their contributions.

¹ Proud, II., 212, 214.

When the mother country was involved in continental wars, they generally extended to her American possessions, and some of the colonies were exposed to danger, both from Indian incursions on their frontiers and hostile squadrons on their coasts. In averting the first of these dangers, the members of the Society of Friends were particularly useful to the government, for they not only had great influence with the native tribes, but were very liberal in their donations towards the purchase of goods to secure the friendship of the Indians.

Although Friends, as a body, were opposed to appropriations for warlike purposes, they interposed no obstructions in the way of others who favored military defences, and some of them even furnished funds for such purposes,¹ much to the grief of their more consistent brethren. Among those who maintained that all governments must be sustained by military force, James Logan was the most prominent and influential. In the year 1741, he addressed a letter to the Yearly Meeting then convened in Philadelphia, on the subject of the opposition of the Legislature to all measures for the defence of the colony. In this paper he avows his sentiments in favor of bearing arms in self-defence, and proposes for the consideration of the meeting, "that all such who for conscience sake cannot join in any law for self-defence, shall not only decline standing candidates at the ensuing election of representatives, but advise all others equally scrupulous to do the same." In conformity with custom, his letter was referred to a committee, who reported that it was unfit to be

¹ Franklin, quoted in Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, p. 245.

read in the meeting.¹ It had been but two years since the Yearly Meeting had adopted the following minute: "Advised that Friends be vigilant in keeping up to the peaceable principles professed by us as a people, and in no manner to join with such as may be for making warlike preparations offensive or defensive; but upon all occasions to demean themselves in a Christian and peaceable manner, thereby to demonstrate to the world that our practice (when put to the trial) corresponds with our principles."

The most interesting and important subject that, at this date, engaged the attention of Friends in America, was their testimony against the importation and purchase of slaves, which has already been noticed. As they continued to examine the system of slavery, its repugnance to the benign spirit of Christianity became more evident, and through the operation of divine grace they were gradually prepared to make the sacrifices required.

The Friends of Chester Quarterly Meeting, ever true to their principles, brought the subject of slavery, the fourth time, before the Yearly Meeting, which, in the year 1730, issued the following advice: "The Friends of this meeting resuming the consideration of the proposition of Chester Meeting, relating to the purchasing of such negroes as may hereafter be imported; and having reviewed and considered the former minutes in relation thereto, and having maturely deliberated thereon, are now of opinion that Friends ought to be very cautious of making any such purchases for the future, it being disagreeable to the sense of this meeting. And this meeting

¹ MS. in possession of W. Logan Fisher.

recommends it to the care of the several monthly meetings, to see that such who may be, or are likely to be found in that practice, may be admonished and cautioned how they offend therein."

This advice was renewed in 1735, and repeated every succeeding year, except one, until 1743, when the following query, addressed to the subordinate meetings, was required to be answered annually, viz. : "Do Friends observe the former advices of our Yearly Meeting, not to encourage the importation of negroes, nor to buy them after imported?"¹

While the Society was thus engaged in discouraging the importation and purchase of slaves, the concern in relation to slavery itself was spreading among its members, and some individuals had espoused the cause of human liberty as the inherent right of all.

Among the pioneers in this righteous cause, residing in the colonies, Ralph Sandiford has the merit of being one of the earliest and most earnest. He was born in Liverpool, in 1693, and removed in youth to Philadelphia, where he joined in religious fellowship with Friends.² Being engaged in business as a merchant, he sometimes visited the West Indies, where the revolting cruelty he witnessed, in the treatment of slaves, awaked his attention and excited his sympathy. On deliberately examining the subject, he saw that the whole system was wrong, and that grievous oppression was its inevitable consequence.

On his return to Pennsylvania, he earnestly opposed the slave-trade, and urged upon the members of his own society the duty of emancipating their slaves. In

¹ Rise and Progress of the Test., &c., p. 16.

² Life of R. Sandiford, by R. Vause, quoted by Bowden.

the year 1729 he published a treatise, entitled "A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times." In this work he advances many cogent arguments against slavery and the slave-trade, showing that they are subversive of the natural rights of man and utterly repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. He refers to a sermon preached by George Fox, taken in short-hand as it was delivered at a Monthly Meeting in Barbadoes, in which he advised Friends "to use their slaves well, to bring them up in the fear and knowledge of God, and after a reasonable service to set them free."¹ "Had Friends," he says, "stood clear of [slave-holding], it might have been answered to the traders in slaves, that there is a people called Quakers in Pennsylvania that will not own this practice in word or deed; then would they have been a burning and a shining light to these poor heathen, and a precedent to the nations throughout the universe, which might have brought them to see the evil in themselves, to glorify the Lord on our behalf, and, like the Queen of the East, to admire the glory and beauty of the church of Christ. But instead thereof, the tender seed in the honest-hearted, is under suffering, to see both elders and ministers, as it were, clothed with it, and their offspring after them filling up the measure of their parents' iniquity; which may be suffered till such time that recompense from Him that is just to all His creatures opens the eye the god of this world has blinded."

Appended to Ralph Sandiford's treatise there is an Epistle to "His Select Friends," stating his reasons for issuing his book without the concurrence of the

¹ Preface.

² A Brief Examination, &c., p. 9.

meeting, from which it is evident that he could not obtain consent for its publication; and being unable, in any other way, to obtain relief for his burdened mind, he was constrained by a sense of duty to risk the displeasure of his Friends.

It appears that the "*care of the press*" was, by a minute of the Yearly Meeting in 1709, recommended to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. It was to appoint "a Committee of eight Friends, any five of whom are desired to take care to peruse all writings or manuscripts that are intended to be printed before they go to the press, with power to correct what may not be for the service of Truth, *otherwise not to suffer any to be printed.*" In the year 1718, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia placed on record a minute, recommending to the Monthly and Quarterly meetings that such be dealt with, as write, print, or publish any books or writings tending to raise contention or occasion breach of unity among brethren, or *that have not first had the perusal and approbation of the Friends appointed by the Yearly Meeting for that purpose.*"¹

The *last clause* of this rule of discipline is repugnant to the principles of civil liberty and inconsistent with the early practice of Friends in England.

When a bill was brought into the British Parliament, in the year 1698, "for restraining the licentiousness of the press," the Friends in England, perceiving the pernicious consequences of such a censorship, delivered to the members of the House a remonstrance, from which the following passages are selected, viz. :

¹ MS. Collection of Advices, or Book of Discipline, 1762.

“History and experience have taught how the obscure term of heresy hath been turned and stretched against primitive Christian martyrs and famous reformers.

“The different apprehensions men have of divers parts of Scripture give birth to different persuasions, who yet all make the Scripture the test thereof; which, by the kindness of the government, being tolerated, they conceive they ought to be left free to defend them from the misrepresentations, prejudice, or mistakes of others, without being subjected to the censure of a licenser of a different persuasion. They therefore humbly hope that nothing may be enacted that will lessen the toleration which they thankfully enjoy under the favour of this, as well as the late government.”¹

Objections of the same nature and equally strong, must always exist against such an ecclesiastical interference with civil rights as would require all writings on religious subjects to be submitted for revision or prohibition to a committee of licensers of the press. They who abuse the precious privilege of “unlicensed printing,” for which Milton and other great minds have so earnestly contended, should be held accountable for the evils they produce; and in religious society, the author who disseminates pernicious principles should be held amenable to Church discipline.

Returning from this digression, and directing our attention again to the subject of slavery, we find the next earnest advocate of emancipation was the eccentric Benjamin Lay. He was born at Colchester,

¹ Sewel, II. 379.

in England, in 1681, of parents who were consistent members of this religious Society. On reaching manhood, he followed the profession of a sailor, and in this occupation visited most parts of the globe.

In the year 1710, he married and settled in his native town. Being of a benevolent and energetic mind, he took a deep interest in all matters that pertained to the welfare of the human family, and he was particularly opposed to the imposition of tithes. He presented to George I. and George II. a copy of Milton's treatise entitled "Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church," and on the last occasion obtained an interview with the royal family. "It is believed that the part which he took in public and exciting subjects gave uneasiness to Friends, and was the cause of his being disunited from them in 1717."¹ If this was the only cause of complaint against him, his disownment is much to be regretted. In the following year he settled in Barbadoes, where he followed the business of a merchant. There he witnessed, in the treatment of the slaves, scenes of cruelty that shocked his sensitive mind, and he boldly expressed his abhorrence of them in language that drew upon him the displeasure of the slaveholders. After a residence of thirteen years, he left the island and fixed his residence in Philadelphia. In that city and its vicinity he saw slavery in a much milder form; but being utterly opposed to it in principle, he publicly expressed his disapprobation in strong terms, and sometimes resorted to methods for enforcing his arguments that evinced

¹ Bowden, II. 207, note.

great eccentricity. He came into the Yearly Meeting with a bladder filled with blood in one hand, and a sword in the other. He ran the sword through the bladder and sprinkled the blood on several Friends, declaring that so the sword would be sheathed in the bowels of the nation, if they did not leave off oppressing the negroes.¹

He visited the governors of the adjacent provinces and other influential persons to plead for the freedom of the Africans, but his efforts were more especially directed towards Friends, whose principles he still professed, and whose meetings he generally attended. The latter part of his life was spent near Abington, and in old age his feelings of sympathy for the slave remained unabated. A short time previous to his death, a Friend called on him and informed him that the Society had resolved to disown such of its members as persisted in importing or buying slaves. On hearing this, he exclaimed, "Thanksgiving and praise be rendered unto the Lord God," adding, after a short pause, "I can now die in peace."

This event did not take place, however, until after the Lord of the harvest had called into the field many other faithful laborers, whose persevering efforts will hereafter be noticed.

In the autumn of 1731, John Richardson, then in the sixty-sixth year of his age, arrived at Philadelphia, on a gospel mission to the meetings of Friends in America. It had been thirty years since his former visit, and a very great increase had taken place in the Society, especially in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Soon after landing, he attended the Yearly Meeting, which was large and satisfactory. There

¹ Comly's Miscellany, IV., 275.

he met with Henry Frankland of Yorkshire, then engaged in a similar service, and they travelled together to Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina.

On their return to Philadelphia, Henry Frankland sailed for England, and John Richardson, accompanied by Richard Walne of Pennsylvania, proceeded on his travels, passing through the Jerseys to Long Island, Rhode Island, Nantucket, and other parts of New England. He had large meetings, and found an open door for the reception of gospel truths. In the spring of 1733, he sailed for England, and reached his home with the reward of peace, ascribing praise to the Lord for his protecting care and continued mercies.

In 1732, six Friends crossed the Atlantic to preach the gospel of Christ in America. These were Mungo Bewley, Paul Johnson, and Samuel Stephens, from Ireland; Alice Anderson and Hannah Dent, of Yorkshire, and Margaret Copeland, from Westmoreland. No particulars of their services on this occasion appear to be preserved.

In 1734, the churches in America were visited by John Burton, William Backhouse, and Joseph Gill. John Burton was from Sedbergh in Yorkshire. "He was an unlearned man, but endued with a large and powerful gift in the ministry."

William Backhouse was of Yealand in Lancashire. He was called to the ministry in his twenty-sixth year, and being faithful in the exercise of his gift, was instrumental in promoting the Redeemer's kingdom, for which purpose he travelled extensively in Great Britain and Ireland, as well as in America.

Joseph Gill was born in Cumberland, and removed to Ireland, where he settled in the city of

Dublin in the year 1697. He was religiously inclined from his youth, and when called to the gospel ministry, he became, through obedience, an instrument of good to many. He attended the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia in 1734, and then visited "the remote back settlements of the province, proclaiming to the pioneers in the wilderness the consolations of the gospel."

At this date, the settlements of Friends had begun to extend into the northern sections of Maryland and Virginia, bordering on the Potomac.

About the year 1725, some Friends from Salem, New Jersey, and others from Nottingham, settled in the upper part of Prince George's County, Maryland, near the Monocacy, a tributary of the river Potomac. Application was made to New Garden Monthly Meeting for permission to hold a meeting, which was granted, and in 1736 a house was built, called Cold Spring Meeting-House.

About the year 1732, Alexander Ross and company obtained from the Governor and Council at Williamsburg, in Virginia, a grant for one hundred thousand acres of land in that colony, situated near the Opequan Creek, a tributary of the Potomac. A settlement was soon after begun there by Alexander Ross, Josiah Ballenger, James Wright, Evan Thomas, and other Friends from Pennsylvania and Elk River in Maryland. Under authority of Chester Quarterly Meeting, they established in 1744 a Monthly Meeting called Hopewell, which thus became a branch of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

In the year 1733, Amos Janney from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, removed to Virginia, and settled about ten miles south of the Potomac, near the place where

the town of Waterford has since been built. In a Memorial concerning his wife, Mary Janney, he is mentioned as a valuable Friend and true helper Zion-ward; and she is described as a devoted Christian, whose meekness, gentleness, and kindness rendered her company truly agreeable and instructive.

When they came to Virginia, the neighborhood where they settled was almost uninhabited; but other Friends coming soon after, and settling near them, a meeting for worship was held at their house. A meeting-house was built for its accommodation in 1741, and called Fairfax; it being then included in the county of that name, but subsequently the county was divided, and the northern section where Friends were settled was called Loudoun. Fairfax Monthly Meeting was established in 1744.

Jacob Janney removed from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, about the year 1745, and settled eight miles south of Fairfax Meeting-House. He and his wife, Hannah Janney, were exemplary in their lives, and steadfast in support of their Christian testimonies. A meeting was settled near them called Goose Creek, which at first was subordinate to Fairfax Monthly Meeting, but afterwards becoming very large, it was established as a monthly meeting.

Hannah Janney survived her husband many years, and lived to the age of ninety-three, leaving a very large number of descendants. In a memorial concerning her, she is said to have been "a mother in Israel," whose earnest concern was, "to watch over the flock and family for good." In old age, the sweetness and serenity that attended her mind were very instructive. She was often engaged in praising the Lord for his continued mercies, and a few days

before her decease she said to a friend, "This has been a blessed morning; peace and glory appear to be shining around me."

For some years prior to this date, Daniel Stanton had been regarded as a young minister of bright promise, and his subsequent career was such as to entitle his name and character to a place in this work.

He was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1708. His father dying before his birth, and his mother a few years after, he suffered great trials and hardships when very young. Being placed with a relative in the country, and for some years debarred from the opportunity of attending any place of religious worship, he was nevertheless brought under the effectual operation of divine grace, by which he was reprov'd for evil and incited to seek for the knowledge of God.

At length he was enabled to attend a Friends' meeting, where, through the ministry of John Estauch, delivered in the authority of the word of life, "his heart was greatly contrited and his spirit baptized in the presence of God." He went from that meeting well satisfied with the way of worship of Friends, and continued earnestly to seek for a further knowledge of divine truth.

He afterwards became an apprentice with a Friend in Philadelphia who was a joiner, and continued in his service until he was about the age of twenty-two years. During the time of his apprenticeship he passed through much religious exercise, but Divine goodness was near to support him in all his trials, and he was led into retirement, watchfulness and prayer, choosing rather to be alone than in the com-

pany of those whose conversation was inconsistent with purity of life.

Before the expiration of his apprenticeship he felt a religious engagement to express publicly his concern for the cause of truth and the prosperity of Zion, but through modesty and fear he deferred it, and passed through a season of deep spiritual conflict. At length, about the twentieth year of his age, he appeared briefly in prayer at an evening meeting in Philadelphia, and afterwards he sometimes expressed a few words of exhortation as they arose in his heart, with the evidence of divine life. As he continued in humility and simplicity of heart, he grew in the exercise of his gift, and became an eminent minister of the gospel.

He visited most of the meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania and the adjacent provinces to publish the glad tidings of salvation, and when not thus engaged, he was very exemplary in diligently laboring at his trade for the support of his family.

About this date, John Griffith, who subsequently occupied a very prominent position in the Society, began to speak as a minister in the meetings of Friends.

He was born in Radnorshire, Wales, on the 21st of the Fifth month, 1713. His parents, John and Amy Griffith, were worthy members of the Society, and well esteemed as ministers of the gospel. They were careful in the religious education of their children, and their son John was very early brought under the influence of divine grace. "I was favoured," he writes, "with the heart-melting visitations of God's love, I think, when about seven or eight years old; and frequently experienced his name to be in

the assemblies of his people as precious ointment poured forth ; whereby my desires were greatly raised to attend meetings for divine worship.”

When he was about the age of thirteen years, he heard, through a Friend just returned from Pennsylvania, so pleasing an account of the colony, that he earnestly desired to go thither ; an elder brother also inclining to go, their parents consented, and placed them under the care of a family of Friends who were about to seek a home in that distant land.

On his arrival in Pennsylvania, he went to live with an uncle in the country, and became an attendant of Abington meeting. For some years he declined in his religious feelings until he became indifferent to his spiritual welfare. From this perilous state he was awakened in the night, about the nineteenth year of his age, by the sudden and alarming illness of a comrade with whom he had spent the previous evening in vain discourse and unbecoming behavior. In deep anguish of spirit he repented of his sins, and could no longer look upon his former delights with any satisfaction. In this humble and contrite condition he looked forward with deep interest to the next meeting-day, when he might have the privilege of assembling with his Friends, and pouring forth his secret prayers unto God.

“I greatly rejoiced,” he writes, “when First-day came, that I might go to meeting ; which proved to me indeed a memorable one, there being two public Friends, strangers, sent thither, as I thought, on my account ; for most of what they had to deliver appeared to me applicable to my state. Now did I, in some degree, experience the substance of what was intended by the ‘baptism of water unto repentance ;

the washing of water by the word ; and being born of water and the Spirit.' All which would be clearly seen and fully understood by the professors of Christianity, were they rightly acquainted with the gospel of Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation. This power, inwardly revealed, is alone able to work that change in them, without which our Lord saith, none shall so much as see the kingdom of God."

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

* * * * "Very great were my temptations, and deep my distress of mind for about a year, in which time I was but as a little child in understanding the way and work of God upon me for my redemption."

While passing through this season of deep probation, he was tempted with the suggestion, that, were he to refrain for a time from some of the necessaries of life, particularly from eating, and taking his natural rest in sleep, except just so much as would pre-

serve life, he would find it much easier to obtain a complete victory over evil. Yielding to this temptation, which he mistook for a divine command, he endeavored to comply with it, until his natural strength abated, yet he found no relief to his burdened soul. His friends perceived the change in his appearance, and sympathized with him in his distress. At length a minister of Abington meeting, being led by a sense of religious duty to visit him, inquired closely into his spiritual condition, and finding he was under a temptation, gave him salutary counsel that led to his relief.

About this time he had a distant view of being called into the work of the ministry, his mind being at times wonderfully overshadowed with the universal love of God to mankind, in the glorious gospel of his Son. A fear was upon his mind, however, lest he should presume to enter upon this solemn undertaking without a right call, it appearing exceedingly dangerous to speak in the name of the Lord, without a clear evidence that he required it. When the time really came, the evidence was so indisputably clear, that there was not the least room to doubt, yet through fear and human frailty, he failed to comply; for which he felt condemnation and sorrow.

“At the next First-day meeting,” he writes, “the heavenly power overshadowed me in a wonderful manner, in which it was required of me to kneel down in supplication to the Lord, in a few words. I gave way thereto in the dread of his power, with fear and trembling. After which, oh! how my soul was filled with peace and joy in the Holy Ghost! I could then sing and make sweet melody in my

heart to the Lord." He was then just twenty-one years of age, it being the 21st day of the Fifth month, 1734.

He says in his Journal: "The meeting I then belonged to was large, and a valuable weighty body of Friends therein; who, as far as I could observe by their carriage, did own and approve of my weak and low appearance in this service, yet they used Christian prudence, not to lay hands suddenly, but gave me full opportunity to make proof of my ministry and to feel my feet therein.

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

As John Griffith continued to exercise his gift with a reliance solely upon the great Giver, he experienced a growth, and began to be admired as a highly favored minister. He found, however, by sad experience, that admiration and applause are extremely dangerous. They poison the innocent life. Although his judgment disapproved of the commendations he received, yet he inclined to listen to them, and began to take too much delight in preaching, which at first had been submitted to in the cross. At this juncture the Lord was pleased, for a time, to take away from him, or suspend his gift in the ministry, and with it to withdraw the sensible consolations of the Holy Spirit. He remained four or five months in a state of deep distress, during which he did not

open his mouth in the ministry; then his gracious Master vouchsafed once more to “appear to his soul as a clear morning without clouds,” and he rejoiced in “being again counted worthy to be entrusted with so precious a gift.”¹

Among the many young men who, about this date, were called into active religious service, John Churchman was one, whose name often appears in the records of the Society.

He was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, the 4th day of the Sixth month, 1705. His parents were members of the Society of Friends, diligent in attending religious meetings, and careful to encourage their children in that salutary practice. He was very early visited with religious impressions. “About the age of eight years,” he says, “as I sat in a small meeting, the Lord by the reaches of his heavenly love and goodness so overcame and tendered my heart, and by his glorious light discovered to me the knowledge of himself, that I saw myself and what I had been doing, and what it was which had reprov'd me for evil.” * * * * “And oh! the stream of love which filled my heart with solid joy at that time and lasted for many days, is beyond all expression; indeed I was early taught to think differently from such who hold the perdition of infants, and am since confirmed in fully believing that the sin of our first parents is not imputed to us (though as their offspring we are by nature prone to evil, which brings wrath), until by the discovery of light and grace we are taught to distinguish between good and evil, and in the seed and inward principle that showeth the evil, we feel

¹ Journal, p. 31.

the enmity placed against the evil and the author thereof the devil, or wicked one. If we afterwards commit those things which we saw to be evil, we then fall under condemnation and wrath, and here every soul that sins must die to the sin he hath committed, and witness the being raised again by the power of God into newness of life in Christ Jesus, not to live to himself to fulfil the will of the flesh, but to live unto him, who died to take away sin."

The state of innocence and acceptance with God, experienced by John Churchman in his childhood, continued some time; but before he was twelve years old, he in some measure lost it through unwatchfulness. The Lord was near, however, to preserve him from gross sins, and to reprove him for his levity.

During some years, the conflict in his mind between the principles of good and evil, continued; often causing deep distress, but at times relieved with gleams of hope. He kept steadily in the attendance of meetings, and was encouraged by this sentiment of an eminently pious man, "That if there remained a desire in the heart after redemption, as it was kept to, the Lord would again assuredly visit such in his own time." This was verified in his experience, for about the twentieth year of his age, being brought low by sickness and deeply humbled, he yielded up his own will, in order that the divine will might be accomplished in him, saying, "I am not worthy to live or enjoy favour, yet, O Lord! if thou wilt be pleased to look on me with an eye of pity, do what thou wilt with me, magnify thy own name, prepare me by thy judgments and power, that thy mercy may be shown in and by me, whether thou cut the thread

of my life, or shalt grant me more days, which is only in thy power.”

In uttering this prayer, his heart was melted into tenderness, and an evidence was given him that the Lord had heard his cry and had looked with mercy upon him. After this he continued to grow in the knowledge of heavenly truth, and, for some time, rarely passed a day without feeling the incomes of divine life.

In his twenty-fifth year he was united in marriage with Margaret Brown, a pious young woman, who proved to be a help-meet for him. She was some years after called to the gospel ministry, and her services were truly acceptable, being seasoned with the salt of the heavenly kingdom.

In the summer of 1730, a monthly meeting was settled at Nottingham, and the following year, William Brown, a worthy elder, being removed by death, John Churchman, then twenty-six years of age, was appointed to that station. He had previously been engaged with a committee of Friends in visiting the families of that meeting, and again in 1733 he engaged, with others, in the same service. It was then a common practice among Friends, to appoint committees occasionally, to go from house to house throughout the meeting, to sit down with each family to wait upon the Lord in silence, or, as ability was afforded, to hand forth instructive counsel and admonition. It is greatly to be regretted that this salutary practice has, of late years, much declined.

In the winter of 1735-6, John Churchman and his brother-in-law, William Brown, together with their sister, Dinah Brown, then a widow, were acknowledged as ministers and recommended to the Meeting

of Ministers and Elders. For some years previous, John Churchman had had a prospect that he would be called into this field of service; but he felt so deeply its solemn responsibility, that he waited long and reverently for a clear evidence of the divine will. At length the good Shepherd who putteth forth his own sheep and goeth before them, was pleased to open the door for him, and to employ him in leading others to the fold of rest.

On one occasion, in the early part of his ministry, after having spoken to a large audience at a Quarterly meeting, he gave way to some discouragement, from an apprehension that he had moved in that solemn service without an imperative command, the intimation of duty having been so gentle, that perhaps he might have been excused had he remained silent. He was then instructed, as he believed, by his Divine Master, after this manner: "If thou wast to take a lad, an entire stranger to thy language and business, however likely he appeared for service, thou must speak loud and distinctly to him, and perhaps with an accent or tone that might show thee to be in earnest, to engage his attention and point out the business; but thou wouldst expect it should be otherwise with a child brought up in thine house, who knew thy language, and with whom thou hadst been familiar. Thou wouldst expect him to wait by thee and watch thy motions, so as to be instructed by thine eye looking upon him, or pointing thy finger, and wouldst rebuke or correct such an one if he did not obey thy will on such a small, intelligent information."¹

As John Churchman continued watchful and faith-

¹ Journal of J. C., p. 23.

ful in the exercise of his gift, waiting to receive a fresh anointing for every ministerial service, he grew in the knowledge of divine truth, and became an able ambassador of Christ,—a scribe well instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, bringing forth out of his treasure things new and old. He travelled much in the service of the gospel, both in the American provinces and in Europe, as will appear in the further progress of this history.

The third and last visit of John Fothergill to the churches in America has been alluded to in the preceding chapter. He was engaged in the service from the year 1736 to 1738, during which time he visited the meetings of Friends from Carolina to Massachusetts, zealously laboring to promote their spiritual advancement. After his return he gave an account in London Yearly Meeting of the increase of the Society in some places, and its declining state in others. “He observed that, as the elders of the people were preserved in freshness and zeal under a diligent care for the growth of spiritual religion, Truth increased, good order was preserved, the discipline kept up, and the youth in many places tender and hopeful. On the contrary, where those who were of the first rank, both in respect to age and situation in life, declined in their religious care; where the spirit of this world suppressed the tender desires after riches of a durable nature; there weakness, disorder, and unfaithfulness were too obvious, and a daily decay of real piety, as well as of members, prevailed, to the grief of the honest-hearted, and the loss of those who unhappily suffered this corrupting spirit to take place.”¹

¹ Life of J. Fothergill, London, 1754, p. 235.

During the period embraced in this chapter, many devoted servants of the Lord were removed by death, whose names, we believe, are written in the Lamb's Book of Life. For the benefit of succeeding generations, some instructive memorials of their pious lives and peaceful deaths have been preserved, which have furnished the chief materials for the following sketches.

1. Joseph Jordan, of Nancemond County, Virginia, was born in 1695, and called to the gospel ministry about the year 1718, as already related.¹ According to the testimony placed on record by the Yearly Meeting of Virginia, "He acquitted himself 'as a workman that need not be ashamed,' and had great place in the minds of men. Although he had not much school literature, yet he might be said to have had the tongue of the learned, being both correct and concise in speaking the word in season, in-somuch that divers have confessed to the truth and embraced the doctrine he preached. Being patient in tribulation, he was favoured with that hope which affords content and solace to the mind." After laboring in the gospel in his own country and the adjacent provinces, he visited, in the same service, most parts of England and Ireland and some parts of Holland.

On the morning of the day of his dissolution, he uttered many edifying expressions, saying to some young ministers: "Mind your gifts, and the Lord will bless you, and you will be a blessing to the Church. Be humble and obedient, obedience brings sweet peace. I have a great desire that there may

¹ Chapter VII.

be a right ministry continued in the Church, for there are many not strictly of this fold, who in due time the Lord will bring in. And as you come to have an experience of the work of truth in your own hearts, you will be able to confute them who persuade themselves there is no living without sin in this world." Thus having completed his day's work, he laid down his head in peace with the Lord, the 26th day of the Ninth month, 1735, aged forty years.¹

2. Isaac Norris emigrated from Jamaica, where he had occupied a respectable standing as a merchant. After he became a resident of Philadelphia, his virtues and talents, exerted for the public good, made him very useful both in religious and civil society. In the General Assembly he was an active and influential member, and he held many public offices with "great reputation and honour." At the time of his death, which took place in 1735, he was Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. His character was so honorable among men, and his conduct so universally beneficial, especially to those of his own religious community, that he was considered "an ornament to his country and profession."²

3. Joseph Kirkbride emigrated from England when a boy, and settled in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in the year 1681. His virtuous habits and industry enabled him to rise to a very respectable position in the infant colony, and he occupied with credit some important offices under the government. In religious society he was much esteemed, being a sound and

¹ Collection of Mem., 99.

² Proud, I. 473. Bowden, II. 273.

serviceable minister, and an exemplary Christian. "He finished his course in the unity of his brethren, in which he had lived near fifty years."¹ He died in the year 1737

4. Thomas Chalkley, whose settlement in Philadelphia, and labors in the gospel of Christ, have already been noticed,² continued indefatigable in the service of his divine Master, though attended with many severe trials.

In the year 1711 he had to mourn the decease of his excellent wife, who had also been his fellow-laborer in the gospel. They had five children, all of whom died before their mother.

During the two succeeding years he was engaged in visiting the meetings of Friends, from Carolina to New England. In this service he travelled some thousands of miles, and had many large meetings, in which the doctrines he preached were generally well received, and some were convinced of the Truth through his ministry.

In 1714 he again entered into the marriage covenant, and two years afterwards he found it expedient, for the support of his family, to go on a trading voyage to Bermuda, where he remained a month, and had several religious meetings with Friends and others. In 1717 he took a voyage to Barbadoes, and thence to London, partly on account of business, and with the hope of once more seeing his aged father, with other relatives. Before he embarked in this undertaking, he laid his prospect before the Monthly meeting to which he belonged, and obtained a certificate, signifying their unity with his conversation and

¹ Smith's Hist., Ch. XIX.

² Chap. V.

ministry. During his stay in Barbadoes he repeatedly visited all the meetings of Friends, which were sometimes large and satisfactory. They then had five meeting-houses on the island. In London he made but a short stay, during which he visited his relatives, attended some meetings, and then, having finished his business, returned in the same vessel to America.

For some years he continued in the West India trade, frequently visiting Barbadoes and other islands; at first going as supercargo, and afterwards as master and owner of a vessel. In all his voyages he frequently held meetings on board, and in foreign ports he labored zealously in the love of the gospel, often being favored, as an instrument, to dispense the bread of life to hungry souls. "My business," he says, "at no time hindered me in my more weighty service; for I always, through divine help, made that give way to my religious duty, in which I ever found peace and inward satisfaction."¹

In 1723 he removed from the city to a small farm he had at Frankford, in order to seek that quiet retirement for which he had longed during his business engagements abroad. He was not permitted long to enjoy the tranquillity of a country life, before he was called to encounter fresh trials and disasters. A vessel in which he had invested upwards of five hundred pounds was shipwrecked; another in which he was interested was greatly injured; and by a third he suffered a considerable loss. About the same time he had a good new barn burnt to the ground. He was moreover afflicted with sickness; and in addition to all these troubles, some who had

¹ Journal of T. C., p. 99.

pretended to be his friends, took this occasion to cast upon him undue reflections. "At these times," he says, "the remembrance of that saying of Christ, 'The very hairs of your head are numbered,' supported me in hopes that all would work together for good."

In the spring of the year 1727, he found it necessary again to resort to a seafaring life for the support of his family, and in order to discharge debts that were occasioned by his great losses by sea and land. His friends made up a cargo of goods, which they entrusted to his care for sales and returns, and he once more embarked for Barbadoes. While detained there by business, he visited the meetings of Friends on the Island, and attended a Quarterly meeting; for he embraced every suitable opening to preach the "unsearchable riches of Christ," and Friends everywhere received him gladly.

Having resumed the West India trade, he continued in it several years, acting most of the time as supercargo and master of the vessel. In the intervals between his voyages, he was frequently engaged in attending meetings in Pennsylvania and other provinces.

On his return from a voyage in the Second month, 1734, he received the sorrowful tidings that George, his only son, a youth of remarkable piety, had died during his absence. In relation to this sad bereavement he makes the following remark in his Journal. "Although this was a great and sore exercise and deep affliction to me, in losing this promising youth and my only son; yet, considering that he went off the stage of life like a solid, good Christian, it was made tolerably easy to me; for he

departed this life in much brightness and sweetness, and more like an old Christian, than a youth of ten years of age." * * * "I have now but one only daughter, Rebecca, left me out of twelve children, except my wife's son and daughter by a former marriage."

In 1735, he made a voyage to London, where he sold his vessel, and settled all his affairs to satisfaction. On this occasion, he expresses, in his Journal, gratitude to a kind Providence that had enabled him to accomplish his desire in the payment of his debts, and adds, that he now intends to relinquish trading by sea, which he was never inclined to follow, except from a principle of justice.

In the year 1738, being on a religious visit in Virginia, he addressed a letter "To Friends of the Monthly Meeting at Opequan," [Hopewell,] the object of which was to call their attention to the fact that the lands they occupied had not been purchased of the Aborigines.

"The Virginians," he writes, "have made an agreement with the natives, to go as far as the mountains, but no further; and you are over and beyond the mountains, therefore out of that agreement." * * * "My counsel and Christian advice to you is, my dear friends, that the most reputable among you, do, with speed, endeavour to agree with and purchase your lands of the native Indians or inhabitants. Take example of our honourable late proprietor William Penn; who by his wise and religious care in that relation hath settled a lasting peace and commerce with the natives, and through his prudent management therein, hath been instrumental to plant in

peace, one of the most flourishing provinces in the world.”¹

It does not appear that any immediate action was taken on the subject of this letter, but it afterwards engaged the attention of Friends at Hopewell.

The last voyage of Thomas Chalkley was in the year 1741, to the island of Tortola, not on a commercial, but religious account, “in order to preach the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ freely.” Accounts had been received the preceding year, that in some of the Virgin islands, and particularly in Tortola, a religious awakening had taken place, which is thus noticed in a Yearly Meeting Epistle: “It hath pleased the Lord by the inshinings of the divine light to visit the inhabitants of some islands, where no settled meetings of Friends have formerly been, to the bowing and tendering of some of their hearts, as in the first breaking forth and morning of our day; and to incline them to assemble together, and silently wait in spirit and in truth upon the Lord, their Redeemer, the unerring teacher, who teacheth his people to profit and leadeth them by the way that they should go.” John Pickering, the governor of Tortola, was one of those who embraced the spiritual views held by Friends, and joining in membership with them continued faithful till death.

On the arrival of Thomas Chalkley, he was met at the water-side by the governor and his wife, who received him gladly and conducted him to their house, where, the same evening, they had a religious meeting. A few days afterwards he had a large and satisfactory meeting, attended by many who were

¹ Journal of T. Chalkley, p. 327.

not in profession with Friends. "In this meeting," he writes, "I was concerned to show, that the last dispensation of God to mankind, in and through his dear Son, was a spiritual dispensation; a dispensation of pure divine love, which is to last and be with the true believers in Christ forever, according to his own doctrine in the New Testament."

He attended several other meetings which were much crowded and proved to be seasons of divine favor. "Many of the people," he writes, "were like thirsty ground wanting rain, and our good and gracious Lord gave us celestial showers, which were refreshing to us and thankfully received." In one of the meetings, Dorcas, the wife of John Pickering, spoke to the people in gospel love, and her remarks were listened to with marked attention.

In the third week after Thomas Chalkley's arrival on the island, he was taken ill with a fever while attending a meeting. He afterwards attended another meeting while suffering with disease, and was favored to preach the gospel with acceptance, ending with the words of the apostle Paul, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." These expressions were considered remarkably appropriate to his own case, for three days only elapsed before he was called to his eternal home; being on the 4th of the Ninth month, 1741, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the forty-sixth of his ministry.¹

It appears, by the testimony of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends, that Thomas Chalkley

¹ Supplement to his Journal.

was very highly esteemed as an exemplary member of their religious society, and an able minister of the gospel. His meek, courteous, and loving disposition, manifested not only to his friends, but to all others, endeared him to the whole community where he lived, so that few have been so universally beloved.

His essays on religious subjects, written chiefly at sea, and published with his Journal, are well worthy of perusal, as the productions of a mind enriched with spiritual knowledge and imbued with Christian charity.

5. John Cadwallader, a member of Abington Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, went as a companion and fellow-laborer with John Estaugh, on a gospel mission to the island of Tortola, in the Eighth month, 1742. During the passage he was taken unwell, yet when they landed on the island, he proceeded with his companion to attend meetings, in which he was engaged in the exercise of his gift as a minister, to the satisfaction of his friends. His disease increasing upon him, he departed this life the 26th of the Ninth month, 1742, aged near sixty-six years.

6. John Estaugh has been mentioned in a preceding chapter as an earnest and faithful minister of Christ, who settled at Haddonfield, New Jersey, in the year 1702. For some years he was prevented from travelling much by physical infirmities, and when at home, having some skill in physic, he freely bestowed much labor and time in attending the sick in his neighborhood, and especially the poor, for whose welfare he was much concerned. In the year 1742 he went to Tortola, accompanied by his valued

friend, John Cadwallader. A Friend, writing from that island, says: "The testimonies of these servants of the Lord were with life and power, and were as clouds filled with rain upon a thirsty land." John Estaugh, while attending the funeral of his companion, was caught in a shower of rain, which was believed to be the occasion of his illness. He was that day favored with the Lord's presence in preaching the gospel, and the next day he attended another meeting, in which he was fervently engaged in his divine Master's service. Although suffering with disease, he attended yet one more meeting, which was "a blessed opportunity." His illness continued six days, during which he evinced much patience, and a little before his departure he both preached and prayed. With expressions of thanksgiving on his lips, he expired the 6th day of the Tenth month, 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.¹

7. Robert Jordan, a native of Nansemond County, Virginia, was born in the year 1693, and called to the ministry of the gospel in 1718. In company with his brother Joseph, he frequently travelled in Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina, being zealously engaged in the Lord's work, proclaiming the glory of the gospel day. In the year 1723, being sued for priest's wages, he offered to the magistrate, in writing, his reasons for refusing to comply with the demand. Offence being taken at some expressions in this paper, he was indicted by the grand jury, and sentenced by the court to a year's imprisonment. After suffering three weeks' confinement in a noi-

¹ Col. of Mem., 121; and Estaugh's Coll., p. 16.

some jail, he was discharged; but four years subsequently he was again imprisoned fifteen weeks under a judgment for tithes. In the year 1728, he embarked for Great Britain, and visited the meetings of Friends in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; which, with a visit to Barbadoes, occupied him two years.

After his return, he married Mary, the widow of Richard Hill, and settled in Philadelphia. In a testimony concerning him, by Friends of that city, they say: "His ministry was convincing and consolatory, his delivery graceful but unaffected; in prayer he was solemn and reverent." * * * "Being careful to adorn the doctrine of the gospel by a life of piety and benevolence, we have ground to hope and believe he was prepared for the sudden summons from his pilgrimage here." He died of apoplexy, the 5th day of the Eighth month, 1742, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

8. Samuel Preston was born in Maryland, and removed to Sussex County, Delaware, which he represented in the Assembly in 1701. He subsequently settled in Pennsylvania, where he became a member of the Governor's Council, and Treasurer of the province, which offices he filled with reputation. His first wife was Rachel, the daughter of Thomas Lloyd; his second, Margaret, the widow of Josiah Langdale. The latter of these excellent women was a minister, whose services were highly appreciated, both in England (her native country) and in the American provinces.

Samuel Preston was an elder, whose circumspect conduct, fidelity, and charity qualified him for great usefulness in the Church and in the community at

large. In his last illness he evinced great resignation to the divine will, and departed this life the 10th of the Seventh month, 1743, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

9. Ann Roberts was a native of Wales, where she joined in profession with Friends early in life, which incurred her father's heavy displeasure, but in time he became reconciled to her. Some years after her convincement, she emigrated to Pennsylvania, where she received a gift in the ministry. She settled at Gwynedd, and became an instrument of much good through her devotional spirit and fidelity to the cause of Truth. She travelled as a minister of the gospel both in the neighboring provinces and in Great Britain, and was particularly qualified for the weighty service of visiting families. It is said of her: "Such was the divine savour which usually accompanied her discourse and conversation, that one could scarcely be an hour with her without sensible edification."

After a lingering illness, throughout which she was sustained by the evidence of divine favor, she expired the 9th of the Fourth month, 1750, in the seventy-third year of her age, having been a minister fifty years.

During the twenty years ending in 1750, the condition of the Society in the American colonies appears to have been generally prosperous. The number of members belonging to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had within half a century more than doubled, and the meetings for worship had increased from forty-three to one hundred.¹

That Yearly Meeting then comprehended about

¹ Bowden, II. 245.

30,000 members, and comprised the Quarterly Meetings of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Burlington, Salem, and Shrewsbury. Of these, Chester embraced the widest range of territory, extending into Maryland and Virginia, and comprising many of the meetings since attached to Concord, Western, Nottingham, Warrington, Baltimore, and Fairfax Quarterly Meetings.

The information now accessible concerning the other Yearly meetings on the American Continent is less accurate and comprehensive, but there was, doubtless, a large increase of Friends in New England, New York, and Carolina.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, about seventy ministers from Great Britain and Ireland visited the meetings of Friends in America, some of them more than once; and many of them passed through all the provinces where Friends were settled. Their labors of love contributed greatly to build up the Society; and this good work was further promoted by many in America, who were raised up and qualified by the Head of the Church for the work of the ministry and the administration of Christian discipline.

CHAPTER X.

EUROPE.

1751-1765.

IN the year 1751, an Act was passed by the British Parliament for correcting the calendar by adopting the new or Gregorian style. In accordance with the design of this Act, the Yearly Meeting of London, through its representative committee, termed the Meeting for Sufferings, issued an epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and America, recommending the observance of the new style thus established. By this alteration the beginning of the year was changed from the 25th of March to the 1st of January; thenceforth March became the Third month, and in like manner the *numerical* names of all the months were changed.

By the same Act, eleven days were directed to be omitted from the month of September, 1752, so that the 3d of that month was called the 14th, in order to correct an error in the calendar.¹

Throughout the remainder of this history the new style will be observed.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the condition of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland was by no means encouraging. The ancient worthies, who had so valiantly stood forth as the advocates and confessors of spiritual religion, had all been removed from the Church militant, and their

¹ Gough, IV. 370.

immediate successors, upon whom their mantles had fallen, were now few in number and hastening to the grave. A new generation had succeeded, who inherited the name and bore the profession of Friends; but unhappily many of those that took an active part in the concerns of the Society had not been washed in the laver of regeneration, nor had their eyes been anointed with the eye-salve of the kingdom.

After the passing of the Toleration Act there followed "a day of ease, of outward prosperity and abated zeal."¹ The well-earned reputation of the Society for integrity having secured the public confidence, their habits of industry and economy resulted in the accumulation of wealth. Opulence gradually led to a more luxurious mode of living, a nearer approach to the customs of fashionable society, and eventually to a neglect of their Christian testimonies. The mantle of religious zeal, which the storms of persecution had caused them to fold more closely around them, was at length laid aside, as burdensome, in the sunshine of prosperity.

From the Journal of John Griffith, who was engaged in visiting the meetings of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland in the years 1748, '49, and '50, we learn that the Society was then in a state of decline, the life and power of religion being in many places at a low ebb, the meetings much neglected, and the testimonies of Truth imperfectly supported.

But notwithstanding this mournful declension, there were still many throughout the Society who esteemed the treasures of the heavenly kingdom as their chief joy, and some of the younger class, under

¹ Minutes and Proceedings of London Yearly Meeting.

the powerful operation of divine grace, were constrained to come forward as public advocates of spiritual religion.

Of this class Catherine Payton was one whose earnest and successful labors in the cause of righteousness may appropriately be noticed. She was born at Dudley, in Worcestershire, in the year 1727. Her parents, Henry and Ann Payton, were worthy Friends, and he an approved minister, who, when in health, was much from home in the discharge of his religious duties, but for many years in the latter part of his life was confined to his chamber by a paralytic disease. The care of a large young family devolved mostly upon his wife, a woman of eminent piety and prudence, whose watchful care over her children has been commemorated with filial tenderness. Thus instructed by example and precept, Catherine Payton was early engaged "to seek the Lord for her portion, and to know the God of her fathers to be the lot of her inheritance."¹

Her bright intellect and lively disposition brought her into frequent association with gay companions, and she indulged for a while in unprofitable reading, but it pleased Him whose gracious purpose it was to separate her to his service, about the seventeenth year of her age, to renew the powerful visitation of his love. After passing through that spiritual baptism of Christ which purifies the soul and prepares it as a vessel for the Lord's house, she was called to the gospel ministry, in which she became eminently useful. Her first appearance in this solemn vocation

¹ Test. of Falmouth M. Meeting, concerning Catherine Phillips, formerly Payton.

was in the twenty-second year of her age; in the following year she entered upon her travels in the ministry, which were continued, with little intermission, about thirty-seven years, and her labors of gospel love were abundantly blessed to many.

In the years 1749, '50, and '51, Daniel Stanton, of Philadelphia, was engaged in visiting the meetings of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, laboring with zeal and acceptance for the promotion of their spiritual welfare.¹ During part of the time he was accompanied by John Kendall, of Colchester, then a young minister highly esteemed, and afterwards well known throughout the Society as a devoted servant of Christ, zealous of good works. They travelled together through Scotland and some of the northern parts of England.

“We found the meetings of Friends,” writes John Kendall, “in many parts small as to number, and in a low state as to the life of religion and concern for promoting the cause of truth. Our predecessors left us the form of religion which they found profitable, and we have adopted it; but it cannot give us that which brought them into the Society in the early times, which was the love of God, and a concern to renew their acquaintance with Him by humble walking in his fear.”²

John Churchman, from Pennsylvania, was at the same time engaged in a gospel mission to Great Britain, Ireland, and Holland. He sailed from Chester, Pennsylvania, the 4th of the Fourth month, 1750, having for his companions on the voyage his brother-in-law, William Brown, a minister of the gospel,

¹ Journal of D. Stanton, pp. 49, 97.

² Mem. of J. Kendall, p. 2.

going out on a religious mission, and John Pemberton, a worthy young Friend, going to England on business, and for the benefit of his health.

On their arrival in England, John Churchman and William Brown travelled for a short time together, but after attending the meetings of Friends in London, they were led to different fields of service, the former proceeding towards the west of England, and the latter to the eastward.

John Pemberton soon after his arrival found an engagement of mind to accompany John Churchman during a part of his journey, and his company was cordially accepted. It appears that his business detained him but little, and was in his view a subordinate concern, when compared with the riches of the heavenly kingdom that had now become the chief object of his pursuit. He had not travelled long as companion, before he was called to become a fellow-laborer with his more experienced friend, and during three years they journeyed harmoniously together in the service of the gospel.

At Bristol they remained about two weeks and attended sixteen meetings, besides visiting several families. "My spirit," writes John Churchman, "was bowed very low in this city, under a sense of too general a declension and falling away from truth into pride, high-mindedness, and the spirit of the world, and a conformity to the vain customs and fashions thereof, of which I frequently made mention amongst them."¹

At Peuzance, in Cornwall, John Pemberton, for the first time, spoke in gospel ministry. His words

¹ Life and Travels of J. Churchman, Phila., 1779, p. 88.

were few and broken; but attended with that unction which is the evidence of divine life. It does not appear that he was frequent in communication in the early stage of his ministry, and his mind was often bowed under a deep feeling of unworthiness for that solemn service.¹

They attended the Yearly Meeting at London, which began the 26th and ended the 31st of the Third month, 1751. It was thought "to be the most weighty and solid meeting that had been known for many years." From the general epistle of that year the following passage is selected, as well worthy of consideration:

"DEAR FRIENDS:—We, having in this our solemn assembly, the welfare of our Zion greatly at heart, recommend the appointment of sensible Friends of unblamable conversation, to visit the families of their brethren in Christian love, and in the wisdom and peaceable spirit of truth, to inform, admonish, and advise, as occasion may be. This exercise of brotherly love has had a good effect in some places. We therefore earnestly entreat Friends, in their respective Monthly Meetings, to use their best endeavors to bring the same into general practice."² Advices of the same tenor had been issued from the Yearly Meeting in the years 1708, 1729, and 1733.³ It is observed by Ruty, in his Treatise on Church Discipline, that "This institution of Elders to visit the families of Friends, did not, however, derive its origin, though it received confirmation from those advices of the Yearly Meeting; but was a practice prior to those advices, into which Truth and the love of it

¹ Life of J. Pemberton, London, 1844, p. 6.

² London Epistles, p. 225.

³ Ibid. 150.

had led the brethren, and which was, in these advices, recommended from the experienced advantages of it." * * * * "These visitors, being appointed by the Monthly Meetings whereof they were members, commonly performed their visit to the several families within the limits of their respective meetings once a year, or oftener, as occasion might require, and returned an account of their labors to the meeting which constituted them; and when they had performed their visit, a new nomination of persons was made for this service."¹

John Churchman and John Pemberton, after London Yearly Meeting, resumed their travels, and attended meetings at Woodbridge and Norwich, called Yearly meetings on account of their annual occurrence, but which doubtless were protracted meetings for divine worship, and for spreading the principles of spiritual religion. Such meetings were then common among Friends, both in Europe and America, and their discontinuance is greatly to be regretted.

Proceeding on their travels, and being joined by William Brown, they visited a few meetings where ranterism seemed to prevail, and they used great plainness in dealing with that perturbing spirit. Then, parting with William Brown, they passed through Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, into the northern counties of England, and thence into Scotland. In this journey they were often painfully impressed with a sense of the worldliness and lukewarmness that prevailed in some places among Friends. Doubtless, they felt it a privilege to partake of that spiritual baptism which often attends

¹ Hist. of Rise of Friends in Ireland, Dublin, 1751, pp. 387, 389.

the faithful ministers of Christ, and could adopt the language of the experienced apostle: "I now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ, for his body's sake which is the Church."

On their return, passing through the county of Cumberland, they attended a meeting at Holme, where, in the early part of the century, the spirit of ranterism had been so remarkably manifested.¹ It is thus noticed in the Journal of John Churchman: "We were at Holme meeting; in the forenoon I sat silent; one of the stock of the old Ranters was there, and very troublesome, accusing many Friends, no doubt falsely; and in the afternoon meeting I had not much to say, believing that old ranting spirit is rather fed with words, and delights in contention; but found it my place to exhort Friends to retire deeply inward in their meetings, humbly waiting to be admitted into the heavenly presence, to know their place of feeding to be out of the reach of such ranting spirits; for if they suffered their own spirits to rise, or resent their ill usage, the meeting would be the more disquieted."

In the summer and autumn of 1752, John Churchman and John Pemberton were engaged in visiting the meetings of Friends in Ireland, when they found in many places a mournful declension in the Society, but there were some faithful servants of Christ still left, who were encouraged to persevere in upholding their religious testimonies.

In the early part of this year, William Brown, being in Ireland in the prosecution of his religious

¹ See Chapter IV. of this volume.

labors, was in want of a companion to travel with him, and Samuel Neale, a young minister, was recommended for the service, which proved to be mutually agreeable and advantageous.

Samuel Neale was born in Dublin, in the year 1729; his mother died when he was about six years old, and his father soon after went to reside in America. Although he was thus deprived of parental care, "yet he was an object of the peculiar notice of the Great Preserver of men, having at times felt the incomes of Divine love at so early a period as scarcely to understand what it was that so visited his tender mind; but as he grew up he gave way to youthful follies and vain amusements, for which he often felt the reproofs of instruction, but slighted the gracious visitations."¹

About the age of eighteen he was placed apprentice in Dublin, where he was much exposed and suffered great loss; associating with the gay and licentious, and with them rushing into iniquity and indulging himself in most of the pernicious amusements of that city. During this period he was not forsaken, being followed with conviction and remorse; nor was he suffered long to run on in this path, which, with awful certainty, leads down to the chambers of death; but while in the career of vanity and dissipation, he was met with in a memorable manner.

Soon after his apprenticeship expired, he went to Cork for the purpose of forming connections in business, and having, even in his worst state frequented the meetings of Friends, he attended one in that

¹ Test of Cork M. M.—Life of S. Neale, p. 88.

city. It was so ordered in the good providence of God, that Mary Peisly and Catherine Payton, then on a religious visit, were there, and the latter of these eminent ministers was enabled to speak to his state with such clearness and authority that the witness in his heart was powerfully reached and the strongholds of sin and Satan broken in him. Happily this gracious call was not rejected, he yielded to it with full purpose of heart, and in the prime of life making an unreserved surrender of his will to the Divine will, and turning his back on sensual gratifications, he afforded a remarkable instance of the blessed effects of an entire dedication of heart.

This precious, powerful visitation was in the twenty-second year of his age; and being through infinite mercy preserved under its influence, it was not many months until he came forth in the ministry, evidently attended with the baptizing power of the gospel, which had so reaching an effect upon the hearers, many of whom had been his former companions, that it afforded abundant cause of humble admiration and thankfulness.

Having joined William Brown, as already related, they travelled together as fellow-laborers in the gospel of Christ, in England, Holland, and Germany.

After his return from this journey, in the year 1753, Samuel Neale settled within the compass of Edenderry Monthly Meeting and Rathangan particular meeting, which, about this time, had a fresh visitation extended from the Most High. "We often sat," he says, "under the descendings of Divine love, in which we felt much tenderness and brokenness of spirit, and therein grew in virtue and greenness, tending to make fruitful in every good word and

work, and there was an increase in spiritual richness.”¹

John Churchman and John Pemberton were, in the year 1753, again travelling in the north of England, and being at York Quarterly Meeting, they there met with their valued countryman William Brown, after a separation of many months. “It was,” writes John Pemberton, “an instructive, good meeting.” * * * “There was a great appearance of Friends, among whom were a large number of hopeful young people, whose hearts, at times, mourn for Zion and long to see her appear in her ancient beauty. Our friend William Brown proposed the establishment of a women’s Yearly Meeting, as in Pennsylvania; and after consideration and consulting the women Friends, it was agreed to suggest it to the Yearly Meeting of London.”

They attended the Yearly Meeting in London, at which the establishment of a Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, to precede the Yearly Meeting at large, was considered, as well as the proposition of York Quarterly Meeting, for the establishment of a Yearly Meeting of women Friends. Both these subjects were, after solid deliberation, referred to the decision of a subsequent Yearly Meeting.²

In the summer of 1753, they embarked for Holland, where they attended meetings among Friends and others, “to whom the kingdom of Christ within was preached and the people directed to him as the only sure leader and conductor.”³ At Amsterdam they attended the Yearly Meeting; but it consisted chiefly

¹ Life of Samuel Neale, p. 37.

² Life of J. Pemberton, p. 34.

³ Ibid. p. 38.

of the Friends belonging to that city and a few other citizens.

After their return to England, John Churchman writes in his Journal: "My mind being drawn towards Wales, my companion, John Pemberton, who had been with me three years, having travelled together in much love and unity, inclining to go towards London, we parted in the same love."¹

John Pemberton embarked for Philadelphia in the Second month, 1754, and on his arrival there enjoyed the reward of peace, as well as the joyful salutations of his friends.

During the travels of John Churchman in England, he frequently met with Samuel Fothergill, and their hearts being closely united by the cementing influence of divine love, an intimate and lasting friendship ensued. From their instructive correspondence the following passages are selected.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL TO JOHN CHURCHMAN.

Warrington, 1753.

* * * * "I desire to accept, at the heavenly Father's hand, my portion; I know it is, and will be right, and in due season, though I may sometimes almost murmur and repine; yet that adds to my anxiety. I have had some weighty hints, for years, about a piece of labour which makes me tremble; and in short, my way to true settlement seems to lie through thy country. I now stand resigned, and only beg—Put forth, and go before, O Israel's Shepherd, and I will follow in thy strength, believing in the all-sufficiency of a never failing arm.

¹ Journal of J. Churchman, p. 149.

“I am sensibly touched with thy observation of making poor wages in Ireland. Alas! my friend, can we expect to flow with wealth when the church is in poverty, and the priests of Zion in heaviness? Our sympathy will lead us to mourn, and our heads will be covered with ashes instead of crowns. The ministers of the Lord cannot expect to be above their Lord; he was crowned with thorns for us, and so must we be for his visited seed. But this thou knowest better than I, though I am not destitute of some experience, which I bless the God of my life, I find to increase and flow from patience in tribulation.

“S. F.”

JOHN CHURCHMAN TO SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

“*Woodhouse, 3d Mo. 17, 1753.*”

“It was very reviving to me to receive those few lines from thee, for I think the remembrance and love of the brethren seems more and more precious to me, though I think I grow but slowly in my passage from death to life. Those few hints that thou givest, that thy road to a true settlement leads through our country, are no way unpleasant to me, and are safe in the bosom of thy friend; yet I can hardly help saying, hide it as a precious seed or root in thy garden as much as may be. I have seen the growth of choice things retarded by opening the earth to show others what seed or root has been there planted; but if they are let alone and not trod too much upon by man or beast, in due time they sprout and bring forth with beauty and strength.

“John Churchman.”¹

¹ Mem. of S. Fothergill, pp. 133, 134.

In the following year these two devoted servants of Christ embarked together for America, and arrived at Wilmington, Delaware, on the 24th of the Ninth month, 1754. John Churchman, after an absence of four years, returned to his home with the reward of peace, and Samuel Fothergill engaged in a course of religious labors that will hereafter be noticed.

On the same day arrived in another ship, and after a longer passage, William Brown of Pennsylvania, returning from his religious mission to Great Britain; and Joshua Dixon, of the county of Durham, England, about to engage in a visit to the churches in America.

Among those who about this date were called from this probationary state, to receive their eternal reward, the names of some have been preserved on record, whose eminent services have caused them to be held in grateful remembrance.

1. Benjamin Kidd was born in Yorkshire, about the year 1692. His parents being Friends, he was educated in the same profession, and very early in life was brought under the powerful influence of divine grace. In his twenty-first year he was called to the work of the ministry, in which his services were highly appreciated by his friends, and blessed in "turning many from darkness to light, and from the paths of disobedience to the wisdom of the just."

After travelling as a minister in various parts of England, he embarked about the thirtieth year of his age for America, where he labored successfully in the good Master's cause.

He afterwards married and settled at Banbury in

Oxfordshire, where his exemplary conduct gained him the esteem of all ranks and persuasions. In the administration of church discipline he manifested peculiar abilities, being endued with sound judgment, and that pure wisdom "which cometh down from above."

In his last illness, being afflicted with great pain, he expressed his resignation to the divine will, and although a release from suffering seemed desirable, yet he was content to wait the Lord's time. "I am under no fear," he said, "nor doubtful apprehension, for I know that for me 'to live is Christ, and to die is gain.'" When seized with the hiccough, he seemed full of joy, saying, "This is a welcome messenger, it is one step nearer." His wife standing by, asked him why? he answered, "It will be a glorious change. I am not afraid to die and to put on immortality; that will be desirable, yet I leave it, though of choice I had rather be dissolved; but the Lord's time will be the best time." He died the 21st of the Third month, 1751, aged about fifty-nine, a minister about thirty-eight years.

2. Samuel Bownas, after his return from his last visit to America, related in a preceding chapter, was permitted to remain mostly at home, until the year 1740, when he travelled in the north of England, and visited Ireland the second time in the service of the gospel. From the year 1746 to 1749 he spent most of the time travelling, on the same account, in various parts of the nation. After this, being advanced in years, and his eyesight impaired, he took no long journeys, but was very diligent in attending meetings, both at home and in the neighborhood, for twenty or thirty miles around, as long as his

health and strength were sufficient. His ministry continued lively and powerful to the last. His last illness was very short, and he was sensible of his approaching change, saying to his friends that he could not stay long with them, and expressing his hope "that kind providence would be pleased to take him to himself." He deceased the 2d day of the Fourth month, 1753, aged seventy-seven, a minister fifty-seven years. He was extensively known and highly valued as a minister of the gospel; "his conversation was free, generous, and affable, and he did not shun the society of those he was sent to convert." "He was of a grave deportment, and of a tall, comely, and manly aspect; his public preaching was attended with such a divine authority and majestic innocence, as commanded the attention of his hearers; and his voice being clear, strong, and distinct, was capable of conveying his profitable exhortations to the ears and understandings of a very numerous auditory." * * * "In the religious society to which he was joined, he conducted himself as a man of peace and prudence, choosing to walk in the plain and middle path, without declining to any extreme, so that he neither idolized forms nor contemned good order." ¹

3. John Richardson has often been mentioned in the preceding pages, as one who long occupied a very prominent place in the Society. After his return from his second visit to Friends in America, it does not appear that he travelled much; but was diligent in the attendance of meetings and eminently useful both in the work of the ministry and the

¹ Pref. to Life of S. Bownas.

administration of discipline. When his natural faculties were somewhat impaired by old age and infirmities, "he appeared more and more heavenly-minded and seemed to grow in the life of religion." Thus having passed the evening of his day in serenity and peace, his sun set in brightness, doubtless, to rise again in heavenly glory. He died the 2d of the Fourth month, 1753, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, having been a minister sixty-nine years.

4. David Hall has already been mentioned as a teacher of youth and minister of the gospel. He was born at Skipton in Yorkshire, in the year 1683, and received from his pious parents a religious training in the principles of Friends. In the Free-school at Skipton he received a classical education, and afterwards his father opened a boarding-school in his own house, which was managed with good success, many Friends from different parts of the nation sending their children to be instructed by him.

In a testimony concerning him, by Friends of his Monthly Meeting, his ministry is described as weighty, plain and pertinent, adapted to the meanest capacities; for he did not affect to appear learned, knowing the insufficiency of human literature in a gospel ministry. "He had an excellent knowledge and understanding of the Holy Scriptures, which he had a peculiar talent in beautifully allegorizing upon frequently in his testimony, to the information and edification of the considerate among his auditors. He had a great concern for the youth, frequently advising them to make the religion of their education the religion of their judgment, and not to content themselves with formality, which is in religious matters no more than a dark, dry and empty lamp."

Having, in conduct and conversation, been an example of virtue and true piety, he enjoyed in the evening of his days that serenity of mind which results from a well-spent life, and expressed his assurance of peace with the Lord. He departed this life the 16th of the Ninth month, 1756, in the seventy-third year of his age.

5. Mary Neale, formerly Peisly, was born in the county of Kildare, Ireland, in the year 1717. Her parents being members of the Society, she was educated in accordance with their views, but in her early days a disposition to keep company with gay and thoughtless associates led her away from that simplicity of manners and behavior that becomes the self-denying disciples of Christ.

From this condition she was aroused by Divine mercy, as thus related by herself:

“A short time before my conversion, I had a fall from my horse, by which I was apparently in danger of having my neck disjuncted and a sudden end put to my life; as soon as I arose on my feet and recovered my senses, the Lord by his grace and good spirit showed me clearly that I was not in a fit condition to meet him, the just and holy judge of heaven and earth, and caused me solidly to consider the dismal consequence of being hurried off the stage of mortality in an unprepared state, the impression of which never left my mind till God by his grace had made me more fit for his kingdom, the glory of which be given to his everlasting name.”

After passing through some severe trials and deep spiritual conflicts, she was called to the work of the ministry, and became a vessel of honor in the Master's house.

Under a lively concern for the welfare and honor of every part of the Society, she was at times qualified to impart tender and suitable counsel to her brethren and sisters engaged in the ministry and discipline, "That they might have a single eye to the glory of God, to prefer his service before their own, and to get their day's work well done in the day-time. She freely gave up herself without reserve to the service of God, and passed through many exercises and perils by sea and land, to perform the duty assigned her. Twice she visited the meetings of Friends through Ireland, once through England, and afterwards through the British Provinces in America.

After her return from America she attended the national meeting in the Eleventh month, 1756, and gave a lively account of her journey. In the Third month ensuing, she was united in marriage to Samuel Neale, a highly esteemed minister, whose services have already been noticed. This marriage, which promised so much happiness, was dissolved within three days, by the death of Mary Neale after a few hours' illness. It was remembered that on the day of her marriage she spoke in the evening very remarkably while sitting in the family circle in a retired manner, waiting upon God. She referred to the excellency of the Sabbath of rest, saying that when Almighty God had finished his six days' work in creation, he appointed a Sabbath and sanctified it; and she believed there were some present who would cease from their works and enjoy a Sabbath in which they would have no work to do." This declaration, delivered in much sweetness, was thought to be fulfilled by her own early removal from the toils of this

probationary state, to be made "a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light."¹

6. Daniel Hollis, of the Isle of Wight, died a prisoner for tithes in Winchester jail; a case remarkable on account of the extreme age of the prisoner, and the cruelty of his persecutors. Nearly half a century before he had been in like manner imprisoned, but discharged by a general act of grace. In about fifty years there had been taken from him for tithes and offerings, by warrants of distress, property to the value of 700 pounds sterling, of which 140 pounds was more than the total amount of all the original demands.

In the year 1758, John Gilbert, the rector of the parish, preferred a bill in the Court of Exchequer against him for tithes for one year, and obtaining an attachment, the son of the priest, being an attorney, together with the sheriff's officer, went to the house of Daniel Hollis, who, by reason of his great age, was become so feeble as to be scarcely able to help himself. They violently pulled him from his bed and dragged him down stairs, by which he was much bruised; they then left the house.

In the Eleventh month, of the same year, he was taken out of his house and committed to Winchester jail, where he was confined in a public thoroughfare, very incommodious to him and his daughter, who attended him. After he had been a prisoner about a month, a supersedeas was obtained from the court for his discharge, but he was then so ill from the bruises he had received, that he was not in a condition

¹ Life of Mary Neale, Dublin, 1795.

to be removed, and he desired that it might not be attempted.

To a person who offered him a chariot to carry him to Southampton, he said he had a shorter passage, and should soon be at his journey's end, requesting that he might not be disturbed. He said he was very easy, and having forgiven his prosecutor, he in a tender, resigned frame of mind departed this life in prison, the 11th of Twelfth month, 1758, aged ninety-seven years.¹

7. Lydia Lancaster was the daughter of Thomas and Dorothy Rawlinson, of Graithwaite, Lancashire. They were religiously concerned to instruct their family, both by precept and example, in the way of truth, and that powerful hand, which alone can give the increase, mercifully extended an excellent blessing to several of their children, particularly to this their daughter; and as it opened the heart of Lydia of old, so it opened hers to receive the heavenly message.

About the fourteenth year of her age she had a view of the will of Providence to engage her in the ministerial service; under which concern she continued about ten years, growing in wisdom and experience, that she might come forth in the right time, endued with proper qualifications. In the twenty-fourth year of her age she came forth in a living, powerful testimony, and grew therein. The blessed Author of all spiritual riches having abundantly replenished her with the treasures of his kingdom, she soon became an able dispenser thereof to the churches. She visited the greater part of her native

¹ The Yorkshireman, IV. 204.

island several times; Ireland and Scotland twice; also the continent of America; in all which she was rendered instrumental to build up many in the most holy faith; particularly in America she left many seals of her ministry, both in the edification and help of those who were of the Society, and the commencement of others, gathering them to the great Shepherd of the flock.

According to an eloquent testimony concerning her, which was written by her intimate friend, Samuel Fothergill, she retained her zeal and integrity through life, and in her old age was strong in the power of an endless life. "Great indeed was her growth in religious experience, even to the stability of salvation, and an assurance that she should never fall, yet accompanied with the deepest humility. Filial love, which casts out fear, was the covering of her spirit, and rested almost constantly upon her for several months before her removal."

About six weeks before her departure she thus expressed herself to a Friend she had favored with an intimate acquaintance: "My natural strength is not so much impaired as to give me reason to expect a sudden removal from this world; but I feel so constantly, day and night, the virtuous life, and my Father's holy presence is so constantly with me, and I enjoy so much the spiritual communion and fellowship of saints, as to give me an apprehension I am not far from mine everlasting home;" to which she sweetly added, "A glorious crown and everlasting song is before me." The Friend to whom she thus expressed herself being deeply affected with the sense of the over-shadowing of the Holy wing at that instant of time, she further added: "If the foretaste be

so joyous, what are the riches of the saint's inheritance beyond the grave?"

She was supported to labor in the gospel almost to the conclusion of her days, having attended the funeral of an ancient Friend, William Backhouse, several miles off, on the First-day of the week, and preached the gospel in the demonstration of its own power; and finished her course the Seventh-day following; and as she lived so she died, in great favor with God and man, full of days and full of peace.

She departed this life at Lancaster, the 30th day of the Fifth month, 1761, aged about seventy-seven years, and a minister about fifty-three years.¹

In the year 1760, the Friends in London presented an address to the king, George III., on his accession to the throne. This proceeding was in accordance with the uniform practice of the Society in England, being intended to evince their loyalty and their attachment to the house of Brunswick.

The Yearly Meeting, which assembled in London in 1760, taking into consideration the many deficiencies reported from the Quarterly Meetings, and the great declension that had for some years been manifest throughout the Society in Great Britain and Ireland, found an imperative duty laid upon it to make some efforts for a reformation. Among the ministers and elders chiefly concerned in this work, John Griffith, who removed from Pennsylvania and settled at Chelmsford, in Essex, in the year 1751, was one of the most active and efficient. From his Journal, the following account of this interesting movement has been chiefly collected.

¹ Piety Promoted, II. 375.

While the Yearly Meeting had this subject under consideration, a Friend stood up under an awful sense of the divine presence, and taking notice of the defection so generally acknowledged, and that all the means hitherto used had not proved sufficient to stop the declension, which seemed rather to increase, called upon the meeting to consider what remained yet to be done for the restoration of the Society to its ancient purity and comely order. This opened the way for Joseph White of Pennsylvania, a worthy minister then in England on a religious visit, to lay before the meeting what he said had been much upon his mind since he landed, and now impressed him with increasing force. He proposed that the Yearly Meeting should appoint a suitable number of "solid, weighty, judicious Friends," to visit all the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in England, in order to use their Christian endeavors in the love of God, for the promotion and revival of wholesome discipline, and the comely order of the gospel in the churches.

This proposition being taken into serious consideration, the meeting was brought under the solemn baptizing power of Divine Truth, which alone can qualify for service in the church of Christ. Some objections being made to appointments for such services, it was suggested that Friends who found a concern on their minds to engage in the undertaking, should give in their names. "The Lord's heavenly power being at work like leaven in the meeting, a wonderful time of divine favour it was, wherein about fifty-eight offered themselves accordingly."¹

¹ J. Griffith's Journal, p. 295.

This large committee, it is presumed, was divided into several sub-committees, to perform the extensive duties assigned them. Early in the year 1761, John Griffith, John Emms, Matthew Mellor, Thomas Corbyn, and Joseph Taylor, being one of the sub-committees, commenced their labors, by proceeding to visit the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, the Isle of Ely, Hertfordshire, and Bedfordshire. Some selections from John Griffith's narrative of their labors are here subjoined :

“SECOND MONTH 3D.—We visited the Meeting of Ministers and Elders at Norwich, where the state of the members was inquired into, by means of queries proper to such meetings; solid and weighty advice was given where any deficiency appeared. On the 4th of the Second month, we visited the Monthly Meeting at Norwich, which was very large, consisting both of the men and women Friends, it being our method during our labours at the Monthly meetings, to have the company of both sexes. Through the overshadowing of divine power, it was a solemn awful time, of which Friends in general appeared to be sensible, as a remarkable stillness and patience was abode in, for the space of about six hours and a half, being the time of the meeting's continuance, though a motion was made sooner for the women Friends to withdraw, lest some weak constitutions might be injured by long sitting, yet their spirits being so stayed and bowed down under a sense of heavenly good, they did not accept the liberty given, but continued to the breaking up of the meeting. We found a valuable body of Friends in that city, and discipline, in the main, well supported,

yet there appeared great danger of the prevalence of earthly-mindedness in some, and grandeur and wisdom above the simplicity of the truth in others; which if not guarded against, might intrude itself to act and govern in the church, of which Friends were warned."

* * * "The 24th we visited those under our profession at Coterhill-head, called a Monthly Meeting; but, alas! upon inquiry, we found but very little done of the business proper to a monthly meeting; neither was it held in due course, but rather occasionally, for some particular purposes; and when the state of the members appeared, we did not marvel thereat, seeing most of them were unfaithful in regard to that important testimony against tithes and other anti-Christian demands of that nature; other great disorders had also crept in, nor can any other be reasonably expected where persons are so void of a right understanding as to sacrifice that noble testimony." * * * "Upon solid consideration, we did not think that using endeavours to regulate that meeting, in its situation at that time, would answer any good purpose; but the great thing pointed out to us in the light of truth, was its being dissolved, and that the members thereof might be joined to Hertford Monthly Meeting, which had been endeavoured for several years, both by their Quarterly Meeting, and also several committees of the Yearly Meeting, which had not till now proved successful, as the consent of most of the members could not be obtained. But this meeting, through divine favour, was wonderfully overshadowed with a solemn weight of heavenly power, which awed and tendered their spirits, and at the same time mercifully enabled

us clearly to demonstrate that they contended only for the name of a Monthly Meeting; seeing the service of such a meeting was not answered, scarcely in any instance. They at length generally yielded, and a minute was made to propose a junction with Hertford, which is since effected, to the great ease and satisfaction of Friends."

A large number of Monthly meetings within the proposed limits were visited by the sub-committee, and their condition being investigated, such advice was given as appeared to be requisite. They then proceeded to visit the Quarterly meetings, which had been requested to adjourn in such order as to be visited in course at one journey, to begin in Luton for Bedfordshire. A part of the committee accordingly attended that Quarterly Meeting, and laid before it, in writing, the state of their Monthly meetings. "Through the overshadowing of heavenly power," writes John Griffith, "we were fervently concerned to bring the weight of the declined state of the Society there upon the meeting, wherein an engagement of mind was revived for a reformation. May the same continue and increase!"

In like manner they visited the Quarterly meetings for Hertford, for Huntingtongshire, for Cambridge-shire, and the Isle of Ely, for Norfolk, for Suffolk, and for Essex; and before each they laid a report, in writing, concerning the state of their Monthly meetings, accompanied with remarks and exhortations adapted to their several conditions.

After the Yearly Meeting, the committee resumed its labors, and visited the Monthly and Quarterly meetings in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire. The Quar-

terly Meeting held at York appears to have been the largest among them, and comprised fourteen Monthly meetings.

A summary account of this visit was laid before the Yearly Meeting in 1762; and a like visit having been performed by other Friends to different meetings, it appeared that all the Monthly and Quarterly meetings in England had been visited. The Yearly Meeting then recommended to the committee appointed in 1760 the care of extending the same brotherly assistance to the meetings of Friends in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. John Griffith closes his narrative of their labors in these words: "I have found by solid experience that it was a blessed work, and greatly blessed in the carrying on. May it be so in the fruits arising therefrom, is the sincere desire of my soul."

The appointment of this committee, and the thorough manner in which its duties were performed, may be regarded as evidences of returning life after a long season of lethargy; and there is reason to believe that for many years afterwards the Society in the United Kingdom felt the benefit derived from this vigorous effort at reformation.

About the same time, an increasing interest was felt among Friends in England on the subject of providing good schools for the education of their children.

It was deeply regretted that in many places, especially in the rural districts, the children of Friends in poor circumstances were growing up with scarcely the rudiments of knowledge. In the Yearly Meeting of 1762, the following minute was adopted: "It appearing to this meeting that [Friends in] divers

counties are endeavouring to establish schools amongst themselves, pursuant to the recommendation of last Yearly Meeting, it is desired that such endeavours may be continued where already begun, and also set about in other counties and places, and that this meeting be acquainted, from time to time, what progress is made therein."

This concern was very properly accompanied by a desire to furnish their members with a greater supply of religious books. In 1761, Samuel Clark's edition of the Yearly Meeting Epistles, in a folio volume, was recommended to the patronage of the Society. In 1764, a reprint was agreed to of the Journal of George Fox; and in 1765 a folio edition of the Select Works of William Penn was recommended by the Yearly Meeting.¹ About the same date, a translation of the Bible was made by Anthony Purver, a minister in the Society, who taught a school in Bristol. This work was executed wholly at the expense of Doctor John Fothergill. It has been justly observed, "That it would have appeared to much greater advantage had the author been as well qualified to write English as he indoubtedly was to translate from the Scripture tongues. Inelegant but faithful, and furnished with a great quantity of original Notes and Tabular elucidations, it has probably furnished unacknowledged help on many a difficult passage to more noted commentators."²

In 1763, a report was made to the Yearly Meeting in relation to the measures taken by the Meeting for Sufferings to defend a member of the Society, who had been prosecuted in a court of law for the part he

¹ Yorkshireman, Vol. IV. p. 260.

² Ibid. p. 312.

took in disowning an offender.¹ It appears that Mary Jerom, a young woman of Nottingham, who had been educated by her parents in the Society, and inherited from them a considerable property, had in her conduct deviated from the religious principles of Friends, neglected the attendance of meetings, and "imbibed erroneous notions contrary to the Scripture doctrine." According to the discipline of the Society, she was visited by a committee, in order to convince her of her errors and bring her into unity with the body; but their labors being unavailing, a testimony of disownment was issued, and, in conformity with the custom of that day, it was read at the close of a meeting for public worship, by Francis Hart, the clerk of the Monthly Meeting, and a copy handed to her a few days after.

The publication of the testimony being exceedingly mortifying and offensive to the delinquent, she employed counsel, and applied to the court of the King's Bench for information against Francis Hart for a libel; but the motion was rejected. Mary Jerom then preferred an indictment against him at the Nottingham Assizes, and having prevailed upon the grand jury to find a bill, the case was tried before Judge Clive. The counsel of Francis Hart maintained that the testimony of disownment was not a libel, but only an ordinary act of church discipline according to the rules of the religious society to which the prosecutrix belonged, without any malice on the part of the defendant. This ground was also taken by the judge in his charge, but the jury, contrary to general expectation, brought in a verdict finding the defendant guilty.

¹ Yorkshireman, IV. p. 259.

Francis Hart, by advice of his counsel, and with the concurrence of his friends, made application to the court of the King's Bench for a new trial, which was at once granted, and the opinion of the court was expressed so decidedly against the verdict obtained at the Assizes, that no further proceedings in the case were attempted by the prosecutrix.

This case attracted considerable attention, and the opinions expressed by the judges were regarded as confirmatory of Friends' discipline. The reading of testimonies of disownment, and acknowledgments for offences, *in meetings for public worship*, has long since ceased to be practised among Friends. It was in accordance with the practice, at that time, of most other churches in the excommunication of their members, but cannot be commended as wise or salutary. The object sought to be obtained was to relieve the Society from the reproach that might attach to it from the misconduct of its members; but the fact of disownment for flagrant offences is soon published by common report; and for minor offences, where no breach of the moral law had been committed, such publication, in meetings for worship, was unnecessary and hurtful.

The proposition, made in 1753, for the establishment of a Women's Yearly Meeting for Discipline, was renewed in 1765, at the Yearly Meeting of London. At that time the Women's Meeting held annually in London, which had subsisted from the time of George Fox, was not a representative body, but exercised a prescriptive rule in matters regarding the poor and charities peculiar to the sex.¹ From this body a deputation was sent with a letter

¹ Yorkshireman, IV. 274.

addressed to the Yearly Meeting, asking its concurrence in sending an Epistle "requesting the Women Friends of the several counties to send to the next Yearly Meeting an account of the state of their several Quarterly Meetings." The men's meeting concluded that there was not time then to consider the proposition; but recommended that it should "remain on the minds of Friends." The next year it was taken up, and referred to a large committee of men, who after deliberation reported: "That the forming of such a meeting hath appeared to our predecessors, as it does to us, a matter of great difficulty. As therefore the meeting of a number of Women Friends, and of suitable abilities to carry on so weighty and important a work, appears to us very doubtful and uncertain, and cannot but subject the few who are qualified to assist in this work to great inconveniences, it is therefore our unanimous opinion, that the present is not the proper season for complying with the said proposal."

This decision may appear, to some, to have been unwise, inasmuch as experience has proved that pious women, properly educated, are fully competent to conduct the business of such meetings; but we must bear in mind that Friends at that day had already advanced very far beyond any other religious society in the privileges accorded to women, and that they continued afterwards to advance as fast as required by their convictions of duty.

CHAPTER XI.

AMERICA.

1751-1756.

THE testimony of the Society against slavery continued to advance, affording in its steady progress and ultimate triumph a beautiful illustration of the power of divine truth, and the tenderness of Christian charity.

Among the instruments employed by the great Head of the Church in this good work, the names of Woolman and Benezet stand conspicuous.

John Woolman was born in Northampton, Burlington County, New Jersey, in the year 1720. In his interesting and instructive Journal, he writes as follows: "Before I was seven years old, I began to be acquainted with the operations of divine love. Through the care of my parents I was taught to read nearly as soon as I was capable of it; and as I went from school one Seventh-day, I remember, while my companions went to play by the way, I went forward out of sight, and sitting down I read the 22d chapter of the Revelations; 'He showed me a pure river of the water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb;' and, in reading it, my mind was drawn to seek after that pure habitation, which I then believed God had prepared for his servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remain fresh in my memory. This, and the like gracious visitations had such an effect upon me, that when boys used ill lau-

guage it troubled me, and through the continued mercies of God I was preserved from it." * * * *
"From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been in past ages people who walked in uprightness before God, in a degree exceeding any that I knew or heard of now living, and the apprehension of there being less steadiness and firmness amongst people in this age than in past ages often troubled me while I was a child."

"Having attained the age of sixteen years, I began to love wanton company, and though I was preserved from profane language and scandalous conduct, still I perceived a plant in me which produced much wild grapes. Yet my merciful Father forsook me not utterly; but at times through his grace I was brought seriously to consider my ways, and the sight of my backslidings affected me with sorrow, but for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of instruction, vanity was added to vanity and repentance to repentance; upon the whole, my mind was more and more alienated from the truth, and I hastened towards destruction."

"But in this swift race it pleased God to visit me with sickness, so that I doubted of recovering; and then did darkness, horror and amazement with full force seize me, even when my pain and distress of body were very great." * * * "I had no confidence to lift my cries to God, whom I had thus offended, but in a deep sense of my great folly I was humbled before him; and at length that Word which is as a fire and a hammer, broke and dissolved my rebellious heart, and then my cries were put up in contrition, and in the multitude of his mercies I found inward relief, and felt a close engagement, that if he was

pleased to restore my health, I might walk humbly before him.”

In this pious frame of mind he continued to seek the knowledge of heavenly truth, but for some years he experienced many painful conflicts between the powers of good and evil, and many spiritual baptisms by which he became a vessel of honor, purified and prepared for the Master's use.

His narrative thus continues: “I kept steadily to meetings; spent First-day afternoons chiefly in reading the Scriptures and other good books, and was early convinced in my mind that true religion consisted in an inward life wherein the heart doth love and reverence God, the Creator, and learns to exercise justice and goodness, not only towards all men, but also towards the brute creatures,—that, as the mind was moved by an inward principle to love God as an invisible, incomprehensible Being, by the same principle it was moved to love him in all his manifestations in the visible world,—that, as by his breath the flame of life was kindled in all animal, sensible creatures, to say we love God as unseen and at the same time exercise cruelty towards the least creature moving by his life, or by life derived from him, was a contradiction in itself.

“I found no narrowness respecting sects and opinions; but believed that sincere, upright-hearted people in every society, who truly love God, were accepted of him. As I lived under the cross and simply followed the openings of Truth, my mind from day to day was more enlightened; my former acquaintances were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it safest for me to live in private and keep these things sealed up in my own breast. While

silently pondering on that change which was wrought in me, I find no language equal to it, nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this visible creation, and an awfulness covered me; my heart was tender and often contrite, and universal love to my fellow-creatures increased in me. This will be understood by such as have trodden the same path.

“Some glances of real beauty may be seen in their faces, who dwell in true meekness. There is a harmony in the sound of that voice to which Divine love gives utterance, and some appearance of right order in their temper and conduct, whose passions are regulated; yet all these do not fully show forth that inward life to such as have not felt it; but this white stone and new name are known rightly to those only who have it.”

As John Woolman had experienced the love of God, through Christ Jesus, to redeem him from pollution and to sustain him through a sea of conflicts, he felt a tender compassion for the youth who remained entangled in the snares from which he had happily escaped. He went to meetings in a reverential frame of mind, and endeavored to be experimentally acquainted with the language of the true Shepherd. One day, being under a strong exercise of mind, he “stood up and said some words in a meeting, but not keeping close to the Divine opening, he said more than was required of him.” This brought him into deep distress, and for some weeks he remained disconsolate; but his petitions were heard, and the Comforter was sent to heal his wounded spirit. The spring of divine love being again opened, he yielded to an impression of duty,

and said a few words in a meeting, in which he found peace.

As he was thus humbled and disciplined under the cross, his spiritual discernment was improved, so as to distinguish the voice of the true Shepherd from the voice of a stranger, and he became "a workman that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." "His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating, sometimes pointing out the dangerous situation which indulgence and custom lead into; frequently exhorting others, especially the youth, not to be discouraged at the difficulties which occur, but press after purity. He often expressed an earnest engagement that *pure wisdom* should be attended to, which would lead into lowliness of mind and resignation to the Divine will, in which state small possessions here would be sufficient."¹

When called to the work of the ministry, he was about the twenty-second year of his age. He was then employed as clerk and salesman in a retail store in Mount Holly. In the following year, his mind became exercised on the subject of slavery, as thus related in his Journal:

"My employer having a negro woman, sold her, and directed me to write a bill of sale, the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and though the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures felt uneasy, yet I remembered I was hired by the year,—that it was my master who directed me to do it,—and that it was an elderly man, a member of our Society, who bought her; so, through weakness, I gave way and wrote it; but at the executing it, I was so afflicted in

¹ Testimony of Burlington Mo. Meeting.

my mind, that I said before my master and the Friend, that I believed slavekeeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion. This in some degree abated my uneasiness; yet as often as I reflected seriously upon it, I thought I should have been clearer if I had desired to be excused from it as a thing against my conscience, for such it was. Some time after this, a young man of our Society spoke to me to write a conveyance of a slave to him." * * * "After a short pause, I told him I was not easy to write it; for, though many kept slaves in our Society, as in others, I still believed the practice was not right, and desired to be excused from doing the writing. I spoke to him in good-will, and he told me that keeping slaves was not altogether agreeable to his mind; but that the slave being a gift made to his wife, he had accepted her."

In the autumn of 1743, John Woolman was engaged in a religious visit to Friends in the eastern part of New Jersey, being accompanied by Abraham Farrington. This worthy Friend and excellent minister was born about the year 1691, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. In the twenty-second year of his age, he settled near Crosswicks, New Jersey, where, being at a meeting that was attended by Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson, he was thoroughly convinced of the spiritual truths they preached, and became a diligent attendant of the meetings of Friends.

After passing through various probations, he was intrusted with a gift in the ministry, and travelled in the service of the gospel, both in the neighboring provinces and in Great Britain.¹

¹ Coll. of Mem., 186.

On their return from this visit, John Woolman turned his thoughts to the choice of some business by which he might earn a living in an humble way, without encumbering his mind with care, or obstructing his religious engagements. The retailer of goods by whom he had been employed was also a tailor; and this trade he concluded to learn as best suited to his moderate desires and retiring habits.

In the year 1746, in company with Isaac Andrews, a minister of Haddonfield, New Jersey, he engaged in a gospel mission to Maryland and Virginia. During this journey his religious concern on the subject of slavery appears to have been deepened by the scenes he witnessed and the feelings that attended his mind.

“Two things,” he writes, “were remarkable to me in this journey: first, in regard to my entertainment; when I eat, drank, and lodged, free of cost, with people who lived in ease on the hard labour of their slaves, I felt uneasy, and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found, from place to place, this uneasiness return upon me, at times, through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share of the burden and lived frugally, so that their servants were well provided for and their labour moderate, I felt more easy; but where they lived in a costly way and laid heavy burdens on their slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversations with them in private concerning it. Secondly: This trade of importing slaves from their native country being much encouraged amongst them, and the white people and their children so generally living without much labour, was frequently the subject of my serious thoughts, and I saw in these Southern provinces

so many vices and corruptions increased by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloom hanging over the land; and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the consequences will be grievous to posterity! I express it as it appeared to me, not at once nor twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind."

After his return from this visit, he wrote some observations on slaveholding, which he submitted to his father, Samuel Woolman, who approved the work, and just before his death, in the year 1750, expressed to his son the deep concern that had attended his mind on that subject. The manuscript was, in the year 1753, offered for examination to the Overseers of the Press, who made some small alterations in it, directed a number of copies to be published, paid for out of the Yearly Meeting stock, and dispersed amongst Friends."¹

The work was first printed in the year 1754, and a second part was added in 1762. It is entitled, "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes: Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every Denomination." Although not the first treatise that was published on that subject, it merits attention as one of the most effective that has ever appeared. No one can read it without being impressed with the Christian spirit that pervades it, and, although the argument is cogent, its chief merit is this,—that it beautifully sets forth the goodness of God, and the universal brotherhood of man.

John Woolman continued to labor earnestly and effectually in the cause of righteousness; leading a life of remarkable self-denial; pleading both publicly

¹ Journal of J. Woolman, p. 37.

and privately for the liberation of the slave; and proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation through Christ.

Anthony Benezet was born at St. Quinten in France, of a respectable family, in the year 1713. His father was one of the many Protestants who sought an asylum in foreign countries on the revocation of the edict of Nantez, in order to escape the dreadful persecution that ensued. After a short stay in Rotterdam, he removed with his family to England, and settled in London, in 1715.

Anthony Benezet received a liberal education, and was placed by his father in an eminent mercantile house in London. At the age of fourteen he was united in membership with the Society of Friends, and in 1731, being then eighteen years of age, he removed with his father and the rest of the family to Philadelphia.

In that city, his three brothers engaged in trade and were very successful. He was likewise concerned in mercantile business until 1739, when he removed to Wilmington and engaged in a branch of manufacture.

After a brief stay he returned to the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and undertook the instruction of youth in Germantown. In 1742 he became a teacher of Friends' Public School in Philadelphia, and in 1755 he established a school for the instruction of females.¹

The uprightness of his conduct, and the courtesy of his manners, together with the benevolence and sympathy of his feelings, gained the respect and esteem of all who knew him. His attention was directed, about the year 1750, to the degraded condi-

¹ Comly's Friends' Miscellany, III. 107.

tion of the African race, and his feelings revolted at hearing of the atrocities of the slave-trade. The interest he took in the cause of justice and humanity drew him from the shades of private life, to plead before the world, for the oppressed, and to be "as a mouth for the dumb."

One of his first steps in this benevolent cause, was the establishment of an evening school for negroes, which he taught gratuitously himself. His efforts were next directed to the writing and publication of pieces in almanacs and newspapers, showing the inhumanity and injustice of slavery and the slave-trade. He afterwards published tracts and books on these and other subjects for the promotion of morality and religion. His publications were handed or sent to persons of distinction, and many were distributed gratuitously to persons in humble life.

One of his pamphlets was entitled "An Historical Account of Guinea," containing "an inquiry into the rise and progress of the slave-trade, its nature and calamitous effects." It had a wide circulation, and became, some years afterwards, one of the means that enlightened the mind of Thomas Clarkson, prompting him to enter upon that career of benevolence which has made his name a household word in every Christian nation.

In the year 1754, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia addressed to its members an epistle, the substance of which was sent up from Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, and is supposed to have been from the pen of Anthony Benezet. The following passages selected from it may suffice to show the increasing repugnance of Friends to the system of slavery.

"DEAR FRIENDS:—If we continually bear in mind

the royal law of doing to others as we would be done by," we shall never think of bereaving our fellow-creatures of that valuable blessing, liberty, nor endure to grow rich by their bondage. To live in ease and plenty by the toil of those whom violence and cruelty have put in our power, is neither consistent with Christianity nor common justice, and we have good reason to believe, draws down the displeasure of heaven; it being a melancholy but true reflection that where slave-keeping prevails, pure religion and sobriety decline; as it evidently tends to harden the heart and render the soul less susceptible of that holy spirit of love, meekness and charity which is the peculiar character of a true Christian. How then can we, who have been concerned to publish the gospel of universal love and peace among mankind, be so inconsistent with ourselves, as to purchase such who are prisoners of war, and thereby encourage this anti-christian practice; and more especially, as many of those poor creatures are stolen away, parents from children, and children from parents, and others who were in good circumstances in their native country, inhumanly torn from what they esteemed a happy situation, and compelled to toil in a state of slavery, too often extremely cruel." * * * * "The characteristic and badge of a true Christian is love and good works. Our Saviour's whole life on earth was one continued exercise of them. 'Love one another,' says he, 'as I have loved you.' How can we be said to love our brethren, who bring, or for selfish ends, keep them in bondage? Do we act consistently with this noble principle who lay such heavy burthens on our fellow-creatures? Do we consider that they are called, and sincerely desire that they may become

heirs with us in glory, and rejoice in the liberty of the sons of God, whilst we are withholding from them the common liberties of mankind?" * * * * "Finally, brethren, we entreat you in gospel love, seriously to weigh the cause of detaining them in bondage. If it be for your own private gain, or any other motive than their good, it is much to be feared that the love of God and the influence of the Holy Spirit is not the prevailing principle in you, and that your hearts are not sufficiently redeemed from the world; which that you, with ourselves, may more and more come to witness through the cleansing virtue of the holy spirit of Jesus Christ, is our earnest desire."

The Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, in the year 1755, reiterated its former advices against importing or buying slaves, and directed that those who transgressed this rule should be speedily reported to the Monthly Meeting and dealt with as offenders. Three years later, another step was taken in advance, when a minute was made expressing the judgment of the Yearly Meeting "against every branch of this practice." It directs that, if "any professing with us should persist to vindicate it, and be concerned in importing, selling or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong, should manifest their disunion with such persons, by refusing to permit them to sit in meetings for discipline, or to be employed in the affairs of Truth, or to receive from them any contributions towards the relief of the poor, or other services of the meeting." Those who held slaves were earnestly advised to set them at liberty, making a Christian provision for them according to their ages.

In order that this advice might be complied with,

it is further stated in the minute, that "some Friends here now signified to the meeting their being so fully devoted to endeavour to render it effectual, that they are willing to visit and treat with such Friends who have any slaves; the meeting therefore approves of John Woolman, John Scarborough, John Sykes, and Daniel Stanton, undertaking that service, and desires some elders and other faithful Friends in each quarter to accompany and assist them therein; that they may proceed in the wisdom of Truth, and thereby be qualified to administer such advice as may be suitable to the circumstances of those they visit, and most effectual towards obtaining that purity which it is evidently our duty to press after."

The duty assigned to those valiant soldiers in the Lamb's warfare was faithfully and judiciously performed. It appears by the Journal of John Woolman, that John Churchman was also associated with him in that arduous service.

In the autumn of 1753, Mary Peisly and Catherine Peyton landed at Charleston, South Carolina, having come on a gospel mission to Friends and others in the North American colonies. They were both young and unmarried, the former being thirty-six and the latter twenty-six years of age. Their natural endowments were well improved by mental culture, and they were eminently favored with spiritual gifts.¹

They found the meeting in Charleston very small, and most of those who attended it were, through unfaithfulness, rather stumbling-blocks than way-marks to other professors of religion; yet there were

¹ See the preceding chapter.

a few with whom they could unite in gospel fellowship. After attending meetings there, they proceeded towards a small settlement of Friends on the Wateree River. They found the little society at that place very low as to religious experience, but some of the youth were under a divine visitation, which afforded comfort and encouragement. Travelling thence on horseback several days through a wilderness, and carrying their provisions with them, they reached another small settlement of Friends "newly convinced," on the Pedee River. No meeting had then been settled there, but the labors of these visitors being blessed to the people, one was soon after established and a meeting-house built.

Continuing their toilsome and hazardous journey, through unfrequented paths, and sometimes compelled at night to take up their lodging in the woods, these devoted and courageous women at length reached a settlement of Friends at New Garden, North Carolina. They spent about two months in that province, visiting the meetings of Friends and appointing some meetings among others, during which time they travelled, mostly on horseback, about a thousand miles.

Passing into Virginia, they visited the meetings near the Nansemond and James rivers, and thence proceeding to the northern part of the province, they attended the newly-settled meetings of Hopewell and Fairfax.

At West River, in Maryland, they attended the Yearly Meeting. In relation to Friends of that neighborhood, Catherine Peyton remarks in her Journal, "That they were principally the offspring of faithful ancestors; but many have taken their

flight on the wings of vanity and earthly riches, and slighted the truly valuable eternal inheritance.”

The large body of Friends once settled on the rich lands of West River, has long since passed away, and none of their descendants are now found there upholding the testimonies of their fathers.

Mary Peisly and Catherine Peyton were occupied two years and seven months in their arduous mission to the churches in America, visiting nearly all the meetings of Friends from South Carolina to the northern boundary of New England.¹ Their labors in the gospel of Christ were cordially accepted by their Friends.

The landing of Samuel Fothergill and Joshua Dixon on the shores of the Delaware, in the autumn of 1754, was noticed in the preceding chapter. Concerning the travels and services of Joshua Dixon, we have no particular account, but the gospel labors of Samuel Fothergill are related in his interesting letters, since published; and the impression produced by his powerful heart-searching ministry, was long remembered with deep interest in the American provinces. In a letter to an intimate friend, he gave the following concise account of his labors, together with his sense of the spiritual condition of Friends in America:²

“To begin with Pennsylvania, where I landed. There is a very great body of people who bear our name, and many who deserve to bear it. A noble seed, of several classes respecting age, though too few of the aged amongst them, who have kept their

¹ Memoir of C. Phillips, formerly Peisly.

² Letter to Jas. Wilson, Mem. of S. Fothergill, p. 280.

garments clean, and whose hands are strong. Their fathers came into the country in its infancy, and bought large tracts of land for a trifle; their sons found large estates come into their possession, and a profession of religion which was partly national, which descended like the patrimony from their fathers, and cost as little. They settled in ease and affluence, and whilst they made the barren wilderness as a fruitful field, suffered the plantation of God to be as a field uncultivated and a desert. Thus decay of discipline and other weakening things prevailed, to the eclipsing of Zion's beauty; yet was there a noble remnant whose love was strong, and who remembered the Lord of the whole earth, and his house, whilst they built their own." * * * "I cannot but hope in that province, particularly in the city of Philadelphia, it may be said, Truth prospers, and there is a prospect that the succeeding generation may excel the last. I visited all their meetings, not as running hastily through them, but with great circumspection, and some of them four, five, or six times over, being desirous to leave them in peace.

"Maryland is poor; the gain of oppression, the price of blood is upon that province;—I mean their purchasing and keeping in slavery, negroes,—the ruin of true religion the world over, where it prevails. Friends there are greatly decreased in number, and mixed with the world in whose spirit they dwell. Their unfaithfulness to their testimony against the hiring priests, and their hands polluted with the gains of unrighteousness, have almost destroyed even the appearance of Truth in various parts; and as the pure gift of the ministry cannot be commu-

nicated to such unclean vessels, there is a great scarcity of ministry. I know not more than two in the province on whom is the heavenly stamp visible, and they are neither negro-keepers nor priest-payers. Nevertheless in this Sardis the blessed Hand is at work. Some are lately convinced, and among the rising youth are some of the true Hebrew race, who have heard the alarm of the heavenly trumpet, and come out of their dens and caves.

“This very much describes also the state of Virginia; only I think I may add, the visitation of Divine truth seems more effectually received in various parts of this province than the former, and a spring of living ministry to edification; but here the youth are those whom the King of heaven delights to honour.

“North Carolina is the next. There are a great many Friends in a part of it contiguous to Virginia, some truly valuable Friends, but few: yet many who offer a sacrifice which costs them nothing. The largest body of Friends here seems to me the weakest; they have been a lively people; but negro purchasing comes more and more in use amongst them, and the pure life of Truth will ever proportionably decay. I travelled one thousand two hundred and sixty miles in this province, amongst Friends and others, and found some brethren and true members ingrafted into the vine; though worldly-mindedness and lukewarmness have seized upon many.

“South Carolina hath only two meetings: one at Charleston, where there are few who bear our name, and fewer who deserve it; yet such is the force of our Divine testimony, as to gain place among the people. I had several very open meetings there,

particularly two in the Baptist meeting-house, to great satisfaction. The principal people of the province attended, and the Lord of all mercies magnified his eternal name. The other is 130 miles distant, a pretty settlement of Friends, mostly from Ireland.

“I went to Georgia, and had a large meeting in the court-house, and some opportunities in the inn where I lodged to some service, though there were not any there who bore our name.

“I returned through the several provinces as Truth opened my way; had sundry meetings in the county court-houses and some of their places of worship, and finished my visit to Friends where I had omitted any meetings in my going South, and upon my return rested a few days at Philadelphia.

“The Jerseys were the next in course. I had much close labour there. There is a valuable body of Friends, but much chaff, though I trust things are upon the revival. Long Island contains a great body of Friends, some truly valuable; but the more aged have not walked as bright examples; the leaders of the people have caused them to err. I visited this island four times, and left it at last with a pained heart, to which the want of a hopeful prospect of things being better greatly contributed.

“Narraganset and Rhode Island were then in my course. I had much close labour amongst them; this world has intercepted their prospect of a better, and greatly impaired that beauty which once rested on them or their ancestors; though I hope there remains a little remnant upright, with their lamps trimmed and burning. But, alas! the number of the faithful is there but as the gleanings of the vin-

tage. I met with few places more discouraging. Thence I went to Nantucket, a little plantation in comparison to many others; but too few there have kept their first love; divisions and contentions, the certain companions of the spirit of this world, have hurt them; and as these have subsisted amongst the leaders of the people, their example hath been injurious to others. Yet even here hope remained, from a prospect of a rising generation coming up to assert a testimony their fathers have forgotten or neglected.

“Boston government was the next place where I found continual occasion of sorrow, yet intermixed with some hope. I had abundant labor, both with the natural branches of the olive-tree and those without. In that Aceldama, or field of blood, I was greatly favoured in many open and very large meetings, to publish the everlasting gospel with some success, to my humble admiration and thankful acknowledgment to the ever-worthy Name. The state of the Society in this province is affecting. What open persecution could not effect, has been too fully accomplished by the caresses and favours extended to Friends there; nevertheless, there are a body of lively Friends up and down, who I trust walk in white.

“I returned through Narraganset, Rhode Island, and Long Island, into New York government, where, though cause of sorrow appeared, yet it was not void of hope for many amongst them whose faces are set Zionwards. In the city of New York is a small but very valuable body of Friends, who grow in the Truth as it is in Jesus.

“I returned to the Yearly Meeting at Philadel-

phia, Ninth month, 1755, which was very large and truly comfortable. The winter I spent in close labour in Pennsylvania and through Jersey, to my relief and ease of spirit. And although very painful baptisms attended me, yet the overshadowing of a rock, which was higher than I, preserved in summer's heat and winter's storms, and graciously supplied for every time of want, and mercifully sustained with ability to bring forth fruit in every month throughout the revolution of the Lord's glorious year."

Samuel Fothergill, while engaged in these religious labors, must have been very diligent; for it appears that the time he spent in America was but little more than twenty months, during which he travelled 8765 miles. A considerable portion of this long journey was performed on horseback.

The ministry of Samuel Fothergill was highly appreciated by the Society, and much admired by the public at large; but he was not elevated by the flattering attentions he received. In one of his letters he says: "I have nothing to glory in, and am weak; I have known strength. I am foolish, I have been helped with wisdom. I am poor but have been enriched. The rod I have often merited; the staff hath been often revealed. I have nothing; I am nothing; let the gain and praise be consecrated to Him, whose is the fulness of all wisdom, riches, and strength."

The General Spring Meeting, held in Philadelphia in the year 1756, was numerously attended, and proved to be a solemn, instructive meeting, in which the ministers from England, who had accomplished their services, took an affectionate leave of their friends. Early in the Sixth month, Samuel Fother-

gill, Mary Peisly, and Catherine Peyton embarked in a vessel bound for Dublin, and had for companions on the voyage Abraham Farrington of New Jersey, then going out on a religious visit, and Samuel Emlen, Jr., of Philadelphia. The last-named of these Friends, then in the twenty-seventh year of his age, was the son of Samuel Emlen, and had received a guarded religious education in the Society of Friends. Having submitted early to the cross of Christ, he went, in the year 1753, as companion to Michael Lightfoot, of Philadelphia, a valuable minister, on his religious visit to Virginia and North Carolina. He travelled in Ireland as companion to Abraham Farrington for some time, and during that journey, while attending a meeting at Carlow, his mouth was first opened in public ministry.

Among the ministers of the Society who, about this date, evinced extraordinary qualifications and untiring zeal, the name of William Hunt of North Carolina claims especial attention. His parents emigrated from New Jersey to Monocacy, in Maryland, where William was born in 1733. It is believed they removed while he was very young, and settled in Guilford County, North Carolina.

When not more than eight years old, he was visited with tendering impressions, though he did not then understand whence they came. When about twelve years old, having been bereaved of both his parents, he was brought under religious exercise and given to see that it was the spirit of Truth which had thus visited and tendered his mind, and so effectually was the Divine hand laid upon him, that his mouth was opened in the ministry before he had completed his fifteenth year. By close attention to the guidance of

the Holy Spirit, he became an eminent minister of the gospel, rightly dividing the word of truth. His travels in the service of the gospel were commenced in his twentieth year, and the fields of his earliest labors were in North Carolina and Virginia, where he often encountered great hardships in passing through the unfrequented paths of the wilderness. He subsequently extended his travels at various times to most of the North American provinces, visiting nearly all the meetings of Friends, and often appointing meetings where none were usually held. He was deeply interested in the welfare of the colored race, and bore a decided testimony against the oppressive system of slavery.

Although he had a large family dependent upon his industry and care, yet when called from home by a sense of religious duty, he cheerfully resigned all to the protection of that heavenly Shepherd "who putteth forth his own sheep and goeth before them."¹

Another faithful minister, who during the greater part of a century zealously labored in the cause of truth, was Mary Griffin, of Nine Partners, New York. She was born in the year 1710, being the daughter of Moses Palmer of Stonington, Connecticut, and was educated by her parents in the Presbyterian profession.

When about six years old, she gave evidence of her knowledge and remarkable quickness of apprehension, on hearing her parents conversing about their minister's salary. Her mother advising to liberality, remarked, "We must not starve the gospel." Mary replied, "Starve the gospel, mother! that you cannot

¹ Mem. of W. Hunt, by Enoch Lewis.

do, for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth."

In after-years she said, "I do, from a degree of experience, certainly know, that the Holy Spirit is moving upon the minds of children in early life—reproving for evil, and justifying for well-doing. When young, I often retired alone, and the breathings of my mind were, that if I were spared to arrive at the state of a woman, the Lord would enable me to become a good woman. But by not yielding to the manifestations of Truth, my mind was led into youthful vanities, for which I was secretly reprov'd; and when arrived at mature age, attending a meeting appointed by Friends near my residence, the Father of mercies was pleased to meet with me in a wonderful manner. May I never forget the tender dealings of a gracious God."

About the twentieth year of her age she was called to the gospel ministry, in which she labored with acceptance fourscore years, a length of time probably unexampled in the history of the Society. In 1745 she removed with her husband and settled within the limits of Nine Partners Monthly Meeting. She was not only a valuable minister, but eminently qualified for the administration of church discipline.

About this date several members of the Society, whose labors had been instrumental in the promotion of public prosperity and individual happiness, were removed by death.

1. James Logan has frequently been mentioned in this work as the Secretary of William Penn, and one of the most prominent officers in the colonial government. He was long Chief Justice of the Province, and, as Commissioner of Property, had the chief man-

agement of the proprietary interests, which he conducted with prudence and fidelity. Being President of the Council, at the death of Governor Gordon the executive functions devolved upon him, which he performed with ability for nearly two years, and some years after was solicited to accept the station of Governor, but he declined the offer, being desirous to withdraw from the cares of public business.

In 1728 he met with a fall by which his thigh-bone was broken, and he was long confined to his room. During his retirement he found agreeable employment in literary and scientific studies, and translated from the Latin, Cicero's treatise on Old Age, which was published by Benjamin Franklin. In a letter of Logan's, written about that time, after alluding to the enjoyment derived from science, he thus continues: "But the greatest of all is that happy union of the soul with its Maker which I truly believe to be the *summum bonum*—the true perfection of man—and for which alone he was formed."¹

The latter part of his life was spent in dignified retirement at Stenton, his country-seat, near Germantown. There he received the visits of all distinguished foreigners who came to Pennsylvania, and he kept up a correspondence with a number of scientific men in Europe.

One of his correspondents, a member of the Society of Friends, was Peter Collinson, of London, whose upright, benevolent, and active character did honor to his profession. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and highly distinguished in the circle of naturalists and antiquarians in the metropolis for nearly

¹ Armistead's Mem. of J. Logan, p. 106.

half a century. It was he who sent to the Philadelphia Library Company the electrical apparatus which gave rise to Franklin's celebrated experiments.

Another of Logan's scientific friends was John Bartram, of Pennsylvania, who established, near Philadelphia, the first botanic garden in America, and in pursuit of his favorite study performed many hazardous and toilsome journeys through the British Provinces. He kept up an extensive correspondence with the most distinguished botanists in Europe, enriched the science with many discoveries; was a member of the Royal Societies of London and Stockholm, and Professor of Botany in the University of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the Society of Friends.

James Logan was a patron of ingenious men, and was the zealous friend of Thomas Godfrey, the inventor of the Quadrant, which improperly bears the name of Hadley,—an instrument of incalculable value in the practice of navigation.

Among the numerous guests who enjoyed Logan's hospitality at Stenton, the Indians must not be omitted; for they often visited him in large numbers, and he evinced towards them a steady friendship which they cordially reciprocated.

At a treaty held with the Six Nations, at Philadelphia, in the year 1742, the chief, Canassatego, thus addressed the Governor and Council: "Brethren, we called at our old friend, James Logan's, on our way to this city, and, to our grief, we found him hid in the bushes, and retired through infirmities from public business. We pressed him to leave his retirement, and prevailed with him to assist once more, on our account, at your Council. We hope, notwithstanding his age and the effects of a fit of sickness, which

we understand has hurt his constitution, that he may yet continue a long time to assist this Province with his counsels. He is a wise man, and a fast friend to the Indians, and we desire when his soul goes to God you may choose in his room just such another person, of the same prudence and ability in counselling, and of the same tender disposition and affection for the Indians. In testimony of our gratitude for all his services, and because he was so good as to leave his country-house and follow us to town, and be at the trouble, in this his advanced age, to attend the Council, we present him with this bundle of skins."

In reply to this address, Logan remarked, that "our first proprietor, the Honourable William Penn, who had ever been a father and a true friend of all the Indians, having, about forty years since, recommended them to his particular care, he had always, from his own inclination, as well as from that strict charge, endeavoured to convince all the Indians that he was their true friend; and was now well pleased that after a trial of so many years they were not insensible of it. He thanked them kindly for their present, and heartily joined with them in their desire that the government may always be furnished with persons of equally good inclinations, and not only with such, but also with better abilities to serve them."

Notwithstanding the literary and scientific pursuits of James Logan, and the responsible public trusts that engaged his attention, he did not neglect the higher duties that pertain to a religious life. The following passages, selected from a paper he drew up, with the address "To myself," evince the devotional frame of his mind :

“In the morning at thy rising, prostrate thyself before thy Great Master, who has led thee safe through the dark vale of the past night, as a servant ready and desirous to perform his holy will the following day. Wait on him in humility to know it. Pray to him with thankfulness for past goodness, entreating him to make it farther manifest to thee and to give thee strength diligently to execute it; devote thyself to his service; recommend thyself to his protection; remembering that without his assistance thy best endeavours can avail nothing. Call to mind the orbs that have once more rolled about. The advancing sun summons the creation to its wonted labours, the world prepares for its respective duties, and now there is a universal dressing; much pains is bestowed on this fading vehicle; do thou at least, with no less care, adorn thy immortal soul with more permanent and solid beauties. The choristers of the air perform their matins to their Heavenly King. Do thou, as a more intelligent and enlightened mind, offer up thy morning sacrifice proportioned to the greater measure of grace imparted to thee. Suffer not the sun in Winter at farthest, or the sixth hour in Summer to find thee, if in health, on thy pillow.”

“In the evening, before thou suffer sleep to invade thine eyes, recollect the actions of the past day, keeping, if possible, an exact account of all thy hours. Consider then how far, and wherein thou hast swerved from thy morning resolutions, as too often thou wilt find thou hast. Pray earnestly and humbly for forgiveness not only for all those slips, but for all the past sins and errors of thy life. * * * * Implore a greater degree of strength from him who

alone can give it, both to help out thy natural infirmities and guard thee against the snares of the soul's enemy. Thus anticipate the reckoning of the great and last day, and calming thy conscience in a true peace with God, to his divine protection commit thyself, and, as if it were thy last sleep, compose thyself to rest."

Having just entered the seventy-seventh year of his age, he departed this life the 31st of the Tenth month, 1751.

He bequeathed to the City of Philadelphia, for the use of the public, his library containing a large collection of Greek and Latin classics, together with many rare and valuable books on Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Belles Lettres, and Religion. In his will he says: "I have built a library-room, and endowed it for ever with £35 sterling per annum for a librarian; he to advance £18 yearly to buy books. The room, the books, and salary, I cannot value at less than £2000, solely designed for the use of the public, in order to prevail on them, having such assistance, to acquaint themselves with literature."¹ It was further provided in the will, that any of his descendants, who might desire the position of librarian, should have the preference.

In 1792, by an Act of the Legislature, the Loganian library was vested in the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the two thus combined now contain about 50,000 volumes.

James Logan had several children who survived him. William Logan, his eldest son, was a man of talents, and possessed considerable influence which

¹ Mem. of J. Logan, p. 174.

he exerted for the public good. He occupied a seat in the provincial council; was a warm friend of the proprietary interests, and a zealous protector of the Indian race. He travelled a short time in New England as companion to Samuel Fothergill, who, in one of his letters, mentions him in the following terms: "He is a choice friend, and had John Churchman's recommendation with him to entitle him to be my companion; and although no public minister in word and doctrine, is an exemplary preacher of righteousness in life and conversation, and of these preachers the world has great need."

2. Israel Pemberton, son of Phineas Pemberton, one of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, was born in Bucks County, in the year 1684. In early life he was placed with Samuel Carpenter, a merchant in Philadelphia, and subsequently became one of the most considerable merchants of that city. He took an active part in the public affairs of the province, and was for nineteen years a member of the General Assembly. By the memorial of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, concerning him, it appears that in his youth he was preserved in the fear of the Lord, and that he sustained through life an unblemished character by his justice, integrity, and uprightness. He was endowed with a peculiar sweetness of disposition, which rendered his company agreeable and instructive. His benevolence and extensive charities gained the general esteem of his fellow-citizens. He approved himself a faithful elder, manifesting by his meekness and humility, that, having submitted himself to the discipline of the cross, he was qualified to counsel others in the way of holiness.

A few days before his decease, being in free

converse with two of his friends, he expressed the gratitude he felt for the extension of Divine love to him in his youth, and for the continuance of that aid from above which had enabled him to discharge his religious duties to the best of his knowledge; and being still favored with a degree of the same love, it was his greatest comfort in his declining years. While attending the funeral of an acquaintance, he was seized with a fit, supposed to be apoplexy, and expired in about an hour; being on the 19th of the First month, 1754, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. His widow, Rachel Pemberton, an elder, highly esteemed, survived him eleven years. They had ten children; but only three of them, Israel, James, and John, survived their parents.

Israel, the eldest, was endowed with a clear intellect and ardent temperament, which, being brought under right government by divine grace, made him a useful member of civil and religious society. He was extensively engaged in commerce and benevolent pursuits. He was the congenial and sympathizing companion of Samuel Fothergill during most of his travels in the southern provinces, and the intimacy then formed was afterwards maintained by frequent correspondence.

James, the second son, was possessed of a strong mind highly improved by education, and being actuated by the most enlarged benevolence, he devoted much of his time, as well as a liberal portion of his large estate, to the promotion of the good of his fellow-creatures. He was an active and influential member of the Society, occupying some of the most important stations in the administration of its discipline.

John, the youngest son, has already been mentioned as a minister, and his eminent services will again claim our attention.

These three brothers were the steady friends of the Indian tribes, and zealous advocates of the oppressed Africans.

3. Michael Lightfoot came from Ireland and settled in Pennsylvania in the year 1712. He was called to the ministry about 1725, and the forty-second year of his age. During the last eleven years of his life he was a member of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, and treasurer of the province. He was a bright and exemplary minister of the gospel, and in that capacity travelled extensively in America and Great Britain. He departed this life the 3d of the Twelfth month, 1754, in the seventy-first year of his age.¹

4. Susanna Morris, wife of Morris Morris, was a member of Richland Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania. She was eminently endowed with that divine life and love, which, proceeding from the Father of spirits, qualifies the humble and devoted soul for service in the Church of Christ.

In the work of the ministry she labored faithfully for upwards of forty years, travelling much both in America and Europe. She made three voyages to Great Britain, in order to visit the meetings of Friends, and travelled twice through Ireland and Holland. A few days before her decease, at an evening meeting held in her room, she was enabled "to bear a lively testimony to the everlasting Truth, setting forth the groundwork of true religion and divine worship, concluding with fervent prayer to the Father

¹ Smith's History; and Pennsylvania Memorials.

of all our mercies for the continuance of his love to his children and people.”

She departed in peace the 28th of the Fourth month, 1755, in the seventy-third year of her age.

5. Peter Andrews was a member of Burlington Monthly Meeting, New Jersey. In the year 1755 he embarked for England, being constrained by a sense of religious duty to visit the churches in that nation.

He spent about a year in visiting the meetings of Friends, greatly to their satisfaction, and was then taken sick; but notwithstanding his weakness, he continued his religious labors for some time, until he reached the city of Norwich. It being the time of their General Meeting, many Friends came to visit him, to some of whom he said, “That he was satisfied he was in his place, in giving up to follow the requirings of the Lord, in leaving his outward habitation, and those near blessings of a most affectionate wife and dutiful children.” Before his decease, he was engaged in fervent prayer to God for the continuance of his aid to his dependent children, and in thankful adoration for all his mercies. He departed this life the 13th of the Seventh month, 1756, aged about forty-nine years.

6. John Evans was born in Wales, in the year 1689, and arrived in Pennsylvania with his parents in 1698, under whom he received a pious education. He was a member of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, whose testimony concerning him states that, “In the twenty-third year of his age he appeared in the ministry of the gospel; his deportment therein was reverent as became a mind sensible of the awful importance of the service. He had a clear engaging manner of delivery, was deep in heavenly mysteries,

and plain in declaring them; being well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, he was made skilful in opening the doctrines therein contained, and was often led to draw lively and instructive similitudes from the visible creation." * * * "In support of our Christian discipline, he was zealous, active, and unwearied, and favoured with qualification to advise in difficult cases, which seldom failed of succeeding." Having lived the life of the righteous, his latter end was peace. He died the 23d of the Ninth month, 1756, aged sixty-seven years.

7. Abraham Farrington, of New Jersey, landed in Ireland, as already related, in the year 1756, and after visiting the meetings of Friends in that nation, he embarked for England. On his arrival there, he proceeded diligently in visiting the churches, greatly to the comfort and satisfaction of Friends. After attending many meetings in the northern and midland counties, and in London, he was taken sick in that city. During his illness he was very sweet and tender in his spirit, and remarkably patient. He uttered many heavenly expressions, and several times said, "He apprehended his time in this world would be short," and seemed fully resigned to quit mortality, having an evidence "That he should be clothed upon with immortality, and be united with the heavenly host." He often expressed his desire that he might be favored with an easy passage, which was graciously granted. He departed this life the 26th of the First month, 1758, aged about sixty-six years.

In the testimony concerning him, by Devonshire Monthly Meeting, in London, it is said, "His conversation was innocently cheerful, yet grave and in-

structive." * * * "He was strong in judgment, sound in doctrine, deep in divine things; often explaining in a clear and lively manner, the hidden mysteries wrapt up in the sayings of Christ, the prophets, and apostles; and it may truly be said, he was well instructed in the kingdom, bringing forth, out of his treasure, things new and old."

CHAPTER XII.

PENNSYLVANIA.

1755-1765.

SOON after the death of James Logan, the line of policy pursued by the public authorities of Pennsylvania towards the Indian tribes began to change, and the amicable relations that had subsisted between them for seventy years, gradually gave place to distrust and animosity.¹ The chief reasons assigned by the natives for their discontent, were the abuses committed in the Indian trade, and the encroachments of the whites upon their reserved lands; but there is abundant evidence to show that the instigations of the French on the frontiers, who were then at war with the English, greatly aggravated the feelings of irritation already existing, and brought on a fearful outbreak of savage violence.

Soon after Braddock's disastrous defeat, near the place where Pittsburg now stands, the hostile Indians who were in alliance with the French, made

¹ Proud's History, II. 330.

inroads into Pennsylvania, and committed the most appalling ravages. The main body of the warriors encamped on the Susquehanna, thirty miles above Harris' Ferry, whence they extended themselves on both sides of the river. The settlements at the Great Cove, in Cumberland County, were destroyed, and many of the inhabitants killed or made captives. The same fate befell Gnadenhutten, a Moravian settlement. The Shawnese and Delaware Indians, who had hitherto continued faithful to the English, and had in vain solicited employment against the French and their allies, now being influenced by the love of adventure and the desire of plunder, openly joined with the invaders. This defection was further stimulated by the promises of the French to restore to the Indians their lands that had been ceded to the English.¹

The Governor of Pennsylvania, Robert Hunter Morris, on receiving these melancholy tidings, summoned the Legislature, and demanded money and a militia law. An Act was accordingly passed to encourage and protect the voluntary association that was preparing to take up arms for the defence of the province; but the law was not intended to compel the inhabitants to arm. It was carried in the House with four dissentient voices only, James Pemberton, Joseph Trotter, Peter Worrel, and Joshua Morris. The money bill was likewise passed, granting sixty thousand pounds for the King's use, in bills of credit, redeemable in four years by a tax on the estates and polls of the inhabitants. This bill was passed with only six dissenting voices, although a majority of the House were principled against war.²

¹ Gordon's Hist. of Penna., 312.

² Ibid. pp. 315, 357.

Benjamin Franklin was the most active and influential advocate of these measures. "By this act," he writes, "I was appointed one of the commissioners for disposing of the money, sixty thousand pounds. I had been active in modelling the bill and procuring its passage; and had at the same time drawn one for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia; which I carried through the House without much difficulty, as care was taken in it to leave the Quakers at liberty. To promote the association necessary to form the militia, I wrote a dialogue, stating and answering all the objections I could think of, to such a militia; which was printed, and had, as I thought, great effect."

It was remarked that the Moravians in Pennsylvania, when the danger had become imminent, and after their settlement at Gnadenhutten had been destroyed by the Indians, abandoned their peaceable principles so far as to prepare for a vigorous defence by arms. When Franklin had organized a military force for the defence of the colony, he determined to march to Gnadenhutten, where he intended to build a fort. With this view, his troops were to assemble at Bethlehem, the principal Moravian settlement, and on arriving there, he was surprised to find it in a good posture of defence. They had procured arms and ammunition from New York, and their principal buildings were defended by a stockade. In conversation with the bishop, Franklin expressed his surprise; for knowing they had obtained an Act of Parliament exempting them from military service in the colonies, he supposed they were conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. The bishop answered: "That it was not one of their established principles;

but that at the time of obtaining that act, it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they, to their surprise, found it adopted by but few.”¹

Notwithstanding the depredations committed by the Delaware and Shawnese Indians, war had not been formally declared against them by the provincial government. Several members of the Assembly were confident that the influence of the Six Nations over these people was still very great, and that it would be exerted for the restoration of peace. They moved the House, therefore, to address the governor to suspend his declaration of war, but the motion, after some debate, was postponed indefinitely. The feelings of Friends being deeply interested in promoting pacific measures, they petitioned the House to join them in a remonstrance against the declaration; but their request not being granted, they prepared and presented to the governor a remonstrance, which expressed their repugnance to war, and explained their views of the policy that should be pursued towards the Indians.

This appeal was unavailing; the declaration of war was proclaimed by the governor by the advice of his council,—William Logan alone dissenting.² It is deeply to be regretted that the Executive of Pennsylvania pursued in this instance the inhuman policy so often adopted in the other colonies, by offering a premium for the scalps taken from the Indian enemy. “This was rather an invitation to murder, than to take and protect prisoners.”

¹ Life of B. Franklin, p. 154.

² Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, p. 322.

The proprietaries, it appears, did not then sanction this inhuman measure, but in other respects they did not disapprove of the war, and in their dealings with the Indians they had widely departed from the example of their illustrious father.

Some of the Indians settled in Pennsylvania still continued friendly, but the course pursued by the governor and council alarmed them. Lest they should be mistaken for enemies, they had been gathered in from the Susquehanna to the City of Philadelphia, and now, without assigning any reason, they suddenly resolved to join the Six Nations, (Iroquois,) in the western part of New York, who were friendly towards the English.

An influential chief among the Six Nations had placed two sons in Philadelphia, to be educated at the joint expense of the province and proprietaries; but the latter refusing further to contribute, the former assumed the whole charge, and neglected no opportunity to conciliate the Indians.

Two chiefs of the friendly Indians from the Susquehanna, named Scarroyady and Montour, had exerted themselves and even risked their lives to prevent the war. For this purpose they went as deputies to Onondago, attended the great council of the Six Nations, and induced that powerful confederacy to send a deputation of warriors to the Susquehanna, to enjoin the Delawares and Shawnese to desist from hostilities, and in case of their refusal, to declare war against them in the name of the Six Nations. This measure was so successful that the hostile tribes promised to desist, and, on the part of the province, the war was suspended by the governor's proclamation. The Assembly supplied the means for

holding a treaty, and earnestly pressed upon the governor for his sanction, a bill for regulating the trade and intercourse with the Indians, by which they hoped to provide against future discontents.

It is remarked by Gordon, in his History of Pennsylvania, that "The return of the Shawnese and Delawares to pacific dispositions was greatly promoted by the conduct of the principal Quakers. Israel Pemberton and others invited some of the friendly Indians to their tables, and in a free and social converse with them, through the instrumentality of Conrad Weiser, the interpreter, awakened their earnest wishes for peace. These Indians were dispatched with a message from Scarroyady to the hostile tribes, communicating the desires of the Quakers that they should return to their early affections. This conference was held with the permission of the Governor; but by the advice of his council, the subject was left entirely to the management of Friends."

The conference with the Indians was attended by Mary Peisly and Catherine Peyton, the latter of whom mentions it in her Journal, as follows:

"I think it worth remarking that the termination of the Indian War was at last effected by the peaceable interposition of Friends. An Indian chief, with other Indians in friendship with Pennsylvania, being occasionally in Philadelphia, Friends obtained leave of the governor to have a conference with them, in order to endeavour through their interference to bring about an accommodation with the Indians now at war with the British colonies. As we were admitted to attend the conference, I mention it. It evinces the veneration the Indians retained for the

memory of William Penn, and for his pacific principles; and their great regard for Friends, whom they styled his children. Several of their women sat in this conference, who, for fixed solidity, appeared to me like Roman matrons. They scarcely moved, much less spoke, during the time it was held; and there was a dignity in the behaviour and countenance of one of them, that I cannot forget. I was informed that they admit their most respected women into their councils."

In the Legislature of Pennsylvania a considerable number of Friends had hitherto participated in the proceedings, even on military subjects, some of them voting negatively on the money and militia bills. Upon mature reflection, James Pemberton, William Callender, William Peters, Peter Worrel, and Francis Parvin, were convinced that the nature of the services required of them was incompatible with their religious principles, and therefore resigned their seats.¹

Governor Morris procured and forwarded to London a petition from some of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania to the King, representing the defenceless state of the province, and praying his interposition.

In his official correspondence with the English authorities, the Governor also misrepresented the conduct of the Assembly; and about the same time, letters from him or some of his party were published in the London newspapers. In one of these it was proposed that all members of the Assembly should take the oaths of allegiance, and subscribe a declaration that they would not refuse to defend their country

¹ Gordon, p. 325.

against all his Majesty's enemies. This measure was proposed with a view to exclude Friends from seats in the Legislature; for to their pacific policy was attributed the alleged neglect of military defences.

The petition from Pennsylvania being referred by the Privy Council to a committee, they made a report, which contained the following expression of their opinion: "That the Legislature of Pennsylvania, as of every other country, was bound by the original compact of government to support such government and its subjects; that the measures intended by the Assembly for that purpose were improper, inadequate, and ineffectual; and that there was no cause to hope for other measures whilst the majority of the Assembly consisted of persons whose avowed principles were against military services, who, though not a sixth part of the inhabitants of the province, were, contrary to the principles, the policy, and the practice of the mother country, admitted to hold offices of trust and profit, and to sit in the Assembly without their allegiance being secured by the sanction of an oath." This report was adopted by the Privy Council, and a copy directed to be sent to the Province.¹

In conformity with these views, a bill was prepared by direction of the ministry, and would probably have been passed into a law by Parliament, had not Friends in England obtained the interposition of some persons in high stations, who evinced a steady regard for the Society. The Meeting for Sufferings in London, in an Epistle to Friends of Philadelphia, after

¹ Gordon, p. 338.

alluding to the proposed law, requiring an oath from members of the Assembly, thus continues: "This short suspension has not been obtained without considerable difficulty, and our engaging to use our utmost endeavours with you to decline being chosen into the assembly during the present situation of affairs in America."

In accordance with the recommendation of the British Government, it was concluded to send a deputation of Friends to Pennsylvania. John Hunt of London, and Christopher Wilson of Cumberland, were appointed to that service. They had, some years before, visited America on a gospel mission, and were highly esteemed by their brethren in the colonies. They arrived in Philadelphia in the Tenth month, 1756, and were warmly welcomed.

A conference was soon held with their brethren of the city, but there was little for the deputation to do, as the Friends in Pennsylvania had mostly come to the conclusion that they could no longer take an active part in the government. Besides the five who had before resigned their seats, four others, namely, Mahlon Kirkbride, William Hoge, Peter Dicks, and Nathaniel Pennock, retired, as soon as the opinions of the British ministry were communicated to the House; and at the ensuing election some other members declined to offer themselves as candidates; but a few still flattered themselves that they could reconcile their consciences with the measures of the Assembly.

In the autumn of 1756, an association was formed, chiefly among Friends in Pennsylvania, "For gaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures." The three Pemberton brothers in Phila-

delphia were among those who took an active part in its labors. The subscribers to this association elected annually a committee to execute its benevolent designs, and during the four years of its existence, many thousand pounds were expended, chiefly in presents to the Indians, in order to conciliate them, and sometimes with a view to prevail on them to seek out and release the captives they had taken.

The Indian tribes in Pennsylvania and its vicinity, having become desirous of peace, agreed to meet the governor and agents of the Assembly, in the Eighth month, 1757, at Easton; where the governors of New Jersey, New York, Maryland, and Virginia, together with Sir William Johnson, commander of the British forces, were invited. Several Friends, who were members of the association for promoting peace, were desirous to attend the meeting at Easton, and asked permission of the governor of Pennsylvania to contribute to the present to be given to the Indians. He refused their request, as inconsistent with his instructions, and expressed his unwillingness for them to attend at the treaty. The Friends, however, concluded that, as mutual tokens of the revival of ancient friendship had passed between them and the Indians, with a view to promote a general peace; it would have an injurious tendency now to neglect or decline attending on this important occasion; though it was judged necessary to act with great caution.

The Indians in attendance numbered about three hundred, representing ten tribes, chiefly on the Susquehanna, and having for their leader Teedyuscung, a chief or king of the Delawares. By the advice of the "Friendly Association," he insisted upon having

a secretary appointed by himself to take notes of the treaty. This being a novelty in Indian diplomacy, was resisted by Governor Denny, but the king was peremptory and carried his point. He appointed for his secretary Charles Thompson, master of the Friends' school in Philadelphia, subsequently distinguished as the Secretary of Congress and translator of the Bible.

Teedyuscung complained that the Indians were aggrieved, by the proprietary purchases of land from tribes that had no right to sell, and by the unfairness of the measurement where sales were justly made. He asked for the production of the deeds that had been made to the whites, and disclaimed all pretension to lands fairly purchased and paid for. It is most probable that one of the cases of unfair measurement complained of, was that which took place in 1733, usually referred to as the long-walk. One of the purchases made by William Penn from the Indians, was a tract of land near the Neshaminy, to extend as far back as a man could walk in three days.

Tradition relates that Penn himself, with some of his friends, and a number of the Indians, began to walk out this land, at the mouth of the Neshaminy, and walked up the Delaware; proceeding leisurely in the Indian manner, until they had gone, in a day and a half, thirty miles. This being as much land as was then wanted for settlement, a line was run, and the remainder left to be walked out when it should be needed. It was not till long after the death of William Penn, that the admeasurement of the remainder of the tract was undertaken. The governor of Pennsylvania then chose three of the fastest walkers that could be found, one of whom, Edward Marshall, walked in a day and a half, eighty-six miles. The

Indians complained of this fraudulent transaction ; it was the cause of the first dissatisfaction between them and the people of Pennsylvania ; and it is remarkable that the first murder committed by them in the Province, seventy-two years after the landing of Penn, was on this very tract of land.¹

The Indians concerned in the treaty at Easton admitted that the proprietaries had honestly purchased from the Six Nations, but denied the right of these nations to sell. The English declined to enter upon an inquiry that involved the title of the Six Nations, and suggested to Teedyuscung that his persistence in these claims would bring upon the Delawares the anger of those powerful tribes, to whom they had formerly acknowledged allegiance. The deeds the Indians desired to see were exhibited, and copies given ; they appeared to be satisfied, and not only concluded a treaty of peace, but agreed to take up arms against the French.

One of the requests made by Teedyuscung at the treaty of Easton is worthy of note. His nation, he said, intended to settle at Wyoming, and to build themselves houses of a durable nature ; he therefore desired that a proper tract of land might be designated by certain boundaries, which they should be prohibited to sell ; that they might be instructed in the art of building, in reading and writing, and in the knowledge of the Christian religion ; and that a fair trade might be established under the direction of suitable persons appointed to conduct it. In compliance with this request, commissioners were appointed to proceed to Wyoming with about fifty

¹ See Janney's *Life of Penn*, p. 230 ; and Hazard's *Reg.*, VI. 200.

laborers and mechanics, for the purpose of assisting the Indians to build their dwellings.

In commemoration of the treaty of Easton, a medal was struck at the instance of the Friendly Association, having on one side the head of George II., and on the other a citizen and an Indian seated under a tree, the former presenting to the latter the calumet of peace, a fire burning between them, and the sun in the zenith. The inscription reads: "Let us look to the Most High who blessed our fathers with peace — 1757."

During the continuance of the troubles produced by the Indian wars, Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey deemed it proper to take some steps towards the establishment of a representative body to act on behalf of the Society in the interval of the Yearly meetings.

At the Yearly Meeting in 1756, it was concluded to establish a Meeting for Sufferings, to be composed of four representatives from each Quarterly meeting, together with twelve others appointed by the Yearly Meeting. It was the first meeting of this description established in America, but, subsequently, all the Yearly meetings appointed representative committees, similar in character.

In the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held in 1757, it appeared, on reading the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, that the payment of the provincial taxes, levied chiefly for military purposes, had been under consideration; some Friends being conscientiously scrupulous against paying them.

After a considerable time had been spent in deliberation and conference, it was concluded by the Yearly

Meeting to refer the subject to a committee of thirty Friends. The committee made the following report:

“Agreeably to the appointment of the meeting, we have met and had several weighty and deliberate conferences on the subject committed to us; and as we find there is a diversity of sentiment, we are, for that, and several other reasons, unanimously of the judgment that it is not proper to enter into a public discussion of the matter. And we are one in judgment that it is highly necessary for the Yearly Meeting to recommend that Friends everywhere endeavour earnestly to have their minds covered with fervent charity towards one another. All which is submitted to the meeting.”

This report being deliberately considered in the Yearly Meeting, was unanimously concurred in, and a copy of it was directed to be sent to the several Quarterly meetings, together with extracts from the minutes.”¹

In the Tenth month, 1758, another convention was held at Easton with the Indians, for the purpose of settling a definitive treaty of peace. There were present, on the part of the English, the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the deputy-agent of Sir William Johnson for Indian affairs, four members of the Council, and six members of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, two agents for the Province of New Jersey, and many magistrates of the neighboring provinces, together with some Friends from Philadelphia. On the part of the Indians, there were deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, Co-

¹ MS. Advices of Yearly Meeting.

nies, Tuteloës, Chugnues, Delawares, Unamies, Minisinks, Mohicans, and Wappingers, with their women and children, amounting in all to about three hundred.

At the council held on this occasion, the Minisinks complained that they had been defrauded of large tracts of land in New Jersey. The Six Nations expressed their dissatisfaction with the last purchase made by the proprietaries, and they refused to ratify the sale of more than had been paid for and settled by the whites. After discussing these and other points of difference, a satisfactory adjustment was made. Governor Barnard consented to pay the Minisinks one thousand pounds for their claims in New Jersey, and the proprietary agents reconveyed the lands of the last purchase claimed by the Indians, except that portion which was paid for and settled, and the title to this was now confirmed by the Six Nations. A treaty was concluded to which all the tribes lately engaged in the war were parties, except the Twigtrees, on the Ohio, and they were soon after included.

For many years, one of the chief causes of disagreement between the Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Executive, arose from the instructions of the Proprietaries to their deputy governors, to sanction no revenue bills that imposed a tax upon their lands.

The Assembly insisted that all property in the province should contribute equally to defray public expenses; but the governors refused to concur, and by withholding their sanction defeated some measures of pressing necessity.

In 1759 the Assembly sent to Governor Denny a bill subjecting the Proprietary estates, as other prop-

erty, to taxation, and having made several attempts to amend it, he gave it his sanction under protest that it was forced upon him by the circumstances of the province.

The Proprietaries in England opposed this bill before the privy council, as subversive of their rights; and Benjamin Franklin, as agent of the Assembly, defended it. At length the bill received the royal approbation, which gave general satisfaction in the province.

Soon after this transaction, Governor Denny was superseded, and James Hamilton was, a second time, appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania.

In the year 1762, the war that Great Britain had been waging against France and Spain was concluded by a treaty of peace. By the terms of this treaty, France relinquished her claims upon Nova Scotia, and ceded Canada to Great Britain, receiving in exchange Martinique, Guadaloupe, and some other islands.

As the Indian wars had been instigated by the French in Canada, it was hoped that the cession of that territory to the English would secure tranquillity on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and other provinces. This hope proved fallacious; for the Indians seeing the French relinquish the whole territory, and the English forts threatening them on the great lakes and rivers of the West, determined "that an immediate and mighty effort was necessary to restrain the tide which now unimpeded would spread itself over the continent."

A secret confederacy was formed among the Shawanese, the tribes upon the Ohio and its tributary waters and about Detroit, to attack, simultaneously,

all the English posts and settlements on the frontier. In pursuance of this plan, the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were overrun with scalping parties, that, without respect to age or sex, slaughtered the inhabitants and devastated the country. Many of the British forts and trading-posts on the lakes and western rivers being surprised and taken, the garrisons were put to death. The garrison at Fort Pitt successfully repelled the attacks of the savages, but the western part of Pennsylvania, as far as Carlisle, was abandoned by most of the inhabitants, who fled for refuge to the eastern counties, bewailing the loss of their property and the slaughter of their friends. Large sums of money were collected in the city of Philadelphia and judiciously applied to the relief of the sufferers.

Some of the inhabitants of Lancaster County residing in Donnegal and Paxtang (or Paxton) townships, becoming exasperated by the Indian murders, indulged a spirit of revenge no less savage. They attacked an Indian village on the Conestoga manor, inhabited by twenty Indians, the remains of a tribe of the Six Nations, and barbarously murdered some women and children and a few old men, amongst the latter, the chief Shaheos, who was concerned in a treaty with William Penn, and had always been the steady friend of the whites.¹ Most of the Indians inhabiting the village were absent at the time of the attack; and in order to save them from a similar fate, the remaining fourteen were collected and placed under the protection of the magistrates in the work-house at Lancaster. But the fury of the mob was

¹ Proud, II., 327.

still unabated, they assembled in greater numbers, and having forced the prison, they butchered the defenceless inmates. The Indians being unarmed, prostrated themselves, with their children, before the murderers, protesting their innocence and their love for the English, and in this posture they all received the hatchet.¹

When tidings of this inhuman massacre were received, the Moravian Indians were brought to the city of Philadelphia for security. The insurgents threatening to march thither and destroy them, the Assembly determined to oppose force to force; and for that purpose, six companies of infantry, one of artillery, and two troops of horse were prepared for service, besides some thousands of citizens, who were ready to assist in case of need. On reaching Germantown, the insurgents were informed of the preparations made to receive them, and prudently concluded to retire to their homes, but deputed two of their number to represent their views to the government. In their memorial to the Governor and Assembly, "They urged the repeated murders perpetrated by the Indians, their conviction of the union of the neutral with the belligerent tribes; and being Presbyterians, in their religious zeal they found a justification for their slaughter of the Indians in the command given to Joshua, to destroy the heathen." "They remonstrated against the policy of allowing any Indians to live in the inhabited parts of the province, and expostulated against the course of the government in refraining from offering rewards for Indian scalps." "They complained that the 'Friend-

¹ Proud, II., 328.

ly Association,' during the late war and at several treaties held by the king's representatives, openly loaded the Indians with presents, and that Israel Pemberton, a leader of that Association, in defiance of the government, not only abetted its Indian enemies, but kept up private intelligence with them, and publicly received from them a belt of wampum, as if he were the governor, or was authorized by the king to treat with his enemies; teaching the Indians to believe the inhabitants of the province to be a divided people, whence had arisen many of the calamities under which they groaned."

The Assembly passed a bill, directing that persons charged with murdering an Indian in Lancaster County should be tried in Philadelphia, Bucks, or Chester; but no conviction for that offence was ever had, the number and power of the guilty protecting them from punishment.

The Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia published, in the form of an address to the Governor, an answer to the charges made against Friends by the insurgents and their abettors. In that address they thus remark: "From the first settling of the province till within a few years past, both the framing and administration of the laws were committed chiefly to men of our religious principles, under whom tranquillity and peace were preserved among the inhabitants and with the natives. The land rejoiced, and people of every denomination were protected in person and property, and in the full enjoyment of religious and civil liberty. But with grief and sorrow, for some years past we have observed the circumstances of the province to be much changed, and that the intestine animosities and the desolating

calamities of war have taken the place of tranquillity and peace." In addressing their brethren in London, about the same date, they observe: "During these tumults, a few members of our Society were hurried, under the apprehension of immediate danger, to appear in arms, contrary to our Christian profession and principles, whose example was followed by some of our youth, which hath been and is a real concern to those who experienced in this time of trial the calming influences of that Spirit which preserves in a steady dependence on the alone protection of Divine Providence. We hope endeavours will be used in the meekness of true wisdom for the help and restoration of such as have thus erred."

An historian of Pennsylvania,¹ while attributing some share of her calamities at that period to the conflicting policy pursued by the government and the Friendly Association, makes the following candid acknowledgment in regard to the Society of Friends: "There is every reason to infer, from the profound veneration the Indians entertained for the Quakers, and the attention they paid their messages, that, had the Friends been permitted to follow out their plans of benevolence, the Indian War would never have existed, or would have been of short duration."

On the 13th of the Tenth month, 1763, John Penn, a grandson of William Penn, arrived at Philadelphia. The day was distinguished by a severe shock of an earthquake, accompanied with a loud, roaring noise, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants. Being on the First day of the week, most of the congregations were assembled at the time, and much confu-

¹ Gordon, p. 410.

sion, though but little injury, resulted from their efforts to escape from the buildings, which they feared would fall upon them.

John Penn succeeded James Hamilton as Governor of the Province, and was very soon engaged in a controversy with the Assembly in relation to the assessment of taxes. He insisted that the proprietary lands, *of whatever quality*, should be rated at the lowest valuation of the worst lands of the tenants, and that a provision to that effect should be inserted in the supply bill. To this unreasonable and selfish demand the Assembly was obliged to submit, because the war with the Indians admitted of no delay.

The defeat of the Assembly on the supply bill recalled to the minds of the people the selfish policy pursued by the proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn, and a general determination was felt to throw off their dominion. With this view a committee was appointed by the Assembly, to consider and report on their grievances. They reported twenty-six resolutions, in one of which they asserted that "the present proprietors had, ever since their accession, endeavoured to annihilate the privileges granted by their father to encourage the settlement of the province." In another they declared that "the powers of government ought, in all good policy, to be separated from the power attending that immense property, and lodged where only they could be properly and safely lodged, in the hands of the king."

The report and resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Assembly, and they concluded to adjourn in order to consult their constituents, declaring that "all hope of happiness under the proprietary government was at an end."

After an adjournment of fifty days, the House reassembled, encouraged to proceed in their measures to effect a change of government. The Friends, as a society, were in favor of it. They presented a petition to the Assembly, addressed to the king, expressing their sorrow for "the continual disagreements and contests, which for many years had subsisted between the proprietaries and assemblies, to the great interruption of the peace and welfare of the province;" and their earnest request, that he "would be graciously pleased to take the government of the province under his immediate care and direction, confiding in his royal clemency and favour for the continuance and confirmation to them and their posterity of those inestimable religious and civil liberties, which encouraged their forefathers, at their own expense, to settle and improve the colony." The Assembly resolved to transmit this petition to the king, accompanied by one from themselves; which was drawn up by Dr. Franklin, signed by him as speaker, and forwarded to England.

A warm controversy ensued in the province; the Presbyterians taking a leading part in opposition to the petition of the Assembly. In their publications they brought severe accusations against Friends, whom they falsely accused of furnishing the Indians with arms and ammunition while engaged in war with the whites.

The next election for the Assembly turned upon the question of changing the government, and although some members in opposition to it were returned, there was still a decided majority for transferring the executive power to the crown. The agents of the Assembly in England were instructed

to prosecute the petitions to an issue before the king and council ; and there is reason to believe the proposed change would have been accomplished, had not the British ministry, at that time, entered upon their odious policy of taxing the colonies without their consent, which brought on the American Revolution.

The war against the Indians was prosecuted until the Eighth month, 1765, when a treaty of peace was concluded by Sir William Johnson with the Northern and Western tribes, stipulating for the surrender of their prisoners, indemnification for losses sustained by the whites, and cessions of large tracts of land. During this war the barbarous expedient of offering bounties for Indian scalps, extending even to those of women and children, had been adopted by Governor Penn, at the instance of the Paxton insurgents.¹

The Indians inhabiting the Province of Pennsylvania were not all of a warlike character. There was, at a town called Wehaloosing, near the east branch of the Susquehanna, a small community belonging to the Minusing tribe, who were remarkable for their peaceable principles. Their chief man, whom the rest of the company styled their minister, was named Papunehung, or Papouan. He and his interpreter, Job Chillaway, an Indian, together with some others of the tribe, paid a visit, in the year 1760, to the Friends in Philadelphia, in order to confer with them upon religious subjects. They waited on Governor Hamilton, to pay him their respects, and to deliver three prisoners whom they had redeemed ; having themselves absolutely refused to join with

¹ Gordon, p. 438.

the other Indians in the war. Papunehung said the design of their visit was principally to the Quakers, on a religious account. He refused the presents offered by the governor, giving his reasons, and adding: "I thank God who made us; I want to be instructed in his worship and service. I am a great lover of peace, and have never been concerned in war affairs; I have a sincere remembrance of the old friendship between the Indians and your forefathers, and shall ever observe it."

They were kindly treated by the governor, and remained in the city several days, visiting the Friends and attending their religious meetings; being treated by them in a friendly and hospitable manner. They repeatedly expressed their abhorrence of war, as arising from a bad spirit, and they wondered that Christians were such great warriors, rather than lovers of peace. It appeared from their account of themselves, that for several years they had been endeavoring to lead a religious life, being led by an immediate sense of divine goodness manifested to their minds, without any instrumental means, preaching, or information from other persons. It had been but lately that Papunehung began to preach among them, in which service he was afterwards joined by two or three other Indians. They appeared very earnest in promoting true piety, which they conceived to be the effect of a divine influence on the mind; changing it from a bad to a good state; this they emphatically expressed, by the heart becoming soft and filled with good.

The interpreter related that Papunehung had been formerly an intemperate man; but the death of his father having affected his mind with sorrow and

serious thoughtfulness, he was led to believe there was a Great Power who had created all things. Feeling a strong desire to know more of his Creator, he went forth into the forest and remained for some days in great tribulation. At length it pleased God to appear for his comfort, granting him a sight of his own inward condition and of his duty to the Author of his being. He came home rejoicing, and endeavored to put in practice the lessons of instruction he had received.

These Indians made a second visit to Friends in Philadelphia the following summer, and conducted themselves with great propriety. They maintained an orderly public worship at stated times; and when assembled, they were visited by several of the Friends. Papunehung exhorted his hearers to circumspection in their conduct and brotherly love, acknowledging in his public prayers the goodness and mercy of God. He observed, that it was not well to speak of things which related to the Almighty, only from the root of the tongue; that is, in a light or superficial manner; but in order that such words should be good, they must proceed from the good principle in the heart." "This spirit," he said, "was a spirit of love, and it was his daily prayer that it might continually abide with him."¹

John Woolman, being in Philadelphia during the second visit of these Indians, became deeply interested for their spiritual welfare, and about two years afterwards he was led by a sense of religious duty to visit them at their village. Accompanied by his friend Benjamin Parvin, he left home in the Fifth month,

¹ Proud, II. pp. 320, 324,

1763, and after travelling about two hundred miles, most of the way through a wilderness, in which they endured much hardship, they reached the town of Wehaloosing, and were kindly welcomed by the Indians. They were invited into a house near the town, where they found about sixty people sitting in silence.

“After sitting a short time,” writes John Woolman, “I stood up, and in some tenderness of spirit acquainted them with the nature of my visit, and that a concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to see them; all in a few short sentences, which some of them understanding, interpreted to the others, and there appeared gladness amongst them. Then I showed them my certificate, which was explained to them, and the Moravian who overtook us on the way, being now here, bade me welcome.” This Moravian, it appeared, had lately come to live with them, by their consent or invitation. They were accustomed to meet for divine worship, before sunrise and in the evening.

John Woolman, with his companion, having assembled with them, writes as follows: “Near evening I was at their meeting, where the pure gospel love was felt, to the tendering some of our hearts; and the interpreters endeavouring to acquaint the people with what I said, in short sentences found some difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the English and Delaware tongues; so they helped one another, and we laboured along, divine love attending; and afterwards feeling my mind covered with the spirit of prayer, I told the interpreters that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed if I prayed aright, he would hear me; and expressed my willingness for

them to omit interpreting. So our meeting ended with a degree of Divine love, and before the people went out, I observed Papunehung spoke to one of the interpreters; and I was afterwards told that he said, in substance, as follows: "I love to feel where words come from."

The next morning being the first of the week, the Friends again assembled with them, when an Indian prayed and the Moravian preached. In the afternoon, John Woolman was engaged in gospel ministry among them, and the current of Divine life and love flowed freely, to the comfort and edification of many. In his Journal he thus expresses his feelings: "Before our first meeting this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians, who, by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts, and a near sympathy with them was raised in me; and my heart being enlarged in the love of God, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction does not exceed what I then felt for that people."¹

Having remained some days at Wehaloosing, and discharged their religious duty, the Friends set out on their return; and although some parts of the province were then suffering from the incursions of hostile Indians, they met with no molestation, being favored to reach their homes with thankful hearts.

¹ Journal of J. Woolman, p. 129.

CHAPTER XIII.

EUROPE.

1765-1780.

At the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London in the year 1765, reports from the Quarterly meetings in England, and epistles from meetings in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the American colonies, brought information that there had been in various places some addition to the Society by convincement, and that notwithstanding the apparent declension of many, "a godly concern remained amongst the churches in general," for the support of good order and the promotion of purity and virtue.

In the year 1769, John Elliot, a minister of the Society residing in the city of London, was imprisoned a short time, and his estate in Dorsetshire sequestered for a demand of tithes. In this case, the rector of Ashmore, in the County of Dorset, demanded for tithes £149 12s. 7d., and for costs upwards of £31. John Elliot being conscientiously opposed to the payment of tithes, declined to comply with the demand, and was taken into custody by the sheriff. After a short detention, he was released, and an order was issued for the sequestration of his estate, under which personal property was sold to the value of £241.

The sufferings of Friends in England and Wales, reported to the Yearly Meeting that year, being chiefly for tithes and church rates, amounted to £3436, and in Ireland to £1691. During the ten

years succeeding, the average amount continued to be about the same.

In the year 1770, a visit was paid, by a committee of London Yearly Meeting, to Friends in North Holland and parts of Germany. They found the Society in those parts reduced very low, only one meeting remaining, which was at Amsterdam. There had formerly been meetings in fourteen places in the countries they visited; at several places there had been Monthly and Quarterly meetings, and a Yearly Meeting had been held at Amsterdam. It appeared that a large proportion of the Friends in those countries had become Menonists, and doubtless many had emigrated to America.

The meetings of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland were, about this time, visited by several ministers from America whose gospel labors were instrumental in promoting the spiritual welfare of many.

Samuel Emlen, of Philadelphia, embarked on his second voyage to Europe in the year 1764. Of this visit we have no particular account, but Dr. John Fothergill, in a letter dated London, Twelfth month 10th, 1767, writes as follows: "Samuel Emlen is here, a reputation to his country, a help to society, the pattern of innocence, wisdom, and simplicity."¹

Robert Willis of Rahway, New Jersey, went to England in the autumn of 1770, and was engaged about four years in visiting the meetings of Friends and many of their families, in Great Britain and Ireland.²

William Hunt, of North Carolina, embarked for London on the 4th of the Fifth month, 1771, ac-

¹ Mem. of S. Fothergill, p. 465.

² Comly's Mis., IX. 299.

accompanied by his nephew Thomas Thornburgh, then a young man who had sometimes appeared in the ministry. The Yearly Meeting was just over when they arrived. After spending a few days in the city, they proceeded to York, where they attended the Quarterly Meeting, which they found was large, being composed of "plain solid Friends, many of whom were feelingly gathered in the name and power of Truth, and zealously concerned for the support of the discipline and gospel order. The meeting was owned by the presence of the great I AM, the Saviour of his people. It concluded in sweet praise to the holy name, and Friends parted in much love and unity, strengthened by their coming together. Through a portion of their journey southward from York, they had the interesting company of that mother in Israel, Esther Tuke, who was then engaged in a visit to Newcastle and the northern counties."¹

William Hunt and his companion, after spending nearly a year in gospel labors in Great Britain and Ireland, proceeded to London to attend the Yearly Meeting. There they had the satisfaction to meet a number of American ministers who were engaged in visiting the churches. Among them were Sarah and Deborah Morris, and John Woolman. The Yearly Meeting "was large and much favoured with the owning power and presence of Truth, wherein they were enabled to transact the weighty affairs of the church to their mutual edification and comfort, and strengthening one of another." From London they proceeded to Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and

¹ Mem. of William Hunt, p. 76.

after attending the General meetings held yearly in those counties, they went to Hull and embarked for Holland. When they had visited the few Friends in that country, they returned to England and landed at Shields, whence they proceeded to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. At a meeting held there, on the 27th of the Eighth month, 1772, William Hunt delivered a short and lively testimony in the love of the gospel. That afternoon, being at the house of a Friend near the city, he was asked what place they intended for next? he replied that he saw no further at present than Newcastle. Next day he was taken ill, and on the fourth day of his illness, his disease was found to be the small-pox. When the eruption appeared, he said to his companion, "This sickness is nigh unto death, if not quite. My coming hither seems to be providential, and when I wait I am enclosed and see no further."

A Friend who came to visit him, observed, that whatever affliction we are tried with, we may yet see cause for thankfulness. He replied: "Great cause indeed; I never saw it clearer; oh the wisdom! the wisdom and goodness, the mercy and kindness, has appeared to me wonderful, and the further and deeper we go the more we wonder. I have admired since I was cast upon this bed, that all the world does not seek after the truth, it so transcends all other things." While greatly oppressed with the disease, his mind was mercifully preserved calm and resigned to his Master's will, whose presence he found to be near him in the needful time, saying, "It is enough, my Master is here;" and again, "He that laid the foundation of the mountains knows this; if it pleases Him, he can remove it." At another time he said,

with great composure, "The Lord knows best; I am in his hands, let him do what he pleases." A little before he died he said, triumphantly, "Friends, truth is over all." So, in great peace, he departed this life, the 9th day of the Ninth month, 1772, about the thirty-ninth year of his age, having been a minister twenty-four years.

On the 1st day of the Fifth month, 1772, John Woolman and Samuel Emlen embarked for England, having been liberated by the meetings to which they belonged, to visit Great Britain on a mission of gospel love. Under a sense of religious duty, John Woolman felt constrained to take his passage in the steerage among the sailors, which was a trial to his friends, on account of the inconveniences and annoyances to which they believed he would be exposed. During the passage he made, in his Journal, the following entries:

"As my lodging in the steerage, now near a week, hath afforded me sundry opportunities of seeing, hearing, and feeling with respect to the life of many poor sailors; an inward exercise of soul hath attended me in regard to placing out children and youth where they may be likely to be exampled and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord; and I being much amongst the seamen, have, from a motion of love, sundry times taken opportunities with one of them at a time alone; and in a free conversation laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord. And this day we had a meeting in the cabin, where my heart was contrite under a feeling of Divine love." * * * * "In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a desolate thorny wilderness, how precious! how comfortable! how safe! are the leadings of Christ, the good Shep-

herd, who said, I know my sheep and am known of mine.”

The ship arrived at London on the 8th of the Sixth month, and John Woolman went directly to the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders which had been gathered about half an hour. Samuel Emlen had left the ship at Dover, and thence proceeded by land to London to attend the Yearly Meeting.

Of his religious labors on this visit we have no account.

John Woolman, after attending the Yearly Meeting, travelled in the midland and northern counties of England, visiting the Quarterly meetings, and diligently laboring in his holy calling to the edification and comfort of Friends. During this journey he wrote in his Journal as follows:

“I have felt great distress of mind since I came to this Island, on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world in various sorts of business and traffic carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves! and in loading these ships, abundance of people are employed in the manufactories, amongst whom are many of our Society! Friends, in early times, refused, on a religious principle, to make or trade in superfluities, of which we have many large testimonies on record. But for want of faithfulness some gave way; even some whose examples were of note in the Society; and from thence others took more liberty;—members of our Society worked in superfluities, and bought and sold them; and thus dimness of sight came over many. At length, Friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress and in the furniture of their houses, and this hath spread from less

to more, till superfluity of some kinds is common amongst us.

“I felt a concern in America to prepare for this voyage, and being through the mercy of God brought safe here, my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent; and for several weeks at first, when my mouth was opened in meetings, it often felt like the raising of a gate in a watercourse, where a weight of water lay upon it; and in these labours appeared a fresh visitation of love to many, especially the youth. But some time after this I felt empty and poor, and yet felt a necessity to appoint meetings. In this state I was exercised to abide in the pure life of Truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind. I have frequently felt a necessity to stand up when the spring of the ministry was low, in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering seed and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours. As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the Divine leader under these dispensations, enlargement at times hath followed and the power of Truth hath risen higher in some meetings than I ever knew it before through me. Thus I have been more and more instructed as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America to come on a visit to England, but upon the fresh instructions of Christ, the Prince of peace, from day to day. Now of late I have felt a stop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly, but in part, and I do not feel at liberty to appoint them so quick one after another as I have heretofore.”

A few days after writing these remarks, John Woolman came to the city of York and attended

most of the sittings of the Quarterly Meeting there, but before it was over, was taken ill of the small-pox. On the third day of his illness he uttered the following prayer: "O Lord my God, the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear; and I was crushed under it. I lifted up my hand,—I stretched out my arm; but there was none to help me. I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent;—that I had called thee Father;—and I felt that I loved thee; and I was made quiet in thy will; and I waited for deliverance from thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou wast teaching me to follow him; and I said, thy will, O Father, be done."

During his illness he uttered many instructive and feeling expressions, evincing his meekness and his unwavering trust in the arm of Divine power. In relation to his mission to England, he said, "My draught seemed strongest towards the north, and I mentioned in my own Monthly Meeting, that attending the Quarterly Meeting at York, and being there, looked like home to me."

While engaged in vocal supplication, he said, "O Lord, it was thy power that enabled me to forsake sin in my youth, and I have felt thy bruises for disobedience; but as I bowed under them, thou healed me, continuing a father and a friend; I feel thy

power now, and I beg that in the approaching trying moment, thou wilt keep my heart steadfast unto thee."

His prayer was answered. "My dependence," he said, "is in the Lord Jesus Christ, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for, and if it be his will to raise up this body again, I am content, and if to die, I am resigned." He died in perfect peace, at the house of Thomas Priestman in York, on the 7th day of the Tenth month, 1772, aged near fifty-two years, a minister upwards of thirty years.

No minister of that period, in the Society of Friends, exerted a more salutary influence or has left a more precious remembrance behind him than John Woolman. His excellent natural endowments were improved by mental culture, and being brought under the sanctifying power of divine grace, he became a vessel of honor in the Lord's house. By the meekness of his spirit, the depth of his religious feelings, and the clearness of his spiritual vision, he was admirably qualified to go forth as one of the pioneers and most successful laborers in the cause of African emancipation. His writings on that subject have never been surpassed, and his ministry was abundantly blessed in enlightening the public mind.

The following passage in his Journal, written more than two years before his decease, shows that he was permitted to see in prophetic vision the ultimate triumph of the cause he was called to advocate. "I have seen in the light of the Lord, that the day is approaching, when the man that is the most wise in human policy, shall be the greatest fool; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice, shall be brokne to pieces. The enemies of righteousness shall make

a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed, and he commanded me to open the vision.”¹

Among the Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, who about this date were removed by death, some who occupied prominent positions in the Society may appropriately be noticed.

1. James Wilson, of Kendal, was born in the year 1677. His parents educated him in the way of the Church of England, but in the twenty-eighth year of his age, through the ministry of Isaac Alexander, he was convinced of the principles of Truth as held by Friends, and joined in communion with them, as already related.

In his thirtieth year he was called to the work of the ministry, and becoming eminently qualified for that service, he labored extensively in it, both among Friends and others, in Great Britain and Ireland.

Throughout a long life he devoted much of his time to the holy cause he had espoused, and bore with fortitude and resignation the many trials that attended him. He departed this life the 30th of the Twelfth month, 1769, aged ninety-two, and a minister sixty-two years.

2. Abraham Shackelton was born in Yorkshire in 1697. His mother died when he was about six years of age, and his father when he was about eight. Though deprived so early of his parents, the impression made upon him by their religious care was not in vain. He used often to commemorate the tender concern of his pious father, in following him to his

¹ Journal, p. 155.

bed-side, and on leaving him to repose, earnestly recommending him to seek the Divine blessing. This blessing did remarkably attend him when exposed to temptations in the season of youth, and by its precious influence he was led aside from his companions into solitary places to seek the Lord, who was mercifully pleased to visit him with the tendering impressions of his grace. Being endowed with good natural abilities, and having a competent education, he was encouraged to remove to Ireland, where he undertook the tuition of Friends' children, in which responsible employment he gave much satisfaction. In a few years he married a valuable and religious young woman from Yorkshire, and they opened a boarding-school for Friends and others, at Ballitore, in which he labored for many years with remarkable success. Some of his pupils afterwards filled conspicuous stations in the world, and always remembered with gratitude his excellent instructions and paternal care.

He was a valuable member of the Society, and in the station of an elder had often to minister in his own house, in the families of Friends, and in the church, expressing in humility the words of counsel and encouragement. As age advanced, he withdrew from all worldly business, and devoted much of his time to attending meetings for discipline in various parts of Ireland, and to other concerns connected with the welfare of the Society. He departed this life in great peace at Ballitore, the 24th of the Sixth month, 1771, aged seventy-four years.

3. Samuel Fothergill had long occupied a prominent position in the Society, and his extensive labors in the gospel of Christ have been noticed in the preceding chapters.

Before he attained his fiftieth year, his health became precarious, but notwithstanding his frequent attacks of disease, he travelled occasionally, and whether abroad or at home, was assiduously engaged in the good Master's service.

The business he followed for a livelihood, was that of a tea-dealer, with which he combined some other articles; and he had occasionally mercantile transactions with America, sending thither manufactured goods and importing the produce of the country. In one of his interesting and affectionate letters to his brother, Doctor John Fothergill, written in his fiftieth year, he says: "I look towards a release from temporal concerns with increasing ease; I believe it is quite right I should dress my wings to take my flight to the land of peace, through those paths of light which may be assigned, but not yet clearly unfolded." He accordingly retired from business, and devoted his attention chiefly to his religious concerns. In the year 1769, he and his brother John wrote for a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, published at Edinburgh, an article entitled, "A brief account of the people called Quakers, their doctrine and discipline," which was afterwards published separately.

In the spring of the year 1771 he attended the National Meeting of Friends in Dublin. His services there are thus described in a letter written by Richard Shackelton to his father, Abraham Shackelton: "The meetings have been uncommonly large and crowded. It has been almost wholly the lot of our friend Samuel Fothergill to *burn incense* publicly. He is indeed carried on wonderfully. His Master dignifies him, and exalts his testimony through him. He is made like the shew-bread on the altar — some sacred symbol,

that is eminently conspicuous, attended with a degree of glory, in order to attract and engage a people too much outward, and, if possible, by instrumental means enamour them of the beauty which is in the Truth. Such is the mercy and condescension of the Creator, who uses various means in wisdom, that his creatures may not perish forever, and leaves all without excuse, that their perdition may be of themselves. The London queries (as proposed by S. Fothergill) were read and answered yesterday in the meeting of conference of Friends of both sexes. Samuel was beautifully drawn forth upon this occasion as usual. The public meeting to-day was very large, and he was concerned in testimony, also feelingly and fervently in supplication."

In the Tenth month following he attended, for the last time, the Quarterly Meeting of Lancaster, and upon his return was seized with an alarming illness. For some months he continued extremely feeble; as spring advanced, he improved a little, but soon relapsed, and symptoms of confirmed dropsy came on.

In a solemn and affecting interview with some of his relatives who were going to attend the Yearly Meeting in London, he addressed them in the following expressions, which were read in the Yearly Meeting by Jonah Thompson:

"Our health is no more at our command than length of days; mine seems drawing fast towards a conclusion, I think; but I am content with every allotment of Providence, for they are all in wisdom, unerring wisdom. There is That, which as an arm underneath, bears up and supports, and though the rolling tempestuous billows surround, yet my head

is kept above them, and my feet are firmly established. Oh, seek it! press after it, lay fast hold of it! Though painful my nights and wearisome my days, yet I am preserved in resignation. Death has no terrors, nor will the grave have any victory! My soul triumphs over death, hell, and the grave. Husbands and wives, parents and children, health and riches, must all go. Disappointment is another name for them! I should have been thankful, had I been able, to have got to the ensuing Yearly Meeting in London, which you are now going to attend, where I have been so often refreshed with my brethren; but it is otherwise allotted. I shall remember *them*, and some of them will remember *me*. The Lord knows what is best for us; I am content, and resigned to his will. I feel the foretaste of the joy that is to come; and who would wish to change such a state of mind? I should be glad if an easy channel could be found to inform the Yearly Meeting that as I have lived so I shall close, with the most unshaken assurance that we have not followed cunningly devised fables, but the pure, living, eternal substance. Let the aged be strong, let the middle-aged be animated, and the youth encouraged; for the Lord is still in Zion, the Lord will bless Zion!

“If I be now removed out of the church militant, where I have endeavoured in some measure to fill up my duty, I have an evidence that I shall gain an admittance into his glorious church triumphant, far above the heavens. My dear love is to all them that love the Lord Jesus.”

A short time before his decease he made the following observations to a friend: “I have laboured while I was able, and it is now my comfort. It is

not only the washing of regeneration, but the renewing—the renewing—the renewing of the Holy Ghost, that makes men and women for God.”

He departed this life at his house in Warrington, on the 15th of the Sixth month, 1772, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his ministry.¹

Samuel Fothergill is thus described by his biographer: “He was in stature tall; in person comely and graceful; in deportment dignified, yet courteous; grave, but not austere; affable to all, intimate but with few; in manners kind, and with a politeness, the result, as it ever will be, of the practical application of the precepts, ‘Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;’ ‘In honour preferring one another.’ He possessed good natural abilities, and had improved them by cultivation; he was well read both in books and men, but his studies did not terminate in barren speculations; under the Divine blessing, they led him duly to appreciate the great truths of religion which shone forth in his life and character.”

In the testimony given by his friends concerning him, it is said: “His ministry at times went forth as a flame, often piercing into the innermost recesses of darkness and obduracy; yet descended like dew upon the tender plants of our Heavenly Father’s planting; with these he travailed in deep sympathy of spirit. * * * * His gospel labours being free from all affectation, he, in this respect, commanded reverence; being in doctrine clear, sound, elegant, and pathetic, his gift being of that extent which made his service in

¹ Mem. of S. Fothergill, 525.

the church of Christ general. * * * * He proposed to the people no 'cunningly-devised fables;' but full of charity, he skilfully divided the word aright, speaking whereof he knew, and what his own hands had handled of the good word of life."

4. Susanna Fothergill, at the time of her husband's decease was in a feeble state of health, and she did not long survive him. Her health and strength continued to decline, and she departed this life the 8th of the Fifth month, 1773, in the seventy-fourth year of her age, a minister about fifty years.

5. Sophia Hume was born in South Carolina. She was the granddaughter of William and Mary Baily, both eminent ministers in the Society of Friends, whose religious labors have been noticed in this work. Her mother continued in profession with Friends; but having married a member of the Church of England, this, her daughter, was educated in that communion, and indulged in fashionable amusements. About the thirty-eighth year of her age, her judgment was enlightened to see the folly of these practices, but she was not fully convinced of the principle of Divine Truth until about the year 1741, when, having looked into Barclay's Apology, as she often expressed, to furnish herself with matter for conversation, she was thoroughly convinced, and joined in membership with Friends.

She afterwards went to reside in London, and, about the year 1747, a concern came upon her to visit her native country, from whence she wrote the following account in a letter to a friend:

"A concern I had often felt in my soul for the happiness and eternal welfare of my native country revived in my breast; when I was to return and abase

myself by telling what God had done for my soul, and to call them from those things in which I had often run to an excess of riot with them; and from which I had been, by the great love and powerful hand of God, brought and redeemed. When I arrived in Carolina, I found it my place and duty to keep meetings with those few that professed with me, and though, at first, the meetings were sometimes interrupted by the rude and uncivil treatment of many, we met pretty quietly, and some of the inhabitants would now and then come and sit with us, to whom my mouth was opened at times in rehearsing what God had done for my soul."

During her sojourn in Charleston she wrote *An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of South Carolina*, which was printed at Philadelphia in the year 1747.

From Charleston she went by land to Philadelphia, and, after her return from America, she labored both by word and writing to bring people to believe and live under that Divine Principle, the Spirit of Truth, which she had found by happy experience to be as a fountain of life.

Having commended the doctrine she preached, by a life of humility and self-denial, she was seized with apoplexy, and departed this life the 26th of the First month, 1774.

The Yearly Meeting of London, in addition to the printed epistles annually issued to its members, sometimes sent down, to the subordinate meetings, epistles in manuscript relating to particular concerns that had engaged its attention. In the year 1774, on the approach of a general election for members of Parliament, in a special epistle, Friends were advised "to guard against inconsiderately engaging them-

selves in these matters, or being drawn in by party," and that, "preserving their judgments calm and free, those who are qualified may be as unanimous as they well can, in quietly voting for such candidates whose characters and conduct are the most virtuous, and whose abilities seem to promise service to the public."¹

In the following year, a war with the American colonies being imminent, Friends in England addressed a petition to the king in favor of a peaceable adjustment of the dispute.

Some of the prominent Friends in London, and particularly Doctor John Fothergill and David Barclay, used all the influence they could bring to bear upon the British government to prevent the harsh and despotic measures which brought on the American Revolution. Doctor Franklin, who was then in England as the agent and representative of some of the colonies, had frequent interviews with those Friends, and co-operated with them, but without success. He writes in his Memoirs as follows:

"The evening before I left London I received a note from Doctor Fothergill, with some letters to his friends in Philadelphia. In that note he desires me to get those friends and two or three more together, and inform them that, whatever specious pretences are offered, they are all hollow; and that to get a larger field on which to fatten a herd of worthless parasites, is all that is regarded. Perhaps it may be proper to acquaint them with David Barclay's and our united endeavours, and the effects. They will stun at least, if not convince, the most worthy, that

¹ Yorkshireman, IV. p. 280.

nothing very favourable is intended, if more unfavourable articles cannot be obtained. The doctor, in the course of his daily visits among the great, in the practice of his profession, had full opportunity of being acquainted with their sentiments, the conversation everywhere turning upon the subject of America.”¹

In the General Epistle of London Yearly Meeting in 1775, a belief was expressed that Friends in America, as well as in England, were generally preserved from taking part in the political commotions then prevailing; and they were entreated to enter as little into conversation respecting them as possible, and daily to seek for and abide under the influence of that heavenly principle which leads to “follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.”

“Influenced by these principles,” continues the epistle, “we cannot consistently join with such as form combinations of a hostile nature against any, much less in opposition to those providentially placed either in sovereign or subordinate authority; nor can we unite with or encourage such as indecently asperse or revile them. ‘For it is written, thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.’”

The subject of education had for some years occupied the attention of Friends in England, and the Yearly Meeting had several times issued advices to the subordinate meetings to promote the establishment of schools for the guarded, religious education of their youth.

In the year 1777, Doctor John Fothergill and three

¹ Life and Works of B. Franklin, I., 348.

other Friends, who had the subject at heart, contracted for an estate at Ackworth, in the county of York, consisting of eighty-four acres, on which a large building had been erected for a hospital. It had originally cost about 17,000 pounds, and after being used twelve years, was purchased for seven thousand. This property being offered to the Yearly Meeting in 1778, that body directed the Meeting for Sufferings, to complete the purchase and vest the estate in trust for the use of the Society. The object in view was to found a boarding-school for the education of a large number of children, and to make it available for those whose parents were not in affluent circumstances. The farm was increased by subsequent purchases to two hundred and forty-two acres, and the buildings improved, at a total cost of thirty thousand pounds.

In order to raise the requisite funds, three methods were adopted. 1st. By donations, which were contributed largely by Friends in easy circumstances. 2dly. By annuities. Any member of the Society subscribing a sum not less than 50 pounds would receive during his or her lifetime five per cent. interest, and after the decease of the annuitant the principal became the property of the institution. This enabled many to contribute who could not with prudence diminish their incomes. 3dly. By issuing bills of admittance by subscription. Any meeting or person desirous of procuring admission for a child into this house might by the prepayment of £8 8s. receive a bill of admittance for one year's education, maintenance and clothing.

In this school the principles professed by Friends were to be diligently inculcated; and due care taken

to preserve the children from bad habits and immoral conduct. The course of instruction at first proposed was, the English Language, Writing, and Arithmetic, but subsequently other useful branches of study were added. The school was opened in the Seventh month, 1779, and the first year consisted of 70 boys and 53 girls. The following year the whole number of scholars was 230 ;¹ it subsequently rose to 300, of whom 180 were boys and 120 girls. The sum of £10 per annum was fixed as the price of admission, but the actual cost was £18 to £20 per annum, and the deficiency has been supplied by annual subscriptions, donations, and legacies.²

The influence of the Ackworth boarding-school upon the condition of the Society of Friends in England, has ever been considered highly beneficial, and it has doubtless been the means of stimulating Friends in America to make similar provision for the education of their children.

Doctor John Fothergill, who was one of the earliest and most efficient promoters of the school, watched its progress with deep interest, made liberal subscriptions for its aid, and in his will provided an endowment for it in perpetuity.

He survived his brother Samuel about eight years. In one of his letters he says: "I have enough to do to command myself, when I recollect my brother, whose countenance, counsel, and sympathy relieved every anxiety, gave taste to every enjoyment; but I will try to banish every thing but a wish to follow him through the remains of this life, with submission

¹ Mem. of S. Fothergill, p. 537.

² Yorkshireman, IV., 285 and 387. Armistead's Mis., VI., 32. The whole number of pupils admitted up to 1827, was 5100.

to every difficulty and gratitude for many blessings."

He never married; but had in his sister Ann, who also lived single, a housekeeper and companion whose affectionate care greatly contributed to the happiness of his declining years.

During the latter part of his life, in order to escape, for a while, from the bustle of London, and the arduous duties of his profession, he retired, for a part of the summer, to a country seat called Lea Hall, near Middlewich, in Cheshire. Here he cultivated his taste for Natural History and Botany, enjoyed the society which his intelligence and hospitality attracted around him, and visited the neighboring meetings of Friends. One day in each week he attended at the town of Middlewich to give gratuitous advice to the poor.

In addition to Lea Hall, Dr. Fothergill had another rural retreat at Upton, where he indulged, on an extensive scale, his taste for Botany and Horticulture. Sir Joseph Banks, in writing of this estate, says: "At an expense seldom undertaken by an individual, and with an ardor that was visible in the whole of his conduct, Dr. Fothergill procured from all parts of the world a great number of the rarest plants, and protected them in the amplest buildings which this or any other country has seen. He liberally proposed rewards to those who brought hither plants which might be ornamental and probably useful to this country or her colonies, and has liberally paid those rewards to all that served him." * * * * "In my opinion, no other garden in Europe, either royal or belonging to a subject, had nearly so many scarce and valuable plants. It was known all over Europe,

and foreigners of all ranks, when they came hither, asked permission to visit it.”

One of the methods he took to enrich his collection of plants is illustrated by the following anecdote. “A captain of a Philadelphia vessel, being taken ill in London, was attended by Dr. Fothergill. On his recovery, he asked the Doctor what he could do to repay his kindness; who answered, that he might bring him from the natural hollows in the wild and woody places on the Delaware, a hogshead or two of surface soil. This being complied with on his next voyage, the Doctor spread it on his garden and obtained a fine supply of American wild-flowers.”¹

Amongst those who were employed in his service to make botanical collections, was William Bartram, of Pennsylvania, who travelled for this purpose in Florida and the western parts of Carolina and Georgia.

The scientific pursuits and professional duties of Dr. Fothergill did not prevent him from attending to the chief end of man's existence, the service of God; but on the contrary, those pursuits were rendered subservient to that great purpose, by elevating his conceptions of Divine goodness, engaging his attention on works of mercy, and calling into active exercise his religious principles.

From his station in the church as an elder, a visitor of subordinate meetings, and at one time clerk of the Yearly Meeting, it is evident that his religious experience and devotional spirit were appreciated by his friends.

On the 12th of the Twelfth month, 1780, he was attacked with a painful disease which the united

¹ Armistead's *Mis.*, V. 187.

efforts of the most eminent physicians could not remove. In the extremity of his suffering, his mind was preserved calm and serene; he expressed a hope that he had not lived in vain, but had endeavored, in degree, to answer the end of his creation, by sacrificing interested considerations, and by his care for the good of his fellow-creatures. His firm belief in his Redeemer did not forsake him in this trying hour; and to his deeply afflicted sister he often addressed words of comfort, saying, "All is well with me; through the mercy of God, in Christ Jesus, I am going to a blessed and happy eternity; my troubles are ended, mourn not for me." In this happy frame of mind he expired, on the 26th of the same month, in the 69th year of his age.¹

CHAPTER XIV.

AMERICA.

1765-1775.

THE bonds of affection which subsisted between the Friends in Great Britain and those in the American colonies, were strengthened by the frequent visits of ministers from each country to the other; and the free-gospel laborers thus sent forth by the Head of the Church, were instrumental in promoting the glorious cause they had espoused.

In the year 1760, four ministers crossed the Atlantic to visit the churches in America, and in the fol-

¹ Mem. of S. Fothergill, by Geo. Crosfield, p. 542.

lowing year, five others came on the same errand of love, but no particulars of their religious labors have been met with.

In the Ninth month, 1765, John Griffith arrived at Philadelphia, having come on a gospel mission to Friends and others in the colonies. Soon after his arrival he attended the Yearly Meeting in that city. "It was," he writes, "very large, and in a good degree favoured with wisdom and strength, wherein Friends were enabled to consider and conclude some weighty affairs with unanimity and brotherly love."

Having a prospect of visiting the Southern provinces and New England, he proposed to Thomas Ross, a valuable Friend in the ministry, to bear him company; which after due consideration, and with the concurrence of his friends, he complied with.

During about fourteen months, John Griffith labored zealously in visiting the meetings of Friends, and appointing meetings amongst others.

On attending a Quarterly Meeting at Black Creek, in Virginia, he writes in his Journal: "The number here was large, but, alas! great deadness, insensibility, and darkness were felt to prevail amongst them; close labour in great plainness was used, showing the cause thereof; amongst other things that which appeared none of the least, was their keeping the negroes in perpetual slavery. I was often concerned to use plainness in families where I went, in respect to this matter, and am satisfied truth will never prosper amongst them, nor any others who are in the practice of keeping this race of mankind in bondage. It is too manifest to be denied, that the life of religion is almost lost where slaves are very numerous; and it is impossible it should be otherwise, the prac-

tice being as contrary to the spirit of Christianity as light is to darkness."

On attending Rhode Island Yearly Meeting, he found the public meetings were exceedingly large, and abundance of other people attended them; it was supposed there were two thousand persons at some of them. To these the gospel was preached in the authority of truth; but the meetings of ministers and elders, and those for discipline, were generally heavy and distressing; there being, on the part of the members, a deficiency of spiritual life, and too little acquaintance with that divine wisdom which alone can build the house of God.

Here he met with Thomas Gawthorp, of Westmoreland, England, then engaged in his fourth visit to Friends in America. "He was a deep and able minister of the gospel, diligently labouring in the openings of life, for the exaltation of truth in the hearts of the people." In his third visit to America, in 1754, he was particularly concerned on account of the hard and suffering state of the poor negroes, and it was believed that his labors on behalf of that oppressed people were of service.

In the same year, 1765, Abigail Pike visited the churches in America on a mission of gospel love, and, three years after, was followed in the same service by Rachel Wilson, of Kendal.

It is said of the latter, that her ministry was "remarkably interesting and eloquent," and those not in profession with Friends flocked to hear her. "She was eminently qualified for that service, explaining the way of life and salvation in a manner that reached the witness in the hearts of the hearers, whereby many were brought to an acknowledgment of the truth.

In the year 1770, Joseph Oxley of Norwich, and Samuel Neale of Ireland, arrived in America, having come under a sense of religious duty, to preach the glad tidings of salvation through Christ.

Joseph Oxley landed at New York, and reached Philadelphia during the sitting of the Yearly Meeting in the Ninth month. He speaks of it as a large solemn gathering, "such as he had not seen before; so consistent in appearance of dress and uniformity throughout, agreeably to our holy profession. The meeting continued two days after his arrival, and concluded in solemn prayer, thanksgiving, and praise to Him that opened his hand, and filled with his blessing, who is ever worthy." He travelled in the province about a year and a half, visiting the meetings of Friends extensively, and with general acceptance.

Samuel Neale was travelling in the colonies nearly two years, during which he visited most of the meetings of Friends. He found the Society much larger than he expected. Many of the members, he thought, were deeply imbued with religious principles; but unhappily, there were many others whose affections, being placed upon earthly things, disqualified them for usefulness in the church.

In the year 1773, Elizabeth Robinson of Yorkshire, and Mary Leaver of Nottingham, were jointly engaged in visiting the meetings of Friends in some of the colonies. During the same year, Robert Walker, of Yorkshire, paid a general visit to Friends in North America, and labored among them in much fervency of spirit. Being favored with a sense of the approaching troubles in the colonies, he delivered many faithful warnings, with appropriate cautions.

and instructions, greatly to the encouragement of the upright-hearted.

About this date, the Society in America was blessed with the religious labors and pious example of many valuable ministers and elders, concerning some of whom memorials have been preserved. Brief notices of those among them who were best known or most extensively useful are here subjoined.

1. David Ferris was born at Stratford, Connecticut, in the year 1707. His parents were Presbyterians, and his mother being a pious woman, bestowed much care on the religious education of her children, greatly to their benefit. About the twentieth year of his age he was seized with a severe illness, during which his mind underwent much religious exercise and severe suffering. This was succeeded by a season of sweet spiritual enjoyment, the fountain of divine life being opened in his soul, insomuch that for nearly two years there was scarcely a moment in which he could not sing praises to Him who liveth forever and ever.

About the same time, there was at New Milford, where he then resided, a religious awakening among the young people with whom he associated, and nearly sixty of them joined in close communion with the Presbyterians. Their understandings being opened by divine grace, and earnestly engaged in seeking for spiritual knowledge, they, in some things, saw beyond the formal professors around them, and were accused of holding heretical opinions; but being brought before the church, they were enabled to give a satisfactory explanation of their views, and were pronounced members in full communion.

David Ferris, having a desire for learning, entered

a college and engaged in the study of Theology. Being determined to examine for himself, he soon found that some of the tenets in which he had been educated were not satisfactory, and particularly the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation, as taught in the college. As he attended to the teachings of the spirit of Truth, he became further enlightened in regard to divine worship and Christian ministry, and soon after, meeting with Barclay's Apology, he found these and other points of Christian doctrine so clearly explained, that he became convinced of most of the principles held by Friends.

His course of studies was nearly completed, and he was informed that he could undoubtedly take his degree, but after a severe mental conflict, he found himself constrained by a sense of duty to leave the college and abandon his prospect of becoming a clergyman, which greatly chagrined his relatives and friends. Soon afterwards he went to Friends' Yearly Meeting on Long Island. "Here," he says, "I gathered strength, and was more confirmed that I was right in leaving the college; for I found a living, humble, heavenly-minded people; full of love and good works; such a one as I had never seen before. I rejoiced to find that which I had been seeking, and soon owned them to be the Lord's people, the true church of Christ; according to his own description of it where he says, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.'" In the year 1733, he went, in company with three ministering Friends from Europe, to the city of Philadelphia, and there he opened a school. He was soon after received into membership with Friends, married to a member of the Society, and after a resi-

dence of four years in the city, removed to Wilmington, where he opened a retail store. It being then the practice of shop-keepers to sell rum, he did the same, but soon found it his duty to relinquish it, which brought the reward of peace. He also believed it right to abstain from dealing in such superfluous articles and gay apparel as he could not consistently use in his own family, and therefore sold such articles only as were really useful.

Notwithstanding his great sacrifices, and his general fidelity to his Lord and master, there was one requisition with which for a long period he refused to comply, and for his disobedience suffered severely. After he had been a member of the Society about a year, he believed he was called to the gospel ministry, but felt the utmost repugnance to comply. He submitted so far, however, as to speak a few times in meetings for worship, and then, through fear that he should not be able to persevere, and might dishonor the profession, he resisted the call for seven years, during all which time the concern was often so heavy that he sat and trembled through the time of meeting, and then went away oppressed with sorrow. For several years after this, he seldom felt the concern, yet was still sensible that the sacrifice would be required of him. At length the call was renewed, in yet stronger terms, and the divine Master condescended in various ways to warn him of his duty, sometimes by his messengers, at other times by dreams, and more frequently by the immediate impressions of his spirit. Twenty years had elapsed since he was first called to that service, great anguish of spirit had been meted out to him, and yet he still refused.

In the year 1755, being in company with Comfort

Hoag and her companion from New England, then on a religious visit, he attended meeting with them, and felt an intimation of duty to speak to the assembly, but, as usual, evaded it. After the meeting, Comfort Hoag said to him, "David, why didst thou not preach to-day?" He evaded a direct answer, and she, having heard nothing on the subject from others, said no more. On the following day, at meeting, he felt a similar intimation of duty, and again evaded it. After the meeting had closed, Comfort met him with the same query, "Why didst thou not preach to-day?" He endeavored to pass it by as before; but she assured him he had stood in her way, hindered her service, and almost spoiled her meeting. He then confessed how it had been with him, and what he had suffered on that account for upwards of twenty years. She admired at the kindness and long forbearance of the Most High, and administered suitable caution and advice.

At the next meeting, the requisition to speak was once more repeated, with an intimation that if he did not speedily comply, it would be too late, and then "he clearly saw, that, if he were forsaken, and left to himself, the consequence would be death and darkness forever." Then he said, "Lord! here am I, make of me what thou wouldst have me to be; leave me not in displeasure, I beseech thee." All fear of man was then taken from him; he rose almost unconsciously, and expressed in a clear and distinct manner what was on his mind. When he had taken his seat, Comfort Hoag rose, and had an open, favorable opportunity to speak to the assembly.

David Ferris, having yielded to the divine requisition, became not only joyful in the house of prayer,

but fruitful in the field of offering. His feelings were like those of a prisoner who had been long in bonds and was set at liberty. It was no longer so great a cross to appear as a minister, and having lost much time, he felt the need of laboring zealously.

In 1771, he joined Samuel Neale, of Ireland, in a religious visit to Friends and others in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England. They travelled together nine months in this service, with much satisfaction.

David Ferris was afterwards frequently engaged in travelling as a messenger to declare the glad tidings of the kingdom of God, and in his old age he acknowledged that he had been abundantly rewarded for every sacrifice made, or service rendered to the Author of his being. He died the fifth of the Twelfth month, 1779, aged upwards of seventy-two years.

2. Joshua Evans was born in New Jersey, in the year 1731. In the fourteenth year of his age he was apprenticed to a bricklayer, and received very little education; but through the tender visitations of divine grace his mind was led to seek for heavenly knowledge, and to the practice of great self-denial.

In the year 1759 he removed from Mount Holly to Haddonfield, and was soon after recognized by the meeting as a minister of the gospel. He was remarkable for the simplicity and devotedness of his character, and was led, as he believed, in a very narrow path in the service of his Divine Master. From an apprehension of religious duty, he wore clothing of the natural color, thinking that the dyeing of garments is intended to hide dirt, and has a tendency to foster pride. He abstained from the use of animal food,

being unwilling that any creature should be put to death for his sustenance. He was among the first who discouraged the use of ardent spirits by gathering his crops without it, and giving to his harvest-hands extra wages in lieu of it. He declined the practice of shaving, under a belief that the beard was given to man for a useful purpose. And he was deeply concerned at the oppression of the African race, for whose liberty and improvement he labored most zealously, in that spirit of meekness and love which disarms opposition. His self-denying and exemplary life, with his unremitted labors of love for many years, opened his way in the hearts of the people, and even his singularities seemed at times to be useful in drawing public attention to his simple but powerful ministrations.

3. William Matthews was born in Stafford County, Virginia, in the year 1732, and resided in the latter part of his life at York, Pennsylvania. His parents, William and Mary Matthews, were exemplary Friends, of whose care he was deprived early; his father dying when he was about seven years old, and his mother when he was about fifteen. About the twenty-third year of his age he appeared in the ministry, and for some time grew in his gift, giving convincing evidence of a heavenly call; yet afterwards meeting with losses and becoming embarrassed in his circumstances, he passed through a state of discouragement, under which he was mostly silent in meetings. Being preserved in patience, and laboring assiduously to have everything removed which obstructed the acceptance of his gift, he was, through divine aid, enabled to accomplish that desirable end; and by humble attention and obedience to the spirit of Truth, he became

powerful in doctrine and eminent in Christian discipline.

His judgment was considered sound and penetrating, his conversation and example were edifying; and he was endued with qualifications to comfort the mourners, strengthen the feeble-minded, and powerfully to warn and reprove the unruly. Much of his time was devoted to religious labors. With the unity of his Friends he visited most of the meetings in America, and spent several years in the work of the ministry, in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

4. Mary Brooke, a sister of William Matthews, was born at Monocacy, Frederick County, Maryland, in the year 1734. Being, early in life, deprived of her parents, she was exposed to many trials, but witnessed many precious seasons of divine communion, which, in her advanced years, she pathetically and gratefully commemorated in her public addresses to the youth. She was called to the ministry about the twenty-first year of her age. Her communications were seldom large, but the matter was generally appropriate, and the delivery accompanied with such life and sweetness, as rendered her ministry both impressive and acceptable. In her twenty-fourth year she married Roger Brooke, of Sandy Spring, in Maryland, where she resided the remainder of her life, adorning the doctrines she delivered, by a strict adherence to the principles of righteousness, which rendered her a shining example to the Christian traveller.

5. Margaret Elgar, another sister of William Matthews, was born in Frederick County, Maryland, in the year 1739. She was married to Joseph Elgar, in 1771, and after residing a short time at Sandy Spring, in Maryland, removed within the verge of Warring-

ton Monthly Meeting, in Pennsylvania, where she was appointed to the station of an elder. In 1790 she was recommended as a minister by Monallan Monthly Meeting, and in 1807 she became a member of York Monthly and Particular Meeting. In a testimony concerning her, by Warrington Quarterly Meeting, it is said: "She was endued with a strong mind and enlarged understanding, which under the influence of religious principle rendered her very serviceable in the church." We believe it may be said of her, that she was an instrument in the divine hand to whom the metaphor applies, "How beautiful are the feet of those that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things."

In her declining years she was remarkably preserved in the life of religion; her public testimonies carried with them the evidence of a mind rightly exercised in the solemn engagement to which she was called. Her ministry was sound, and attended in an eminent degree with the baptizing power of truth, without which preaching is in vain.

6. William Amos, of Harford County, Maryland, was born in the year 1717, and educated as a member of the Episcopal church. At the age of nineteen, he was an officer in the militia, and while in that station, it was, through divine mercy, opened to his understanding, that the kingdom of Christ was a peaceable kingdom; he therefore, not conferring with flesh and blood, became obedient to the heavenly vision and resigned his office. His understanding being enlightened to behold the emptiness of all outward forms and ceremonies in religious worship, he was often led into silent retirement; and apprehending his mind to be drawn to a certain place, then a forest, for the

purpose of meditation on the first day of the week, he yielded to the impression, and on the way was led to call on two others in his neighborhood and invite them to accompany him. They consented, and continued to meet regularly with him; in about six weeks their number increased to nine persons.

About this time, apprehending that they were united in faith and principle with the profession of Friends, they concluded to apply to Gunpowder Monthly Meeting in Maryland, to be received into membership, and were accordingly accepted. Soon after, a meeting-house was built, and a meeting settled by the name of Little Falls, where they had first assembled.

Before he had any acquaintance with Friends, being summoned as a witness and required to take an oath, he was led by a sense of duty to refuse, notwithstanding heavy penalties were threatened as the consequence; yet being enabled patiently and steadfastly to bear his testimony, he was, after some time, discharged. He also saw the inconsistency of supporting a ministry by wages; and at one time stood almost, if not quite, alone in those parts, in refusing to pay a tax imposed for that purpose. Although this testimony exposed him to some close trials and sufferings, yet he faithfully maintained his integrity.

He was a zealous advocate of the oppressed descendants of the Africans, and one of the first to liberate those in his possession. After making this sacrifice to justice, he labored in much love and tenderness to induce others to do likewise.

Soon after he was received into membership with Friends, he felt an engagement of mind to call others to come and partake of the spiritual blessings which

are the inheritance of those who wait upon the Lord and obey his will. As he continued faithful in the exercise of his gift, he grew in the knowledge of divine things, and became an able minister of the gospel, living in near unity with his friends, and was much employed in the service of the church. He lived to be ninety-seven years of age, continuing bright to the last, and died in peace, the 26th of the Second month, 1814.

7. George Dillwyn was born in Philadelphia, in the year 1738. His parents were members of the Society of Friends. He was, early in life, deprived of his father, but the judicious care and counsel of his mother exercised a salutary influence on his youthful mind. He related of himself, that, when very young, he had often been sensible, in meetings for divine worship, of the influence of heavenly love, and the ground which his pious parent labored to prepare, being made productive by the heavenly husbandman, brought forth good fruit. He was engaged for some years in mercantile pursuits which resulted in disappointment and loss, but such was his integrity that he carefully retrenched his expenses, so that the circumstances of none were injured by him. These outward trials were productive of a blessed effect upon him, and after many preparatory conflicts, he was called to the ministry of the Word about the twenty-eighth year of his age.

Endowed with a comprehensive mind, well improved by education, he became, under the sanctifying operation of the Holy Spirit, eminently qualified to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ.¹

¹ Gathered Fragments, &c., London, 1858.

He travelled extensively as a minister of the gospel, and his valued services will again claim our attention.

8. Rebecca Jones was born in Philadelphia in the year 1739. When she was very young, her mother, being left a widow, endeavored to train up her children in the way of the Church of England; but Rebecca showed an early inclination to attend the meetings of Friends. In the sixteenth year of her age she attended several meetings in which Catherine Peyton and Mary Peisly were present, and by the ministry of the former especially, her feelings were so deeply touched that she cried out in the bitterness of her heart, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do to be saved?"

After passing through a painful conflict of religious exercise, she wrote to Catherine Peyton and received a letter in reply, containing counsel adapted to her condition. "Thou wilt do well," she said, "if thou keep to that power which visited thee. Which, as it has already appeared as a light to convince thee of sin, will, if thou wilt suffer it, destroy it in thy heart." She was also assisted in her spiritual progress by Daniel Stanton, whom she mentions as a beloved friend and father in the truth. Under a prospect that she would be required publicly to advocate the cause of Truth, she was brought low in the valley of humiliation; but abiding in patience under the baptism of the Holy Spirit, she was qualified and called to that solemn service, in which she afterwards became eminent as an instrument of good to many.

She taught, with much success, a girl's school in the city of Philadelphia, and occasionally was engaged

in visiting the meetings of Friends, both on the American continent and in foreign lands.¹

9. John Simpson was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in the year 1739. His parents, John and Hannah Simpson, were members of the Society of Friends. His father died when he was about seven years old, and his mother was subsequently married to a Presbyterian, who lived near the river Delaware, remote from the meetings of Friends.

Through obedience to the teachings of the spirit of Truth, John Simpson became prepared for the reception of a gift in the ministry, in which he first made his public appearance about the twenty-sixth year of his age. Being faithful, he grew in his gift, so as to become an able minister of the gospel, for the promulgation of which he travelled much and labored effectually. Having passed the latter part of his minority among the Presbyterians, he had imbibed a strong attachment to them, and ever after continued to entertain very liberal views towards the principles of that denomination. From his early associations he had imbibed a belief in the rectitude of defensive war, which he retained until some time after he appeared in the ministry. But through the gradual unfoldings of Divine Light, his understanding at length became illuminated and his judgment fully convinced, that all carnal warfare, offensive and defensive, had its origin in the unsubdued lusts of the flesh, and was entirely opposite to the spirit of the gospel of Christ. Previous to this discovery he had been careful not only to avoid speaking on the subject, but also to conform to the established disci-

¹ Memorials of R. Jones, by W. J. Allinson.

pline and testimonies of Friends in relation to wars and military requisitions. He was heard to remark, that, from observation and experience, he was fully persuaded, that in the operations and discoveries of the divine principle in dedicated minds, every man did not begin to learn at the same point of the Christian alphabet, but as faithful obedience was yielded to the arisings of Light, all would come into the fulness and see eye to eye.

Notwithstanding the observation made by some, that the common conversation of John Simpson was frequently one continued series of preaching, that he appeared to be so well versed in the Scriptures as to be able to repeat any part of them, and often to refer to them in his familiar discourse; yet his mind was stored with ample knowledge of natural things, and he had an extensive acquaintance with the affairs of civil as well as religious society. During the greater part of his life he resided in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where he was industriously engaged in the occupation of farming. While his children were young, he usually passed the summer at home in assiduous attention to his business, and attending his own particular meeting; but during the winter he was generally abroad on religious visits. As his children grew older, and his circumstances improved, he continued to extend his religious labors to distant places, and many fruits of his ministry were apparent among the various classes of his fellow-creatures, to whom, without respect of persons, or sectarian feelings, his heart glowed with gospel love.

10. James Simpson was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, the 19th of the Third month, 1743. His father died when he was about three years old.

Although he had a birthright in the Society of Friends, he was so situated that he seldom had an opportunity of attending its meetings. After the marriage of his elder brother John, James went to reside with him, and having become a serious young man, was a regular attendant of Friends' meeting at Buckingham. After passing through deep spiritual baptisms, he was favored with the manifestation of divine light to his benighted soul, when almost sunk into a state of despair. In the expandings of divine love his vision was extended to almost all parts of the country, and his heart being filled with affection for his fellow-creatures, he felt as though he was commissioned to preach the gospel of salvation to all mankind. A day and place, he remarked, not to be forgotten by him.

He was of a delicate constitution, and the trade of coopering, to which he had been brought up, not agreeing with his health, he engaged, with a partner, in a small retail store in Buckingham. While thus employed, his ministry having been approved, he joined with several Friends in a religious visit to the families of Friends within the verge of Buckingham Monthly Meeting. Previously to entering on this service, he had purchased a hogshead of rum for his partner to sell. In the course of the visit, while sitting in a family in silent worship, the hogshead of rum came before him with such melancholy reflections on the mischief it might occasion, that he desired to relinquish the service and return home. His companions not being willing to part with him, he accompanied them to several places, but his uneasiness continued,—the hogshead of rum was ever before him,—and he remained entirely silent. Some

of his companions spoke a few words of exhortation at several places, but at length all vocal service ceased, and they sat in some families in silence. James requested to be released, saying, he was a Jonah aboard the ship. He informed them what he had done, and how the hogshead of rum was continually before him. Being asked what he proposed to do, he told them, it now appeared to be his duty to go home and tell his partner to dispose of that rum to such only as would not be likely to make a bad use of it, and that no more spirituous liquors should be purchased in his name. This being agreed to, was done, and then having joined his friends, they proceeded on their visit to satisfaction. From that time he steadily bore his testimony against the selling and unnecessary use of spirituous liquors.

In 1789 he removed to the neighborhood of Horscham, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, where he followed the business of making brooms and brushes, and kept a few articles of merchandise for sale. He afterwards purchased a small farm, which he let out to be cultivated on shares; and devoted his time chiefly to the service of the ministry. He twice travelled in the New England States, several times in New York and New Jersey, and was frequently engaged in attending and appointing meetings in Pennsylvania.

His ministry was sound and edifying, being attended with life and power. When he was constrained to rise in weakness, his language was not different from that of conversation, — much broken, and sometimes almost unconnected, with no striving after oratory. But as the life arose, he arose with it to a sublimity of language, — a beautiful flow of utter-

ance,—a powerful eloquence that was equalled by few, being attended by a remarkable solemnity, so that the meeting generally appeared to be baptized together. Some of other societies often attended the meeting at Horsham, and were heard to express, that if they could only see him, though he did not speak a word, they were satisfied,—such was the love they bore him.

His last illness was short, and when the prospect of his removal drew nigh, he prayed that “If his day’s work was done, his bands might be loosed, and he received into rest.” Shortly after, he said, “It is done, — It is done,” and in sweet composure he yielded up his spirit to God who gave it. His decease was on the 9th of the Fourth month, 1811, being about sixty-eight years of age.

11. Evan Thomas was born in Montgomery County, Maryland, in the year 1738. At an early age he was solemnly impressed with religious feelings, and was often deeply affected in reading the journals and other writings of the early Friends, in which are recorded their trials and sufferings for conscience’ sake. These serious impressions were afterwards nearly obliterated by a familiar association with unsuitable company, and his affections being gradually alienated from the Author of his being, were too much engrossed with the perishing things of time. Ambition for distinction in the world took possession of his mind, and during the exciting discussions which preceded the Revolutionary war, he was chosen a delegate to the first Convention held at Annapolis. The measures adopted by that body appearing, in his view, not inconsistent with the principles of Friends, received his support. But, through divine grace, his understanding was opened clearly to perceive that

the measures he was promoting would eventually lead to open war, and he immediately withdrew from any further participation in them. Although he was returned a delegate to the second Convention, he declined serving. To relinquish the flattering prospects of worldly honor that had opened before him caused a severe conflict between inclination and a clear sense of duty, but the required sacrifice was made, and he found in the peace of mind that ensued an abundant recompense.

As every act of obedience to the divine will prepares the mind for further enlightenment, he was led to perceive that the practice of slave-holding, in which many Friends, as well as other colonists, were then concerned, was inconsistent with Christian principles, and he accordingly manumitted those of the African race in his possession. This compliance with duty not only brought peace to his mind, but opened his way for efficient service in the church. From this time he became a regular attendant of meetings for worship and discipline, and was soon laid under the necessity of testifying to others what the Lord had done for him, in order to encourage them in the path of righteousness. He bore a clear and decided testimony against the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, which by consistent example he sustained to the close of life. During the Revolutionary war he suffered great loss of goods in support of his testimony to the peaceable character of Christ's kingdom, as well as for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and for declining to pay taxes levied for the support of war.

In the love of the gospel he was often engaged to travel abroad, and appoint meetings among Friends

and others, effectually laboring in the Lord's vineyard. He possessed strong powers of mind, and a highly cultivated understanding. In the exercise of his ministerial gift he was concise, clear, and convincing, and being courteous in his manners, he generally gained the respectful notice and regard of those to whom his labors were directed. He felt a deep sympathy for the Indians, and evinced his interest in their welfare by visiting some of the tribes northwest of the river Ohio, then a wilderness country. With advancing years his devotional feelings continued to deepen, and his lamp burned brightly to the last. He died the 11th of the Tenth month, 1826, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

12. Abel Thomas was the son of Jacob and Catherine Thomas, who lived at Merion, Pennsylvania. His mother dying when he was an infant, and his father marrying again and having a large family, he was left without education in the condition of a day-laborer, but he learned to read and write intelligibly when about thirteen years of age. He never was at a place of worship till he was about fifteen, when he attended a Friends' meeting. The scene was novel, and he could not at first see the benefit to be derived from silent worship. At length, an elderly Friend, under the influence of gospel love, stood up and spoke with such power as fully reached his state, opened his understanding, and gave him to feel in some degree the efficacy of the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ.

Coming first under "the ministration of condemnation," for sin, he experienced repentance, which was followed by amendment of life, and an assurance of divine favor. By his diligence and circumspect

conduct he became the instrument of reformation in his father's family, with whom he lived in harmony; but about the twentieth year of his age, from a persuasion of religious duty, and with his father's consent, he went to reside at Kingswood in New Jersey, where he engaged himself as a laborer on a farm. He afterwards removed within the limits of Exeter Monthly Meeting, and having become an acceptable minister of the gospel, he was in the year 1778 liberated to visit the meetings of Friends in New Jersey and part of New York.

It was during the time of the Revolutionary war when the city of New York and Long Island were in possession of the British forces. Believing it his duty to go to those places with a prospect of religious service, he passed through both the American and the British military lines, his simplicity of character and honesty of purpose, with the divine blessing, making way for him. When he had accomplished his religious labors within the British lines, and was returning, he was arrested by a Major in the American Army, and after some detention in the guard-house, was examined by military officers, who told him he had forfeited his life by passing through the lines without leave.

He was then sent under a guard to Princeton to be examined by Governor Livingston, before whom he made his defence, by giving a faithful relation of all his proceedings, and pleading the pure motives by which he was prompted. The worthy Governor listened with patience, and being convinced of his purity of purpose, not only excused his violation of a military order, but gave him a pass to visit nine

other meetings of Friends, mostly on the sea-coast of New Jersey.

In 1781, he went on a religious mission to North and South Carolina, where the country was infested by a lawless banditti who often robbed and not unfrequently murdered peaceable travellers. General Green, with an army of Americans, was then operating against the British forces in South Carolina, besieging their fort called Ninety-Six. Abel Thomas and his companion had to pass through the lines of both armies; sometimes they were subjected to rough treatment, at others they were kindly received and helped on their way. Being at one time detained by the American troops, Abel Thomas wrote to General Green for permission to go forward, and received the following answer:

“MR. ABEL THOMAS AND MR. THOMAS WINSTON, LONG CANE.

“*Camp before Ninety-Six, June 7th, 1781.*

“GENTLEMEN:—Your letter of the 6th is before me. From the good opinion I have of people of your profession, being bred and educated among them, I am persuaded your visit is purely religious, and in this persuasion have granted you a pass; and I shall be happy if your ministry shall contribute to the establishment of morality and brotherly kindness among the people, than which no country ever wanted it more. I am sensible your principles and professions are opposed to war, but I know you are fond of both political and religious liberty. This is what we are contending for, and by the blessing of God, we hope to establish them upon such a broad basis as to put it out of the power of our enemies to shake their foundation. In this laudable endeavour

I expect at least to have the good wishes of your people, as well for their own sakes as for ours, who wish to serve them upon all occasions, not inconsistent with the public good.

“I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

NATHANIEL GREEN.”

After having encountered many perils, he accomplished his laborious service in the Southern States, and returned to his family and friends with the reward of peace. From this date to the year 1800, he was very often from home in the service of the gospel. In 1801, he removed to Monallen, where he continued to reside to the close of life, being diligently engaged at home and abroad in the work of the ministry.

During his last sickness, alluding to the probability that the close of life was near, he said, “The language that has run through my mind for some time past, has been, that by-and-by, I shall see that peaceful shore, where I shall no more be troubled.” And on taking leave of a friend, he said, “I am in great pain, and desire to be remembered by Friends, not as a forsaken soul, but as one that has hope in Jesus Christ.” He quietly departed this life, the 21st of the Third month, 1816, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

13. James Thornton was born in Buckinghamshire, England, about the year 1727. In his 23d year he embarked for America, and settled in Bristol, Pennsylvania.

The following year he travelled to New England,

with Jonah Thompson, a minister from England, then on a gospel mission to Friends in the colonies.

On his return from this visit, he married, and removed to a farm near Byberry meeting-house, bringing with him from Bristol a certificate, "recommending him as a Friend whose conversation was exemplary, and with whose ministry Friends had unity."

His services in the work of the ministry, both at home and abroad, were highly appreciated, and his judgment in the exercise of the discipline was considered superior to most others. Job Scott, who visited him in the latter part of his life, speaks of him as being "alive in the everlasting Truth,—grown up to the stature of a man in Christ, and into the heavenly authority and establishment as a pillar in the temple of God that shall go no more out."

14. Nicholas Waln was born at Fair Hill, near Philadelphia, in the year 1742. He received a good education in the "Public school" instituted by William Penn, and placed under the care of Friends. On leaving school he commenced the study of law, and being very diligent, was admitted while yet a minor to practice in the courts. After a short trial of his profession, being desirous of greater proficiency, he went to London, where he immured himself in the temple and entered anew upon his studies.

While thus engaged, the religious impressions he had received in his youth were revived; but being earnestly bent on attaining to eminence in his profession, he resisted the gentle call which would have led him to fix his affections on heavenly things. On his return from England, he resumed the practice of the law, and for seven years pursued it assiduously, with remarkable success. His powerful intellect,

legal acquirements, and affable manners, soon placed him at the head of his profession. It appears, however, that he was not satisfied with some of the cases in which he was engaged. On his return from Newtown, where he had been employed in an important trial relating to property, one of his friends asked him how the case was decided. He replied, "I did the best I could for my client, gained the cause for him, and thereby defrauded an honest man out of his just dues." He then determined that he would relinquish the practice and never plead another cause.

He had many times consulted with flesh and blood, and reasoned himself from under strong convictions; but now, through the power of constraining grace, he yielded to the heavenly visitation. Being overwhelmed with sorrow and contrition, he was utterly disqualified for business. In this condition he remained until he felt an impression of duty to go to the Youth's Meeting held for divine worship, at the Market Street house, on the 4th of the Second month, 1772. The meeting was large, and when it was fully gathered, he stepped from the midst of it to the ministers' gallery, and kneeling down, remained some minutes in silence. Though much agitated, he uttered in a deliberate manner the following prayer:

"O Lord! arise and let thine enemies be scattered! Baptize me,—dip me,—yet deeper in Jordan. Wash me in the laver of regeneration. Thou hast done much for me, and hast a right to expect much; therefore, in the presence of this congregation, I resign myself and all that I have to thee, O Lord! it is thine; and I pray thee, O Lord! to give me grace to enable me to continue firm in this resolution.

Wherever thou leadest me, O Lord! I will follow thee; if through persecution, or even to martyrdom. If my life is required, I will freely sacrifice it. Now I know that my Redeemer liveth, and the mountains of difficulty are removed. Hallelujah.

“Teach me to despise the shame, and the opinions of the people of the world. Thou knowest, O Lord! my deep baptisms. I acknowledge my manifold sins and transgressions. I know my unworthiness of the many favours I have received; and I thank thee, O Father! that thou hast hid thy mysteries from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes. Amen.”

The impression made on the meeting by this prayer was very great, and it produced a sensation throughout the city. When the meeting was ended, Nicholas Waln hastily returned home, and being of a nervous temperament became quite ill. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered to attend to business, he dismissed his law students, except one whom he retained to assist in settling his business; and he returned to each one the sum of money that had been paid for his instruction. He also sent an agent to the several courts with the papers of his clients, and returned the fees he had received for cases unfinished. For several years he led a very retired life, mostly at home,—diligently attending meetings as they came in course,—and during this period of his religious childhood, his appearances as a minister were seldom, and his sermons very short and weighty.

About the time this great change occurred, a member of the Philadelphia bar, writing to a friend, concludes his account of it in the following words: “In the youthful prime of life, surrounded by affluence

and gayety, he relinquished seemingly his existence in the world — exchanged a civil for a religious life, and has become really, as well as nominally, a distinguished member of the Society of Friends. Had he continued at the bar, he might probably in the course of events have reached the first honours of his country. He should not, however, without those honours be regarded as much the less a patriot.”

In the gospel ministry his labors were highly appreciated, and in meetings for discipline he had few equals.

15. Job Scott was born in Providence, R. I., in the year 1751. In his interesting and instructive Journal, after alluding to his mother's death when he was but ten years old, he says: “I can well remember the serious impressions and contemplations which at that early period of life, and for some years before my mother's decease, attended my mind as I sat in meeting by her, and on the way home.” * * * *
“And I am in full belief, that in every quarter of the globe, children at an early age, have good and evil set before them in the shiniings of the light of Christ in their hearts, with clearness and evidence sufficient to ascertain to them their duty, if they honestly attend to it.”

Disregarding these early visitations of divine grace, he was about the fifteenth year of his age drawn into vanity, dissipation, and folly. For some years, great were his conflicts between his depraved propensities and the convictions of truth; but at length his heart being humbled and contrited, he was favored to see the evil of his ways, and the destruction that awaited him if he did not reject the tempter, forsake his wicked companions, and turn to the Lord. Having

“learned obedience by the things that he suffered, he gave up to the operation of the Spirit of Truth, in faith of its divine, restraining, preserving, and sanctifying power, and therein experienced the consolation of his Heavenly Father’s love.” * * * * “Having in the school of Christ measurably learned the mystery of the fall and restoration of man, and to understand the Scriptures, and pertinently to apply them, he was brought under the preparing hand of the Lord for the work of the ministry.”¹ In the twenty-third year of his age he was called to that solemn service, and being endowed with bright talents, improved by mental culture, and sanctified by divine grace, he was eminently qualified to labor effectually as an ambassador for Christ. His religious labors, both at home and abroad, were highly appreciated by Friends, as will appear in the further progress of this work.

16. David Sands was born in the year 1745, on Long Island, and when fourteen years of age removed with his parents to Cornwall, Orange County, New York. He was educated as a Presbyterian, but not being entirely satisfied with some of the tenets of that sect, he sought beyond it for spiritual knowledge, and “earnestly desired to know the truth as it is in Jesus.” On attending a meeting appointed by Samuel Nottingham, a Friend from England, he heard views expressed that were in accordance with his own exercised state of mind, but the idea of joining in communion with Friends was extremely repugnant to his feelings. Some time afterwards, he heard that Edward Hallack, a Friend from Long

¹ Testimony of Mo. Meeting of Providence; and Journal.

Island, had come, with a large family of children, and settled at New Marlborough, about twelve miles distant. He concluded to pay them a visit, which he did on the Seventh-day of the week. In the evening they had much religious conversation, and some points of doctrine were explained to his satisfaction. He inquired if there was a Friends' meeting near. Edward Hallack replied, "We hold our meetings here," alluding to the room in which they sat; "we meet at eleven o'clock, and sometimes our neighbours come in and sit with us. Our meetings are often very comfortable, and I feel thankful in believing they are owned by the great Head of the Church." David Sands attended the meeting, and heard from Edward Hallack a religious discourse, by which he was much encouraged and comforted. Being invited by his host to go with him to Nine Partners Monthly Meeting, he went accordingly; and there received further satisfaction in relation to the principles professed by Friends. In the twenty-first year of his age he was received into membership at Nine Partners; and five years later he married Clementine, the daughter of Edward and Phebe Hallack. On visiting with his wife among her relatives, he found that some of them were slaveholders, although in membership with Friends; and his mind became so much exercised in relation to the produce of slave-labor, that he did not feel free to partake of it. This scruple being new to him, he thought it required deliberate consideration; therefore he communicated it only to his wife, and they returned home without delay. His parents had been much opposed to his becoming a Friend, but through his consistent example, and that of his wife, they also

became members, as likewise did some of his brothers and sisters.

In the spring of the year 1772, David Sands and his wife began housekeeping near his father's residence, and immediately commenced a meeting to be held on the First-day of the week at their own house. A number soon joined their little band through conviction, and other Friends settling near them, their meeting was enlarged, and thenceforth was held twice in the week. In the autumn of the same year, David Sands began to speak in their meetings for worship, much to the encouragement and satisfaction of his friends; and in 1775 he was acknowledged by his Monthly Meeting as a minister of the gospel. His ministry was awakening and persuasive, and being attended by that unction from the Holy One, which alone can convert the soul, he was instrumental in gathering many to the fold of Christ.

In 1775 he made a religious visit to Friends in Rhode Island and parts adjacent. In 1777, accompanied by Aaron Lancaster, he went on a gospel mission to New England, which occupied him two years and seven months. After visiting the meetings of Friends in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, he proceeded to the eastward through a country then almost a wilderness, where no Friends had travelled before in the work of the ministry.

He passed through many townships, sparsely settled, where there were no religious meetings of any sort, and his labors of love were effectual in gathering many to wait upon the Lord, who afterwards instituted meetings for worship and became connected with the Society of Friends. It appears to have been a frequent practice of David Sands, when he found a good

opening for religious service, to hold several successive meetings in the same place, and to return occasionally to water the plants he had been instrumental in planting.

During this journey, David Sands and his companion met with Remington Hobby, a justice of the peace, at Vassalborough, on the Kennebec River, who very kindly invited them to his house. They accepted his invitation, and when they came, were invited into the common room or kitchen, where they took seats and remained in perfect silence. Their host being entirely unacquainted with the manners and principles of Friends, attributed their silence to displeasure on account of their being invited into the kitchen. He immediately ordered a fire to be made in another room, and said to his wife, "I believe these Quakers are not pleased with their reception; we will see how they like the other room." He invited them in, they took seats, and the same solemn silence ensued; at which he became almost vexed, thinking to himself, "They certainly are fools, or take me to be one." As these thoughts were passing through his mind, David Sands turned his piercing eyes full in his face, and said in a solemn manner, "Art thou willing to be a fool?"—when he paused, and again repeated, "Art thou willing to become a fool for Christ's sake?" Commencing thus, he continued his discourse with such power that Remington Hobby could not withstand it, and in a short time became fully convinced of Friends' principles, joined in membership with them, and afterwards became a valued minister in the Society.¹

¹ Life of D. Sands, New York Ed., 1848.

The labors of David Sands in the work of the ministry were very extensive, both in America and Europe, and were instrumental in bringing many to the fold of Christ.

While these able and devoted ministers were engaged in upholding the principles of Truth as held by the Society of Friends, it was called to mourn the loss of other valued members who were removed from works to rewards.

1. Daniel Stanton has already been mentioned as a faithful minister of the gospel. He was one of those who testified against the unrighteous gain of oppression, and was zealous in pleading the cause of the enslaved Africans.

Towards the close of life, his mind was somewhat relieved, as he found the eyes of the people were becoming enlightened to perceive the iniquity of slave-holding, and he died in faith that the light of the gospel will so generally prevail that the professors of Christianity will find it their duty to restore these people to their natural rights, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. He was much engaged in visiting the sick and afflicted, to whom he administered spiritual advice, and often engaged in humble prayer for their support. He also manifested his benevolence by relieving the indigent as far as his circumstances would allow.

For some months before his decease, he had been remarkably favored in gospel ministry, insomuch that many Friends were apprehensive of what he sometimes expressed as his belief, "That he had not many days longer to labor amongst them." Having fought the good fight and kept the faith, he finished his course in full unity with the Society, and universally

beloved by his fellow-citizens, on the 28th of the Sixth month, 1770, in the sixty-second year of his age and forty-third of his ministry.¹

The powerful and searching ministry of Daniel Stanton was effectual in sealing conviction upon many hearts. An instance of its efficacy, preserved by tradition in a Friend's family, is here subjoined. A young man, who had been educated as an Episcopalian, and whose parents were slaveholders residing on a large estate in Maryland, left the paternal mansion and engaged as assistant surgeon in a privateer. He soon became disgusted with privateering, and his only consolation during that dreary and revolting voyage, was the reflection, that, though he trod the deck drenched in blood, he had not taken the life of a human being, but had done all in his power as a surgeon to alleviate the sufferings of the wounded and dying. After ten months of sad experience, he landed at Philadelphia, a stranger, without money, and indifferently clad. He applied for admission at a boarding-house kept by a Friend, a kind-hearted motherly matron, who, after listening to his truthful history, and scrutinizing him closely, gave him her entire confidence and received him as a boarder. He soon found remunerative employment, and congenial associates. Among the boarders was a young man, a member of the Society of Friends, whom he invited on First-day morning to go with him to the Episcopal church. He answered, "No; but if thou wilt go with me to Friends' meeting this morning, I will attend thy church with thee next First-day."

¹ Test. of Phila. Mo. Meeting; Piety Promoted; and Mem. of Rebecca Jones.

The proposition was accepted, and they went to the Market Street house.

The young Marylander, whose name was Benedict Dorsey, took his seat for the first time in a Friends' meeting, and after a time of silence, Daniel Stanton, who sat at the head of the ministers' gallery, rose to speak. His discourse soon rivetted the attention of the young stranger, whose whole life was laid open to his view by one who had certainly known nothing of his wanderings. His language in describing the occasion, was, that "the preacher unravelled him like a ball of yarn." His head was bowed, and the floor was strewn with his tears. In the afternoon he visited the dear old man whom he believed to be a real servant of the Lord. To him he confided all his hopes and fears, and found him to be a friend in time of need.

Being convinced of the principles of Friends, he joined in membership with them, and afterwards married Sarah, the daughter of Daniel Stanton.

2. John Churchman long occupied a prominent position in the Society, having travelled much and labored effectually in the work of the ministry. His last journey was on a visit to most of the meetings of Friends on the eastern shore of Maryland, and to attend the Yearly Meeting at Thirdhaven, which he accomplished to his satisfaction. On reaching his own habitation, he expressed his gladness with being at home, saying, he had ever found it best when his service abroad was over, to return without delay.

During the last two weeks of his time, he was favored with an abundant flow of divine consolation, and would many times in the day break forth in praises to the Lord who had been pleased to dispel

every cloud by the brightness of his countenance. "I feel," he said, "nothing but peace, having endeavoured honestly to discharge myself in public, and privately to individuals, as I apprehended was required; and if it be the Lord's will that I should go now, I shall be released from a great deal of trouble and exercise, which I believe Friends who are left behind will have to pass through." He thus expressed his concern for the Society: "I love Friends who abide in the truth, as much as ever I did; and I feel earnest breathings to the Lord that there may be such raised up in the church who may go forth in humility, sweetness, and life; clear of all superfluity in expressions, and otherwise, standing for the testimony, that they may be useful in the church in these difficult times."

To a friend who came to visit him he said, "I feel that which lives beyond death and the grave, which is now an inexpressible comfort to me, after a time of deep baptism that I have passed through; I believe my being continued here is in the will of Providence, and I am fully resigned." The day before his death he said, "I am much refreshed with my Master's sweet air, I feel more life, more light, more love and sweetness than ever before." Just before he expired, he again expressed the sweetness that he felt, and then his spirit took its flight to the realms of everlasting peace. He died the 24th of the Seventh month, 1775, aged near seventy, having been a minister about forty-two years.

John Churchman was eminently gifted both in gospel ministry and church government. His deportment was grave and reverent, his judgment sound and clear, and his natural disposition being

cheerful, he sometimes discovered a turn of pleasantry in conversation, which being careful to circumscribe within due limitations, rendered his company innocently agreeable and instructive.

CHAPTER XV.

AMERICA.

1775-1780.

AMONG the members of the Society who, at this date, were most influential in advancing the testimony against slavery, the name of Warner Mifflin demands especial attention. He was born on the Eastern shore of Virginia about the year 1745. His parents were exemplary Friends, but there being no other members of the Society within sixty miles, he was in a great measure debarred from the benefits of religious communion. His associates held the prevailing sentiments in favor of slavery, so that he had no opportunity to acquire the liberal and human views that had been advanced.

About the fourteenth year of his age his attention was first awakened to consider the subject. "Being in the field," he says, "with my father's slaves, a young man among them questioned me whether I thought it could be right that they should be toiling to raise me, and that I might be sent to school, and by-and-by their children must do the same for mine. Some little irritation at first took place in my feelings, but his reasoning so impressed me as never to be erased from my mind. Before I arrived

at the age of manhood, I determined never to be a slaveholder. But the idea of losing so much property as I might reasonably expect from the great number of slaves my father possessed, at first view, seemed hard to reconcile."

When he settled in a married life, the proving of his fidelity to his convictions of duty commenced. Through his wife, he became possessed of several minor slaves, and others belonging to his father and mother came voluntarily to reside with him. Thus all the slaves he then had of lawful age being volunteers, he rested quiet in the use of them, until he became almost persuaded he could not do without them. Under these circumstances he was inclined to adopt the slaveholder's plea, then so generally believed, that negroes were indolent and thievish, and therefore unfit for freedom. He found, however, that this fig-leaf covering would not screen him from the penetrating rays of that divine light which shines in the awakened conscience and reproves for all evil. Being, at length, fully convinced that he should be excluded from happiness if he continued to disobey the divine law written in his heart, he manumitted the slaves brought by his wife, and soon after informed his father he must take the others away, or allow them to be emancipated. His father readily agreed that they should be set free, and a deed of emancipation was accordingly executed. This was in the year 1775; and it was not long before his father also espoused the cause of liberty, which he vindicated by the liberation of about one hundred slaves.

Warner Mifflin, as he attended to the further teachings of divine grace, became convinced that the claims of justice were not yet satisfied. "I also

found," he writes, "an engagement to make restitution to those I had held in a state of bondage, for the time so held; which was done according to the judgment of indifferent men, agreed on by the blacks and myself. And on reflection, I found I had so much hand in selling some, as to bring me under an obligation to release them; which I did, to a considerable amount, on my own account, my wife's, and some who had belonged to her father and grandfather. About this time I was appointed on a committee to labour with the members of our Society, who held slaves, in order for the conviction of their understandings of the inconsistency of the practice with Christianity. Which labours were so far blest, that in a little time, most of our members liberated their slaves."

The measures adopted by the Society in relation to slaveholding, have already been noticed as far as the year 1758, and it appears that almost every year from that date to 1776, the subject claimed the earnest and increasing care of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The subordinate meetings were exhorted to labour in Christian love and meekness with those who offended in this particular. From the year 1767, regular statements of this labour, and of the success which attended it, were forwarded to the Yearly Meeting, which repeatedly expressed its satisfaction with the care and concern thus manifested.

In 1774, the Yearly Meeting issued, to the subordinate meetings, pressing advices on this subject, directing that "where it shall appear that any, from views of temporal gain, cannot be prevailed with to release from captivity such slaves as shall be found suitable for liberty, but detain them in bondage,

without such reasons as shall be sufficient and satisfactory, the cases of such should be brought forward to the next Yearly Meeting for consideration, and such further directions as may be judged expedient."

In the year 1776, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia concluded to make slaveholding a disownable offence, and with that view issued the following advice; viz.:

"Under the calming influence of pure love, we do with great unanimity give it as our sense and judgment, that Quarterly and Monthly meetings should speedily unite in a further close labour with all such as are slaveholders and have any right of membership with us. And where any members continue to reject the advice of their brethren and refuse to execute proper instruments of writing for releasing from a state of slavery such as are in their power, or to whom they have any claim, whether arrived to full age or in their minority, and no hopes of the continuance of Friends' labour being profitable to them; that Monthly meetings, after having discharged a Christian duty to such, should testify their disunity with them."¹

Thus it appears that the same year in which the American Congress at Philadelphia issued its celebrated Declaration, that "all men are created equal" and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, Friends assembled in their Yearly Meeting in the same city, completed the labor that had, at various times, engaged their attention for nearly a century, by extending to those of the colored race under their

¹ Michener's Retrospect, 350.

control the same inherent rights they claimed for themselves.

To carry out the decision of the Yearly Meeting, the subordinate meetings appointed committees, and from reports it appears, that the principal part of the work had already been accomplished, nearly all the slaves belonging to Friends were emancipated, and but few members were disowned.

It is an interesting fact, that many of the Friends who manumitted their slaves, were not satisfied to send them forth empty-handed from the house of bondage, but made them such reparation as justice required. In some meetings committees were appointed to ascertain the amount that was equitably due from the master to the slave.

The interest they felt in the welfare of those who had recently been the objects of their care, did not cease with their emancipation. In many of the meetings, committees were appointed and funds provided to assist the free people of color with their advice, and to secure the education of their children. Religious meetings were frequently appointed for them, and are reported to have been held to good satisfaction.

The efforts of Friends to promote the abolition of slavery within the limits of the other Yearly meetings in America, were conducted in the same spirit of Christian charity and attended with the same happy results as those already related. In New England, the progress made up to 1717, has been noticed. In the year 1760, the discipline was revised, and a passage inserted, warning all their members that they carefully avoid being in any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits of that iniquitous practice of dealing in negroes or other slaves." In 1769 and

1770, further attention was paid to the subject, and in 1772, it is stated, in the epistle to London Yearly Meeting, that a few Friends had freed their slaves from bondage, but that others "have been so reluctant thereto, that they have been disowned for not complying with the advice of this meeting." It appears, however, that the work was not then completed, for in the year 1777, a committee was appointed to aid the subordinate meetings in laboring with individuals for effecting the discharge of all who were held in bondage. The committee reported, the next year, that most of the slaves were manumitted in the presence of the committee, and that encouragement was given to hope that all would be set at liberty. In 1782, the Yearly Meeting states, "We know not but all the members of this meeting are clear of that iniquitous practice of holding or dealing with mankind as slaves."

The Yearly Meeting of New York, previous to the year 1759, had manifested its disapprobation of the slave-trade, by addressing to its members a query, "whether Friends were clear of importing or purchasing slaves;" which was regularly answered by the subordinate meetings.

In 1771 the Yearly Meeting concluded that those of its members who held slaves should not sell them to others; and a committee was appointed to visit them and see if freedom could be obtained for such as were suitable for it, and instruction given to others held in bondage. In 1777 the same Yearly Meeting directed that those of its members who refused to comply with the advice of the Monthly meetings by setting their negroes of every age free, should be disowned. Three years later, Monthly meetings were advised to

appoint committees to visit those who had formerly held slaves, and also the slaves liberated, both in respect to the spiritual and temporal good of the latter, and to ascertain what may in justice remain due to them.

The progress of Friends' testimony against slavery was more gradual in the Southern than in the Northern colonies, as might reasonably have been expected, on account of the greater number of slaves held and the more formidable opposition of public opinion.

In Maryland, the Yearly Meeting held on the Western shore, in 1759, adopted a minute in relation to the *buying* of negroes, which was explained or modified by the succeeding Yearly Meeting held on the Eastern shore, to the effect that Friends were not fully ripe to carry the minute further than against being concerned in the importing of negroes."

In the minutes for the three years succeeding, the subject is mentioned, and a concern expressed that Friends should not encourage the importation of Africans by buying or selling them, or other slaves; and those that held them by inheritance or otherwise were enjoined to train them up in the principles of the Christian religion. In 1778 the Yearly Meeting adopted a minute directing the subordinate meetings not to receive subscriptions for the use of the Society from those who continued to hold mankind in a state of slavery,—and should any such continue so to justify their conduct as to refuse or reject the advice of their brethren, it was the judgment of the meeting that they should be discontinued from membership in the Society. Under this rule of discipline, some were disowned for slaveholding, after patient waiting and frequent admonitions; but most of the members

relinquished the practice, and a large number of slaves were liberated by Friends in Maryland.

The first step taken by the Yearly Meeting of Virginia was in 1757, when a query addressed to its subordinate meetings was adopted, which was designed to forbid the trafficking in slaves.

The concern on this subject continued to spread, and frequent advices were issued until the year 1773, when the Yearly Meeting adopted the following minute:—

“It is our clear sense and judgment that we are loudly called upon in this time of calamity and close trial, to minister justice and judgment to black and white, rich and poor, and free our hands from every species of oppression, lest the language made use of by the Almighty through his prophet should be extended to us: ‘The people of the land have used oppression and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy; yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully, therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord God.’ We do therefore most earnestly recommend to all who continue to withhold from any their just right to freedom, as they prize their own present peace and future happiness, to clear their hands of this iniquity, by executing manumissions for all those held by them in slavery who are arrived at full age, and also for those who may yet be in their minority,—to take place when the females attain the age of eighteen, and the males twenty-one years.

In 1784 the Quarterly meetings reported, that, notwithstanding most of those members who held slaves had been visited and labored with in love and ten-

derness, yet some of them do not discover a disposition to do that justice to these people which we are fully persuaded is their natural right. Monthly meetings were therefore directed to extend such further care and labour as they apprehended would be useful, and where these endeavours proved ineffectual were authorized to disown the individuals."

It was during the discussion of this interesting subject among Friends in Virginia that the celebrated statesman and orator, Patrick Henry, addressed to one of them a letter, from which the following passages are selected:—

"Is it not amazing that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, that, in such an age and such a country, we find men professing a religion the most humane, mild, meek, gentle, and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty. Every thinking, honest man rejects it in speculation, but how few in practice from conscientious motives! The world in general has denied your people a share of its honours, but the wise will ascribe to you a just tribute of virtuous praise, for the practice of a train of virtues, among which your disagreement to slavery will be principally ranked. I cannot but wish well to a people whose system imitates the example of Him whose life was perfect, and, believe me, I shall honour the Quakers for their noble efforts to abolish slavery; they are equally calculated to promote moral and political good." * * * *

"Here is an instance that silent meetings (the scoff of reverend doctors) have done that which learned

and elaborate preaching could not effect: so much preferable are the genuine dictates of conscience, and a steady attention to its feelings above the teachings of those men who pretend to have found a better guide."¹

In North Carolina the meetings of Friends pursued the same course as those in Virginia, and with similar results. In these two colonies the testimony against slavery was retarded by the force of public opinion, and by the magnitude of the interests involved; but, about the year 1787, a large number of manumissions took place, and the good work continued to advance until it was accomplished.

The sacrifices then made appeared to be great, and we cannot withhold our admiration of the noble stand that was taken by the advocates of freedom, as well as the submission yielded by the great body of the Society to the dictates of duty.

But how great soever appeared the sacrifice of interest at that day, time has proved, in this case as in all others, that the path of duty leads to peace, and obedience to the divine law secures permanent happiness. The descendants of those who then liberated their slaves, while they have continued to be guided by the same principles, have experienced an exemption from the demoralizing influence of slaveholding, and the many vexations that attend it.

It is shown by Clarkson, in his History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade, that the fidelity of the Society of Friends in bearing a testimony against that iniquitous traffic, and against slavery itself, has, in the ordering of Divine Providence, been greatly

¹ Letter of Patrick Henry to Ed. Stabler, Jan'y 18th, 1773.

instrumental in advancing the cause of human liberty throughout the world. The Legislature of Pennsylvania, in the year 1780, passed an act for the gradual abolition of slavery. It contains the following passage: "It is not for us to inquire why in the creation of mankind the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand. We find in the distribution of the human species that the most fertile as well as the most barren parts of the earth are inhabited by men of complexion different from ours and from each other; from whence we may reasonably as well as religiously infer, that He who placed them in their various situations hath extended equally his care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract his mercies."

The example of Pennsylvania has been followed by many other States, and wherever the dictates of justice and mercy have thus been pursued, the result has been, an increase of individual happiness and public prosperity.

When the Society had freed itself from the evil of slaveholding, it did not cease to manifest its interest in the further progress of emancipation, and its sympathy with the free people of African descent. To promote the moral and religious improvement of these, schools were instituted, and religious meetings were held, under the care of Friends deeply concerned for their welfare.

The Yearly meetings of Friends, and their representative committees (called Meetings for Sufferings), on various occasions, have found it their religious duty to address memorials to Congress and to the

legislatures of some of the States, in relation to the wrongs inflicted on the colored race and the atrocities of the slave-trade. In pursuing this course, they have not departed from the legitimate functions of a religious association which aims to promote the glory of God and the good of mankind. To exercise a religious care over its own members, and to promote their spiritual growth, are objects of primary importance for a Yearly Meeting, but even these purposes may be advanced by the exercise of a benevolent concern for the good of others under the guidance of divine Truth. Accordingly we find that the Society, from a very early period in its history down to the present day, has interested itself in works of charity beyond the sphere of its own communion. In America, its labors of love have been more especially directed to the civilization of the Indians and to the protection and improvement of the colored race.

The interest which had long been felt among Friends, in promoting the abolition of slavery and the improvement of the people of color, had gradually extended, until many persons in other religious societies were deeply imbued with it. Among these, Doctor Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, devoted his talents and influence to this good cause.

At the suggestion of Anthony Benezet, he employed his pen in defence of the oppressed Africans, and wrote two works which had a wide circulation.

In the year 1774, James Pemberton and Doctor Rush "undertook, in conjunction with others, the important task of bringing those into a society who were friendly to this cause." Hence originated the Pennsylvania Society "for promoting the abolition

of slavery and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage.”

Three years later, this society was enlarged; Doctor Benjamin Franklin was chosen president, James Pemberton and Jonathan Penrose, vice-presidents, Doctor Benjamin Rush and Tench Coxe, secretaries, and James Star, Treasurer.¹ Among its active members were many prominent Friends, who labored harmoniously and successfully with persons of different religious persuasions, in promoting the excellent cause they had espoused. Societies consisting of a similar union of Friends with other religious denominations were established in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, which held a correspondence with each other.

About the year 1780, William Dillwyn, a valued member of the Society of Friends, removed from Philadelphia and settled in London. In that city, meeting with other Friends whose feelings, like his own, were deeply impressed with abhorrence for the African slave-trade, they formed in the year 1784 an association, consisting of six persons only, for the purpose of enlightening the public mind in relation to this great question. Two years later, Thomas Clarkson was providentially brought into communication with these Friends; his mind had already been awakened to the importance of the cause in which they were engaged, and they became his able coadjutors. The association was enlarged so as to number twelve persons, Clarkson being one of their number, and Granville Sharp their chairman. Wilberforce agreed to bring before Parliament a motion for

¹ Clarkson's Hist. of Af. Slave-trade, I., 155.

the abolition of the African slave-trade. Clarkson devoted all his time and energies to the cause, and after twenty years of persevering labor they succeeded in obtaining an act for its suppression.

To declare the trade a crime, and to provide penalties for its perpetration, was justly considered a great triumph; but unhappily its entire suppression has been found extremely difficult, if not impossible, while there remains open a market for slaves.

The intercourse between the Friends and the Indians, which from the first settlement of the country had been cordial, continued to be maintained in the same spirit. Most of the tribes which had formerly inhabited New Jersey and Pennsylvania, had now removed west of the Ohio River, and there being no roads to their settlements, they were seldom visited. In the year 1773, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, addressed to the Delawares and other tribes living beyond the Ohio, an epistle expressive of their Christian regard, which they transmitted by Zebulon Heston, an aged minister, who for some years had felt a religious concern to visit the Indians. John Parrish, a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, under a sense of religious duty, went as companion on the same mission. The most distant settlement which they visited was 120 miles beyond the Ohio River, or about 450 miles from Philadelphia.

In this arduous journey they were preserved safe from injury, and were received by the natives with much cordiality.

The Indians, in answer to the address of the Friends, after expressing their heart-felt joy in meeting their brothers the Quakers, thus continued: "Since our

Saviour came, a Light into the world, there has been a great stir amongst the people about religion; some are for one way and some for another. We have had offers of religion many times, but would not accept of it, till we see our brothers the Quakers, and hear what they would say to us; and now you have come and opened the road, we have heard what you have said, and we feel the grace that was in your hearts conveyed to us. We think, that, as we two brothers, the Quakers and Delawares, were brought up together as the children of one man, it is our Saviour's will we should be of one religion." * * * * "We are poor and weak, and not able to judge for ourselves; and when we think of our poor children, it makes us sorry. We hope you will instruct us in the right way, both in the things of this life as well as the world to come."

It has already been noticed in a preceding chapter, that some solicitude existed in the minds of Friends in relation to the manner that settlements had been made near Hopewell meeting-house in Virginia, on lands to which the Indian title had not been extinguished.

Twenty years had now elapsed since the subject had been recommended to the consideration of Friends in Virginia, by the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia. In the year 1778, the Monthly Meeting of Hopewell placed on record a minute stating, that, "notwithstanding it may by this distance of time be difficult to find out the particular tribe that occupied these lands, yet it becomes us, as a religious society, to demonstrate that testimony of justice and uprightness which we have ever held forth." A committee was, therefore, appointed to receive such con-

tributions as Friends may be free to subscribe, and with the assistance of the Meeting for Sufferings at Philadelphia, to appropriate the same to the benefit of the Indians who were the possessors of those lands, or their descendants, if to be found; and if not, to the benefit of such other Indians as may require brotherly compassion and assistance.¹

In order to consummate this remarkable proceeding, and extend strict justice to parties whose names and place of residence were unknown, inquiries were made among the Indians for the original occupants of those lands, but none could be found who were able to substantiate their claims.

When a committee of Friends from Philadelphia attended the treaty of Sandusky in the year 1794, the chiefs of the Tuscaroras, having heard of the proposed compensation for the lands at Hopewell, made application for it, alleging that they were the rightful owners. On a close examination, by both Friends and Indians jointly, it did not appear that the Tuscaroras had ever been possessors of the soil in question; but as they entertained strong expectations of receiving a donation, rather than disappoint them, a considerable sum was given to them, with which they were highly gratified.

A remarkable instance of the preservation of Friends from Indian hostility, has been related on the authority of George Dillwyn. He states, that a few families of Friends removed from Dutchess County, New York, some years prior to the Revolutionary war, and settled at Easton, Saratoga County. The inhabitants of that vicinity were warned by the

¹ MS. Minutes of Hopewell Monthly Meeting.

American government to withdraw on account of the hostile Indians, and most of them went, but the Friends remained and kept up their meetings. Robert Nesbitt, who lived at East Hoosack, about 30 miles distant, being impelled by a sense of duty, walked through the wilderness country to sit with those Friends in their mid-week meeting.

As they were sitting in meeting with the door open, they discovered an Indian peeping around the door-post. When he saw Friends sitting in silence, he stepped forward and took a full view of the congregation; then he and his company, placing their arms in a corner of the room, took seats with the Friends, and remained till the meeting closed. Zebulon Hosie, one of the Friends present, invited them to his house and offered them food, which they took and went quietly away. Before they went, Robert Nesbitt conversed in French with their leader, who told him they surrounded the house, intending to destroy all that were in it; but, said he, "when we saw you sitting with your door open and without weapons of defence, we had no disposition to hurt you; we would have fought for you." The Indians had human scalps with them.¹

¹ Armistead's Select Miscellany, VI. 170.

CHAPTER XVI.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AND SUFFERINGS OF
FRIENDS.

1775-1789.

To the Society of Friends in America, the war which resulted in the independence of their country was a season of deep trial. Not only were they subjected like other citizens, to the privations that ever attend civil war and hostile invasion; but their peaceable principles not being understood or appreciated, rendered them liable to undeserved reproach. They found however, in the principles of their profession and the consolations of the gospel of peace, a full compensation for all they suffered, and a safeguard from many of the evils that afflicted their countrymen.

Throughout their whole history they had always been remarkably loyal to the existing government, and their religious scruples against war caused them to deprecate every measure that appeared likely to lead to that awful calamity. They were not unmindful of the oppressive measures pursued by the King and Parliament, which abridged the rights of the colonists and threatened their liberties, but they trusted that, without resorting to hostilities, a remedy would be found by earnestly appealing to the justice of the British people and waiting the reaction of public opinion. In addition to these motives, their affection for the mother country was strengthened by the intimate relations they had always maintained with the

meetings of their own religious society in Great Britain and Ireland.

The chief subject of dispute between the British Government and the American Colonies, was the right claimed by the King and Parliament to tax the colonists without their consent. As they were not represented in Parliament, they maintained that they could not be taxed by that body without an infringement of English liberty, for when they emigrated, with the consent of their government, and extended the British empire by building up colonies in the wilderness, they did not relinquish the rights secured to them by Magna Charta and the English constitution.

This mode of reasoning was conclusive in the minds of the American people generally, but the Friends whose ancestors were the original settlers of Pennsylvania, may have recurred to the terms of their charter granted to William Penn by Charles II., and there they would find that the right of taxation was reserved to the British Parliament. By that instrument Penn and his heirs were to enjoy such customs on imports and exports in the province, as he or they, and the people there, when assembled, might occasionally assess, "saving to the king and his successors such impositions and customs as are, or by *Act of Parliament shall be appointed.*" But the king was to levy no taxes upon the inhabitants of the province without the consent of the proprietary or Assembly, *or by Act of Parliament.* It might reasonably have been urged by the Royalists in Pennsylvania, that the founders of that colony had accepted the terms of the charter and thereby bound themselves and their successors to submit to taxation by Parliament.

From many concurring motives, loyalty to the throne, attachment to the mother country, affection for their fellow-members in Great Britain, and more especially from their Christian testimony against war; the Friends in America were generally opposed to the Revolution, and desirous to remain neutral in the impending contest. Nevertheless, many of the younger members sympathized with the movement, and some of them became so fully imbued with its spirit as to join the ranks of the insurgents.

The Meeting for Sufferings representing the Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, issued an epistle dated the 5th of the First month, 1775, addressed "To our Friends and brethren in these and the adjacent Provinces."

In this document, after expressing their sorrow that public resolves contrary to the religious principles of Friends had been passed with the concurrence and approbation of some of their members, they state their conviction that the preservation and welfare of the Society depends upon a close adherence to the precepts and example of Christ.

Soon after issuing this epistle to their members, they published the following document, intended to explain to the inhabitants at large, the attitude and motives of Friends in the approaching contest.

"The Testimony of the People called Quakers, given forth by a meeting of the Representatives of said People, in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia the twenty-fourth Day of the First Month, 1775.

Having considered with real sorrow, the unhappy contest between the legislature of Great Britain and

the people of these colonies, and the animosities consequent thereon; we have by repeated public advices and private admonitions, used our endeavors to dissuade the members of our religious society from joining with the public resolutions promoted and entered into by some of the people, which as we apprehended, so we now find have increased contention, and produced great discord and confusion.

The Divine principle of grace and truth which we profess, leads all who attend to its dictates, to demean themselves as peaceable subjects, and to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the king, as supreme magistrate, or to the legal authority of his government; to which purpose many of the late political writings and addresses to the people appearing to be calculated, we are led by a sense of duty to declare our entire disapprobation of them—their spirit and temper being not only contrary to the nature and precepts of the gospel, but destructive of the peace and harmony of civil society, disqualify men in these times of difficulty, for the wise and judicious consideration and promoting of such measures as would be most effectual for reconciling differences, or obtaining the redress of grievances.

From our past experience of the clemency of the king and his royal ancestors, we have grounds to hope and believe, that decent and respectful addresses from those who are vested with legal authority, representing the prevailing dissatisfactions and the cause of them, would avail towards obtaining relief, ascertaining and establishing the just rights of the people and restoring the public tranquillity; and we deeply lament that contrary modes of proceeding have been pursued,

which have involved the colonies in confusion, appear likely to produce violence and bloodshed, and threaten the subversion of the constitutional government, and of that liberty of conscience for the enjoyment of which our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas and of settling in the wilderness.

We are, therefore, incited, by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of our country, publicly to declare against every usurpation of power and authority, in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies : and as we are restrained from them by the conscientious discharge of our duty to almighty God, “ by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice,” we hope through his assistance and favor, to be enabled to maintain our testimony against any requisitions which may be made of us, inconsistent with our religious principles, and the fidelity we owe to the king and his government, as by law established ; earnestly desiring the restoration of that harmony and concord which have heretofore united the people of these provinces, and been attended by the divine blessing on their labors.

Signed in, and on behalf of the said meeting,

JAMES PEMBERTON,

Clerk at this time.”

It will be observed that this testimony was issued before the war commenced. The closing paragraph has been censured by some writers as evincing too strong an attachment to the regal government ; but some months subsequently, the American Congress, in their address to the king, dated July 8th,

1775, professed their loyalty in even stronger language.

In the spring of 1776, the American Congress, looking towards a separation from the mother country, recommended to the several States, to “adopt such government as shall in the opinions of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general.” In Pennsylvania, the provincial government, under Penn’s charter, was still administered in the king’s name; but the revolutionary party under the name of Whigs urged the adoption of a new constitution, and a conference of delegates from the counties was called, which authorized the election of a convention for that purpose. The convention assembled at Philadelphia a few days after the Declaration of Independence had been adopted, and immediately assumed the whole political power of the State. The Assembly elected under the old constitution had not been dissolved, but its authority was scarcely acknowledged by the people; some of its members were Friends, and others among them desired a reconciliation with the mother country. It adopted resolutions reprobating certain ordinances passed by the convention,—imposing a State tax, and authorizing the arrest of suspicious persons,—as assumptions of power unwarranted by the instructions of the people and dangerous to freedom. “Their reprobation was just, for no body other than the Assembly was vested with such power. The convention was created for the express, and as may be gathered from the resolutions of the conference, for the exclusive purpose of framing a constitution. But amid revolutions, as amid arms, the laws are power-

less.”¹ “The Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, however, distinguished for nearly a century by the love of order and devotion to liberty, expired on the 26th of September, 1776, breathing remonstrances against the violators of the rights of the people.”²

In order to defray the extraordinary expenses incurred for the military defence of the colonies, bills of credit were issued which became almost the only currency in circulation, and not being redeemable in coin, they soon began to depreciate in value. Many of the Friends who were esteemed for their religious experience, felt scruples against circulating money that was issued for warlike purposes, and refused to receive it; others saw no impropriety in receiving and passing a currency authorized by law. The Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, taking into consideration the divided sentiments of its members on this subject, very wisely advised forbearance and charity in the following language: “We fervently desire that such who are not convinced that it is their duty to refuse those bills, may be watchful over their own spirits, and abide in true love and charity, so that no expressions or conduct, tending to the oppression of tender consciences, may appear among us. And we likewise affectionately exhort those who have this religious scruple, that they do not admit or indulge any censure in their minds against their brethren who have not the same; carefully manifesting by the whole tenor of their conduct, that nothing is done through strife and contention; but that they act from a clear conviction of truth in their

¹ Gordon's Hist. of Penna., p. 541.

² Ibid. p. 542.

own minds; showing forth by their meekness, humility, and patient suffering that they are the followers of the Prince of Peace.”

Another source of deep exercise and much suffering on the part of Friends was the scruple many of them felt against the payment of taxes levied chiefly for the support of war. This subject had before claimed their attention; a diversity of opinions had existed, and the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, in the year 1757, after appointing a large committee to consider it, had recommended that the subject be not discussed, and that “Friends endeavour to have their minds covered with fervent charity towards one another.” During the Revolutionary War, the scruples of many Friends against the payment of taxes for warlike purposes were brought under consideration in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and they were encouraged by a minute of that body, to attend to the dictates of unerring grace and “not to stifle or suppress the secret monitions thereof in their minds.” They were also enjoined to attend to their tender scruples against contributing to the promotion of war, by grinding of grain, feeding of cattle, or selling their property for the use of the army.” There is reason to believe that, notwithstanding these advices, Friends were not subjected to disownment for paying any taxes levied by the existing government. Fines for the non-performance of military services, or for the hire of substitutes, they justly regarded as far more objectionable than war-taxes, because they were not levied upon all citizens indiscriminately, but only upon those who refused to fight or prepare for war, and therefore might be considered an equivalent for martial service.

In addition to these causes of disquietude, there was yet another that agitated the Society and reduced its numbers. When a separation from the mother country was determined in Congress, acts were passed by the Legislatures or Conventions of some of the States requiring of the citizens an oath or affirmation renouncing their allegiance to the British crown and declaring their loyalty to the new government. The Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, in 1778, expressed its judgment in the following minute, viz.: "On consideration of what is necessary to be proposed to Friends on the subject of declaration of allegiance and abjuration, required by some late laws by the Legislatures who now preside in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, we are united in judgment, that, consistent with our religious principles, we cannot comply with the requisitions of those laws, as we cannot be instrumental in setting up or pulling down any government; but it becomes us to show forth a peaceable and meek behaviour to all men, seeking their good, and to live a sober, useful, and religious life, without joining ourselves with any party in war, or with the spirit of strife and contention now prevailing. And we believe that if our conduct is thus uniform and steady, and our hope fixed on the Omnipotent arm for relief, He will in time amply reward us with lasting peace; which hath been the experience of our Friends in time past, and we hope of some now under suffering.

"And as, in some places, fines and taxes are, and have been imposed on those who, from conscientious scruples, refuse or decline making such declarations, it is the united sense and judgment of this meeting, that no Friend should pay any such fine or tax."

By the test law, a fine was imposed upon any person who should teach a school, without having subscribed thereto.

This called forth a remonstrance from the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, showing that, by the voluntary contributions of Friends in that city, schools had been established in which the children of the poor, not of their Society only, but of others, had been educated for a long course of years.

Many examples of suffering under the test laws might be cited. Some Friends, for declining to subscribe the test, were imprisoned many months; but this method proving ineffectual and unprofitable, the law was modified, and heavy fines imposed. Joshua Bennett was convicted in Philadelphia of keeping a school without taking the oath or affirmation of allegiance, for which he was fined one hundred pounds, and the costs of prosecution; but after twenty-five days imprisonment he was released, and the fine remitted.

The provincial armies being in want of supplies of all kinds, foraging parties were sent out to impress provisions and clothing; and in order to fill up the ranks, many young men were forced into the military service. Friends who adhered to their principles could not conscientiously serve as soldiers, but in many cases their scruples were not respected, and they were subjected to much harsh treatment, in order to reduce them to military discipline. They resolutely refused to comply, and patiently suffered the punishments inflicted. The practice of coercion was therefore abandoned, and fines were levied upon their property, which was often sold at a great sacrifice to satisfy these demands.¹ Tradition relates that a com-

¹ Kercheval's Hist. of the Valley of Virginia, p. 133.

pany of Friends drafted as soldiers were taken from Virginia to the headquarters of General Washington, in Pennsylvania. As they were not willing to bear arms, their guns were tied to them, and they carried their own provisions rather than partake of the army rations. Washington was more wise and merciful than the recruiting officers; he said to them, "Why do you bring these men here? I want fighting-men;" and turning to the Friends, he said, "Gentlemen, go back and cultivate your fields."

Brissot de Warville, in his book of travels, notices the course pursued by Washington towards the Friends, and adds that the General "had been induced from ignorance of their real dispositions to entertain an ill opinion of the Friends. He could get none of them to serve him as spies; but he observed that, in like manner, none of them would serve the English army in that capacity. They were treated by both sides with confidence; the spies, encouraged by this, at length habited themselves as Quakers, and several were actually hung in that costume."¹

In the summer of 1777 the British army, being conveyed by sea from New York, landed near the head of the Chesapeake Bay. The battle of Brandywine took place early in the autumn, and soon after the British marched towards Philadelphia, in order to take possession of it. Congress was then in session in Philadelphia, — as also the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, consisting of twelve members with its president, established by the State Constitution in the previous years. There sat at the same time the Committee of Safety, whose proceedings were reported to the Supreme Executive Council.

¹ *Nouveau Voyage*, II., 234-240.

Congress, by a resolve dated 25th August, 1777, recommended, "That the executive officers of the States of Delaware and Pennsylvania be requested to cause all persons within the respective States, *notoriously disaffected*, forthwith to be disarmed and secured until such time as they may be released without injury to the common cause." Three days later, as appears by the minutes of Congress, there was transmitted to it a letter from General Sullivan, dated at Hanover, near Newark, New Jersey, on the 25th of August, inclosing a paper said to have been found among baggage taken at Staten Island, which was published by order of Congress. This paper professed to contain information from a Yearly Meeting of Friends, said to be held on the 19th of August at *Spanktown*, a nickname given to a part of Rahway, in New Jersey.

This spurious document contained queries relating to the position and forces of the American army, and information of the landing of the British army near the head of Chesapeake Bay.¹ As the landing did not take place till the 22d of the month, it could not have been known at Rahway on the 19th; but, notwithstanding this discrepancy, which was probably overlooked in the excitement and alarm then prevailing, the members of Congress, already prejudiced against the Friends, looked upon it as an additional evidence of their disaffection to the American cause. If they had taken time to inquire, they would have found that no such Yearly meeting of Friends had ever existed.

A committee of Congress, appointed to take into

¹ Exiles in Virginia, 36.

consideration the letter of General Sullivan and other papers referred to them, reported: "That the several testimonies which have been published since the commencement of the present contest between Great Britain and America, and the uniform tenor of the conduct and conversation of a number of persons of considerable wealth, who profess themselves to belong to the society of people commonly called Quakers, render it certain and notorious that those persons are with much rancour and bitterness disaffected to the American cause. That, as those persons will have it in their power, so there is no doubt it will be their inclination to communicate intelligence to the enemy, and in various other ways to injure the counsels and arms of America. That, when the enemy, in the month of December, 1776, were bending their progress towards the city of Philadelphia, a certain seditious publication addressed, 'To our Friends and Brethren in religious profession in these and the adjacent provinces,' signed John Pemberton, in and on behalf of the Meeting for Sufferings held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the 20th of the Twelfth month, 1776, was published, and, as the committee was credibly informed, circulated among many members of the Society called Quakers throughout the different States. That, as the seditious paper aforesaid originated in the city of Philadelphia, and as the persons whose names are undermentioned have uniformly manifested a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America, therefore, 'Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the Supreme executive council of the State of Pennsylvania, forthwith to apprehend and secure the persons of Joshua Fisher, Abel James,

James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, Sen., Thomas Fisher (son of Joshua), and Samuel R. Fisher (son of Joshua), together with all such papers in their possession as may be of a political nature.' ”

Another Resolution directed that the papers of the Meetings for Sufferings in the respective States, should be secured and examined.

The report of the committee, and the Resolutions annexed, were adopted by Congress.¹

It may not be inappropriate here to examine the address to Friends, stigmatized as a “seditious publication.” It begins with an affectionate salutation in the love of the gospel, and thus continues: “As we keep in the Lord’s power and peaceable truth, which is over all and therein seek the good of all, neither outward sufferings, persecutions, nor any outward thing that is below, will hinder or break our heavenly fellowship in the light and spirit of Christ.” (G. Fox’s Epistle, 1685).

“Thus, we may with Christian fortitude and firmness, withstand and refuse to submit to the arbitrary injunctions and ordinances of men, who assume to themselves the power of compelling others, either in person or by other assistance, to join in carrying on war, and in prescribing modes of determining concerning our religious principles, by imposing tests not warranted by the precepts of Christ, or the laws of the happy constitution under which we and others long enjoyed tranquillity and peace. We, therefore, in the aboundings of that love, which wisheth the spiritual and temporal prosperity of all men, exhort,

¹ Exiles in Va., 261.

admonish, and caution, all who make religious profession with us, and especially our beloved youth, to stand fast in that liberty wherewith, through the manifold sufferings of our predecessors, we have been favored, and steadily to bear our testimony against every attempt to deprive us of it." * * * *
"Let not the fear of suffering, either in person or property, prevail on any to join with or promote any work or preparation for war. Our profession and principles are founded on that spirit which is contrary to, and will, in time, put an end to all wars and bring in everlasting righteousness; and by our constantly abiding under the direction and instruction of that spirit, we may be endued with that 'wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy.' That this may be our happy experience is our fervent desire and prayer."

It will be observed, by the candid reader, that this address, deemed so objectionable, is only an earnest exhortation to Friends to adhere to their ancient testimony against war, and it appears from contemporary testimony, that there was then a sufficient reason for its issue, as members of the Society, when engaged about their lawful business, had been seized *without even the color of law*, and confined for refusing to bear arms or find substitutes.

This address, as well as others of a similar character, had been printed and openly circulated among Friends; some of them were sent to members of Congress before they were published; yet no notice was taken of them till after nine months had elapsed.

The Supreme Executive Council immediately pro-

ceeded to arrest most of the persons named in the resolution of Congress, and other persons in the city of Philadelphia whom they considered disaffected to the American cause. From the 2d to the 5th of the Ninth month, 1777, the number arrested was thirty. The men employed in making the arrests, broke open the desks of some of the prisoners, searched them, and carried off their private papers. Before the prisoners were removed from their homes, they "were asked to sign a paper promising not to depart from their dwelling-houses, and to be ready to appear on demand of the President and Council of the State of Pennsylvania, to engage to refrain from doing anything injurious to the United States, by speaking, writing, or otherwise, and from giving intelligence to the commander of the British forces, or any person whatever, concerning public affairs."

Most of the persons arrested stated that, with the exception of leaving their dwelling-houses when business required, "they had not infringed at any time upon the requisition demanded." They were not willing, however, to sign a paper that would make them prisoners in their own houses. They were placed under guard in the Masons' Lodge, and soon after received information that they were to be sent to Virginia without a hearing. Astounded at the prospect of this arbitrary and illegal proceeding, they remonstrated against it, in a memorial addressed to the President and Council of Pennsylvania, but this proving ineffectual, they appealed to the Congress of the United States requesting a hearing. On the 6th of September, 1777, Congress passed a resolution, "That it be recommended to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, to hear what the said re-

monstrants can allege to remove the suspicions of their being disaffected or dangerous to the United States.”

On the same day, the Council replied as follows: “Resolved, That the President do write to Congress to let them know that the Council *has not time to attend to that business* in the present alarming crisis, and that they were, agreeably to the recommendation of Congress, at the moment the Resolve was brought into Council, disposing of everything for the departure of the prisoners.”

The prisoners, conscious of their innocence, and desiring a trial, applied to the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania for a writ of habeas corpus, which was granted and served upon the officers who had them in custody, but it was utterly disregarded. Two days after it was served, the Legislature of Pennsylvania, at the instance of the Supreme Executive Council, passed a law to suspend the habeas corpus act.

In these proceedings the political leaders in Philadelphia pursued the very measures which they had condemned in the British ministry. “We hold it essential to English liberty,” they had declared, “that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences without having an opportunity of making his defence.”¹

On the 11th of the Ninth month (September), 1777, the prisoners were compelled to take their seats in wagons, provided to convey them to their place of exile. A great number of the citizens of Philadelphia, of various denominations, had publicly ex-

¹ Address of Congress to the People, of Great Britain, October 21st, 1774.

pressed their abhorrence of the measures pursued towards them, and now, when they saw that these respectable and worthy citizens were about to be carried into exile without a trial, they openly evinced their sympathy for the sufferers. "Not only the house in which they were confined, but the streets leading to it, were crowded by men, women, and children, who, by their countenances, sufficiently though silently expressed the grief they felt on the occasion."¹

The whole number of prisoners sent to Virginia was twenty, of whom seventeen were Friends. By an order of the Council they were to be conveyed to Staunton, in Augusta County, but afterwards, at the instance of their friend, Isaac Zane, Winchester, in Frederick County, Virginia, was fixed on as the place of their exile.² There was a considerable settlement of Friends around Hopewell Meeting-house, six miles from Winchester, and their kind attentions proved to be a great alleviation to the tedium of exile.

When the prisoners first arrived at Winchester,

¹ Journal of the Exiles.

² List of the prisoners, from "Exiles in Virginia," pp. 148 and 154.

James Pemberton,	Israel Pemberton,
Miers Fisher,	John Hunt,
John Pemberton,	Thomas Pike,
Samuel Pleasants,	Thomas Fisher,
Thomas Gilpin,	Henry Drinker,
Samuel R. Fisher,	Elijah Brown,
Owen Jones, Junior,	William Smith, (broker,)
Edward Pennington,	Thomas Wharton,
William Drewet Smith,	Charles Jarvis,
Charles Eddy,	Thomas Affleck.

there was much prejudice against them in the minds of many of the inhabitants, some of whom armed themselves and assembled around the house where they were lodged, demanding their immediate removal. Lieutenant John Smith, the commandant at that post, treated them courteously, placed a guard for their protection, and informed them, soon after, that he had prevailed on the people to suffer them to remain until he could write to Congress and the Governor of Virginia for further instructions.

Accompanying the letters of Lieutenant Smith, the prisoners sent Memorials to Congress and to the Governor and Council of Virginia, remonstrating in bold but respectful terms against the unjust and arbitrary course pursued towards them. At the conclusion of their Memorial to Congress, they say:—

“If you entertain those opinions in reality you have so often uttered in your publications in favour of liberty, far from being offended at the freedom we use in addressing you in its favour, our cause will derive credit from the firmness with which we have thought proper to assert it. On the contrary, if you are determined to support the Council in the unjust and illegal steps they have taken to carry your first recommendation into execution, by continuing us in a country so dangerous to our personal safety, we shall commit ourselves to the protection of an all-wise overruling Power, in whose sight we trust we shall stand in this matter acquitted, and who, if any of us should lose our lives, will require our blood at your hands.”

The remonstrance addressed to Congress was not followed by any immediate effect. The Governor and Council of Virginia promptly answered the appli-

cation made to them for protection, and directed Lieutenant Smith to "let the people of the country know that any violence which may be offered the prisoners will be considered highly derogatory and dishonourable to the government." He was further instructed by the governor (Patrick Henry) to continue his protection to the exiles, and to permit them to walk in the day-time, in any part of the town, for the benefit of their health.

The imprisoned Friends, being men of exemplary piety, and two of them (John Hunt and John Pemberton) ministers of the gospel, they held meetings for worship two days in the week at their lodgings, which were often attended by the Friends who came to visit them, and by some of the citizens of Winchester.

Their religious meetings and gospel ministry, together with the purity of their lives and their intelligent conversation, gradually removed the unjust prejudices that had been excited against them, and gained the respect of the community around them. They were allowed a larger share of liberty to walk and ride in the neighborhood of Winchester, and were permitted, when they desired it, to attend the meetings of Friends at Hopewell.

In the diary of James Pemberton is the following entry: "2d of Second month, 1778. Attended the Monthly Meeting at Hopewell, this day the 2d of the week. John Hunt spoke largely and prophetically, saying the night was far gone and the day of our deliverance at hand; but he stated *he should not have another* public opportunity with Friends there; he said distress and calamity would spread over the country."

A few days after this entry, Thomas Gilpin, one of the exiles, took a severe cold; a fever ensued, accompanied with increasing debility, and on the 2d day of the Third month, 1778, he was released by death. He was a man of amiable and exemplary character, endowed with a good understanding, and had borne his affliction with stability and fortitude. He left behind him in Philadelphia a wife and children to mourn his loss.

John Hunt, who had been sick for some days, was, on the 23d of the Second month, seized with a violent pain in his leg; the physicians thought mortification had begun and made such progress that an amputation was the only means of arresting it. He was enabled to endure the operation with so much fortitude and composure, that the surgeon observed to him when it was finished, "Sir, you have behaved like a hero;" to which he mildly answered, "I have endeavoured to bear it like a Christian." He remained in a composed state of mind, but continued to grow weaker until on the 31st of the Third month, 1778, when he was released from his sufferings, and doubtless received the reward of the righteous.

James Pemberton, after attending his funeral at Hopewell, made the following entry in his Journal: "Thus the last act of respect and love was solemnly paid to the remains of a dignified minister of the gospel, whose gift was eminent, and he had laboured in it forty years. His delivery was clear and intelligible, and his doctrine sound and edifying. He was often favoured with great power and demonstration, singularly manifested in our meetings for worship we had during the time of our exile at Winchester. And he expressed himself much concerned that the

inhabitants should come to the knowledge of the truth, and a due feeling for their own eternal welfare; and although but few of them knew us, yet they were desirous to attend our meetings. Being a man possessing a clear judgment and strong natural abilities improved by long experience, he was a useful member of our religious Society, careful for the support of our discipline, and spoke often pertinently to matters under consideration. He was in the sixty-seventh year of his age; strong constitution; low in stature; but favoured through life with general good health."

On the 16th of the Third month, 1778, the Congress, then sitting at Yorktown, passed a resolution to deliver over to the President and council of Pennsylvania, the prisoners sent from that State to Virginia. This being done, they were, after some further delay, brought to Pottsgrove, in Pennsylvania, and there discharged. Philadelphia being then in possession of the British forces, no person was allowed to pass through the American lines, in order to enter it, without a special permit. General Washington's headquarters were then at Valley Forge, and application being made to him, the required permission was kindly and promptly granted for the exiles to return to their homes. They entered the city on the 30th of the Fourth month, after an absence of seven months and nineteen days. They continued to enjoy unimpaired the confidence of their fellow-citizens,—no political misconduct being imputed to them,—and on the organization of the General Government, they were engaged as before in sustaining institutions of public utility; some of them were called to serve in the Legislature of the State and other places of trust and honor.

On the day of the battle of Germantown, Tenth month 4th, 1777, the Yearly Meeting of Friends was in session in the city of Philadelphia, and had under its consideration a testimony concerning the peaceable principles of the Society. While the clerk was writing, the cannon shook the house where they were assembled. To deliver this testimony to the commanders of the two contending armies, a committee was appointed consisting of Warner Mifflin, Samuel Emlen, William Brown, Joshua Morris, James Thornton, and Nicholas Waln.

After the Yearly Meeting had concluded, they went to the British headquarters near Germantown, where they delivered a copy of the testimony to General Howe. They then proceeded on their way to General Washington's camp, at which they arrived the next day without meeting with any interruption. The principal officers being assembled in council, the Friends, after waiting some time, were admitted and had a full opportunity to clear the Society of some aspersions that had been invidiously raised against them. They distributed a number of the testimonies amongst the officers, who read them and made no objections.

They were kindly entertained by General Washington and his officers; but lest they should be examined as to intelligence on their return, they were desired to go to Pottsgrove for a few days, within which time such alterations might take place as would render their return to the city less objectionable. After three or four days' detention, they came within the English lines, and being interrogated by a Hessian Colonel, they refused to give any information. He sent them to General Howe, who suffered

them to pass to their homes without being questioned or molested.

It is related that Warner Mifflin, in the interview with General Washington, said expressly: "I am opposed to the Revolution and to all changes of government which occasion war and bloodshed." Some years after, when Washington became President, Warner Mifflin went to visit him at New York, and was treated with kindness and respect. In the course of the interview, the President said: "Mr. Mifflin, will you please to inform me on what principles you were opposed to the Revolution." He answered, "Yes; upon the same principles that I should be opposed to a change in this Government. All that ever was gained by revolutions is not an adequate compensation to the poor mangled soldier for the loss of life or limb." After a pause, the President replied, "Mr. Mifflin, I honour your sentiments; there is more in *that* than mankind have generally considered."

In the Second month, 1778, Joshua Brown, a minister of Little Britain Meeting of Friends, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, set out on a gospel mission to the Southern provinces. Passing through Virginia, he visited the meetings of Friends, and attended the funeral of Thomas Gilpin, one of the exiles at Hope-well. In North Carolina he had some religious service, and thence proceeded to a small town called Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, where he was arrested by some troopers and his pass demanded. He showed them his certificate from the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, but they said it was of no value, and he was taken before a judge, who read to him a law of that State requiring an oath of allegiance, or

security in the penalty of £10,000, to depart out of the State. These conditions being declined, from conscientious motives, he was imprisoned, together with his companion, Achilles Douglas of Virginia. There being a settlement of Friends within twenty or thirty miles, some of them came twice a week to see the prisoners, bringing with them a supply of provisions. They held meetings for worship regularly,—at first in the prison, and afterwards in the Court-House, which were attended by many of the inhabitants, and ability was given to preach the gospel with acceptance. After being detained about two months and a half, they were taken to Charleston, where they were examined before the President and Council. They were not released, but liberty to travel as far as the Bush River settlement of Friends was granted, and Joshua Brown availed himself of the opportunity to visit, in the love of the gospel, about one hundred and thirty families belonging to that extensive Monthly Meeting.

When he had finished this service and held many public meetings for Divine worship, he was informed that the Assembly had passed an act for their release.

The whole time of their detention was about six months, during which they were enabled, both by example and precept, to advocate the righteous cause that had called them from their homes.

Although the members of the Society mostly obeyed the injunctions of the Yearly meetings, and kept clear of any participation in warlike measures, yet there were some whose warm sympathy for the cause of American Independence induced them to join the ranks of the army. These generally submitted without much reluctance to the loss of their

right of membership, but in Philadelphia and its vicinity they associated themselves together as a religious body, professing the principles of Friends, except in the article of bearing arms in self-defence and to repel invasion. This body, numbering about one hundred, was called the Society of "Free Quakers." The house where they assembled for divine worship may be seen at the corner of Fifth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, and still bears the inscription of its founders.

In the State of New York the circumstances of Friends were more favorable, as appears by the following passage from the Journal of Elias Hicks.

"A war with all its cruel and destructive effects having raged for several years between the British colonies in North America and the mother country, Friends, as well as others, were exposed to many severe trials and sufferings; yet in the colony of New York, Friends who stood faithful to their principles, and did not meddle in the controversy, had, after a short period at first, considerable favour allowed them. The Yearly Meeting was held steadily during the war, on Long Island, where the king's party had rule, yet Friends from the main, where the American army ruled, had free passage through both armies to attend it and any other meetings they were desirous of attending, except in a few instances. This was a favour which the parties would not grant to their best friends, who were of a warlike disposition; which shows what great advantages would redound to mankind, were they all of this peaceful spirit."

When the war was ended, and the independence of the United States acknowledged, the Society of Friends, in accordance with their professed princi-

ples, to yield obedience to “the powers that be, and to “render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s,” cheerfully accorded to the established government their confidence and support. And on the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789, George Washington being inaugurated as President, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia thought it a fitting opportunity to testify their adhesion to the new government by sending a deputation with a suitable address to the President, which he answered in a kind and respectful manner.

CHAPTER XVII.

EUROPE.

1784–1800.

IN the year 1784, an unusually large number of American Friends engaged in the ministry were visiting the churches in Great Britain and Ireland. The war of American Independence had just ceased, the way was again open between the two nations for social and religious intercourse, and it was seen meet by the great Head of the Church to send forth his messengers to proclaim the gospel of peace and to strengthen the religious ties by which Friends separated from each other by intervening oceans were united as one family.

On the day preceding the commencement of the Yearly Meeting in London, Thomas Ross, George Dilwyn, Samuel Emlen, Rebecca Jones, and Mehetabel Jenkins, ministering Friends from America,

arrived in that city. They found in attendance there Robert Valentine, William Matthews, Nicholas Waln, Patience Brayton, and Rebecca Wright, making ten ministers from America, exclusive of several then in Great Britain or Ireland, who did not attend the Yearly Meeting.

The most important business that claimed the attention of Friends at that time was a proposition to enlarge the powers of the Women's Yearly Meeting so as to intrust it with a share in the administration of discipline, by receiving reports from the Quarterly meetings of their own sex, and issuing advices to them.

William Matthews, under a sense of religious duty, went into the women's meeting and opened the subject for their consideration. Rebecca Jones advocated the measure in an impressive communication, and her views being concurred with, a committee was appointed to lay the subject before the men's meeting. The women Friends from America were requested to accompany the deputation. During the discussion that ensued, one of the men expressed the sentiment that it would be preposterous to have a body with two heads; to which Rebecca Jones replied, that there was but *One head to the body which is the church*, and that in Christ Jesus male and female are one.

The same proposition had been made many years before without success; but now it was presented with such weight of evidence to sustain it, that all opposition gave way, and the following minute was adopted by the men's meeting, viz.: "This meeting, after solid and deliberate consideration of said proposition, agrees that the meeting of women Friends held annually in this city, be at liberty to correspond in writ-

ing with the Quarterly Meetings of Women Friends: to receive accounts from them, and issue such advice as, in the wisdom of Truth, from time to time may appear necessary and conducive to their mutual edification. For this purpose it will be expedient that the said meeting be a meeting of record and be denominated the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends held in London: yet such meeting is not to be so far considered a meeting of discipline as to make rules; nor yet alter the present queries without the concurrence of this meeting.”

This minute was not sufficiently explicit, and six years later the constitution of the Women’s Yearly Meeting was further amended by a minute authorizing the Women’s Quarterly meetings to appoint representatives to attend their annual meeting held in London.¹

In the Yearly meetings of Friends in America, the women had long enjoyed the privileges granted by these minutes, and had shown, by the dignity and propriety of their proceedings, that they were fully competent to conduct the affairs of a deliberative religious assembly.

They are considered a co-ordinate branch of the Yearly Meeting, and no sufficient reason can be assigned to debar them from participating in the formation, as well as the administration, of the rules of discipline.

The condition of the Society of Friends in some parts of England was at this date very unsatisfactory.

George Dillwyn, writing from London, says: “If I have a right apprehension, things are but low in

¹ Yorkshireman, IV., 322, 328.

our Society, and the restoration of true gospel order discouragingly difficult, owing, as I think, in a great measure to the meetings being exceedingly loaded with members in indigent circumstances, whose concerns being blended with the other business, and their relief and support depending principally upon those in great affluence, occasions such to be looked to and to assume more sway in the management of the discipline than (generally speaking) they have right qualification for; while some of those who are low in the world and able to contribute but little to such occasions, are on the other hand too backward. And thus the guidance of a wisdom superior to human, appears to be but little waited for or attended to, as the rule of action; which makes such meetings rather to resemble courts of civil justice than of religious society."

William Matthews, of Warrington, York County, Pennsylvania, who landed in England in 1783 and spent four years and a half in gospel labors in Great Britain and Ireland, found vital religion at a very low ebb in many of the meetings of Friends, while in some others there appeared to be among the younger class a more encouraging condition.

Rebecca Jones, a faithful and able minister, then visiting the churches in Great Britain, wrote as follows: "Oh! how has my heart mourned in remembering that in this part of the world, where the glorious light of the gospel so eminently broke forth, and where so many were gathered from the shadows and forms, to the living substance and power of Truth, under a full persuasion that the Seed of Life reigned and was in dominion, there should be such falling away among the descendants of the great

and good, that in most of the places I have visited there is but little left but the form."

In Scotland, the Society had long been in a declining condition. In some places the Monthly meetings had almost ceased to be held, and it was not known who were the members.

After this state of things had continued about twenty years, John and Elizabeth Wigham, from a sense of duty, went in the year 1784 to reside in that country. Their religious labors and example tended much to revive the Society there; and some other ministers were about the same time led to visit the meetings, among whom were George Dillwyn, John Pemberton, and Henry Tuke. The efforts of these devoted messengers were not without fruits; the discipline was in a good measure restored, and a few faithful Friends raised up to conduct the affairs of the Society.

At Congeines, in the South of France, there was gathered, about this date, a small society of humble Christians; who held most of the testimonies of Friends, worshipped in the same manner, and opened a correspondence with the Society in London. In the year 1785, they numbered about one hundred families, several of them had appeared in the ministry, and especially one woman, who had been instrumental in spreading the knowledge of Divine Truth.

In the year 1788, they were visited by George Dillwyn and his wife, Robert and Sarah Grubb, and Mary Dudley, who had previously been engaged in religious service in Holland, Germany, and Switzerland.

In Ireland the faith of the Society of Friends was severely tried, and their peaceable principles exemplified

by the imminent dangers to which they were exposed in the rebellion of 1798. The insurgents in that sanguinary contest were of two classes, one of which desired to become independent of British authority, the other was composed of fanatics who sought to establish the supremacy of the Roman Catholic faith, by waging war against Protestants. The Friends had always been loyal to the established government, and on many occasions had evinced their attachment to the British throne; hence they were known to be opposed to the measures of the insurgents, by whom they were regarded with suspicion; while on the other hand, their peaceable principles forbade them from aiding in military operations to suppress the rebellion, and they were looked upon by many of the loyalists as drones, unwilling to work, but ready to enjoy the sweets procured by the labor of others.¹

Under these difficult and perilous circumstances, they placed their reliance upon divine protection, and being watchful and obedient to the intimations of the Heavenly guide, they were wonderfully preserved.

For some years before the rebellion, a spirit of contention was working in the minds of the people, parties were formed, animosity engendered, and in the silence and gloomy reserve that characterized the multitude, a storm was seen to be gathering. One of the first measures adopted by the insurgents was the robbery of arms wherever they could find them; and in order to counteract this procedure, the constituted authorities ordered a general search of private houses and the seizure of every weapon.

¹ The Principles of Peace Exemplified, &c., by Thomas Hancock, M. D. Most of the facts in relation to this subject are derived from this work.

It was a source of satisfaction to the Society of Friends that no arms were found in their possession, for they had taken the precaution to destroy them. This wise measure was advised by one of the Quarterly meetings as early as the year 1795, and the General or National Meeting, in the year following, confirmed the recommendation, in order, as the document states, "to prevent their being made use of to the destruction of any of our fellow-creatures, and more clearly and fully to support our peaceable and Christian testimony in these perilous times." Committees were appointed by the several Monthly meetings to go round to the different members for this purpose, and the fowling-pieces or other weapons were generally destroyed without hesitation.

The National Meeting afterwards acknowledged its belief, "that this early destruction of these instruments was, under Providence, a means of lessening in some degree the effusion of human blood, (as these weapons would probably have fallen into the hands of violent men,) and might have also tended to preserve some of the members of the Society themselves from blood, who, if they had had guns in their houses, might have used them in an unguarded moment of surprise or attack, so as to take away the lives of their fellow-creatures."

The Society of Friends in Ireland was settled chiefly in the provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, and many of its members were brought into immediate contact with one or both of the hostile parties, in towns, villages, and retired country-places.

In the county of Kildare, Province of Leinster, the insurrection took place on the 24th of the Fifth

month, 1798. Abraham Shackleton, a Friend, who kept a boarding-school at Ballitore, having accompanied his boys to the top of a hill, saw the insurgents approaching the village; he immediately returned with his little company to his dwelling, and collecting his family in the parlor, calmly awaited the undisciplined mob whose presence spread terror wherever they appeared. About five o'clock in the evening they entered his house, armed with a variety of weapons, but mostly with pikes, and hence they were usually called pikemen. They behaved with respect, but asked peremptorily for provisions, which being promptly handed to them, they retired. The neighbors being greatly alarmed, began to flock in, and the school-room was given up to them, which was soon filled with men, women, and children, seeking an asylum.

Next morning, some of the insurgents, armed with pistols, came for Abraham Shackleton, and took him with two of his guests, whom they intended to place in front of the battle, saying, "If you will not fight, you shall stop a bullet." They were, however, persuaded to relinquish their purpose, and release the prisoners. The wives of some of the loyal soldiers and officers being left at Ballitore when the insurgents came in, Abraham Shackleton obtained leave to take them to his house, which became the asylum of refugees from both parties. It was not long, before the King's army approached, burning houses, and devastating the country in their route. The insurgents in that county being too feeble to withstand them, were glad to accept the friendly mediation of Abraham Shackleton and his friends, through whose kind offices they obtained mercy and protection.

At the village of Ferns, in the county of Wexford, a Friend resided, who observed, that on the eve of the insurrection a melancholy silence prevailed, and inquiring of a neighbor whether there was anything more than usual in prospect, he was told that the country people were collecting in large bodies. At this intelligence a cloud of darkness overspread his mind, and he was brought into unutterable distress. He knew, indeed, that he had endeavored to place his trust in an Almighty Protector; but the prospect of the ruin and desolation that was about to overspread his country, and the imminent danger to himself and his family, produced for some hours a severe mental conflict.

At midnight the town was filled with consternation, guards were placed in different quarters, and the Protestant inhabitants were in continual terror. Early in the morning, while he was in much anxiety, a person, whom he supposed to be one of the United Irishmen, came into the house, and said, "Let who may be killed, the Quakers will be spared."

On that morning the scene was very awful; the houses and stacks of corn were in flames in every direction; the Protestant inhabitants were fleeing into the towns and villages for safety, and the military guards under arms in all quarters.

Being informed that some of the fugitive Protestants were exceedingly in want of food, the same Friend had victuals prepared and sent them an invitation to eat, but it so happened that none of them came.

In the evening the military left the town, being ordered to Enniscorthy, and the Protestant citizens and refugees left with the army. The place was

almost depopulated, but the Friend and his family still remained.

On the following morning, the town and neighborhood were filled with an undisciplined and ungovernable multitude of the United Irishmen, following the footsteps of the army to Enniscorthy, and demolishing the houses of those called Loyalists and Orangemen,—for their owners were fled. The Friend's house was soon filled with the insurgents, when, to his astonishment, instead of the massacre he and his family had dreaded, they were met by caresses and marks of friendship; the insurgents declaring that they intended them no injury. They seemed to be in extreme want of food, and the victuals that had been prepared for those they called enemies were now ready for them. When they had consumed what was provided, they proceeded on their way to Enniscorthy. Soon after, in the direction of this town, which was about six miles distant, the columns of smoke could be seen rising from the burning houses; and in the evening some of the insurgents returned with tidings that Enniscorthy was in their possession, and that their camp was fixed on Vinegar Hill, over the town.

Many poor Protestants, who had fled from their homes, now came to the village of Ferns, and sought protection among the Friends, who received the distressed, and fed the hungry of both parties. During the continuance of the struggle, the houses of Friends were generally full, day and night, and it was matter of surprise that their provisions held out as they did to the end of the conflict. The insurgents sometimes offered part of their own stock, but when it was known to be plunder, or, as it was called, the spoils

of war, the Friends declined to accept it; and it was evident that such refusal was mostly taken as an offence.

Some of the insurgents, known as the United Irishmen, came one morning to a Friend, and told him his house was to be burned that day, because he refused to turn out the Protestant women that were in it. He replied, that "if they did so he could not help it; but that, as long as he had a house, he would keep it open to succour the distressed; and if they burned it for that reason, he must only turn out along with them, and share their affliction." It was then their regular meeting-day for divine worship, and the meeting-house was about a mile from Ferns. Notwithstanding the alarming menace he had received, the Friend considered it his religious duty to attend meeting with his family. Leaving their home with saddened hearts, they went to meeting, and on their return were rejoiced to find their dwelling unmolested, for which signal favor their hearts were filled with praises to their Almighty Protector.

In keeping up their religious meetings during that season of alarm and excitement, Friends had many difficulties to encounter, but they were generally faithful in the performance of that solemn duty, and were wonderfully preserved. Most of the horses being taken, some of the members had to walk a considerable distance to their places of worship, and, not unfrequently, they met on the way parties of the insurgents who were known to be inimical to every form of Protestant worship. In the county of Wexford, some of the Friends having been observed by the United Irishmen to persevere in attending their religious meetings, notwithstanding the threats

and opposition they had experienced, became objects of that party's displeasure, and were apprised that if they persisted they should be taken to the altar of a neighboring chapel, and suffer the penalty of their obstinacy.

Some of the United Irishmen avowed the intention "of converting the Quakers' meeting-house at Forrest into a Romish chapel," while others among them said it should be burned; but on the very day believed to be set for the execution of this threat, the power of the United Irishmen was overthrown by a decisive battle near Vinegar Hill, and some of those misguided insurgents fled to that meeting-house as an asylum. The members of Cooladine and Enniscorthy meetings were in like manner menaced, but without effect.

When the town of Enniscorthy was in possession of the rebels, the time for holding the Monthly Meeting there had arrived, and members of the particular meetings composing it, except Ross which was then in a state of siege, prepared to attend it. Some came from Ferns, Cooladine, and Balaucley, not knowing whether they should be permitted to go to their meeting-house or not, and almost doubting whether they should find it standing. Some of the Friends had their horses taken from them on the road, but they proceeded on foot, and their meeting was held at the time and place appointed.

The ensuing Quarterly Meeting for Leinster Province was, soon after, to be held at the same place; and as the time approached, it seemed almost impossible to hold it; yet many members in distant places, acting in faith and sincerity of heart, left their homes to attend it. When they arrived in the vicinity of

the city, the scene was entirely changed; the insurgents had been defeated with great slaughter, and the Friends had to pass by the dead bodies in order to reach their place of destination. The meeting was held in quietness and solemnity under an humbling sense of the Providential care they had so abundantly experienced.

Among the many trials and deliverances experienced by Friends at that time, those which attended their refusal to comply with the ceremonies of the Church of Rome are especially worthy of commemoration.

A Friend residing a few miles from Enniscorthy was made a prisoner in his own house and taken to the house of a neighboring priest, who told him he must become a Roman Catholic and be christened; for that no other profession of religion was now to be allowed. The Friend being greatly surprised, said he had a better opinion of the priest than to suppose he would force men to make a profession of religion in opposition to their consciences. The priest replied, "there was no alternative, either to become a Roman Catholic or to be put to death." The Friend remarked that by so doing, they would only make hypocrites of such as might be induced to comply; and for his part, that he would choose to suffer, rather than to violate his conscience; that, if there was any crime laid to his charge, he was willing to be tried, and on that ground was not afraid to look any of them in the face." The priest who had every thing ready for baptizing according to their mode, seemed much disappointed, and brought him out to the pikemen to be taken to the rebel camp at Vinegar Hill.

A few other Friends in different parts of the

country were made prisoners, and taken to the same place; but after a show of trial were set at liberty. Their liberation was considered remarkable, as many other prisoners were then put to death, against whom no charge was brought, except that they were Protestants.

Upwards of two hundred Protestants, men, women, and children, were imprisoned in a barn at Scullabogue, and together with the building consumed by fire, through the malignity of their persecutors. On the lawn near the barn, two brothers, named John and Samuel Jones, suffered martyrdom the same day. They resided at Kilbrany, near Old Ross, in the county of Wexford. Samuel Jones, the younger of the two, had been an attendant of Friends' meetings, and was considered to make no other profession of religion. Their father having married out of the Society, lost his membership in consequence, and Samuel, though feeling an attachment to it, had never applied for membership.

He was of a meek and tender spirit, and remarked for the benevolence of his disposition. As national troubles increased, and the danger became more imminent, he was urged by his Protestant neighbors to fly for refuge to the adjacent garrison-town of New Ross; but he and his wife thought it right to remain at their own residence.

He was taken prisoner with his elder brother John, and conveyed to the mansion of F. King, of Scullabogue, his wife accompanying him. John lamented his situation and former manner of life, signifying that he was ill prepared to die; but Samuel encouraged him by repeating the declaration of our Saviour: "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." The

house where they were imprisoned was close to the noted barn of Scullabogue. The rebel officer who commanded there, had been reminded by Samuel of their having been schoolfellows; and the latter had given him his watch to keep. Having proposed to Samuel that he should conform and return to the Roman Catholic profession, he replied, "Where shall I turn but where my God is?" And when he was urged to have his children sprinkled, he said, "My children are innocent, and I will leave them so."

When the two brothers, with Samuel's wife, were brought out to the lawn in front of the dwelling-house where they were imprisoned to be put to death, some person said, "They were Quakers." It was replied that, "If they could make it appear they were Quakers, they should not be killed." As they were not in reality members of the Society, this was not attempted to be done. Those who had them in custody then took Samuel aside, and on certain conditions offered him his life, but whatever was the nature of these conditions, he firmly rejected them; and when the *holy water*, as they termed it, was brought to them, he turned his back upon it.

The insurgents then shot his elder brother, whom he very much encouraged, fearing his steadfastness might give way, — for John had shown a disposition to turn Roman Catholic, if it might be the means of saving Samuel's life, — but the latter encouraged his brother to faithfulness, expressing the words of our blessed Saviour, "They that deny me before men, them will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven."

Samuel then desired his love to be given to different Friends whom he named; — some of the rebels, in order to depress his spirits, told him those Friends

had been made prisoners and shot,—he meekly replied, “They died innocent.” He then took an affectionate farewell of his wife, who with admirable fortitude stood between the two brothers, holding a hand of each when they were shot; and his last words were reported to be those expressions of our Lord and Saviour, “He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.” It seemed as though his wife would have shared the same fate, had not the officer in command interposed in her favor.

This case of martyrdom is well adapted to increase our abhorrence of religious bigotry, and to heighten our admiration of that pure Christian faith, which can sustain the soul under the severest trials, and raise it above the fear of death.

After the close of the rebellion, the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Dublin issued a document which contains the following acknowledgment: “It is worthy of commemoration and cause of humble thankfulness to the Preserver of men, that amidst the carnage and destruction which frequently prevailed in some parts, and notwithstanding the jeopardy in which some Friends stood every hour, and that they had frequently to pass through violent and enraged men, in going to and returning from our religious meetings, (which, with very few exceptions, were constantly kept up,) that the lives of the members of our Society were so signally preserved. And in an Epistle dated 1801, addressed by the same Yearly Meeting to their brethren in Philadelphia, they say: “It was cause of grateful acknowledgment to the God and Father of all our mercies, that in retrospection to that gloomy season, when in some places Friends did not know but that every day

would be their last, seeing and hearing of so many of their neighbours being put to death, that no member of our Society fell a sacrifice in that way but one young man."

The solitary exception here alluded to is worthy of consideration. This young man, apprehending that his life was in danger, and that he could find no protection but by outward means of defence, concluded to put on a military uniform and to associate with armed men. He told his connections that they would all be murdered if they remained in such a defenceless state in the country; and taking with him some papers of importance, he fled to a neighboring garrison-town. But the town he chose as a place of safety was attacked and taken by the insurgents, who finding him in arms, put him to death.

The care extended by the Society to its suffering members during that season of national calamity, was worthy of their Christian profession. A committee was early appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Dublin to take into consideration the condition of their suffering brethren and sisters, many of whom had lost their comfortable homes and been reduced almost to destitution. A subscription for their relief was recommended and promptly responded to throughout the constituent meetings. In 1799, the committee reported to the Yearly Meeting as follows:

"We apprehend it proper to inform the Yearly Meeting, that shortly after our appointment, divers members of our religious Society having suffered loss and damage in their substance in various ways, by the commotions which were in this nation, we came to the judgment that it would be inconsistent, for any of our members, in most, if not in all cases, to seek

for or receive compensation from government, or other legal redress by presentment; and we having received account, that in different parts, divers Friends had suffered so materially as to stand in need of assistance, recommended to the different Monthly meetings to set forward a liberal subscription to afford some relief to those Friends. In consequence whereof, the sum of £3847 11s. 9½*d.* has been subscribed and received, and a number of suffering cases having been laid before us, we have adjudged the sum of £2217 7s. 2½*d.* for their relief; their losses appearing to amount to upward of £7500, exclusive of many cases not yet disposed of or returned; and there remains a fund of £1630 4s. 7*d.* still to be applied for this purpose. We have also received account of the losses of sundry Friends to a considerable amount, whose circumstances did not make it necessary for them to need any relief at present.”

The Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London, being brought into near sympathy with their brethren in Ireland, cordially offered their assistance, if further exigencies should require it.

And the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia expressed their affectionate interest in the following language :

“ We retain in affectionate remembrance the sympathy of Friends in your nation and the generous relief you afforded to our brethren who were much stripped of their property by the war in this country some years since; and we are thankful in feeling a degree of the same brotherly love, by which we are made one in the Lord wherever dispersed or situated; desiring if at this time, or in consequence of future trials, brethren among you should be reduced to sim-

ilar circumstances, we may receive information and be permitted to follow your benevolent example.”

To this epistle an answer was returned by the Yearly Meeting of Dublin, acknowledging their grateful sense of the kindness manifested by their distant brethren, but declining the offer, inasmuch as the funds already collected had been more than sufficient, and the redundancy had been directed to be returned to the subscribers.

In the year 1802, there being a great scarcity of provisions in Great Britain and Ireland, subscriptions were made among Friends in the different Yearly meetings of North America, for the relief of Friends and others who were unable to supply themselves with the necessaries of life. Upward of eight thousand pounds being collected, and remitted to the Meeting for Sufferings in London, a committee was there appointed for its distribution.

The committee reported as the result of their labors, that in Great Britain, 2150 members of the Society had been assisted to the amount of 6309 pounds, and 1100 persons, not members, had received 818 pounds. In Ireland, the members of the Society needing aid, had received 952 pounds, and other persons 250 pounds.¹

During the period embraced in this chapter, many valued Friends in Great Britain and Ireland who had occupied their talents to the honor of the great Giver, were called by death to enjoy their eternal reward.

1. Claude Gay was born in the city of Lyons, in France, about the year 1706. He was educated in the church of Rome, of which he continued a zealous member till about the 36th year of his age, when he

¹ Yorkshireman, V., 34.

met with a New Testament, and opening it, he read these words: "God that made the world and all things therein, seeing he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is he worshipped with men's hands." His understanding was then opened to see the errors of the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, and that the adoration of the bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ was idolatry. At the instance of a person that persuaded him not to forsake the public worship at once, he went to one of the smallest mass-houses and placed himself at the greatest distance from the priest. He did not keep kneeling steadily as was customary, but first on one knee and then on the other with great restlessness, till the priest elevated the host, that the congregation beholding it, might prostrate themselves as usual before it.

The query then strongly impressed his mind, "Wilt thou also prostrate thyself?" Being deeply affected, he could continue there no longer, but putting on his hat with fear and trembling, he arose and hastily left the place, convinced of the errors of the doctrine of that church, and that he ought to forsake them.

He continued about one year longer in France, but, desiring to live with Protestants, he went to the island of Jersey to reside. There meeting with Barclay's Apology, he was convinced of the doctrines it expounds, and embraced the principles of Friends. He subsequently settled in London.

Being called to the ministry of the gospel, he travelled much in its exercise, chiefly on foot, not only in the land of his adoption, but in Holland, some parts of Germany, and Switzerland. When not engaged in travelling, his time was employed in attend-

ing meetings, teaching the French language, and translating several religious treatises into French.

Being careful in his ministry not to go beyond his guide, his appearances were seldom long, but lively, sound, edifying, and pertinent to the states of the people. He was fervent in prayer, and evinced a deep knowledge and experience of the things of God.

He endured with much patience a lingering and painful disease; his mind being centred in the enjoyment of heavenly peace, and all fear of death removed. He departed this life the 19th of the Second month, 1786, aged about eighty, and a minister about forty years.¹

2. Sarah Grubb was the daughter of William and Elizabeth Tuke of York, and born there the twentieth of the Sixth month, 1756. When very young, her mother was removed by death, but her father marrying again about the tenth year of her age, she was abundantly compensated by the maternal care and regard of her step-mother, Esther Tuke, who was a bright example of the Christian virtues.

When about the age of sixteen, it was the lot of Sarah Tuke occasionally to wait upon that eminent minister of the gospel, John Woolman, in his last sickness.

His faith and patience, with the sweet savor of his pure spirit, made a deep and profitable impression on her mind; exemplifying the power and goodness of that divine hand which she felt secretly at work in her own heart, calling her to newness of life and holiness before the Lord. It was to her that the holy man addressed those encouraging words: "My child,

¹ Piety Promoted, III. 158.

thou seems very kind to me a poor creature; the Lord will reward thee for it."

In early life, she passed through much religious exercise, and having experienced that spiritual baptism which alone can purify the soul, she was in the twenty-third year of her age called to the gospel ministry. "She was a woman of extraordinary natural abilities, strength of judgment, and clearness of discernment," and these endowments being sanctified by obedience to the heavenly gift, she became eminent as a messenger of glad tidings to many.

After her marriage to Robert Grubb, they settled in Yorkshire, and subsequently removed to Clonmel, in Ireland, where she was instrumental in establishing a boarding-school for girls. She travelled much in the service of the gospel, not only in the United Kingdom, but on the Continent, and she was deeply interested in promoting a guarded religious education of the children of Friends.

Four days before the close of her exemplary life, she addressed a letter to a friend, in which are the following expressions: "My soul, though accompanied by the manifold infirmities of a very afflicted tabernacle, can feelingly worship and rejoice in nothing more than this, that the Lamb immaculate is still redeeming, by his precious blood out of every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, and making a glorious addition to the church triumphant, whose names will stand eternally recorded in the book of life. I express not these things from a redundancy of heavenly virtue, but from a soul-sustaining evidence, that amidst all our weakness, and conflicts of flesh or spirit, an interest is mercifully granted in Him, who giveth victory over death, hell and the grave." Nearly the last words she spoke were

those addressed by the Saviour to his disciples, "My peace I leave with you."

She finished her course on the 8th of the Twelfth month, 1790, in the thirty-fifth year of her age.

3. John Gough was born at Kendal, in Westmoreland, in the beginning of the year 1721. His parents being Friends, he was educated in accordance with their principles, and evinced in youth a serious and thoughtful mind, attentive to the monitions of divine grace. He was endowed with good natural abilities, which were improved by education.

In 1750, he settled in Dublin, where he was occupied in teaching a school twenty-four years.

During his residence in that city he was appointed to the office of an elder, and was found well qualified for usefulness in the Church. In 1774, he removed to Lisburn and opened a boarding-school. About the same time he was called to the work of the ministry, and approved himself an able advocate of the cause of Truth. In the administration of the discipline he was eminently skilful and extensively useful. In the latter part of his life, he was much employed in writing a "History of the People called Quakers," the fourth volume of which was nearly completed at the time of his decease. It brings down the history of the Society to the year 1764, and has proved to be a useful work.

A few weeks previous to his death, being engaged in public supplication, after interceding for the general welfare of the church, he was led by a remarkable transition, as if favored with a sense of his approaching dissolution, to supplicate on his own behalf, that he might be more and more purified and fitted for his final change, that when the angel of the divine presence should be sent to his habitation, with

the solemn message that time to him should be no longer, he might be admitted to join the hundred and forty-four thousand who were redeemed from the earth in singing praises to the Lamb. On the 25th of the Tenth month, 1791, he was stricken with paralysis, and in a few hours quietly departed as one falling asleep, being in the seventy-first year of his age.¹

4. Esther Tuke, daughter of Timothy and Ann Maud, was born in the year 1727. In the thirty-fourth year of her age, after having passed through deep religious exercise, and submitted to the refining operations of the Holy Spirit, she yielded to an apprehension of duty she had long had in view, and appeared in public as a minister. About four years subsequently, she became the wife of William Tuke, of York, then a widower with several children. In this station her discretion as a mother, and the impartiality of her affection towards her own children and those of the former marriage, were such as are seldom found, and afforded an instructive example.

She was particularly solicitous for the right education of youth, and took the superintendence of a girl's school at York. As a dignified minister of the gospel, — humble, earnest, and devoted to the cause of Truth, — she was long known and beloved in the Society of Friends. She departed this life the 13th of the Twelfth month, 1794, aged about sixty-seven years.²

¹ Gough's History, IV. 572.

² Piety Promoted, III. 282.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AMERICA.

1760-1800.

IN the latter half of the eighteenth century there lived in Caroline County, Maryland, a religious people called Nicholites, who professed nearly the same principles as Friends, and were ultimately incorporated with them. Joseph Nichols, the first preacher of this society, and the chief instrument in founding it, was endowed with strong powers of mind and a remarkable flow of spirits, but had received very little education. He followed the occupation of husbandry in Kent County, Delaware.

His vivacity and humor caused his company to be much sought after, and gave him great influence over his companions. On the First-day of the week, and at other times of leisure, many collected to hear his entertaining conversation. At one of these convivial meetings he was accompanied by an intimate friend who was taken ill and died suddenly at the place where they were assembled. This solemn warning was through divine mercy made effectual in awakening the attention of Joseph Nichols, showing him the uncertainty of life, and producing a radical reformation in his character. His mind became enlightened and imbued with heavenly truth, and being called to a holy life, he yielded obedience to the impressions of divine grace.

When his neighbors came around him as usual, seeking mirthful entertainment, he appeared more

serious, and proposed that they should spend their time more rationally than they had done — and that a portion of the Scriptures should be read. They assented to his suggestions, and for some time their meetings were gradually changed from scenes of mirth to seasons of serious thoughtfulness; until at length he was led to appear among them as a preacher of righteousness. His meetings attracted much attention, and crowds assembled to hear him. His ministry being attended with heart-searching power, many were so reached by it that they embraced his views, and endeavored to conform their lives to the dictates of that holy principle which he inculcated, believing it would lead out of all error and into all truth. Such was the authority and unction with which he sometimes spoke, and the deep feeling that pervaded the audience, that some would cry out audibly, and even prostrate themselves in the meeting.

He travelled as a minister through the Eastern shore of Maryland, in some parts of the Western shore, and in Pennsylvania and Delaware. In his meetings he sat in silence until he believed himself called and qualified to preach. Sometimes, feeling no such qualification, the meetings terminated in silence. When asked whether he would preach that day, his answer was, “I mean to be obedient.” His meetings were frequently held under the shade of trees, sometimes in private houses, and occasionally in the meeting-houses of Friends.

As he continued to hold meetings for divine worship, a change in the habits and appearance of the people became conspicuous. He insisted on the doctrine of self-denial, — and the subjugation of every appetite or desire that would lead the soul away from God. Hence the Nicholites were remarkably plain

in their dress, and in the furniture of their houses; they bore a decided testimony against war, slavery, oaths, and a stipendiary ministry.

On account of these testimonies, some of them suffered by distraint of their goods and imprisonment. William Dawson, for his testimony against a hireling ministry, was confined in Cambridge jail, thirty miles from his place of residence. He and James Harris were the first among them to set an example of justice towards the African race held in bondage. They liberated their slaves, and their example being soon followed by others, it became an established principle among the Nicholites that none of their members should hold slaves or even hire them of their masters. Some of them carried their zeal still further, among whom was James Horney, who refused to eat with slaveholders, or to partake of the produce raised by the labor of slaves.

The Nicholites applied to the Legislature of Maryland and obtained an act authorizing them to solemnize their marriages according to their own order, and without the aid of a priest; also allowing them the privilege in judicial cases, of affirming instead of taking an oath. In this act they were called "Nicholites, or New Quakers," but the appellation which they gave themselves was Friends.

Joseph Nichols was not permitted long to continue with the flock he had gathered, being called away by death. He had given evidence of his sincere piety by the practice of all the Christian virtues, and left a pure example that was encouraging to survivors. He had been remarkable for his liberality and kindness to the poor, insomuch that it was reported of him, that he took off his coat and gave it to a poor slave who attended meetings without one; thus literally

fulfilling the precept, "He that hath two coats let him impart to him that hath none."

Those who had been convinced and proselyted by his ministry, feeling the necessity of some organization, concluded to establish a regular order of church discipline, which was effected about the year 1780. About this time several persons among them appeared in the ministry and exercised their gifts to the edification and comfort of the members. Ground was purchased and held by trustees for the use of the Society, and three meeting-houses, in Caroline County, Maryland, were built, in which meetings for divine worship were held on First-days and in the middle of the week.

Their practice was to sit in silence in order to hold communion with the Father of spirits, and wait for his aid to enlighten and strengthen them, without which they believed no acceptable worship could be performed. They also held meetings for discipline once a month, and adopted rules for church government, similar in principle to those established in the Society of Friends.

After the society of the Nicholites had continued about twenty years, some of the most discerning of its members concluded it might tend to mutual advantage if a junction with the Society of Friends could be effected. Many Friends travelling in the line of the ministry, had visited the meetings of the Nicholites, whose hearts were always open to receive them; they had read Friends' books, held social intercourse with them, and found the two societies were one in the vital, fundamental principle of their profession. The strict rules of discipline adopted by the Nicholites, began to be considered too strait for some of their members, especially their young peo-

ple, who longed for greater liberty, and indulged themselves in the wearing of dyed garments.

Among those who desired to effect a union with Friends, was James Harris, a minister among the Nicholites, and one of their oldest and most valued members. He frequently mentioned the subject to his fellow-members, but found at first great opposition to it, especially among those who were most strict in their observance of plainness in apparel. They apprehended that their younger members, after being incorporated with Friends, would feel at liberty to indulge themselves too much in their dress and manner of living.

At length a proposition to unite themselves with the religious Society of Friends was brought before their Monthly Meeting, but not then adopted. After more than a year, it was again brought forward and met with a similar result.

When several months had elapsed, it was moved the third time, and afterwards the fourth time, the opposition at each becoming less. Finally, those who were unfavorable to the measure, proposed, that such as were prepared to unite with the Society of Friends, had better do so; and such as were not prepared, would continue as they were;—and they added, it might be of use to those who remained, as it would lead them to a serious examination that might result in entire unanimity. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to attend the nearest Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, and lay the matter before them.

The proposition for a union being laid before Third Haven Monthly Meeting, was deliberately considered, and a committee appointed to take an

opportunity with the applicants in a collective capacity, and "treat the matter with them as way may open, as to the grounds of their request; and report of their situation and state of unity in regard thereof, to our next meeting."

The result was, that nearly all who had made application (about four hundred in number, including the children who were added) were received into membership; and most of those few who were not thus received, acknowledged it was quite as well for them to be left at present.

Those who had thus voluntarily withdrawn from the Society of the Nicholites, for whose use their meeting-houses were held, conceived that they had forfeited their claims to the property, but those who remained attached to the old order, thought differently, and wished that they should all continue to meet together as they had previously done.

They accordingly met together on First-days for divine worship, in perfect harmony and mutual love. Their meetings in the middle of the week were held on different days on account of the meetings for discipline held separately by each society, and the Nicholites continued to hold the title of the property in their own name by mutual agreement.

After time and opportunity had been given for showing the effect of the union, those of the Nicholites who had remained and kept up their organization, finding their apprehensions were not realized, and that those who had united themselves with Friends continued to be plain, self-denying, and upright in their conduct, concluded to follow their example, and were received into membership with Friends. Prior to the dissolution of their society, the Nicholites transferred to the Society of Friends

the three meeting-houses they held in Caroline County, Maryland, which were called Centre, Tuckahoe Neck, and Northwest Fork.

The first two still remain in the occupancy of Friends; the meeting at Northwest Fork was in the year 1848 removed to another district, and the name changed to Pine Grove.

The condescension and brotherly love manifested by the Nicholites, while deliberating on the proposition to unite with Friends, and the subsequent joint occupation of their meeting-houses after a part of them had seceded, are worthy of especial attention, as an example of Christian charity rarely equalled in ecclesiastical history.

Among the Nicholites who joined the Society of Friends was Elisha Dawson, afterwards extensively known, and highly esteemed as a minister of the gospel. From him was derived much of the information we have concerning that interesting people.

About the year 1792 several families of Friends removed to Canada. The number afterwards increasing by emigrations from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and no settled meetings being there, the subject was introduced into the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia, and a large committee appointed to extend such care to them as might appear conducive to their religious welfare. In the autumn of 1797, Jacob Lindley and some others of the committee performed a visit to Friends in Upper Canada, and found about twelve families and parts of families, in all about sixty members, who lived in two settlements. Another sub-committee, consisting of Isaac Coates, William Blakey, and others, performed a similar visit in 1799, when a Monthly meeting was established, to be held at Pelham and Black Creek.

Friends at Yonge Street, about 100 miles further North, were afterwards connected with them. Pelham Monthly Meeting for about ten years forwarded answers to the Queries to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, there being no Quarterly meeting to which they could be conveniently attached.

Friends of New York having also extended care toward some of their members who had settled in the neighborhood of Kingston, and established meetings there, it was deemed advisable that Friends at Pelham and Yonge Street should have their connection transferred to New York Yearly Meeting. This was done by the mutual agreement of the two Yearly meetings.

Under the superintendence of the latter, in the year 1809, a General meeting was instituted in Canada, in the character of a Quarterly meeting, held twice in the year, at Yonge Street and West Lake alternately. In 1821 the Half-Year's Meeting in Canada was composed of four monthly and seventeen particular meetings.

Soon after the close of the war of American Independence the settlements of Friends began to extend westward beyond the Alleghany Mountains, and even before that period some Friends from Virginia had founded Union Town, on a tributary of the Monongahela, in Western Pennsylvania. Warrington and Fairfax Quarterly Meeting, in 1776, reported to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that eighteen families of Friends were then residing west of the Alleghanies, about Redstone, Union Town, and Brownsville. The first meeting for worship established west of the Alleghany Mountains was Westland, a few miles west of Brownsville.

In the year 1787, the Quarterly Meeting which had

been held alternately at Warrington, in Pennsylvania, and Fairfax, in Virginia, was divided, so as to form two Quarterly meetings.

In 1789, the two Quarterly meetings of Warrington and Fairfax, which had hitherto reported to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, were transferred to Baltimore Yearly Meeting, and the Quarterly Meeting on the Eastern shore of Maryland, now called the Southern Quarter, was transferred to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. By these alterations, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia was somewhat diminished in numbers, though it still continued to be very large.

From this date there continued to be an increasing emigration westward. In the year 1795, when Martha Routh, a ministering Friend from England, visited the meetings of Friends west of the Alleghanies, she found there two Monthly meetings and eight Particular meetings. Ten years later it was computed that 800 families of Friends had emigrated to the State of Ohio. The meetings in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio reported to Baltimore Yearly Meeting until the year 1813, when Ohio Yearly Meeting was established.

Among the many subjects of moral improvement that claimed the attention of Friends, in which they proved to be the pioneers of reformation, their testimony against the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage is worthy of notice. Their consideration of the subject was first induced by observing the ruinous effects that resulted from selling rum to the Indians, and, in the year 1685, being three years after the landing of Penn, the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey adopted the following minute:—

“This meeting doth unanimously agree and give as their judgment, that it is not consistent with the honour of Truth, for any that make profession

thereof, to sell rum or any strong liquors to the Indians, because they use them not to moderation, but to excess and drunkenness."

In 1686 and 1687 the advice was reiterated, and in the latter year the following clause was added: "And for the more effectually preventing this evil practice, we advise that this our testimony may be entered in every monthly-meeting book, and every Friend belonging to the said meeting to subscribe the same."

It has been remarked that this subscription on the monthly-meeting books is the earliest temperance pledge on record.

In the year 1726, advice was issued by the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, against the pernicious custom of giving rum and other strong liquors to excite such as bid at vendues, in order to induce them to advance the price, which, besides the injustice of the artifice, is very scandalous and leads to great intemperance and disorder." It was therefore directed, that, if members of the Society were guilty of this practice, they should be dealt with as disorderly persons. In the preamble to the law of Pennsylvania, prohibiting the use of rum and other strong liquors at vendues, the language is almost the same, showing from whence it was derived.

From this date forward, for a long series of years, the several Yearly meetings of Friends in America kept the subject of temperance continually alive, and issued advices in relation to it very frequently. At first, they cautioned their members against the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, and discouraged their distillation from *grain*; but for a long time the distillation of *fruit* was considered justifiable on account of its very perishable nature and the supposed necessity of turning it to some profitable ac-

count. As the baneful effects resulting from the use of intoxicating liquors, *as a beverage*, became more fully disclosed and considered, Friends found it their religious duty to abstain from the common use of spirituous liquors, from the sale or distillation of them, and from grinding grain or selling it for the purpose of distillation.

The use of spirituous liquors in time of harvest, was long considered necessary, but in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the attention of many Friends being seriously turned to the subject, they found it incumbent upon them to discontinue the practice, as being the source of much evil. Their example was followed by others, and in the course of some years, becoming general throughout the Society, the prohibition was adopted by the Yearly meetings, and embodied in advices to their members.

As in the case of the testimony against slavery, so in regard to the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage, the progress of the Society was gradual, advancing step by step as they were able to bear it, without a serious breach of unity. Their fidelity was blessed, not only to themselves and their posterity, but, as pioneers in the work of reformation, they were instrumental in promoting the moral progress of mankind.

The attention of the Society was early directed to the proper education of their children, and advices were issued by the several Yearly meetings from time to time, exhorting their members to make suitable provision for this important object. These earnest recommendations not having been sufficiently observed, a report, signed by Anthony Benezet and Isaac Zane, was made to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the year 1778, stimulating Friends to a more lively concern on the subject of schools. It was pro-

posed "that within the compass of each meeting, where the settlement of a school is necessary, a lot of ground be provided sufficient for a garden, orchard, grass for a cow, &c., and that a suitable house be built thereon. Such a provision would be an encouragement for a staid person, with a family, who will be likely to remain a considerable time, perhaps his whole life, in the service, to engage therein." It was further advised that Friends promote subscriptions towards a fund, the interest of which might be employed in paying the master's salary, if necessary, and promoting the education of poor Friends' children.

These advices of the Yearly Meeting were, in subsequent years, repeated, and claimed the earnest attention of Friends. In many of the Monthly and Preparative meetings, funds were raised for the support of schools, and in some places a house and lot provided for the accommodation of the teacher.

About the year 1790, a proposition was introduced among Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for establishing a boarding-school upon a plan similar to that at Ackworth, in England. A pamphlet, written by Owen Biddle, detailing some of the proposed outlines of the institution, was published,—the Yearly Meeting took a lively interest in the measure, and the result was, the establishment of West-town Boarding-school, an institution that has exerted a salutary influence in promoting a guarded religious education in the Society.

The Yearly meetings of Baltimore, New York, and New England, have each instituted or patronized boarding-schools for the same purpose, and under similar regulations.

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