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THE HISTORY
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
IN
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BY JAMES BOWDEN.

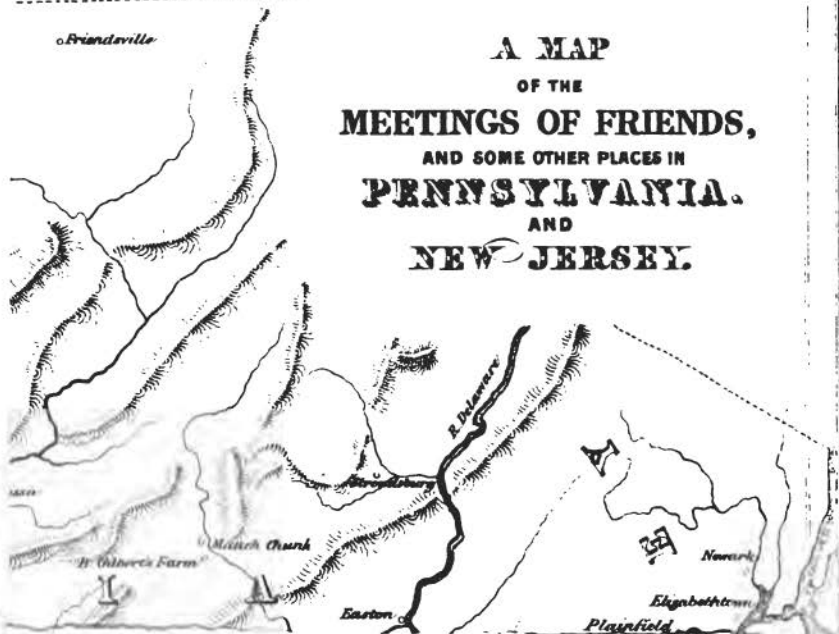
VOL. II.

PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY.

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1854.

A MAP
OF THE
MEETINGS OF FRIENDS,
AND SOME OTHER PLACES IN
PENNSYLVANIA.
AND
NEW JERSEY.



THE HISTORY

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

SETTLEMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Pennsylvania granted to William Penn—His design in obtaining it—His views on the nature and object of government—Laws for Pennsylvania—Many Friends prepare to emigrate to the new country—William Penn's first visit—His reception and progress—Session of the first General Assembly—Philadelphia founded—The rapid progress and promising state of the colony—William Penn returns to England—His farewell address to Friends of his province.

THERE are, perhaps, few circumstances connected with the settlement of Europeans on the continent of North America, or in the colonial history of the British empire, which are fraught with greater interest, or the results of which have been more important, than the settlement of Pennsylvania. Until the year 1682, this territory, lying immediately north of Maryland, and west of the Jerseys, was little other than a wilderness, where the native red man still held undisputed dominion. It measured about three hundred miles long and about one hundred and sixty in width, comprehending forty-one thousand square miles, or an area very little short of that of England. The tribes of the Huron Iroquois hunted over its northern portion, whilst the southern, with the exception of some Swedish settlements, was occupied chiefly by the Lenni Lenape, one of the tribes of the Algonquin race of North American Indians.

Admiral Penn, the father of William Penn, who was a distinguished naval officer in the days of Cromwell and Charles II.,

had owing to him, at his decease, a considerable sum of money for the arrears of his pay, and for loans to the Government for naval purposes. As time passed on, the amount was augmented by interest, until in 1681, the debt had reached sixteen thousand pounds, the value of money at that period being at least threefold that of our present currency.* In liquidation of this debt, William Penn petitioned for the grant of the territory in question.* The petition was strongly opposed by some of the most influential of the privy council, who, on the subject of government, and on civil and religious liberty, were hostile to his views. But he had powerful friends at Court. The Duke of York, the Earls Sunderland and Halifax, and Chief Justice North, favoured his cause, and his exertions to obtain the grant were ultimately crowned with success, and a charter, recognizing him as the sole proprietor of Pennsylvania, was issued in the Third Month 1681. "After many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council," he writes, "my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England." William Penn had now become the owner of a territory which, for extent and natural resources, could scarcely be equalled by any of the colonies of North America. "God," said he, "hath given it to me in the face of the world. . . . He will bless it, and make it the seed of a nation."†

In addition to the grant of Pennsylvania, William Penn obtained from the Duke of York a free gift of a portion of the territory belonging to the province of New York, now known as Delaware, and at that time inhabited by Swedish and Dutch settlers. This district was then called "the territories of Pennsylvania," or "the three lower counties upon Delaware."‡ In 1704 it was constituted a separate and independent province.

The name which he originally fixed for his province was New Wales. The Secretary, however, who was himself a Welshman, decidedly objected to this appellation. The proprietor thereupon,

* Pennsylvania Papers, June 14th, 1680, State Paper Office.

† Letter to Turner, Third Month 5th.

‡ Proud's History of Pennsylvania, vol. i. p. 202.

in reference to the wooded character of the country, proposed that it should be called Sylvania, to which the King, in honour of Admiral Penn, prefixed his name.

The design of William Penn, in obtaining the grant of this extensive territory in the new world, was one worthy of his liberal and enlightened mind. As a Christian citizen, alive to the interests of the community, he had watched the operation of the respective governments of his day, and, as a scholar, he was well acquainted with the forms and working of those of ancient times. But in none of these could he discover that the true end of government had been realized. "The nations," he observes, "want a precedent—and because I have been somewhat exercised about the nature and end of government among men, it is reasonable to expect that I should endeavour to establish a just and righteous one in this province, *that others may take example by it—truly this my heart desires.*"* "I eyed the Lord in obtaining it," he writes on another occasion, "I have so obtained it, and desire to keep it, that I may not be unworthy of his love; but do that which may answer his kind providence, and serve his truth and people, *that an example may be set up to the nations.* There may be room there, though not here, for such an *holy experiment.*"† His aim was truly a bold and noble one, such as no other founder of a colony, either in ancient or modern times, has attempted.

Actuated by these feelings, William Penn commenced his work of legislation for the new colony by publishing a frame of government, which, however, he concluded to refer for confirmation to the first provincial council to be held in Pennsylvania. In the preamble to these laws, the enlightened sentiments of the proprietor on the origin, nature, and object of government, are set forth. "Government," he says, "seems to me a part of religion itself; a thing sacred in its institution and end.—They weakly err who think there is no other use of government than correction: daily experience tells us that the care and regulation of many other affairs make up much the greatest part.—I know

* Proud's History, vol. i. p. 169.

† Ibid.

what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy ; and [these] are the three common ideas of government when men discourse on the subject. But I choose to solve the controversy, with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three. *Any government is free to the people under it* (whatever be the frame) *where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws*, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.—Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad ; if it be ill, they will cure it. But, if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn. It is the great end of all government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power ; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.”

His frame of government did not exceed twenty-four articles, and his original code of laws consisted of but forty, to which, however, twenty-one were added before the whole received the sanction of the colonial assembly. As though to give prominence to the subject, the first in the new code had special reference to liberty of conscience. This important principle was recognized in the following words :—“That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no wise be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship ; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever.”

The penal laws of England did not harmonize with the feelings of William Penn, who had suffered severely under them ; and, excepting for wilful murder and treason, no crimes in Pennsylvania were punishable by death. In these cases his charter gave him no power to annul this awful penalty by positive

enactment.* It should, however, be known that, during his lifetime, Pennsylvania was not disgraced by the disgusting exhibition of the gallows, or by an execution in any other mode.

On the subject of prison discipline, he introduced a complete reform; and every prison, instead of being a nursery of vice and idleness, was constituted a place of industry and education. Oaths were entirely abolished, and profane swearing, cursing, lying, and drunkenness, were punishable as crimes. The brutalizing scenes of bull-baiting, cock-fighting, &c., were also forbidden, as well as theatrical exhibitions, masques, and card-playing, as tending to "looseness and irreligion." On the first day of the week, "according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and the ease of the creation, people were to abstain from their daily labour, that they might the better dispose themselves to worship God according to their understandings." Vexatious law-suits were prevented by the appointment of arbitrators in every county court, whilst distinct courts were instituted for protecting and assisting orphans and widows. The rights of the native inhabitants of the country early claimed the attention of the governor, and one of his first acts was to protect their interests.†

Such was the early legislation of Pennsylvania, and such the endeavours of its rulers to promote religion and morality by the aid of civil checks and restraints upon the people. Well indeed might one of the freemen exclaim on the passing of these laws:—"It is the best day we have ever seen!" "Here," said another, "we may worship God according to the dictates of the divine principle, free from the mouldy errors of tradition; here we may thrive, in peace and retirement, in the lap of unadulterated

* Vide Sec. v. and vii. of the Charter. Among Lord Chief Justice North's official notes on the draft of the Charter for Pennsylvania are these:—"W. Penn to pardon all offences committed within the limits of his province, treason and murder excepted."

"Felonies and treasons to be the same as by the common laws, and tryalls to be in the same manner."—*State Paper Office, Penn. Papers, B. T. vol. I.*

† Vide his Conditions or Concessions, agreed upon in 1681, in Proud's History, Appendix I.

nature; here we may improve an innocent course of life on a virgin Elysian shore."* The constitution of Pennsylvania, far in advance of the age, stood unequalled in excellence, and it is not too much to say that it contained the germ at least, if not the development, of every valuable improvement in government or legislation, which has been interwoven into the political systems of more modern times. When, more than a century later, Frederic, king of Prussia, read the account of its government, he involuntarily exclaimed, "Beautiful!"—"It is perfect if it can endure."† "And how happy," said Peter the Great of Russia, in alluding to Friends, "must be a community instituted on their principles."

On becoming the proprietor of Pennsylvania, William Penn, for the information of his friends, published a description of the province, so far as it was then known in England, and offered lands at forty shillings per hundred acres, to those who inclined to emigrate. Many of his brethren in religious profession were still exposed to grievous outrage and spoil from a rapacious and dominant hierarchy, and aware of the strong bias which the sufferers had to remove to a country where spiritual courts could no longer harass them, he was induced to accompany his liberal offer with a word of caution, "that none might move rashly, but to have an eye to the Providence of God;" and their movements, thus guided, he believed, would "turn to the glory of His great name, and to the true happiness of them and their posterity."

The fame of William Penn as a champion for religious freedom, and as a man of universal benevolence, but above all as a devoted Christian, had spread itself widely, not only in the three kingdoms, but also on the continent of Europe: the announcement, therefore, that he now possessed an extensive territory in the new world, quickly drew people to him with proposals for emigration, and his generous terms brought many purchasers. The most considerable of these formed a company, called the "Free Society of Traders," consisting chiefly of Friends of London and Bristol; a German company was also formed, headed

* "The Planter's Speech to his neighbours."

† Herder, xiii., p. 116, in Bancroft.

by Franz Pastorius. The former bargained for 20,000 and the latter for 15,000 acres.

The first emigrant ships that left the shores of Britain for Pennsylvania, sailed in the autumn of 1681, having on board a considerable number of persons from Wales, London, Bristol, and Liverpool. The ships were three in number, two from London, and one from Bristol. The "John and Sarah," from London, was the first that arrived; the other from that port was driven out of its course, and did not reach its destination till the following spring. The one from Bristol did not arrive until winter, and having ascended the Delaware as far up as Chester, was there frozen in the same night. In this dilemma, the emigrants were obliged to land and winter on the spot, and several of them had to take up their abode in huts hastily constructed, and in caves dug in the banks of the river.*

It appears that from the very first William Penn entertained the idea of settling in Pennsylvania, in order to promote, by a personal superintendence, the great object he had in view. For some time therefore, he had been making preparations for the voyage; and, in the Sixth Month, 1682, in company with about one hundred persons, who were mostly Friends from Sussex, the county in which he resided, he sailed for his transatlantic possessions. After a tedious and sickly voyage of nine weeks, during which no fewer than thirty of the passengers had been carried off by the small-pox, the "Welcome" anchored in the Delaware, and he landed at Newcastle, on the 27th of the Eighth Month.† The settlers of this district were mostly Dutch and Swedes, and on hearing of his arrival they hastened to meet their new governor, and greeted him with hearty demonstrations of joy.‡

* Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, p. 14.

† On this occasion the following entry was made in the public records of Newcastle:—"On the 27th day of October, 1682, arrived before ye Towne of New Castle, from England, William Penn, Esq., whoo produced twoo deeds of feofment for this Towne and twelve myles about itt, and also for the twoo Lower Counties, ye Whoorekill, and St. James's—wherefore the said William Penn received possession of ye Towne the 28th of October, 1682."

‡ Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, p. 16.

At Newcastle, the agents of the Duke of York formally surrendered to William Penn the territory on the Delaware.* Convening the settlers at the Court-house, he addressed them on the nature and object of government, stating his desire to exercise the powers he had obtained, for the general good of the community, and concluded by renewing, under his own authority, the commissions of the existing magistrates. Leaving Newcastle, he ascended the Delaware to Upland, now Chester. Agreeably to his instructions, the Commissioners had already caused representatives to be elected for the first General Assembly; and as Friends' Meeting-house was the most commodious building in Chester, it was fixed upon as the place of their deliberations. These primitive legislators of Pennsylvania were an unsophisticated people, and more practical than theoretical. In the course of their discussion they adopted the salutary restriction, "that none speak but once before the question is put, nor after, but once; and that none fall from the matter to the person; and that superfluous and tedious speeches may be stopped by the speaker." Their session lasted only four days, and notwithstanding their inexperience in the work of legislation, such was the good feeling and harmony prevalent among them, and such their confidence in the sincere desires of William Penn to promote their welfare, that during this short space of time they passed the laws already referred to. At the conclusion, being addressed by the proprietor in the language of christian exhortation,† they retired to their new homes, under the pleasing reflection that those blessings of civil and religious freedom, which had been denied to them in the land of their nativity, were now, in the overrulings of a kind Providence, secured to them and to their posterity.

William Penn now proceeded on a visit to the authorities of New York, and next to meet Lord Baltimore in Maryland, to confer with him on the subject of boundary. Amidst the numerous important avocations which devolved upon him in this infant

* Hazard's Register, vol. v. p. 79.

† Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives, by B. Franklin, p. 7.

state of the colony, he was not, it appears, forgetful of his duties as a gospel minister. "I have been," he writes in the Tenth Month, 1682, "at New York, Long Island, East Jersey, and Maryland; in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord.—I am now casting the country into townships for large lots of land. I have held an assembly, in which many good laws are passed; we could not safely stay till the spring for a government. I have annexed the lower counties (lately obtained) to the province, and passed a general naturalization for strangers, which hath much pleased the people.—As to outward things, we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, would be well contented with; and service enough for God; for the fields are here white for harvest: O, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries and perplexities, of woeful Europe!"*

Among the many objects which claimed his attention, few were more important than the selection of a site for a chief city. According to his express instructions, the Commissioners had been industrious in collecting information to assist in determining the point. Some thought Chester favourably situated for the capital, but William Penn fixed upon the narrow neck of land lying between the Delaware and the Schuylkill,† a situation "not surpassed by one among all the many places he had seen in the world." The establishment of a great city in Pennsylvania was very early his favourite object;‡ while his choice of the situation, and the grand scale which he laid down for building it, would have made it inferior to few, whether of ancient or modern date. As originally designed, with its squares, gardens, and noble streets lined with trees, it would have covered no less than twelve square miles. The erection of detached dwellings surrounded by garden-ground, was quite a favourite idea of the governor; for he wished the Quaker capital to resemble "a

* Proud, vol. i. p. 209.

† Day's Hist. Collections, p. 544-6.

‡ Vide his Concessions, Fifth Month, 1681.

greene country town, which might never be burnt, and might always be wholesome." Its name he decided should be Philadelphia, a Greek word, signifying brotherly love, and which he gave as indicating the spirit which he desired might pervade the minds of the colonists and rule in all their actions.

The colony of Pennsylvania was now fast peopling; so rapid indeed was the influx of settlers, that within three months after the landing of the governor, no less than twenty-three ships, filled with emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, had entered the waters of the Delaware.* Within a few months from the foundation of Philadelphia, William Penn could announce that eighty houses and cottages were ready; that the merchants and craftsmen were busily engaged in their respective callings; that more than three hundred farms had been laid out and partly cleared; that ships were continually arriving with goods and passengers, and that plentiful crops had already been obtained from the soil.† At the time of his return from Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1684, the city could number three hundred and fifty-seven houses, "divers of them," he says, "large and well-built, with cellars;" and at least fifty townships had been settled:‡ one year later the houses had increased to no less than six hundred.§ In little more than two years from its settlement, ninety ships, bringing, according to the estimate of William Penn, an average of eighty passengers in each, or in all seven thousand two hundred, had arrived in the colony:|| these, together with the previous colonists and those from the adjacent settlements, gave a population of about nine thousand to the province. Oldmixon says, that in 1684 the number was about seven thousand, of which two thousand five hundred were inhabitants of the new city; and that twenty-two townships had been established.¶ In

* Proud, vol. i. p. 209.

† W. Penn to the Free Society of Traders, Sixth Month 16th, 1683; Lord Baltimore, Seventh Month, 1683.

‡ Further Account of Pennsylvania and its improvements, by W. Penn.

§ Robert Turner to W. Penn, Sixth Month, 1685.

|| Further Account, &c., by W. Penn.

¶ Oldmixon's British Empire in America.

three years from its foundation Philadelphia had gained more than New York had done in half a century, and the progress of the province was more rapid than even that of New England. Already schools had been established, and the printing press was at work, sowing broadcast the seeds of morality and religion. In the Tenth Month, 1683, Enoch Flower, in a dwelling formed of pine and cedar planks, commenced the work of education; his terms being "to learn to read, four shillings a-quarter; to write, six shillings; boarding scholars, to wit—diet, lodging, washing and schooling, ten pounds the whole year."

One of the earliest production of the printing press was an epistle by John Burnyeat, in 1686. In New England the press was not in operation until eighteen years after its settlement. In New York seventy-three years elapsed before any book or paper was printed, and in North Carolina a still longer period; whilst in Episcopal Virginia and Popish Maryland the printing press was discouraged as dangerous to religion.* "I must without vanity say," observes William Penn, in writing to Lord Halifax, "I have led the greatest colony into America that any man did on private credit;" and to Lord Sunderland he says, "with the help of God, and such noble friends, I will show a province in seven years equal to her neighbours of forty years' planting."†

The boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland had for some time been a subject of dispute between William Penn and Lord Baltimore, and their conferences on the subject had issued without any satisfactory result. In the early part of 1684, Lord Baltimore proceeded to England, with a view to exercise his personal interest with the government on the disputed question. The subject was considered by William Penn to be of so much importance to the interest of his colony, that he deemed it needful to take some course to counteract the court influence of Baltimore. About this time also he received accounts of the renewed persecution of nonconformists, more especially those of his own Society. These things, together with the spread of malicious and unfounded reports affecting his reputation, and

* Memorials of the Penn. Hist. Soc. i. p. 103.

† Letter, Fifth Month 28th, 1683.

some matters of a private nature, led him to the conclusion that it was right for him to return to England ; and having appointed a Commission for conducting the affairs of the government during his absence, he went on board in the Sixth Month, 1684.

The prospect of leaving Pennsylvania at this interesting stage of its progress was deeply felt by William Penn. The temporal interests of the settlers was an object which he ardently sought to promote, but the spiritual advancement of his friends was that for which above all he was the most deeply solicitous, and, just before he sailed, he addressed them in the following beautiful exhortation :—

“ To THOMAS LLOYD, J. CLAYPOLE, J. SIMCOCK, C. TAYLOR, and J. HARRISON, to be communicated in Meetings in Pennsylvania, and the Territories thereunto belonging, among Friends.

“ My love and my life is to you, and with you, and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love ; and you are beloved of me, and near to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord, and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty, all the land over ! O that you would eye Him in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands, and let it be your first care how you may glorify Him in your undertakings ! for to a blessed end are you brought hither ; and if you see and keep in the sense of that Providence, your coming, staying, and improving, will be sanctified : but if any forget Him, and call not upon his name in truth, He will pour out his plagues upon them, and they shall know who it is that judgeth the children of men.

“ O, you are now come to a quiet land ; provoke not the Lord to trouble it ! And now that liberty and authority are with you and in your hands, let the government be upon his shoulders in all your spirits, that you may rule for Him, under whom the princes of this world will one day esteem it their honour to govern and serve in their places. I cannot but say, when these things come mightily upon my mind, as the apostles said of old, ‘ What manner of persons ought we to be in all godly conversation ?’

Truly the name and honour of the Lord are deeply concerned in the discharge of yourselves in your present station, many eyes being upon you ; and remember that, as we have been belied about disowning the true religion, so, of all government, to behold us exemplary and Christian in the use of it will not only stop our enemies, but minister conviction to many, on that account prejudiced. O that you may see and know that service, and do it for the Lord in this your day!

“ And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee !

“ O that thou mayst be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee ; that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness thou mayst be preserved to the end ! My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power. My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects my heart and mine eye.—The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and peace !

“ So, dear Friends, my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy, and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you !—So says, so prays, your friend and lover in the truth.”



CHAPTER II.

ESTABLISHMENT OF MEETINGS, AND PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY,
1682 TO 1700.

Trials and difficulties of the early settlers—Their faith and patience—Richard Townsend's testimony of the Lord's preserving care—The establishment of Meetings—Minute of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting—First Epistle from Friends in Pennsylvania to Friends in England, 1683—A Yearly Meeting for all the provinces in North America proposed—First Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, 1683—Extract from the Epistle issued in 1684—Yearly Meetings of Burlington and Philadelphia united—Yearly Meeting of Ministers established—Women's Yearly Meeting—Salem Yearly Meeting—Yearly Meeting of 1686—Extracts from Epistles—Progress of the Society—Keith's apostacy—Friends issue a declaration of faith—Influx of Settlers—Friends from Germany and Holland—Increase of Meetings—Convincements—Welsh Settlers—Education—Public School founded—Act of the Assembly on Education—Views of Early Friends on the subject—Prosperity and Benevolence of Friends—Travels and services of Friends in the ministry from England—Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers in 1698—Roger Gill and the Yellow Fever of Philadelphia in 1699—Thomas Story settles in Pennsylvania—His life and character—Visits of Ministers of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys to other Yearly Meetings.

IN common with all those who were pioneers in settling the colonies of North America, the early emigrants to Pennsylvania underwent many privations, and no inconsiderable degree of personal suffering. Many of the settlers, it is true, were persons of considerable means, and took with them houses in frame, together with furniture, tools, and implements suited to their new circumstances. These, realized the full benefit and comfort of such precaution; but others, who were not so provided, were obliged

to content themselves with such shelter as the forest afforded, while the first homes of not a few were in caves dug in the high banks of the Delaware.

But amidst all the trials and difficulties which attended the emigrant Friends to these hitherto uncultivated wilds, and notwithstanding the excitement which naturally prevailed among them in entering upon their duties in the new world, they were not unmindful of the Heavenly kingdom, or of the duty which they owed to the Most High. "Our business in this new land," wrote one of the early settlers, "is not so much to build houses and establish factories, and promote trade and manufactures that may enrich ourselves, (though all these things, in their due place, are not to be neglected,) as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in ;—to lay such lasting frames and foundations of temperance and virtue, as may support the superstructures of our future happiness, both in this and the other world."*

* "The Planter's Speech to his neighbours," &c. printed by A. Sowle, *Shoreditch*, 1684.

The following certificate from Settle Monthly Meeting, in Yorkshire, also shews that many of the early settlers in Pennsylvania did not emigrate merely on considerations of a worldly nature, but from a sense of religious duty :—

From SETTLE MONTHLY MEETING, the 7th of the Fourth Month, 1682.

These are to certify, all whom it may concern, that it is manifested to us that a necessity is laid upon several Friends belonging [to] this Monthly Meeting to remove into Pennsylvania, and particularly our dear friend Cuthbert Hayhurst, (his wife and family,) who has been, and is a labourer in the truth, for whose welfare and prosperity we are unanimously concerned, and also for our friends, Thomas Wrightsworth, and also his wife ; Thomas Walmsley, Elizabeth his wife, and six children ; Thomas Croasdale, Agnes his wife, and six children ; Thomas Stackhouse, and Margery his wife ; Nicholas Waln, his wife and three children ; Ellen Cowgill and her family ; who, we believe, are faithful Friends in their measures and single in their intentions to remove into the aforesaid Pennsylvania, in America, there to inhabit, if the Lord permit, and we do certify unity with their said intentions and desire their prosperity in the Lord, and hope what is done by them will lead

As early as 1684, it is stated that "there were about eight hundred persons in regular attendance on First and Week-days, at Friends' meeting in Philadelphia. This," observes the writer, "was remarkable for a people who were contending with the various difficulties incident to opening the wilderness.—No wonder they prospered."*

In respect to food the settlers were singularly provided for, considering that, with the exception of a strip of land about two miles in breadth, extending along the banks of the Delaware,

to the advancement of the truth in which we are unanimously concerned with them.

[Signed by eleven Friends.]

These came to America, in the ship "Welcome," with W. Penn, some of whom settled at Byberry.—*Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania*, vol. ii. part i. p. 182.

A memorandum in an ancient Register Book of Newton Meeting, settled by Friends from Ireland, who came over in Thomas Lurtin's vessel from London in 1681, presents a similar testimony. They at first settled at Burlington, but in the spring of 1682 removed to Newton. This was before William Penn arrived in Pennsylvania.

"Zeal and fervency of spirit was what in some good degree at that time abounded among Friends, in commemoration of our prosperous success and eminent preservation, both in our coming over the great deep, as also that, whereas we were but few at that time, and the Indians many, whereby it put a dread upon our spirits, considering they were a savage people; but the Lord that hath the hearts of all in his hands, turned them so as to be serviceable to us, and very loving and kind; which cannot be otherwise accounted but to be the Lord's doing in our favour, which we had cause to praise his name for.

"And that the rising generation may consider that the settlement of this country was directed by an impulse upon the spirits of God's people, not so much for their ease and tranquillity, but rather for the posterity that should be after, and that the wilderness being planted with a good seed, might grow and increase to the satisfaction of the good husbandman. But, instead thereof, if, for wheat it should bring forth tares, the end of the good husbandman will be frustrate, and they themselves will suffer loss. This narration I have thought good and requisite to leave behind, as having had knowledge of things from the beginning.

"THOS. SHARP."

* Hazard's Register, vol. x. p. 92.

the country produced nothing for the support of human life but wild fruits, birds, and animals of the forest. The early Friends of Pennsylvania were deeply sensible that their outward wants were supplied by the good providence of Him who fed Israel in the wilderness, and many of them were, in after years, often led to recount his mercies and the manifestation of his all-protecting and preserving care in this time of trial. The following extract from "the testimony" of one of them on this subject is worthy of preservation :—

"THE TESTIMONY OF RICHARD TOWNSEND, SHOWING THE PROVIDENTIAL HAND OF GOD TO HIM AND OTHERS, FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA TO THIS DAY [about the year 1727].

"Whereas, King Charles the Second, in the year 1681, was pleased to grant this province to William Penn and his heirs for ever ; which act seemed to be an act of Providence to many religious, good people ; and the proprietor, William Penn, being one of the people called Quakers, and in good esteem among them and others, many were inclined to embark along with him for the settlement of this place.

"To that end, in the year 1682, several ships being provided, I found a concern on my mind to embark with them, with my wife and child ; and about the latter end of the Sixth Month, having settled my affairs in London, where I dwelt, I went on board the ship 'Welcome,' Robert Greenaway, commander, in company with my worthy friend William Penn, whose good conversation was very advantageous to all the company.

"At our arrival we found it a wilderness ; the chief inhabitants were Indians and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner ; and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner, in that provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians, at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts, that were inhabited before.

"Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious

worship ; and, in order thereunto, we had several meetings in the houses of the inhabitants, and one boarded meeting-house was set up where the city was to be, near Delaware ; and, as we had nothing but love and goodwill in our hearts one to another, we had very comfortable meetings from time to time ; and after our meeting was over, we assisted each other in building little houses for our shelter.

“ After some time I set up a mill on Chester Creek, which I brought, ready framed, from London, which served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards, and was of great use to us. Besides, I, with Joshua Tittery, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others ; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel.

“ And as our worthy proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As, in other countries, the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here, hath produced their love and affection.

“ As people began to spread, and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful, so that those who came after us were plentifully supplied, and with what we abounded [in] we began a small trade abroad. As Philadelphia increased, vessels were built and many employed. Both country and trade have been increasing wonderfully to this day ; so that, from a wilderness, the Lord, by his good hand of Providence, hath made it a fruitful field ; on which to observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose ; yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory pretty clear concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can do no less than return praises to the Almighty, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our meetings, wherein he

hath many times manifested his great loving-kindness, in reaching to and convincing many persons of the principles of truth : and those that were already convinced and continued faithful, were blessed not only with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew of heaven. I am engaged in my spirit to supplicate the continuance thereof to the present rising generation ; that as God hath blessed their parents, the same blessing may remain on their offspring to the end of time ; that it may be so is the hearty desire and prayer of their ancient and loving friend,

Richard Townsend



RICHARD TOWNSEND'S ORIGINAL DWELLING-HOUSE.

The establishment of meetings for both worship and discipline, was a subject that very early claimed the attention of Friends in Pennsylvania. For a short time they held those for worship at the dwellings of some of the settlers, but these were soon exchanged for a more commodious though temporary meeting-house, built of boards, on a spot now occupied by the city of Philadelphia. Towards the close of 1682, or in little more than two months after William Penn had landed on his new territory, it was concluded to establish a Monthly and also a Quarterly Meeting. The following, taken from the minutes of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, was the record made on this interesting occasion :—

“ Friends belonging to the meeting in Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, being met in the fear and power of the Lord, at the present meeting place in the said city, the 9th day of the Eleventh Month, being the third day of the week, in the year 1682, they did take into consideration the settlement of meetings therein, for the affairs and service of Truth, according to that godly and comely practice and example, which they had received and enjoyed with true satisfaction amongst their friends and brethren in the land of their nativity, and did then and there agree, that the first third day of the week in every month shall hereafter be the Monthly Meeting day for the men’s and women’s meeting, for the affairs and service of Truth in this city and county ; and every third meeting shall be the Quarterly Meeting of the same.”

With the influx of settlers meetings were multiplied, and in about three months from the date of the foregoing, no less than nine meetings for worship, and three Monthly Meetings, had been set up in the province. William Penn and some of his companions thus wrote to their brethren in England, in the First Month, 1683 : “ The truth is in authority amongst us—our God hath engaged us, yea he hath overcome us with his ancient glory ; the desert sounds, the wilderness rejoices, a visitation inwardly and outwardly is come to America ; God is Lord of all the earth.”*

* An early copy of this communication is still preserved by Cotherstone Meeting, in Yorkshire. It is doubtless the earliest document issued by Friends of Pennsylvania, and written to inform Friends in England of the state and condition of the Society in the new colony. Some interest, therefore, attaches to this paper, and claims a place for it in these pages :—

Philadelphia in Pennsylvania,
the 17th day of the First Month, 1683.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—

In the everlasting kindred of the heavenly truth of our God, we who are therein as flesh of your flesh, and bone of your bone, send you the salutation of our endeared love. Friends, brethren, and sisters, parents and children, masters, mistresses, and servants, your whole families, whether you be little children, young men, or fathers in the honourable truth, the God of eternal love and power, that visited and gathered us in our own land, and kept us while we lived in it, who hath brought

As noticed in the former volume, a Yearly Meeting had been set up at Burlington, in West Jersey, as early as the Sixth Month,

us safely into this part of his earth, and that so unutterably appears to us and amongst us in all our assemblies, to refresh, bless, and establish us, hath laid it upon us in the name of many Friends present, at a select meeting of elders and faithful brethren of Pennsylvania and Jersey, at the city of Philadelphia (where the glory of the Lord did wonderfully overshadow us) to greet you all in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to let you know how it is with us both inwardly and outwardly. Blessed be the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, that called us not hither in vain: this was the testimony of life in our living assembly through many faithful brethren, that God was with us and is with us, yea, he hath made our way for us, and proved and confirmed to us his word and faithfulness. For he hath adorned this wilderness with his presence, and contented our hearts in his providence; yea, established our hearts with his goodness; and while this humility, this brokenness, this self-abasement dwells with us, shall it not go well with us? yea, and with all that so dwell. Our God hath engaged us, yea, he hath overcome us with his ancient glory, the desert sounds, the wilderness rejoices, a visitation inwardly and outwardly is come to America; God is Lord of all the earth, and at our setting of the sun will his name be famous. Friends, we rejoice in his salvation, we see his work, we are in our places, and God with us, and much here is to do for him. It is in our heart to deliver up our days and lives and strength to him, and we pray God to be kept, and you to pray for us. O! remember us, for we cannot forget you; many waters cannot quench our love, nor distance wear out the deep remembrance of you in the heavenly truth: we pray God preserve you in faithfulness, that, discharging your places and stewardships, ye may be honoured and crowned, with the reward of them that endure to the end. And though the Lord hath been pleased to remove us far away from you, as to the other end of the earth, yet are we present with you; your exercises are ours, our hearts are dissolved in the remembrance of you, dear brethren and sisters, in this heavenly love; and the Lord of heaven and earth, who is the father of our family, keep us in his love and power, and unite, comfort, and build us all more and more to his eternal praise, and our rejoicing.

And now, dear friends, know that God's truth is in its authority amongst us, yea, a terror to the wicked, and a praise to them that do well, and God daily gives the faithful dominion over the spirits of the people, and they that are not subject to the truth in themselves, are subject to its heavenly authority in those that fear God. The dominion under this part of the whole heaven is given to the saints of the

1681. The second was held at the same place in the Seventh Month of the following year, and by it an epistle of advice was issued to its members. This meeting concluded that single young persons should bring with them from England certificates of their clearness, or otherwise, in regard to marriage, and that none should marry without the consent of parents or guardians. In 1683, Burlington Yearly Meeting, in consequence of the attendance of the newly-settled Friends of Pennsylvania, formed

Most High, and our part of the kingdoms of this end of the world growing, to be the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ, whose authority is setting up within and without, that we may be a society complete in Him throughout, as well in body as in soul and spirit, which are his; so will the creation be delivered, and the earth obtain her sabbaths again.

For our meetings, more especially of worship, there are in West Jersey, one at the falls of the river Delaware, another at Burlington, one at Assisconck, one at Rancocas, one at Newtown, and one at Salem, and two Half-year Meetings, one at Burlington and one at Salem, to which the Half-Yearly Meeting of Friends in East Jersey is joined, who also have a Yearly Meeting of themselves, a men and women's meeting, and a Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury.

In Pennsylvania there is one at the Falls, one at the Governor's house, one at Colchester River, all in the county of Bucks; one at Tawany [Trelawny], one at Philadelphia, both in that county; and at Darby at John Blunson's, one at Chester, one at Ridley at John Simcock's, and one at William Ruse's, in Chichester in Cheshire. There be three Monthly Meetings of men and women for Truth's service: in the county of Chester one; in the county of Philadelphia another; and in the county of Bucks another; and intend a Yearly Meeting in the Third Month next.

And here our care is as it was in our native land, that we may serve the Lord's truth and people, and keep, what in us lies, our holy profession from the reflection of the enemies thereof. And our desires are, that as we are joined of the Lord, and so one people, by his own power we may live in this dear and near relation, and have a mutual regard to the honour of the Lord's truth, both here and there. And in order to the same, that there may be free communication, and holy advices and correspondences, which on our parts we intend (the Lord willing) to observe, and tenderly desire the same from you, that we may be comforted and edified in each other, to the praise of the name of the great Lord of our heavenly family. Particularly, we on the Lord's behalf do agree, that if any shall leave

a much larger assembly. The records of this meeting are still preserved, and by them we are informed, that one of the subjects under deliberation, was a very comprehensive proposal for the establishment of a Yearly Meeting for Friends of all the North American colonies. The minute made on the occasion runs thus :—

“ Whereas this meeting judged it requisite, for the benefit and

these parts and incline homewards, they shall have a certificate of their clearness in respect of conversation, credit, marriage and unity amongst us, or else that you shall have cause of shyness towards them. So we intreat of you, that all desiring to come into these parts, may be cautioned to observe that good and comely care, as they hope to be received and helped of us. And such as are certified of by the faithful of the meetings where they have lived to be clear in life, credit, marriage engagements, and unity among God's people where they inhabited, we shall embrace and assist them as brethren in the service of love.

And for outward condition as men, blessed be God, we are satisfied ; the countries are good, the land, the water, and the air ; room enough for many thousands to live plentifully, and the back lands much the best ; good increase of labour, all sorts of grain, provision sufficient, and by reason of many giving themselves to husbandry, there is like to be great fulness in some time ; but they that come upon a mere outward account must work, or be able to maintain such as can. Fowl fish and venison, are plentiful, and of pork and beef no want, considering that about 2,000 people came into this river last year. Dear friends and brethren, we have no cause to murmur ; our lot is fallen every way in a good place, and the Son of God is among us. We are a family at peace within ourselves, and truly great is our joy therefore. So in the unchangeable love and life of Truth, into which we have been with you baptized, and so made to drink into one pure and eternal-fellowship, where our souls dwell and feed together before the Lord, we once more salute you and embrace you, remaining, and praying that we may remain therein, your true, tender, and faithful brethren,

WILLIAM PENN,	JOHN SOUTHWORTH,	THOMAS BRASSEY,
SAMUEL JENNINGS,	WILLIAM YARDLEY,	JOHN SONGHURST,
CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR,	JOHN SYMCOCK,	GRIFFITH JONES,
JAMES HARRISON,	THOMAS FITZWATER,	WILLIAM CLAYTON,
JOHN KENNEL,	LEWIS DAVID,	ROBERT WADE,
ROBERT STACY,	HENRY LEWIS,	THOMAS DUCKET,
ISAAC MARRIOT,	WILLIAM HOWELL,	NICHOLAS WALNE,
ARTHUR COOK,	THOMAS WINN,	JOHN BLUNSON.
WILLIAM FRAMPTON,	BENJAMIN CHAMBERS	

advantage of Truth, and mutual comfort of Friends, that a General Yearly Meeting might be established for the provinces in these parts, northward as far as New England, and southward as far as Carolina, that, by the coming of Friends together from the several parts where Truth is professed, the affairs thereof may be the better known and understood ; and to the end the same may be assented to by Friends in those parts and places, as above mentioned, it is agreed that William Penn, Christopher Taylor, Samuel Jennings, James Harrison, Thomas Olive, and Mahlon Stacey, do take sure methods, by writing to Friends, or speaking, as may best fall out for their conveniency, in order to have the same established.”*

A few weeks after the holding of this Yearly Meeting at Burlington, one for the first time was held in Philadelphia. It met in the Seventh Month, 1683 ; no records of its proceedings have, however, come down to us, excepting a small notice preserved on the minutes of Bucks Quarterly Meeting, and having reference to the establishment of that meeting. Early in the Seventh Month, 1684, a Yearly Meeting was again held at Burlington, and in the latter part of the same month another at Philadelphia.† Except a general epistle to Friends on the American continent, and one to Friends of London, issued by the latter, the records of both these meetings have been lost. In the epistle to London, the holy influence which prevailed among Friends on these occasions is thus referred to :—“ At the two aforementioned General Meetings we had such a blessed harmony together, that we may say that we know not that there was a jarring string amongst us—Glorious was God in his power amongst us. A great multitude came of many hundreds, and the gospel-bell made a most blessed sound. There was the men’s and women’s meeting, at both places, in their precious services, to

* Evidence of Thomas Evans, vol. ii, p. 174 of Foster’s Reports.

† In Smith’s History of Friends of Pennsylvania, it is stated that the first Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia was in 1685. This, however, is clearly an error. The Epistle from London makes a distinct allusion to the one held in Philadelphia on the 24th of Seventh Month, 1684.

inspect into truth's matters, in what related to them ; and God gave them wisdom to do it, and all was unanimous. We are to send an epistle to Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and all thereaway ; also the other way to New England, and Rhode Island, that it may be presented to them, if possible that from these remote provinces they may send two or three from each province to our Yearly Meeting here, being as a centre or middle place. That so communion and blessed union may be preserved amongst all. Some are stirred up in their spirits to travel in the work and service of the gospel."*

It is an interesting circumstance, that on this occasion women Friends also held a Yearly Meeting, and addressed an epistle to those of their sex in England, which was answered by a meeting of women Friends then held in London.†

"Things went on sweetly with Friends in Pennsylvania," writes W. Penn, in 1684 ; "many are increased finely in their outward things, and grow also in wisdom ; their meetings are also blessed, and there are no less than eighteen in the province." "We are now laying," writes Robert Turner, from Philadelphia, in the summer of 1685, "the foundation of a large plain brick house for a meeting-house, in the centre, sixty feet long and about forty broad ; a large meeting-house, fifty feet long and thirty-eight feet broad, also going up on the front of the river, for an evening meeting."

In the year 1685, the Yearly Meeting for the Jerseys again met at Burlington, and another was held in Philadelphia for the province of Pennsylvania. At the latter of these there were present by appointment some Friends from Rhode Island, and also from the Quarterly Meetings of Chopthank and Herring Creek in Maryland. From the last named Quarterly Meeting an epistle was also received. On this occasion it was concluded there should be but one Yearly Meeting for the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, to be held alternately at Philadelphia and Burlington ; the one for 1686, to be held at Burlington, under the title of "The General Yearly Meeting for Friends of Pennsylvania, East and West

* The Friend [Philadelphia], vol. xviii. p. 134.

† Ibid.

Jersey, and of the adjacent provinces." At the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1685, it was also concluded to establish a Yearly Meeting of ministers.*

From the year 1682, a Yearly Meeting was also held at Salem, in West Jersey. For some years this meeting seems to have been considered as one of a disciplinary character, and it exercised some control over the meetings in its vicinity until about the close of that century.

Agreeably to the conclusion of the previous year, the Yearly Meeting of 1686 commenced on the 8th of the Seventh Month, (O.S.) at Burlington. As on the former occasion, there were Friends under appointment from the two Quarterly Meetings of Maryland; none, however, being in attendance from Virginia or Carolina, "it was agreed that they be writ to again, to request their consent to have this as a General Yearly Meeting, as formerly proposed." There were no representatives from New England, but the presence of Friends from New York and Long Island is noticed. It was also agreed, "that two Friends or more be appointed out of every Quarterly Meeting, that are capable, to give an account of the affairs of truth, to attend this General Yearly Meeting to be held from time to time until the said meeting shall be ended."† The following is an extract from their epistle to the Yearly Meeting of London:—

"We had a good and great opportunity for the Lord at our yearly assembly; many were the testimonies, weighty was the power, and living was the Holy Presence that was with us, as we gathered and sat together in his dread.—We had many Friends with us from Long Island, New York, and Maryland.—A glorious day of the Lord is dawning more and more in these regions; his light goes forth as the morning, and the brightness his appearance as the rising of the sun. He is dispelling the darkness, removing weights and burdens, and bringing several to a near station to himself; so that being fitted and prepared by his divine power, they may be able ministers and instruments in his hand to bring many to the lowly path of righteousness."

* Evidence of T. Evans, in Forster's Reports, vol. ii. p. 473. † Ibid.

Agreeably to the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting of 1686, representatives were regularly appointed to attend it in the following year. The meetings noticed as sending them in 1688, were the Quarterly Meetings of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Burlington, Salem and Gloucester, and Shrewsbury; and in the following year the same with the addition of some from Delaware.*

The Yearly Meeting of 1687 was "as to numbers very considerable, and several useful and wholesome admonitions were recommended to the notice and observation of the respective meetings."† In the following year also it was "large and full, many Friends," they record, "having come from all these three provinces, and some from New York, Long Island, and Maryland—many living precious testimonies were borne and held forth in our meeting, which continued four days, in all which we were livingly refreshed, comforted and strengthened."‡ In 1690 they write that "the appearance of Friends at this [annual] assembly was very numerous. Several of our ministering brethren visit yearly the neighbouring colonies, and some of us had a door opened to a nation or two of our bordering Indians."§ A Yearly Meeting collection was first made in 1691.

For several years subsequent to the date of the foregoing, the Yearly Meetings were considerably agitated by the apostacy of George Keith, and by the schism which he endeavoured to effect in the Society, of which a full and circumstantial account will be given in another chapter. The Yearly Meeting of London pronounced its decision on the appeal of George Keith against the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania, confirming the judgment of the said meeting, and condemning the conduct of Keith. This had a favourable effect upon the Society in America, and in 1695, their epistle to English Friends was cheering and encouraging. "The Lord," they write, "hath in a very eminent manner appeared amongst us, the rays of his glory have covered us,

* Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

† Epistle to London Yearly Meeting, 1687.

‡ Ibid. 1688.

§ Ibid. 1690.

and his heart-melting and tendering power he hath distilled upon us as the gentle rain, to our mutual refreshment and solace in Him, which rests and dwells livingly upon our souls; so that we can truly say it hath been a season of love, and a time of harmonious concord." "This assembly," they add, "has been larger than any heretofore, being not less by a modest computation than twelve hundred."*

During the controversy with Keith and his party, Friends were much misrepresented by them, more especially in reference to their faith in the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in his propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of mankind, and with respect to their acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as an inspired record. Soon after Keith's disownment from membership in our religious body, Friends of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, with a view to disabuse the public mind of the mis-statements which had been extensively circulated, published their belief on these important points of Christian doctrine. As a declaration of the faith of the Society, a considerable degree of interest attaches to this document, and being somewhat brief, it cannot with propriety be omitted from these pages. It is as follows:—

"OUR ANCIENT TESTIMONY RENEWED CONCERNING OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, AND THE RESURRECTION." "GIVEN FORTH BY A MEETING OF PUBLIC FRIENDS, AND OTHERS, AT PHILADELPHIA IN PENNSYLVANIA." 1695.

"TO THE READER.—That we faithfully and sincerely own and confess Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour, according to the divine testimonies of the Holy Writ, and according to his spiritual manifestation upon our souls; and it is for our Christian vindication herein, and not for controversy (for a contest with contentious persons is endless), this following confession is writ, and submitted to thy perusal.

* Epistle to London Yearly Meeting, 1695.

“OUR SCRIPTURE CONFSSION CONCERNING OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

“I. *Concerning his Divinity, and his being from the beginning.*

“We believe that in the beginning was the Word, and that the Word was with God, and the Word was God, the same was in the beginning with God; all things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.* Whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.† For God created all things by Jesus Christ, who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, the brightness of the Father’s glory, and the express image of his substance.‡

“II. *Concerning his appearance in the flesh.*

“We believe that the Word was made flesh; for he took not on him the nature of angels, but took on him the seed of Abraham, being in all things made like unto his brethren.§ [He was] touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and in all things tempted as we are, yet without sin. He died for our sins, according to the Scriptures, and he was buried, and he rose again the third day, according to the Scripture.||

“III. *Concerning the end and use of that appearance.*

“We believe that God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh.¶ For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.** Being manifested to take away our sins, for he gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour; having obtained eternal redemption for us.†† And through the Eternal Spirit offered up himself without spot to God, to purge our consciences from dead works to serve the living God.‡‡ He was the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world; of whom the Fathers did all drink; for they drank of that Spiritual Rock that followed them, and

* John i. 1, 2, 3.

† Micah v. 2.

‡ Eph. iii. 9; Col. i. 15; Heb. i. 3.

§ John ii. 14; Heb. ii. 16.

|| Heb. iv. 15; 1 Cor. xv. 3.

¶ Rom. viii. 3.

†† Eph. v. 2; Heb. ix. 12.

** 1 John iii. 8.

‡‡ Heb. ix. 14.

that Rock was Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.* Who suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps, that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our mortal flesh; that we may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death.†

“IV. *Concerning the inward manifestation of Christ.*

“We believe that God dwelleth with the contrite and humble in spirit; for he said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and that Christ standeth at the door and knocketh; if any man hear his voice, and open the door, he will come in to him, and sup with him.‡ And therefore ought we to examine ourselves, and prove our own selves, knowing how that Christ is in us, unless we be reprobates; for this is the riches of the glory of the mystery which God would make known among (or rather in) the Gentiles, Christ within the hope of glory.§

“V. *Concerning his being our Mediator and Advocate.*

“We believe there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, even the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.|| My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not; and if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Christ Jesus the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.¶ He sits on the right hand of God the Father, and ever lives to make intercession for us.**

“VI. *Concerning his unity with the saints.*

“We believe that he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one; for by the exceeding great and precious promises that are given them, they are made partakers of the Divine nature; because for this end prayed Christ, saying, “That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee,

* 1 Cor. x. 4; Heb. xiii. 8; Rev. xiii. 8.

† 1 Pet. ii. 21; 2 Cor. iv. 11; Phil. iii. 10.

‡ Isa. lvii. 17; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Rev. iii. 20.

§ 2 Cor. xiii. 5; Col. i. 27.

|| 1 Tim. ii. 5.

¶ 1 John ii. 1.

** Heb. vii. 25.

that they also may be one in us:" "and the glory which thou gavest me I have given them ; that they may be one, even as we are one : I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one."*

" VII. *Concerning his coming to Judgment.*

" We believe that we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men.†

" VIII. *Concerning the Resurrection.*

" We believe there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust ; they that have done good to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation. Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. Nor is that body sown that shall be, but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body : It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory ; it is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption ; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power ; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.‡

" IX. *Concerning the Scriptures.*

" We believe that whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning ; that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope—which are able to make wise unto salvation through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.§ All Scripture given forth by inspiration of God (as we believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are), is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. And knowing also that no prophecy of the Scriptures is of any private interpretation ; for prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.||

* John xvii. 21 ; Heb. ii. 11 ; 2 Pet. i. 4.

† 2 Cor. v. 10.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 37.

§ Rom. xv. 4 ; 2 Tim. iii. 15.

|| 2 Pet. i. 20.

“OUR SOLEMN CONFESSION, IN THE HOLY FEAR OF GOD, CONCERNING OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL TESTIMONIES GIVEN FORTH BY OUR FAITHFUL BRETHERN.

“We sincerely believe, own and confess no other Lord and Saviour than our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, to whom the Prophets and Apostles give witness, and who in the fulness of time took flesh of the seed of Abraham, and of the stock of David. We confess to his miraculous conception by the power of the Holy Spirit overshadowing of the Virgin Mary; and to his being born of her (according to the flesh), and that he took upon him a real body, and that he was a real man; and that in the days of his flesh he preached righteousness, wrought miracles, was crucified, being put to death by wicked hands; and that he was buried, and rose again the third day, according to the Holy Scriptures; and after he rose he really appeared to many brethren, and afterwards he ascended into glory according to the wisdom and power of the Heavenly Father, and is glorified with the same glory, which he had with the Father before the world began, being ascended far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, whose glory is incomprehensible. And we also believe that he is that one Mediator between God and man, viz. that entire, perfect, heavenly, and most glorious man, Christ Jesus, who ever lives, and endures in his soul (or spirit) and glorious body. We further believe, that according to his promise to his disciples before he left them, viz. that he would come unto them again, and that he that was with them should be in them, and they in Christ, and Christ in them.* And that accordingly he came; and that he who appeared in that body, which was prepared for him, was full of grace and truth, and received the spirit not by measure, appeared by a measure of his grace and spirit in his apostles and disciples, and doth since in all his faithful followers; and that he is their King, Prophet, and High-Priest, and intercedes and mediates in their behalf, bringing in everlasting righteousness, peace, and assurance for ever into their hearts and consciences; to whom be everlasting honour and dominion. Amen.

* John xiv. 20.

“CONCERNING THE SOUL’S IMMORTALITY AND THE RESURRECTION.

“We believe our souls are immortal, and shall be preserved in their distinct and proper beings, and shall have spiritual, glorious bodies, such as shall be proper for them, as it shall please God to give them in the resurrection; that we may be capable of our particular rewards, and different degrees of glory after this life in the world to come.”

As time passed on, the tide of emigration from Europe to Pennsylvania does not appear to have slackened. During 1686, many Friends from Germany and Holland arrived in the province.* Most of the Germans settled at Germantown, about six miles from Philadelphia, where some of their countrymen had already located. They came from Gersheim, a town near Worms, and had been convinced of our religious doctrines through the ministry of William Ames. Within four years from the settlement of Pennsylvania, about twenty meetings for worship were established in that province, and seven more in the Jerseys. No statistical account has been preserved of the number of Friends who arrived in the subsequent years; but it is evident that, from the continued increase in the number of meetings in the respective provinces, they could not have been few.† In 1700, the Yearly Meeting numbered at least forty particular meetings. This increase of the Society did not arise from immigration only—the bright example of godliness which was evinced in the daily life and conversation of most of the early Friends in these parts—their lowly, humble walk, together with the gospel truths which were livingly and powerfully declared among the people, were circumstances which drew not a few to unite with them on the ground of religious conviction. Of this latter class

* Proud, vol. i. p. 304.

† In a letter written in 1698 by Thomas Camm, of Westmoreland, he thus briefly notices the inclination which still prevailed among Friends for settling in America: “A great deal of the younger sort of Friends hereaway are intending for Pennsylvania.”—*Bristol Monthly Meeting MSS.*

were a number of Welsh people who had settled at Gwynned, and who, in 1698, set up the meeting at that place. Ellis Pugh, himself a Welshman, frequently visited them, and was instrumental to the convincement and establishment of many. He afterwards became a member of that meeting, and ended his days among his countrymen there, most of whom were unable to speak any other than the Welsh language.*

Education was a subject that early claimed the attention of Friends in Pennsylvania. The opening of Enoch Flower's school in 1683, has already been noticed. In 1689, an important step in furtherance of this object was taken, by the establishment of a public school in Philadelphia, in which the poor were to be taught gratis.† George Keith was engaged as the head master, and, on the petition of several influential Friends, this school was incorporated by charter in 1697. Four years later, William Penn confirmed it by another charter, the powers of which were extended in 1708, and 1711. This institution was intended not only for teaching the usual branches of an English education, but also to furnish a means for the acquisition of classical learning. In the preamble to the charter the design is thus set forth: "Whereas the prosperity and welfare of any people depend, in great measure, upon the good education of youth, and their early introduction in the principles of true religion and virtue, and qualifying them to serve their country and themselves, by educating them in reading, writing, and learning of languages, and useful arts and sciences, suitable to their sex, age, and degree, which cannot be effected in any manner so well as by erecting public schools, for the purposes aforesaid," &c.‡

Four years after the establishment of the school in question, or eleven years from the foundation of the colony, the Assembly passed an Act making it imperative for every child to be taught reading and writing.§ In 1645, or twenty-five years after their landing in Massachusetts, the Puritans had formed similar insti-

* Smith's Hist., chap. xiv.

† Proud, vol. i. p. 343; and Smith's Hist., chap. vii.

‡ Proud's Hist. vol. i. p. 344. § Acts of Pennsylvania, 1693.

tutions, in which, observes Bancroft, "lies the secret of the success and character of New England."* Education, both among the Puritans and the early Friends, was regarded as a most important element in their social and religious condition. Great, indeed, would have been the inconsistency, if they, who held religious considerations to be paramount to every other, had been indifferent to the education and moral training of their offspring. As early as the year 1667, George Fox recommended the establishment of a boarding-school for each sex in the neighbourhood of London, for the purpose, as he states, of instructing them "in all things, civil, and useful in the creation." In that for boys, the languages were taught under the superintendence of Christopher Taylor, a Friend of learning and classical literature. In 1691, it was reported to the Yearly Meeting in London, that no less than fifteen establishments of this description were kept by Friends in different parts of England.† Our early Friends have been charged with undervaluing learning; but no real ground existed for the imputation. The error has probably arisen from their boldly avowing that human learning was not needful to qualify any for the work of a gospel minister. But whilst both they and their successors have been most emphatic on this point, their history, so far from furnishing evidence of indifference to literary instruction, proves, that in this respect, as in many others, they were in advance of most of their day. We may at least point to Pennsylvania as corroborative of this fact.

The difficulties which the early settlers experienced in obtaining a subsistence from the soil, soon gave place to plenty and abundance. They were sensible that the divine blessing had rested on their labours, and in their prosperity they were not slack in deeds of charity. In 1692, they co-operated with Friends in England, in raising a considerable sum of money for the redemption of those of their brethren who were held in captivity in the Barbary States;‡ and in 1697, Friends of Philadelphia for-

* Bancroft's History of the United States.

† Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, vol. i. p. 269.

‡ Proud's Hist. vol. i. p. 370.

warded about two hundred pounds for the relief of their fellow-members in the eastern parts of New England, who had suffered by a severe prevailing sickness.*

Very early after the settlement of Pennsylvania, many ministers of the Society of Friends from England visited it in the love of the gospel. The first of these of whom we have any account, is James Martin of London, who arrived there in 1684, "and stayed," says Smith, "several years, and whose diligent labours of love were well received."† He had already visited America in 1682, but his services did not at that time extend to Pennsylvania. James Martin joined Friends in 1672, and on several occasions, in after years, suffered imprisonment for the principles he had embraced.‡ Although a man of a weakly constitution, he was much devoted to the work and service of the gospel. He died in 1691, whilst on a religious visit in Essex, at the age of forty-five, his last moments being so richly and abundantly attended with divine consolation, as to cause him to sing forth, in a remarkable manner, the praises of the Most High.§

In the year 1687, Roger Longworth, of Lancashire, paid a religious visit to Pennsylvania.|| It appears that he also had visited it once before, but in what year we are not informed.¶ His second visit was but of short duration: after a few months religious labour, he was seized with fever, and died in the Sixth Month of the same year, at the age of fifty-seven. Roger Longworth was a most devoted minister, and travelled largely in the cause of truth. In addition to extensive labours in his own land, he visited Scotland once, the West India islands and North America twice, Ireland five times, and the continent of Europe no less than six times. For the last twelve years of his life he was wholly given up to the work and service of the ministry. "The Lord," say Friends of Pennsylvania, "made him a successful instrument in his hand; he settled and established meetings in many parts where he came, to the great comfort and refreshment of the upright in heart, by which he got a name

* Smith's Hist., chap. xiv.

† Besse, vol. i. pp. 452, 463.

‡ Whiting's Memoirs, p. 368.

§ Ibid., chap. vi.

¶ Piety Promoted, part ii.

¶ Penn. Memorials, p. 5.

amongst the ancients, and is recorded among the worthies of the Lord.”*

Thomas Wilson, and James Dickinson, were the next gospel messengers from Europe whose labours are recorded. They arrived in 1691, a period of much agitation among Friends, arising from the apostacy of George Keith, and they were eminently serviceable to their brethren under the trials of this peculiar case. They attended the Yearly Meeting, which was held at Salem, in West Jersey, in the Second Month of the following year, and lasted several days.† “Here we met,” says James Dickinson, “with Friends from most parts of the country; had many glorious meetings; and were livingly opened to proclaim the everlasting gospel and day of God’s love to the mourners in Sion, encouragement to the weak and feeble, and judgment to the fat and full. The meeting ended in love and unity, and our hearts were filled with praises to the Lord.”‡

After some further service in this part, these vigilant watchmen passed on to New England. They were, however, much affected at the troubles introduced by George Keith, and, whilst on their journey eastward, their minds often turned with deep solicitude to their brethren in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, to whom they addressed an epistle of exhortation, dated from Rhode Island, in the Fifth Month, 1692. “Dear Friends,” they write, “Truth is the same that ever it was, and the power of it as prevailing as ever; and where it is kept to, and dwelt in, hath the same effect as ever; as many of you are witnesses, who keep your abitations therein; with whom our souls are bound up in God’s everlasting covenant of light; in which, as we walk, we have true fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all unrighteousness.”§ These Friends, a few years subsequently, paid a second visit to Pennsylvania; a reference will, therefore, be again made to them.

In 1694, Thomas Musgrave of Yorkshire arrived. Some years previously he had visited the more northern parts of the American continent, but this appears to have been the first time

* Penn. Memorials, p. 5.

† Wilson’s Journal.

‡ Dickinson’s Journal.

§ Ibid.

he travelled in the provinces on the Delaware: his visit, says Smith, was "to the satisfaction of his brethren."* On returning to England, he attended the Yearly Meeting of London, and gave an account of his gospel services; alluding to Pennsylvania, he said there were "about eighteen meetings of Friends, who are in great love and unity."† In 1699, Thomas Musgrave left his native land with the intention of settling in America, but died on the passage.‡

In the course of 1694, Robert Barrow of Westmoreland, and Ralph Wardell of Sunderland, visited their transatlantic brethren in these parts. They are described as "ancient Friends;" the former, as being eminently gifted in the ministry—the latter, as having an "extraordinary talent as to discipline." In the year following, Jonathan Tyler of Wiltshire, a young man about twenty-six years of age, referred to as a "noble instrument in the hand of God,"§ also arrived in the province. He travelled about three years in America, and many, it is recorded, "were turned from darkness to light by his living and powerful ministry." He died in 1717, at the age of forty-eight, in the full assurance of a glorious and unspeakably blessed change: "Lord Jesus, come quickly," were nearly his last words. Jonathan Tyler attended the Yearly Meeting held at Burlington in 1696, where he was joined by Jacob Fallowfield from Hertford, and also by James Dickinson before referred to. Jacob Fallowfield died a few years after, whilst on a voyage from Barbadoes to Pennsylvania.|| During the same year Henry Payton, and his sister Sarah Clark, of London, also crossed the Atlantic, and visited Friends in these provinces, and, together with Jonathan Tyler, were present at the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia, in 1697, much to the satisfaction of their brethren.

The year 1698 was marked by the arrival in Pennsylvania of an increased number of gospel labourers from other parts. These were William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson; Thomas Chalkley and

* Smith's Hist., chap. x.

† Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, 1697.

‡ Letter of N. Waln, in Ellis's Life, p. 148.

§ Piety Promoted, part vi. || W. Ellis's Life, p. 148.

Thomas Turner ; Elizabeth Webb and Mary Rogers ; Thomas Story and Roger Gill, all from England ; and Mary Gamble, from Barbadoes. The services of these will be noticed in the order in which they are named.

William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson were companions in their travels ; the former came from Airton, a village in Yorkshire, and was at that time about forty years of age. He came forth in the ministry soon after reaching manhood, and in the certificate furnished to him by his Monthly Meeting on this occasion, he is stated to have been " a faithful labourer in the work of our Lord Jesus Christ, not only in word and doctrine, but in propagating of every good work."* Aaron Atkinson, from Cumberland, was then about thirty-three years of age. He had been brought up among the Presbyterians, but at the age of twenty-nine was convinced of the principles of Friends, by the ministry of Thomas Story. Soon afterward he came forth as a minister, and was instrumental, according to the testimony of his friends, in " bringing many, not only to the acknowledgment of the truth, but to sit under the teaching of Christ our Lord, the only Shepherd and Bishop of souls."†

These two gospel labourers landed in Maryland, in the First Month, 1698, and, after visiting the meetings in those parts, they reached Pennsylvania in the Sixth Month following, and passed on to the Yearly Meeting of ministers then held at the house of Samuel Jennings, at Burlington, in the same month. The proceedings of this meeting were deeply interesting in many respects. William Ellis took notes of them, which are still preserved among his papers, and, as showing the character of the meeting in question, they may be appropriately inserted in these pages. It will be observed that among other matters which came before them, was the revision of manuscripts intended for publication—a regulation which had existed in England from the establishment of the Morning Meeting of ministers in 1672. The notes are as follows :—

* Life of W. Ellis, p. 38.

† Ibid. p. 40.

AT A MEETING OF MINISTERING FRIENDS, HELD IN BURLINGTON, AT THE HOUSE OF SAMUEL JENNINGS, THE 17TH, 18TH, 19TH, 20TH, 21ST, 22ND, AND 23RD DAYS OF THE SEVENTH MONTH, 1698.

The meeting was large and full, and divers travelling Friends that were strangers were present, as William Ellis, Aaron Atkinson, Mary Rogers, Elizabeth Webb, from England, and Elizabeth Gamble, from Barbadoes, with divers others from neighbouring provinces; and the Lord's eternal power was with us, in which divers living, sound testimonies were borne; our hearts were united by the bond of Truth, and we proceeded to inspect the necessary affairs of the meeting.

A Testimony concerning our dear friend, Thomas Janney, given forth by Griffith Owen, was read and approved.

The meeting adjourned until the morrow morning.

18th day.—Friends being met together, and the Lord's power and presence eminently attending the meeting, divers testimonies and cautions were delivered in the power and life of Truth, which then overshadowed the meeting.

First,—Though some that had a public testimony, might think within themselves, that the weight of the service of the Yearly Meeting might not be upon them, believing it would rather become the concern of those who had come from far to visit Friends here; yet that they should beware of an unconcernedness in that respect, but be weightily and carefully concerned to travail, spiritually, with them who might be in the exercise, that thereby they might be helped and strengthened through their spiritual travail with them.

As also, that whereas it was the way of the world to forget God, yet the Lord had gathered us, his people, to himself, that we could not forget him; for though we came poor and empty together, yet the Lord in his wisdom, and goodness, and love, met us with a full hand, to comfort and strengthen us, that we might not faint in our minds, but be renewed in our strength; and as Friends kept in that, the Lord would be praised, and his

Truth advanced. As also, that Friends might keep to the power of Truth, and not to be over forward, but to mind it; and when things were well, not to offer any thing that might do hurt, or hinder the Lord in his spiritual work amongst his people. And though this caution might seem then to be well received, as it had been formerly, yet it was seldom but some things in these great meetings were offered that did hurt, wound, and grieve the honest-hearted; and several cautions were given, that it should not be so at this meeting, or for the future.

As also, that Friends in the ministry should not run before their Guide, but be weightily concerned, and not strive to utter words out of the power of Truth: but as the power fell in them, though there might be an openness and a desire to speak in that power, yet rather to leave off, that the Lord might have his way. For many things which might open at such times, if the power withdrew, might be better spoken to by another, who might afterward be put forth to speak to it, if the Lord saw good to order it.

Adjourned until the morrow morning.

19th day.—Friends being again met this morning, some testimonies and cautions were given, viz:—

As to the difference between the wisdom of God and of man, and that though the wisdom of man was in the power of many, yet the wisdom of God was to be waited for; therefore Friends were cautioned to wait for it in silence, and know a renewing of their strength therein, and not to stir without it carried them along; but rather to rest when it withdrew or did not put them forth.

As also, that as the Lord had formerly appointed priests and Levites to serve him, so the Lord had now appointed the chosen vessels to bear public testimonies to his name and truth: with caution, that none should go before or stay behind the power of that which had called them, lest their offerings should be those of strange fire.

And not only so, but to be good patterns and examples in their lives and conversation, and to see that it should be so with

their wives and children and servants, that in all things the Lord through them might be praised.

William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson, for good order and example's sake, were willing, and of their own accord, offered their certificates, that Friends in England had given them, of their unity with them, and of Friends' satisfaction in their coming to visit us here, which were read and well accepted and approved.

A letter from Thomas Turner, and his certificate, read from Friends in England, were well received ; and it was agreed that a certificate be drawn on his account, to go from this meeting.

The answer written by Caleb Pusey and John Wood, to Daniel Leed's book, called " News of a Trumpet," agreed to be read next Fifth-day morning.

Adjourned until the morrow, at eight in the morning.

20th day.—Adjourned again until four in the afternoon.

Ann Dilworth proposed her intentions of going for England, to visit Friends there, and she was advised of the weight of so great a concern ; but if it rested still with her, the meeting left her to her liberty.

Walter Fawcitt laid before this meeting his intention of going to England to visit Friends, and he was left to his liberty.

An epistle from the Yearly Meeting at London was read, and referred to be considered by the Yearly Meeting here.

A paper of condemnation was brought into this meeting, signed by Griffith Jones, about his joining with George Keith in his separation ; but [Friends] being informed it had not yet orderly passed the Monthly Meeting at Philadelphia, to which he belonged, he was therefore referred to give the said meeting satisfaction in the first place.

Adjourned until eight in the morning.

21st day.—Adjourned until evening.

Adjourned until eight in the morning.

22nd day.—Mary Rogers, in much brokenness, laid before Friends, how that it had not been her own choice to choose exercises, trials and difficulties, but it had been the Lord's pleasure to draw her beyond her expectation, as now he had laid it upon her to visit Barbadoes ; and though she had tried several ways to have

evaded it, if the Lord had seen good, yet every way, except that, seemed as darkness to her. But she was willing to lay it before the meeting, that she might have the concurrence of Friends in so weighty an undertaking; which caused much tenderness in the meeting, and divers testimonies were borne of the satisfaction of Friends concerning her and her exercises; and with several prayers for her preservation, in much love and brokenness, the meeting gave her up to the will of the Lord.

Agreed that a certificate be drawn on her behalf, and that the Monthly Meeting at Philadelphia be desired to take care that it be done.

It was proposed to this meeting, that Richard Hoskins had it on his mind to visit the meetings in Maryland and thereaway, and in Virginia, and he was left to his liberty.

Thomas Turner's certificate signed.

23rd day.—Caleb Pusey's answer to Daniel Leed's "News of a Trumpet sounding in the Wilderness," &c. was read, and [the meeting] agreed that it be published with amendments, and the additions noted to be made.

The meeting ended.

After attending the Yearly Meeting at Burlington in 1698, William Ellis and his companion passed onwards to New England, and then returned southward, and to England in the following year. Referring to his services among the settlers in Pennsylvania, William Ellis says, "The Lord blessed my travels greatly amongst them; disciples increase. It is thus also in most parts of West Jersey: there is little [or but few] in East Jersey."*

Thomas Chalkley crossed the Atlantic in company with Thomas Turner and the two Friends just referred to. Speaking of his labours in Pennsylvania, he says, "I had many large and precious meetings, the power of the eternal Son of God being wonderful—there are many Friends in that province, and many sober young people, which greatly rejoiced my spirit. The Lord is with his people there, and prospereth them spiritually and temporally."†

* Letter to W. Edmundson.

† Chalkley's Journal.

Passing from this province he proceeded to the Jerseys, and visited the meetings in those colonies. At Crosswicks he mentions having a large meeting under the trees. It appears to have been a memorable occasion, at which he adds, "some were convinced of the truth." It was at this meeting that Edward Andrews, who afterwards became a valuable minister, was, as he expresses, "mightily reached."* He also held meetings with the Indians. Thomas Chalkley returned to England in 1699, but within a few years after settled in Pennsylvania: to his services in promotion of the cause of truth, reference will be made hereafter.

Thomas Turner was from Coggeshall Monthly Meeting in Essex. He travelled for a while in company with Thomas Chalkley, and his religious labours were edifying to his brethren in America; his stay, however, on this occasion, was but short, as he appears to have returned to England in the latter end of the same year.†

Elizabeth Webb and Mary Rogers landed in Virginia in the Twelfth Month, 1697. But little is recorded of their religious services, either within the province of Pennsylvania or in the other colonies of America. Mary Rogers, who is mentioned in the minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers in 1698, as having been liberated to visit Barbadoes, died in the following year whilst passing from Nevis or Antigua to Jamaica.‡ Elizabeth Webb came from Gloucester. She was brought up as an Episcopalian, but at an early age was convinced of the principles of Friends. We are not informed at what time she came forth in the ministry, but respecting the visit in question, she has left the following remarkable record:—"In the year 1697, in the Sixth Month, as I was sitting in the meeting in Gloucester, which was then the place of my abode, my mind was gathered into perfect stillness for some time, and my spirit was as if it had been carried away into America; and, after it returned, my heart was as if it had been dissolved with the love of God, which flowed over the great ocean, and I was constrained to kneel down and pray for the seed of God in America. The concern never went

* Phil. Friend, vol. xix. p. 47.

† Life of W. Ellis, pp. 90 and 118

‡ Carpenter's Letter, in Life of W. Ellis, p. 168.

out of my mind day nor night, until I went to travel there in the love of God, which is so universal, that it reaches over sea and land."* She and her husband, John Webb, about 1708, settled in Pennsylvania, and in 1712, she went on a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain.

The Epistle from the Yearly Meeting held at Burlington, in 1698, to the Yearly Meeting in London, notices the attendance of most of the foregoing Friends:—"We may in truth say," they add, "through the large mercy and wonderful goodness of our God, we have had a very blessed and heavenly meeting.—The presence of the great God overshadowing us, many living and powerful testimonies were delivered."†

Thomas Story, and Roger Gill, reached the shores of the new world in the Twelfth Month, 1698. Of the life of the former eminent minister some particulars will be given. Roger Gill was from London. In his youth he had professed with the Baptists, and joined Friends at the early age of nineteen.‡ He also was an able minister of Christ, faithful and diligent in his calling. In 1699, they attended Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. This was a time of great affliction in that city, arising from the fatal ravages of the yellow fever. It broke out in the early part of the Sixth Month, and, by the latter end of the Eighth Month following, no less than two hundred and thirty persons had fallen victims to this terrible disease; but few if any houses, being free from its attacks.§ In reference to this visitation Thomas Story thus writes: "Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord! Great was the fear that fell upon all flesh! I saw no lofty or airy countenance; nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter; nor witty repartee to raise mirth; nor extravagant feasting to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure. But every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave. But the just appeared with open face, and walked upright in the streets, and

* E. Webb's Letter to A. W. Boehm.

‡ Piety Pro., part iii.

† MS. Epistle.

§ T. Story's Life, p. 224.

rejoiced in secret, in that perfect love that casteth out all fear; and sang praises to Him who liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for ever, being resigned unto his holy will in all things, saying, Let it be as thou wilt, in time and in eternity, now and for evermore; nor love of the world, nor fear of death, could hinder their resignation, abridge their confidence, or cloud their enjoyments in the Lord.*

In the Morning Meeting of Ministers and Elders which preceded the Yearly Meeting, the question of postponing the time of holding the latter, in consequence of the prevailing sickness, was considered. "But," observes Thomas Story, "the testimony of truth went generally against the adjournment or suspension, and the Lord's presence was greatly with us to the end."—"Friends," he continues, "were generally much comforted in the divine truth; the fear of the contagion was much taken away, and the testimony of truth was exceeding glorious in several instruments, and over the meeting in general, and so continued to the end, which was the first, second and third days for worship, and the fourth for business, which was managed in wisdom and unanimity, and ended in sweetness and concord."†

During the early stage of the awful visitation referred to, Roger Gill was in New England. He was deeply affected at the circumstance, and impressed with the belief that it was required of him to go at once to the scene of his brethren's affliction. "When one hundred miles off," he said in one of his public meetings, "his love in the Lord was such to them, that had he had wings he would fly to Philadelphia."‡ The strong feeling of Christian sympathy and love which drew him thus to visit the sick and the dying, and to expose himself to the contagion, did not lessen as he saw his friends one after another suddenly snatched from time. On one occasion, during the Yearly Meeting, he was drawn fervently to supplicate the Most High to stay his hand, and he added, "if He would be pleased to accept of his life for a sacrifice, he freely offered it up for the people." Under a belief that his prayer had been heard, and that his life had been indeed accepted

* T. Story's Life, p. 224.

† Ibid.

‡ Piety Pro. part iii.

as a free-will offering to the Lord, Roger Gill intimated to his friends that his work was nearly finished. He went on a visit to Burlington Meeting, and soon after his return to Philadelphia was seized with the prevailing disease. During the illness some of his friends expressed a hope for his recovery; but he replied, "Truly I have neither thoughts nor hopes about being raised in this life; but I know I shall rise sooner than many imagine, and receive a reward according to my works."* He died after a few days' illness, the closing scene being one of great sweetness and solemnity. It is remarkable, that almost immediately after the death of this dedicated man, the ravages of the yellow fever ceased.† "I was fully satisfied," writes Thomas Story on hearing of his death, that "he had obtained a crown of everlasting peace with the Lord; many hearts in America had been tendered by him, many souls comforted, and several convinced: all [being] through that divine power by which he is now raised to glory, to sing praises to Him who sitteth on the throne, and ruleth and reigneth, and is alone worthy, for ever and ever." †

Towards the close of 1699, Thomas Story, who had been travelling in some of the southern states, returned to Pennsylvania, and held public meetings in various parts of that province, where no meetings of Friends had hitherto been settled. He also attended many of the meetings in this province and in the Jerseys. At Salem, he preached "against the world and apostates." At Cohanzie, "several were melted and comforted." At Chester Creek he had the heartfelt pleasure of meeting William Penn on his again landing from England. From thence he passed on to Concord, where he remarks the meeting "was arge and well." The next was held at John Bowater's, about three miles distant, and was "a good and tender meeting, for the Lord was with them." "Several also were tendered by the virtue of truth" at a large meeting held at Thomas Minshall's near by. Another was then held about four miles off: this also appears to have been a tendering opportunity, after which he writes, "I was very easy,

* Piety Promoted, part iii.

† Ibid.

‡ T. Story's Life, p. 227.

and much comforted in the divine truth." He then passed on to Philadelphia.*

After spending about a week in the city, Thomas Story proceeded with William Penn to witness the proceedings of the Quarter Sessions at Chester, where he had a "large and open" meeting. He then visited his Welsh friends at Haverford West and Radnor. At Merion also he had a "very large meeting—many important truths," he remarks, "were opened, and we were comforted in the blessed truth, and mutually one in another therein." After this he again visited Philadelphia, whence he proceeded to the meetings of Germantown, Neshaminy, The Falls, Frankfort, Darby, and Burlington, and after another visit to Philadelphia he attended most of the meetings in East and West Jersey.†

In the early part of 1700, Thomas Story felt that he had completed the religious service required of him in America, and was, as he expresses it, "ready to return to England." There were, however, many Friends in his native land, who were conscious that he possessed abilities and qualifications which would render him a most useful member of the new and rising Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and who were desirous to see them applied in that direction. William Penn, with whom he was on terms of the most intimate friendship, was also alive to the subject. He saw in his younger friend, those qualities of mind which could not fail to exert a beneficial influence on the people and government of his province, and he earnestly solicited him to remain. Thomas Story yielded to the wishes of his friends, and William Penn at once nominated him a member of the "Council of State," and soon afterwards "Keeper of the Great Seal," "Master of the Rolls," and one of his "Commissioners of Property." In the patent appointing him to these offices a proviso was inserted, which enabled him "to have deputies therein respectively, when and so often as his calling in the truth, and service thereof, might require it." Two years later, Thomas Story was appointed first Recorder of the city of Philadelphia. He was, however, always averse to this office, and resigned it as soon as the Corporation

T. Story's Life, p. 237-240.

† Ibid. p. 240-3.

was regularly settled. He resided in Pennsylvania until the year 1714, when, after an absence of about sixteen years, he returned and settled in his native land. During his residence in America, he was largely engaged in religious labours to promote the kingdom of his Redeemer, and visited most of the meetings from New England to Carolina, and the islands of the West Indies.

Intimately connected as Thomas Story was with Pennsylvania, a brief sketch of his life will not be inappropriate in these pages. He was born in Cumberland, of parents who were opulent, and who brought him up in the established church. From very early life he was piously inclined: "the Lord," he remarks, "in his great mercy and kindness, had an eye upon me for good, even in my infancy, inclining my heart to seek after him in my tender years." He delighted much in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and in religious contemplation. His education, however, conflicted with this inclination of mind; the fashionable accomplishments of the day, such as music, dancing, and fencing, ill accorded with his aspirations after heavenly good, and, as he advanced towards manhood, his mind "suffered many flowings and ebbings." His father having designed to bring him up in the profession of the law, he was placed with a barrister in the country previously to his entering one of the Inns of Court.

Having been mercifully preserved in a tender and seeking state of mind, he was, through divine illumination, given to see that some of the ceremonies of the Church in which he had been educated, were inconsistent with the simplicity and character of the gospel of Christ. Bowing at the sound of the name of Jesus, turning the face towards the east on the reading of the Apostles' Creed, kneeling towards the altar table, and infant baptism, were some of those observances against which he first had a religious scruple. Continuing to follow on to know the Lord, he grew in Christian experience, and was favoured with deeper and clearer views of divine truth. He saw that there were many evils in his nature, which were to be consumed by the spirit of judgment and of burning, and, resigning himself to the operations of the divine hand, he witnessed the carnal mind to be mortified and slain. "I became," he observes, "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. I was filled with perfect consolation, which none but the Word of Life can declare or give. It was then, and not till then, I knew that God is love, and that perfect love which casteth out all fear. It was then I knew that God is eternal light, and that in Him is no darkness at all."*

These, were the secret and silent operations of the power of God upon his mind, but the fruits of the Spirit were soon apparent to those around him. His manners were no longer jovial; his sword, which he had worn as a "manly ornament," was laid aside; his instruments of music were committed to the flames; and superfluous apparel no longer adorned his person or ministered to his pride. He also felt it to be his duty to discontinue his attendance of the national place of worship, but not with the view of uniting with any other sect; and a secret impression arose in his mind, that one day he should be called upon "to oppose the world in matters of religion; but when, or how, that should be brought to pass, he did not foresee."†

Being led into much retirement, he was at seasons remarkably favoured with Divine openings, as well as with spiritual enjoyments. "The Lord," he writes, "gave me joy which no tongue can express, and peace which passeth understanding. My heart was melted with the height of comfort; my soul was immersed in the depths of love; my eyes overflowed with tears of greatest pleasure." On one occasion, during a time of retirement, "Friends," he says, "were suddenly, and with some surprise," brought to his mind; and this circumstance induced a strong inclination to enquire respecting them. He soon after attended one of their meetings. The occasion appears to have been a favoured one, which tended to draw him in a feeling of sweet unity towards them. Alluding to this meeting, he says, "I sat still among them in an inward condition and mental retirement." A Friend spoke in the ministry, but his own attention was more directed to what was passing in his mind than to the doctrines which were

* T. Story's Life, p. 14.

† Ibid. p. 16.

declared—his object being, “to know whether they were a people gathered under a sense of the enjoyment of the presence of God in their meetings.” His desire was abundantly answered. He had not sat long before “a heavenly and watery cloud,” as he expresses it, “overshadowed his mind, and brake into a sweet abounding shower of celestial rain,” and under the divine influence which prevailed, most present were contrited and comforted. “Our joy,” he says, “was mutual and full—and mine as the joy of salvation from God, in view of the work of the Lord, so far carried on in the earth, when I had thought, not long before, there had scarce been any true and living faith, or knowledge of God in the world.*

This was in the year 1691; and from henceforth he openly professed with Friends, and in a few years after spoke in the character of a minister. At first his communications were confined to a few sentences only; but, dwelling in the root of divine life, his gift was enlarged, and he became a mighty instrument in the hand of the Lord, for the awakening and conversion of others. Friends of his Monthly Meeting spoke of him as “a man of great parts, and these, sanctified and made instrumental in Divine wisdom, rendered his ministry very convincing and edifying; so that he was acknowledged not only by our Society, but even by other people, to be a truly great and evangelical minister.”† He travelled very extensively in the exercise of his gift as a minister of the Gospel in the United Kingdom, as well as in America, and he also once visited Holland and Germany. The greater portion, indeed, of his long life was given up to the service of his Lord. He died in Cumberland in the Fourth Month, 1742, and was buried at Carlisle, having been a minister nearly fifty years. He married the daughter of Edward Shippen of Philadelphia, but it does not appear that he left any family.

Thomas Story

* In 1716, Thomas Story delivered a memorable testimony in the Yearly Meeting of London, in which he adverted to this meeting, and the impression then made on his mind “that Friends were the Lord’s people.”—*MS. Account.*

† *MS. Testimonies of deceased Ministers, vol. i.*

Whilst the great Head of the Church sent his messengers from Europe to edify and to strengthen this portion of his visible church, he was also pleased to call some of his ministers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to visit other parts of America, as well as to labour in word and doctrine among their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. These things gladdened the hearts of their friends in England, and in an epistle dated from London in the Fourth Month, 1685, we find expressions of joy, "that some were stirred up in the spirit and power of the Lord to visit the churches of Christ in New England, Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina." In the year 1685, Thomas Olive, of New Jersey, and Edward Luffe, visited the meetings in Maryland,* and in the summer of 1688, several Friends of that province went on a gospel mission to their brethren in New England.† Soon after this date, James Dilworth, of Neshaminy, in Pennsylvania, visited his friends in Maryland.‡ In 1692, John Delavall accompanied Jacob Tilner to New England, and in the next year Richard Hoskins, who had recently settled in the province, visited Friends in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.§ In 1694, Thomas Duckett and William Walker of Pennsylvania proceeded on a visit to Great Britain and Ireland. The latter died whilst on the service. Griffith Owen, of Philadelphia, also crossed the Atlantic soon after in the love of the gospel. It was during 1694 that Robert Ewer, in company with Thomas Musgrave, travelled in the work of the ministry to the colonies in the south;|| and in the following year Griffith Owen and William Gabitt attended the Yearly Meeting in Maryland.¶

The gospel labours of ministering Friends of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, who travelled within the limits of other Yearly Meetings, were more generally about this time directed to New England. In 1695 Hugh Roberts and Joseph Kirkbride visited the churches in those parts; in the year following, Richard

* Smith's Hist., ch. vi. † Epist. to London Yearly Meeting, 1688.

‡ Smith's Hist., ch. vii.

§ MS. Letter to George Whitehead—Papers of London Yearly Meeting.

|| Smith's Hist., chap. x.

¶ Epistle to London, 1695; Smith's Hist., chap. x.; Ellis's Life, p. 90.

Hoskins and George Gray, and soon after them Hannah Delavall. It appears that Ann Dilworth and Jane Biles, of Pennsylvania, and Ann Jennings, of New Jersey, had on a previous occasion so visited the Friends of New England, but the date is not given. Hannah Delavall went thither a second time in 1697, and in the following year no less than six Friends of Pennsylvania travelled in that country; these were Thomas Janney, John Simcock, James Dilworth, William Biles, John Willsford, and Nicholas Waln; and in 1699 Thomas Ducket and Samuel Jennings. In 1698, Richard Hoskins, Richard Gove and Thomas Chalkley, visited their brethren in Maryland and Virginia, and in the year following they all three extended their gospel labours to Friends in England.* About this time also, Walter Fawcett, and Ann Dilworth, were left at liberty to cross the Atlantic on a similar service.†

* Smith's Hist., chap. xiv.

† Ellis's Life, p. 89.



FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE AT MERION PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER III.

CONDUCT OF FRIENDS TOWARDS THE INDIANS.

Right of the Aborigines to their country—Instances of its recognition by Europeans—The principle rigidly observed by William Penn—The Indians a deeply injured race—Their hatred to Europeans a consequence—William Penn's first letter to the Indians in 1681—He occupies Pennsylvania without weapons of war—His conversation with Charles II.—Markham purchases land of the Indians—Special laws for protecting their interests—Great Treaty of William Penn with the Indians—Principal heads of the Treaty—Remarks on this memorable occasion—William Penn's exertions for the civilization and Christian instruction of the natives—Means adopted for this object by Friends—Feeling of English Friends respecting it—Visits of Ministers to the Indians—Labours of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting—Indians protected in trading—William Penn's Treaty in 1701 with more remote tribes—His memorable farewell interview with the Indians—Conduct of the Provincial Legislature towards them—Yearly Meeting Advices on the subject—Concluding remarks.

IN taking a review of the history of the colonies on the American continent, it is humiliating to observe how little regard has been paid by nations even civilized, and professing the name of Christ, to the just rights and claims of the aborigines. From the time of Cortereal's kidnapping expeditions to Labrador, and the cruel enormities of Cortez and Pizarro in Mexico and Peru, the European adventurers to the western world, with some honourable exceptions, not only entered on the territory of the red man without either purchase or treaty, but, in too many instances they were regarded as the property of the invaders, to be bought and sold as the cattle of the field.

According to the views and practices of civilized nations, the mere discovery of lands occupied by uncivilized tribes, gives right of sovereignty over such lands to the nation making the discovery,

and, in many instances, it has been held to confer also an actual claim of ownership to the soil. A title resting on such a basis, and entirely setting at naught the immemorial claim and possession of the natives, is, however, an unrighteous usurpation by the strong of the rights of the weak, and opposed alike to justice and to reason.

The right of the North American Indians to their lakes and their hunting grounds, could only cease by a voluntary surrender. But, if forcible possession be taken by invaders, the title is as unsound as the violence or fraud by which it was acquired was unjust and wicked. Europeans could not by possibility claim a legitimate right, even on the ground of conquest; for no injury had been received from the Indians to justify a war. It was not, indeed, until the guns of the white man were heard on their coasts, that the unsuspecting natives of America were aware of the existence of such people. The indisputable rights of the aborigines of America yielded, however, before the cupidity of its discoverers, and, with little exception, its vast region was unrighteously parcelled out among a few of the Christian states of Europe.

With regard to the actual ownership of the soil, a considerable difference of opinion appears to have existed, followed by a diversity of practice. The Dutch and Swedes obtained their freeholds by purchase from the various tribes,* whilst the French and Spanish nations, less scrupulous than their Protestant neighbours, took possession of the land without such preliminaries. The course pursued by the English in this particular was unfixed and varied. In Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, there is but little evidence of treaties for land, and the same also may be said of Massachusetts. New Hampshire appears to have been

* An original deed, conveying lands from the Indians to the Swedes, is still preserved in the national archives at Stockholm. The instructions given by Christina, the daughter and successor of Gustavus Adolphus, to Governor Printz in 1642, thus refer to purchases from the Indians:—"When the governor shall, God willing, arrive in New Sweden, he must carefully observe the limits of the country which our subjects possess, by virtue of the contract made with the savage inhabitants, as *legitimate owners of it*, according to the deeds."—Vide *Penn. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. part i. p. 63.

purchased, "acquiring thereby," says Belknap, "a more valuable right, in a moral view, than any European prince could give."* Roger Williams, in founding the colony of Providence, before "he broke ground," made a full and complete purchase of the Indians; and the settlers on Rhode Island did the same. A considerable portion of Connecticut was also thus honourably obtained, whilst other parts of it were claimed on the more than doubtful grounds of conquest.

In the previous volume it has been stated, that the Society of Friends, in emigrating to the Jerseys, were careful not to occupy lands without first effecting a full and complete purchase from the natives, and this principle is well known to have been rigidly observed by William Penn in the settlement of Pennsylvania. In his opinion the sovereignty of Charles II. did not extinguish the right of the Indians to the territory; and although the charter recognised him as the absolute proprietor of the soil, yet he himself never claimed a single acre, until it had been acquired by purchase from its original occupiers.

It was not only in the acquisition of territory that William Penn followed the best examples of the early settlers in the western world—he aimed at something more. He was aware that the aborigines had been deeply injured by Europeans, and that the white man was justly regarded by them as their foe and their oppressor. Excepting the Jerseys and Rhode Island, there was not one among all the colonies in America which had not, more or less, been involved in almost exterminating wars with the natives. The cruelties of Narvaez in Florida, and of Cortereal in Labrador, are of historical notoriety. Raleigh's failure in Carolina may be traced to his unhappy conflicts with the Indians; and the terrible slaughter of the Virginian settlers in 1618, and again in 1644, was the result of a deep-rooted feeling of wrongs received from those whom they regarded as invaders of their country. By the Puritans of New England the aborigines were called "Dragons of the Desert," and "Amalekites,"—beings to be "rooted out of the world;"† and, thus regarded, they were hunted as the wild beasts of the field. In New Netherlands the

* Belknap's *New Hampshire*, vol. i. p. 12. † Mather's *Magnalia Christi*.

Dutch were continually at war with the Algonquins. "When you first arrived on our shores," said a chief of Long Island to them in 1643, "you were destitute of food; we gave you our beans and our corn; we fed you with oysters and fish; and now for our recompense you murder our people. The traders, whom your first ships left on our shores to traffic till their return, were cherished by us as the apple of our eye: we gave them our daughters for their wives; among those whom you have murdered were children of your own blood."*

From Florida to Labrador, the prevailing feeling of the Indian towards the European was, as a necessary consequence, one of distrust and hatred, and the murderous tomahawk was not unfrequently wielded to satiate his revenge for the wrongs he had received. On the other hand the generality of the settlers unhappily regarded the natives as but wild and irreclaimable savages—as a race wholly unfitted to live in the presence of civilized beings. And the superior intelligence and acquirements of Christians, instead of being employed to ameliorate the condition of the untutored red man, and in exhibiting to him examples of justice and mercy, have been miserably prostrated at the shrine of avarice and cruelty. It was reserved for William Penn more fully to manifest, not only that such a course was foolish and wicked, and absurdly impolitic, but that the tribes of North America were naturally a confiding people, who could be won by justice and kindness, and that they were recipients of that divine grace which can contrite and soften even the hearts of the uncivilized.

In one of the ships that first sailed with emigrants to Pennsylvania, William Penn sent Markham, his deputy-governor, who, together with several commissioners that accompanied him, was specially charged to confer with the Indians in reference to the sale of lands, and to make arrangements with them for entering into a firm and lasting league of peace. With a view to facilitate this object, they were also directed to treat the natives with all possible kindness, and in all their transactions with them, to act with such justice and candour as should erase all suspicion

* Bancroft's History of the United States.

of the sincerity of their motives. In order, also, to impress them with a just sense of the love which he entertained for them, he sent them the following friendly letter, remarkably adapted to their understandings and feelings, and calculated to inspire them with confidence towards himself and the settlers :—

London, *the 18th of the Sixth Month, 1681.*

MY FRIENDS,—

There is a great God and power that hath made the world, and all things therein, to whom you and I, and all people, owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world. This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and help, and do good one to another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world ; and the king of the country, where I live, hath given me a great province therein ; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends ; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us, not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world. Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that have been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you, which I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life ; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall, in all things, behave themselves accordingly ; and, if in anything any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides ; that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

I shall shortly come to you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters; in the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

I am, your loving friend,

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to William Penn, written in dark ink on a light background.

Unlike most of the previous adventurers to the western world, the emigrants to Pennsylvania proceeded thither entirely unprovided with weapons of war. They confidently relied on the protecting power of the Almighty, and, on the efficacy of Christian principle, believing that courtesy and kindness would win the North American Indian to their friendship, and, that neither the sword, nor the soldier, would be required in the colony of the friends of peace. The sequel shows that they had not miscalculated.*

* The King, who had no sympathy with the pacific views of William Penn, in granting him the Charter of Pennsylvania introduced a clause empowering him to make war upon the aborigines, or "savages," as he was wont to call them. The clause contrasts singularly with the principles of the Governor. It runs thus:—

"And because, in so remote a country, and situate near so many barbarous nations, the incursions as well of the savages themselves, as of other enemies, pirates and robbers, may probably be feared; therefore, we have given, and, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give power, by these presents, unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, by themselves, or their captains, or other their officers, to levy muster and train all sorts of men, of what condition soever, or where-soever born, in the said province of Pennsylvania, for the time being, and to make war, and pursue the enemys and robbers aforesaid, as well by sea as by land, yea even without the limits of the said province,

Before William Penn had landed on the shores of the New World, Markham had completed extensive purchases of land

and (by God's assistance), to vanquish and take them; and, being taken, to put them to death, by the law of war, or to save them at their pleasure; and to do all and every other thing, which unto the charge and office of a Captain Generall of an army belongeth, or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and freely as any Captain Generall of an army hath ever had the same."—*State Paper Office. Penn's Charter, 1681. B. T. vol. i.*

Weem, in his life of William Penn, gives the following conversation, which is said to have taken place between him and Charles II., previous to his embarkation for America. The dialogue displays William Penn's policy in contrast with the legislators of that day, and the confidence he had in a sincere appeal to the moral feelings of the Indians.

King.—"What! venture yourself among the savages of North America! Why, man, what security have you that you will not be in their war-kettle in two hours after setting your foot on their shores? I have no idea of any security against these cannibals, but in a regiment of soldiers, with their muskets and their bayonets; but, mind you, I will not send a single soldier with you."

W. Penn.—"I want none of thy soldiers. I depend on something better than soldiers—I depend on the Indians themselves—on their moral sense—even on the grace of God which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men."

King.—"If it had appeared to them, they would hardly have treated my subjects so barbarously as they have done."

W. Penn.—"That is no proof to the contrary; thy subjects were the aggressors. When they first went to North America, they found these poor people the kindest and fondest creatures in the world. Every day they would watch for them to come on shore, and hasten to meet them and feast them on their best fish, their venison, and their corn, which was all they had. In return for this hospitality of the savages, as we term them, thy christian subjects, as we term them, seized on their country and their rich hunting grounds for farms for themselves. Now is it to be much wondered at, that these much injured people, driven to desperation by such injustice, should have committed some excesses?"

King.—"But how will you get their lands without soldiers?"

W. Penn.—"I mean to buy their lands of them."

King.—"Why, man! you have bought them of me already."

W. Penn.—"Yes; I know I have, and at a dear rate too: I did this to gain thy good will, not that I thought thou hadst any right to their lands—I will buy the right of the proper owners, even of the Indians

from the natives.* He had first explained to them the benevolent intentions of the proprietor towards them, and that, although the King of England had granted to him the whole country of Pennsylvania, yet he would not occupy a single rood of their hunting grounds, without previously buying it from them, with their full consent and goodwill. Markham also informed them, that laws had been enacted to prevent the settlers from cheating them in the market-place—that a fair price would be paid to them for their furs and their wild game, and that any articles they might purchase should be fairly charged—that if a dispute arose between a white man and a red one, twelve men, six of the former, and six of the latter, should decide the controversy—that “no man shall, by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong an Indian, but he shall incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter;” and, “that the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relating to improvement of their ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters shall enjoy.”† When the Deputy-Governor had told the Indians of these things, and laid before them the presents which he had brought for them as a token of friendship and goodwill, they were touched with a sense of such christian conduct, and declared that they would “live in peace with Onas and his children as long as the sun and moon shall endure.”‡

It was in the summer of 1682, that the lawgiver of Pennsylvania first beheld the native forests of his new domain. For several weeks after his landing he was, as we have already stated, busily engaged on many important subjects connected with the settlement of the colony, after which he went on a visit to New York, the Jerseys, and Long Island. It is generally agreed, that his great and memorable treaty with the Indians, took place

themselves: by doing this, I shall imitate God in his justice and mercy, and hope, thereby, to insure his blessing on my colony, if I should ever live to plant one in North America.”

* Smith's Laws of Pennsylvania, p. 109.

† W. Penn's Concessions, in Proud, vol. ii. Append. ix., p. 3.

‡ Smith's Laws of Pennsylvania, p. 109.

immediately on his return from this journey. The records made on that celebrated occasion are, it is to be regretted, now lost; but of the time and place of the transaction we are not left in doubt. An envelope, accidentally discovered in the office of the secretary at Harrisburgh, among some papers relating to the Shawnese Indians, has the following brief endorsement, which sets this matter at rest: "Minutes of the Indian Conference, in relation to the great treaty made with William Penn, at the Big Tree, Shackamaxon, on the 14th of the Tenth Month, 1682."* Shackamaxon was situate on the banks of the Delaware, in the suburbs of Philadelphia, within the present limits of Kensington. It is described as a fine natural amphitheatre, and had been used as a place of meeting by the Indian tribes from time immemorial, and Sakimaxing, corrupted to Shackamaxon, signified that it was the locality of kings.† Here, under the wide-spread branches of a great elm tree, a century and a half old, which adorned the already venerated spot, William Penn met the assembled tribes with their chiefs and warriors, and proclaimed to them those sublime sentiments of peace and love, which he sought to promote amongst mankind, ratifying at the same time a deed of concord with the aborigines, that has won the admiration and praise of the world.

Excepting some Mingoës and Susquehanna tribes, the Indians who met William Penn on this highly interesting occasion, were chiefly the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, and their number, altogether, was considerable. "On William Penn's arrival," says Clarkson, "he found the sachems and their tribes assembling. They were seen in the woods as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful both on account of their number and their arms."‡ This negotiation is unequalled in history. A mere handful of defenceless men go forth in the midst of the wilderness, to confer with the assembled warriors of the forest, depending alone on the righteousness of their cause, and the all-protecting arm of Him who hath the hearts of all men at his

* See Gordon's Hist. of Pennsylvania, p. 603.

† This etymology is given in the Penn. Hist. Soc. Mem. vol. iii. part ii. p. 183.

‡ Clarkson's Life of Penn, vol. i. p. 341.

disposal. William Penn, at that time in the thirty-eighth year of his age, met the swarthy foresters in simple costume, undistinguished either by crown or sceptre, and, excepting a silken sash which he wore, by any other emblem of power, attended only by his friends, and holding in his hand the roll containing his terms of peace and friendship. The reception being over, the sachems retired to consult, after which, Tamiment their king returned, and placed on his head a chaplet, into which was twisted a small horn. This was his symbol of kingly power, and, whenever placed on his brow, it proclaimed the place sacred, and the persons of all present inviolable. The scene was now immediately changed. The Indians threw down their weapons of war, and, having ranged themselves in the form of a crescent or half-moon, Tamiment intimated to the governor, through an interpreter, that "the nations" were prepared to hear and consider his words.* William Penn then proceeded to address them to the following import:—"The Great Spirit," he said, "who made you and me, who rules in heaven and the earth, and who knows the innermost thoughts of man, knows that I and my friends have a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with the Indians, and to serve them to the utmost of our power. It is not the custom of me and my friends to use weapons of war against our fellow creatures, and for this reason we have come to you without arms. Our desire is not to do injury and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but rather to do good. We are now met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, and no advantage will be taken on either side, but all is to be openness, brotherhood, and love."† After some further expressions, in which he assured them that he and his friends believed that their brethren of the red race were just, and that they were prepared to confide in their friendship,‡ he unrolled the parchment containing the treaty, and explained in detail the words of the compact made for their future union. After having spread before them some presents of mer-

* W. Penn's Letter to Sunderland, Fifth Month 28th, 1683.

† Clarkson's Life of William Penn, vol. i. p. 338.

‡ Penn. Hist. Soc. vol. iii., part ii. p. 189.

chandise, he laid the roll on the ground, observing that the spot should be free and common to both, and that he should consider them as brethren of the same flesh and blood, and children of the same heavenly Father. William Penn then presented the roll to Taminent, and desired that it might be carefully preserved, that future generations might know what had passed between them, just as if he himself had remained to repeat it. We have no account of the speeches made by the Indians on the occasion. Their hearts, however, were touched with the pure and heavenly doctrines which were declared to them, and, renouncing all feelings of revenge, they solemnly, in the usages of their people, pledged themselves to live in love with William Penn and his children for ever.*

* The roll containing the great treaty was shown by the Mingoës, Shawneë and other Indians, at a conference with Governor Keith in 1722; no copy of it is now known to exist, and no full report of the proceedings has been handed down. The only authentic account of the covenants entered into on the occasion, is contained in a speech made by Governor Gordon to the Susquehanna Indians, at a treaty held at Conestego in 1728, and which is as follows:—

“My brethren!—You have been faithful to your leagues with us! Your leagues with William Penn and his governors are in writing on record, that our children and our children’s children may have them in everlasting remembrance. And we know that you preserve the memory of those things amongst you, by telling them to your children, and they again to the next generation; so that they remain stamped on your minds, never to be forgotten. The chief heads or strongest links of this chain I find are these nine, to wit:—

1st. “That all William Penn’s people, or Christians, and all the Indians should be brethren, as the children of one father, joined together as with one heart, one head, and one body.

2nd. “That all paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.

3rd. “That the doors of the Christians’ houses should be open to the Indians, and the houses of the Indians open to the Christians, and that they should make each other welcome as their friends.

4th. “That the Christians should not believe any false rumours or reports of the Indians, nor the Indians believe any such rumours or reports of the Christians, but should first come as brethren to inquire of each other; and that both Christians and Indians, when they have any such false reports of their brethren, should bury them as in a bottomless pit.

This treaty of peace made an abiding impression on the hearts of the simple sons of the wilderness. In their wigwams they kept the history of this great deed by strings of wampum, and long after, with delight, would they recall to their memory, and repeat to their children and the stranger, their covenant of peace with the Quaker.* The memory of William Penn became venerated among them, and to be a follower of Onas, was at all times, a passport to their protection and their hospitality.†

But the praise of this memorable transaction has not been confined to the aborigines of North America. It has been alike the theme of the philosopher, the song of the poet, and the scene of the painter. It was not confirmed by oaths, or ratified by seals, but accepted on both sides by simple assent. "It is the only treaty," says the learned and philosophic, though infidel Voltaire, that was never confirmed by an oath and never broken. The Abbé Raynal has paid to it a high tribute of praise, and Noble in his

5th. "That if the Christians hear any ill news that may be to the hurt of the Indians, or the Indians hear any such ill news, that may be to the injury of the Christians, they should acquaint each other with it speedily, as true friends and brethren.

6th. "That the Indians should do no manner of harm to the Christians, nor to their creatures, nor the Christians do any hurt to the Indians; but each treat the other as brethren.

7th. "But as there are wicked people in all nations, if either Indians or Christians should do any harm to each other, complaint should be made of it by the persons suffering, that right might be done; and when satisfaction is made, the injury or wrong should be forgot, and be buried as in a bottomless pit.

8th. "That the Indians should in all things assist the Christians, and the Christians assist the Indians, against all wicked people that would disturb them.

9th. "And lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their children with this league and firm chain of friendship made between them, and that it should always be made stronger and stronger, and be kept bright and clear without rust or spot, between our children and our children's children, while the creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure."

* Heckwelder, *Hist. Trans. American Phil. Soc.*, p. 176.

† *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, and Oldmixon's British Empire in America*, vol. i., p. 171.

continuation of Granger, notices, with warm approbation, that here "the Christian and the barbarian met as brothers."

The scene at Shackamaxon furnishes to mankind an instructive lesson. In other colonies the settlers maintained their possessions with the sword, and almost every adventurer was a soldier. The planters of Pennsylvania, however, though surrounded by the angry and incensed Algonquin, believing that war was opposed to the will of their God, built no forts and maintained no soldiers. The Indians saw that they came unarmed, and had they been disposed, might have made them the very sport of their rage. But whilst they ravaged the neighbouring states with desolation and slaughter, the horrors of the scalping-knife and the tomahawk were unknown in the territory of William Penn. His people went forth to their daily occupations in conscious security, whilst those around them trembled for their existence. "This little state," says Oldmixon, "subsisted in the midst of six Indian nations without so much as a militia for its defence." "New England," remarks Bancroft, "had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination; the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonquins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres. Penn came without arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian."* That Pennsylvania should have been prosperous can excite no surprise. Relying on the Most High for protection, they realised that his promises were unfulfilling, and, though surrounded by a nation of uncivilised warriors, they were preserved in peace and blessed with plenty. "Without any carnal weapon," said one of the early immigrants, "we entered the land and inhabited therein as safe as if there had been thousands of garrisons; for the Most High preserved us from harm, both of man and beast." "We have done better," said another in 1684, "than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi. We may make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush for their shameful victories. To the poor dark souls around us we teach their rights as men."†

* Bancroft's Hist. of the United States. † Planter's Speech, 1684.

The reputation of William Penn and his contemporaries in the government of Pennsylvania, is no glittering bubble destined to pass into oblivion; but as mankind become more and more enlightened with the rays of heavenly truth, the more will they be led to appreciate the motives which produced this Christian conduct. Men have too generally gazed with admiration on military fame, and the triumphs and glories of war have obtained almost unqualified praise. If, however, we believe in the declarations of Holy Writ, we may confidently look forward to the period, when the heroes of Cressy and Agincourt, of Austerlitz and Waterloo, will be remembered in connexion only with the follies and wickedness of mankind, and when the character of William Penn, as a legislator whose acts were based on the laws of immutable righteousness, will be increasingly admired, and society will award to his name, the enduring renown, of having been a pioneer to that happier and better day.

The Christian motives and enlightened policy, which actuated William Penn in these memorable proceedings, did not stop short with forming a friendly alliance with the tribes of North America. Though it was wise and right, in his estimation, to obtain the confidence and good will of the natives, and to live on terms of friendly relations with them, yet he felt also that they had still higher claims on his attention; and his expansive benevolence embraced other objects for their good. The blessings of civilization were among these; but, above all, the blessings of Christianity. From deep and heartfelt experience he could testify that the religion of Jesus was "no cunningly devised fable," but a substantial reality; and having largely participated in its consolations, he had, in the constraining influence of gospel love, earnestly invited his fellow-men to the same heavenly enjoyment. In his intercourse with the Indians, he was sensible that they were not forgotten by Him "whose tender mercies are over all his works." He found that they believed "in a God and immortality," and that they had a strong idea of "the great Spirit;" but he felt that, ignorant of the great truths of Christianity, they were "under a dark night in things relating to religion," and strong was his desire for their appreciation of these divine principles.

In this work William Penn had long been much interested, and years before he crossed the Atlantic it had become a settled object of his attention. In his petition to Charles II. in 1680, for the grant of Pennsylvania, he distinctly declares that in making the application, "he had in view the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles, by just and lenient measures, to Christ's kingdom." The crown evidently regarded this as a favourite object of the petitioner, and in the preamble to his charter, among other things, his desire in obtaining the province is stated to be, "to reduce the savage natives, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion." During William Penn's first visit to Pennsylvania, in order to promote the carrying out of these views, he took pains to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the character, genius, customs, and language of the natives, and for this purpose he often made journeys into the interior. "I have made it my business," he says, "to understand their language, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion."* In his frequent conferences with them, he sought to imbue their minds with the transcendent excellency of the religion of Christ their Saviour, and to direct them to the inshinings of his Light and good Spirit in their hearts. "Nothing," remarks Clarkson, "could exceed his love for these poor people, or his desire of instructing them, so as to bring them by degrees to the knowledge of the Christian religion; and in this great work he spared no expense."† Oldmixon states "that he laid out several thousand pounds to instruct, support, and oblige them."‡ William Penn returned to England, as before related, in the summer of 1684, after a residence of little more than twenty months in his province, and notwithstanding the onerous engagements which pressed upon him in settling his infant state, so assiduous had he been in his efforts among the Indians, that, during this period, he had had interviews, and had made treaties of friendship, with no less than nineteen distinct

* Letter to the "Free Society of Traders."

† Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, vol. i. p. 415.

‡ Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*.

tribes.* Before his departure he had a meeting with the chiefs of all the Indians in the vicinity of Pennsbury, to reiterate to them his desire for their welfare, and to obtain from them a solemn promise, that they would live in love and peace with each other, and with the settlers, telling them that he was going beyond the seas for a little while, but would return to them again, if the Great Spirit permitted him to live.†

In the exertions made for ameliorating the condition of the Indians, and for instructing them in the blessed principles of the Gospel, other Friends of station and influence in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys also took a deep interest. Samuel Jennings, and Thomas Olive, who had both been elected to the high office of Governor of West Jersey, participated warmly in it; while several ministers of the Society in these provinces, and, as Proud tells us, "divers preachers from abroad, often had meetings and serious discourse with them."‡ So general was the desire among Friends to forward this good work, that it formed a subject of deliberation in the Yearly Meeting held at Burlington in 1685. The practice of selling strong liquors to the Indians had always been discouraged by Friends; but, at the meeting in question, additional measures were taken to prevent its members from engaging in this evil practice. Prior to this date religious meetings had been frequently held with the natives; a particular appointment, however, about this time, was made by Burlington Quarterly Meeting, for the special purpose of "instructing them in the principles of Christianity, and a practice of a true Christian life."§

The exertions of Friends for the religious improvement of the Indians, met with the cordial sympathy and encouragement of their brethren in England. In an epistle addressed by the Yearly Meeting of London in 1685, to that of Philadelphia, the subject is distinctly referred to, with a request that information respecting the meetings held with these people, both in their own and in

* Clarkson's Life of W. Penn, vol. i. p. 415.

† Dixon's Life of W. Penn, p. 280.

‡ Proud's Hist. of Pennsylvania, vol. i. p. 301.

§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 300.

the adjacent provinces, might, from time to time, be forwarded. George Fox, whose ministrations among the tribes of the new world have been already noticed, felt particularly interested in the work, and, in his epistolary communications to the churches in that land, he alludes to it with approbation. "Let them know the principles of truth," he writes to Friends in Pennsylvania and West Jersey in 1687, "so that they may know the way of salvation, and the nature of true Christianity, and how Christ hath died for them." Writing to Friends in the ministry in America, a short time previous to his decease, he exhorts them to "have meetings with the Indian kings, and their councils and subjects everywhere. Bring them all," he continues, "to the baptising and circumcising Spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship Him."* His exhortation was not unheeded: in a letter addressed to London Yearly Meeting in 1690, they were enabled to state that "ministering Friends had visited the neighbouring countries, and some had visited some of the nearest plantations of Indians."†

Among those whose public ministrations were directed to the Indian tribes about the close of this century, may be mentioned Thomas Turner from Essex, Thomas Story, and, a few years later, Thomas Chalkley. William Penn also, during his second visit to his province, was still unremitting in his endeavours to promote the well-being of this interesting people. At the time of his memorable treaty with them in 1682, it was his intention, twice every year, to call a council of the chiefs for the purposes of renewing the covenants, adjusting matters of trade, and hearing and rectifying any grievances that they might have suffered, an intention which it appears was carried out during his first residence in Pennsylvania.‡ In the First Month of the year 1700, he introduced the subject of maintaining a more frequent intercourse with the Indians to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, and expressed an earnest desire that Friends might be found fully discharging their duty to these untutored tribes,

* Epistles of George Fox.

† Yearly Meeting Minutes, vol. i., 1692.

‡ Fishbourne's MSS. in Watson's Annals, p. 455.

more especially in that which concerned their spiritual interests. The meeting sympathized with the views and feelings of the humane Governor, and agreed to adopt a plan for more frequently visiting them; to facilitate which, he offered to provide the meeting with interpreters.

The Indians were often great sufferers from unprincipled traders taking advantage of their ignorance in commercial matters. William Penn, however, determined, if possible, to correct the evil in the territory over which he ruled. For this purpose he proposed to the local legislature, that the Indian trade should be carried on by a company of individuals selected for their integrity. They were to have a joint stock, and to trade only under specified regulations and restrictions, more particularly with regard to the sale of spirituous liquors. It was also provided, that the company should use all reasonable means to inspire the natives with a sense of the inestimable value of Christianity. "This," says Clarkson, "was probably the first time that trade was expressly made subservient to morals, and to the promotion of the Christian religion."*

The Indian tribes on the Susquehanna and the Delaware, had now for nearly twenty years past, been in the enjoyment of that peace and friendship with the settlers, which was ratified under the great treaty held at Shackamaxon. The blessings resulting from this amicable league had been rehearsed to other and more distant tribes, and had kindled in the hearts of those dwelling on the banks of the Potomac, an anxious desire to form a similar covenant of peace with the "Great Onas."† Their wishes were promptly met, and, early in 1701, William Penn met in a public conference Connoodaghtah, King of the Mingoes—Wopatha, King of the Shawnese—Weewhinjough, King of the Gamasese, inhabiting the head waters of the Potomac—and Ahookassong, brother of the great Emperor of the Five Nations, together with about forty of their chiefs. On this occasion, these representatives of warrior and hostile tribes

* Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, vol. ii, p. 246.

† Proprietary Papers, April 23, State Paper Office. "Onas," in the language of the Indians is the word for pen or feather.

agreed by their "hands and seals," with each other, with William Penn and his successors, and with other Christian inhabitants of the province, "to be as one head and one heart, and to live in true friendship and amity, as one people."*

A few months later, the Governor, attended by all the officers of the provincial legislature, held a great Indian council at his residence at Pennsbury. This was for the purpose of taking leave of them prior to his returning to England, and for renewing the existing covenants of peace and friendship.† This farewell meeting was a highly interesting one, and afforded William Penn an opportunity for reiterating to the aborigines of his province, the love and christian interest which he entertained towards them.

In his negotiations for the purchase of land, William Penn appears to have given in all about twenty thousand pounds to the Indians. Some have insisted that he gave no equivalent for the land—that in fact his purchase was merely the semblance of one. A close investigation of the subject will, however, show that the allegation is unfounded. We must bear in remembrance that during his lifetime but a comparatively small portion of his province had been occupied by settlers—that the Indians possessed large territories, which were used by them only as hunting grounds, and that in the infancy of the colonies it was difficult to estimate the value of the land. He sold vast tracts at the almost nominal price of forty shillings per hundred acres; and that it was generally set at low prices, may be further inferred from the fact, that he gave away large sections in some of the most advantageous localities.

Before passing from William Penn and the Indians, there are two important features in his conduct towards them which his biographers have omitted to notice. One is, that notwithstanding his purchase of the land from them, he on no occasion desired their removal from it. Expatriation formed no part of his policy, and the Algonquin had equal liberty with the European in the choice of settlements. The other is, that he not only admitted

* Proud, vol. i. p. 429.

† Watson's Annals, p. 442.

them to the full participation of the rights of citizens in the benefits and protection of the laws, but, as already stated, passed other enactments for their special welfare, lest, from inferiority in knowledge, they should become the victims of the designing. He also provided that, in cases of dispute between the whites and the Indians, they should sit in equal numbers on juries.*

The conduct of William Penn and his government in their treatment of these Indians, is one which the philanthropic mind delights to contemplate, and forms a bright spot in English history. Would that in the colonizing enterprises of modern times his example had been followed! Then had the hearts of the humane been no longer saddened with details of cruel and exterminating wars waged against the uncivilized—wars which, in our own and other countries, may be justly regarded as some of the darkest in the catalogue of national sins, causing that holy name by which we are called, to be “blasphemed among the Gentiles.”

It would occupy more space than can be suitably given in this history, to particularize the various acts of the legislature of Pennsylvania, and of Friends in that province and the Jerseys, for protecting and promoting the interests of the aborigines. “The province of Pennsylvania,” says Proud, “was constantly at a considerable expense for the preservation of the friendship of the Indians.” So impressed in fact were the settlers with the importance of this subject, that treaties were constantly held with them. The attention of the Yearly Meeting was also at different times directed to the same object, and its continued solicitude for the full recognition of the just and inalienable rights of the natives was expressed in sundry advices issued to its members. The following is selected from them:—

“In these provinces we may say, the Lord hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers: it was He who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness,

* These points were ably alluded to by Thomas Hodgkin, M.D., in evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1837, on the subject of the aborigines in British settlements.

and made way for them in the hearts of the Indian natives ; so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress. It was by the gracious influence of his Holy Spirit that they were disposed to work righteousness, and walk uprightly one towards another and towards the natives, and in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion ; whereby they retained their esteem and friendship, which ought ever to be remembered with grateful thankfulness by us." Another minute at a later date expresses its "solid sense and judgment that Friends should not purchase, or remove to settle on such lands as have not been fairly and openly first purchased of the Indians, by those who are or may be authorised by the government to make such purchases."*

For more than seventy years, or during the period Pennsylvania was under the government of Friends, there was no interruption of cordial friendship between the settlers and the natives. The advantages which, in a temporal point of view, resulted to the colonists by the adoption of a kind and Christian conduct towards the Indians were unquestionably great, and they form a striking contrast to the melancholy conflicts and troubles in which other colonies were involved, by resorting to a course adverse to the principles of peace, to a sound and prudent policy, and, in many instances also, to the most obvious requisitions of justice and humanity. Motives of mere worldly policy did not actuate the members of the Society of Friends in their treatment of the aborigines. They were incited by others of a far higher and purer nature.

* Minutes of 1759 and 1763, in Rules of Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

CHAPTER IV.

APOSTACY OF GEORGE KEITH AND OTHERS.

Early history of George Keith—His sufferings for the Truth—his talent for public disputations—Removes to Edmonton and London—Is impatient under persecution—Entertains speculative notions—Removes to America—Head Master of Friends' School in Philadelphia—Becomes captious, and accuses some Friends of unsoundness—Obtains some partisans—Is accused of unsoundness—Quarrels with his Monthly Meeting—His conduct condemned by the Quarterly Meeting—Counsel from Friends in England—Is increasingly contentious, and causes a schism in the Society—He accuses Friends of heresy—Is formally disowned—Appeals to the Yearly Meetings of Pennsylvania and London—His disownment confirmed—Sets up a meeting in London—Turns Episcopalian—Is ordained a Clergyman—His latter days.

For the space of fifteen years from the first landing of Friends in the Jerseys, the Society, both in that colony and in the more recently founded one of Pennsylvania, had experienced an onward and harmonious course. Towards the close of 1691, however, the unity which had thus so strikingly characterised it was unhappily broken by the apostacy of George Keith. The schism to which the defection of this individual gave rise, was an event of unusual and painful interest, and forms an important epoch in the history of Friends in America.

George Keith was a native of Scotland, a man of considerable ability and literary attainments, and formerly a rigid Presbyterian. He received a learned education at the University of Aberdeen, where he obtained the degree of Master of Arts.* Of the circumstances attending his conviction of our principles, history is silent. The first notice which we find of him as a Friend, is under date of 1664, when he came from his home in the south of Scotland on a gospel mission to his brethren at Aberdeen, on

* Barclay's Jaffray, p. 548.

which occasion he suffered an imprisonment of ten months.* Possessed of superior talents for composition, during the time of his incarceration he wrote and published two pieces, one entitled "A salutation of dear and tender love to the Seed of God arising in Aberdeen," and the other, "Help in time of need, from the God of Help, to the people of the Church of Scotland (so called)."[†] In the following year, he was subjected to much personal abuse in Aberdeen for preaching in "the great steeple-house," and for many years after we find him suffering long imprisonments and pecuniary confiscations for the cause of Truth, all of which he bore with a spirit of meekness and resignation, that much endeared him to his friends.

Quick in perception, and acute in argument, few of our early Friends possessed stronger powers for public disputations than George Keith, and he not unfrequently employed them in defending the Society from the unjust aspersions of envious professors. In 1674, he was united with William Penn, George Whitehead, and Stephen Crisp, in a dispute with the Baptists in London, and in the following year, with Robert Barclay, in defending his Theses against the students of Aberdeen.[‡] He also wrote several powerful treatises in defence of the doctrines of the Society. In 1677, he travelled with William Penn and Robert Barclay on an interesting gospel mission to the Netherlands.

About the year 1682, he left Scotland to succeed Christopher Taylor, in conducting a Friends' school at Edmonton, in the county of Middlesex. So little had England, at that period, advanced in religious toleration, and so much was it under ecclesiastical dominion, that even the languages were forbidden to be taught, except by persons licensed by a bishop; and on many occasions were our early friends called to suffer, for imparting classical knowledge without the sanction of the church dignitaries.[§] George Keith was one of these. He was cited to appear at the Quarter Sessions for the offence, and, on

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 497.

† Whiting's Cat. p. 82.

‡ Sewel's History.

§ Besse, vol. i. p. 204.

refusing to take the oath then tendered to him, was committed to Hertford gaol.* From Edmonton he removed to London, where he hoped to follow his profession without ecclesiastical interference and persecution. But protection from priestly domination was no more to be found in the capital than in the country; and in 1684, he was imprisoned for five months in Newgate.†

The declension of this talented man has been dated from about this period. He became impatient under suffering, and also manifested a spirit of self-importance among his brethren, incompatible with that lowliness of mind, and abnegation of self, which ever characterises the true disciples of Christ. His change, to some extent, has been attributed to his indulging in some vain and speculative notions which Van Helmont, a German enthusiast, sought to promote; among which may be mentioned, the transmigration of souls.‡ George Keith also held some strange ideas respecting our first parents, and alleged, that much of the Mosaical account was to be regarded as allegorical. A work which he published in 1694, entitled "Wisdom advanced in the correction of many gross and hurtful errors," contains ample evidence of the absurd doctrines, and wild mysticisms, in which he indulged. Although he was careful not to express his new opinions in public, yet he took pains to advocate them privately and anonymously. These, however, found no place with Friends, some of whom faithfully warned him of the dangerous consequences of entertaining such speculative notions.§

Under the conviction that his opinions had lessened him in the esteem of his brethren, George Keith became increasingly uneasy; and to this cause, together with his desire to fly from persecution, may be traced his resolve to proceed to America. Soon after his release 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 Philadelphia, to undertake the head mastership of the grammar school,

* Min. of Meeting for Sufferings, vol. iii. p. 49.

† Besse, vol. i. p. 473.

‡ Sewel's History, p. 616.

§ Ibid, p. 616.

which had been recently founded in that city.* Although he was silent in America, respecting his newly-acquired doctrines, and continued to profess and to preach the principles of Friends, yet, "his towering thoughts of himself," says Samuel Jennings, "rendered him a very uneasy member of any society, civil or religious." In this restless state of mind his new office became burdensome to him, and at the end of the first year he was released at his own request. In the following year he travelled as a minister in New England. Conscious of his powers in polemical discussion, he frequently, during this journey, challenged priests and professors to argue with him; "but more," observes his companion, "from vain-glory, and a desire for victory, than edification." These public disputations were often conducted with much acrimony of feeling, and were far from promoting the holy cause in which the disputants professed to be engaged.

Having wandered from the safe path of true humility, the future steppings of George Keith were marked by a gradual and increasing deviation into the mazes of error. In his early career in Pennsylvania he began by finding fault with the discipline, and, with a view to its correction, prepared an essay, which he presented to the meeting of ministers for its approval. This body, however, did not feel satisfied to sanction the document, and agreed to refer it to the consideration of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers. This meeting was similarly impressed, but proposed that it should be submitted to the Yearly Meeting of London. To this course Keith demurred, and preferred to abandon its publication, rather than risk the censorship of his English friends.† But the restraint was ill received, and instead of profiting by the circumstance, he became increasingly captious and self-willed. His conduct now began to betray a rankling bitterness of spirit, and ere long led him to an open rupture with the Society at large.

Invidiously watching his brethren for evil, it was not long before George Keith found occasion to quarrel with them. After his return from New England, he accused Thomas Fitzwater,

* Proud, vol. i. 345.

† Smith's History.

and William Stockdale, of unsoundness in doctrine, for having preached that the light of Christ was sufficient for salvation without anything else ;* choosing to infer from hence, that they excluded the outward appearance of Christ, as not necessary to salvation,—a doctrine which the accused most unhesitatingly repudiated. At the Yearly Meeting of Ministers in 1691, he also brought a charge against William Stockdale, for having said that he “preached two Christs, because he preached faith in Christ within, and Christ without us.”† The expressions thus imputed to William Stockdale, were denied by him, and his denial was confirmed by some of his hearers, whilst, on the other hand, two witnesses were produced to prove the allegation. In almost all disputes some are to be found ready to countenance one party, and some the other party ; so it was in this instance. Keith had certain sympathisers, and was not lax in his efforts to gain more. “He blew the fire of this quarrel,” writes Sewel, “and so obtained some adherents.”‡ The discussion on this subject, owing to the turbulent behaviour of Keith and his party, was protracted through no less than six days, and at last ended in the meeting’s deciding that William Stockdale was blamable in uttering the alleged expressions, and that, as George Keith had violated the gospel order, in bringing the matter before the meeting without first having communicated privately with William Stockdale, and had also used highly unbecoming expressions towards him, they could not hold him excusable.§

That George Keith, however much he endeavoured to hide it, had departed from the acknowledged views of the Society with respect to the efficacy and universality of divine grace, can scarcely be doubted.|| At a subsequent Monthly Meeting, Fitzwater and Stockdale, who were convinced of his apostacy on this point, accused him of denying the sufficiency of divine light for salvation, in which they were supported by the testimony of several others. To the proof offered on this

* Sewel’s Hist. p. 617.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Smith’s History.

|| Vide “A Modest Account from Pennsylvania, &c.,” by C. Pusey, p. 7 and p. 27.

occasion Keith objected, on the ground that the parties were prejudiced against him, and at the succeeding Monthly Meeting he and his party made a strong effort to obtain the condemnation of the accusing Friends, and an exoneration of himself; but in this they were unsuccessful.* Thus disappointed, Keith and his adherents now unworthily had recourse to stratagem. The meeting being over, and the clerk having withdrawn,† the non-contents remained behind, and, contrary to all order and decoram, agreed to adjourn the business to the following day at the school-house. At this adjournment they mustered strongly, and carried things with a high hand. Fitzwater and Stockdale, the peculiar objects of their dislike, were formally condemned, and a minute was made, requiring them to desist from the ministry until they had publicly acknowledged themselves in error, in a manner satisfactory to Keith. This artful trick raised the just indignation of Friends. An appeal to the Quarterly Meeting followed, the result of which was, that the proceedings of the irregular adjournment were declared to be null and void.

The growing discord, which thus unhappily sprang up in Pennsylvania, gave much concern to Friends in England. They knew from painful experience the withering effects of such dissensions; and, anxious that their brethren in the western world might avoid them, an earnest exhortation was addressed to them on the subject. This communication, after setting forth the value of a true union in Christ, and the importance of avoiding everything which has a tendency to weaken the bonds of love, touches on some of the points in dispute. The spiritual dispensation which had been committed to them, they distinctly declared, did, "in no wise oppose, reject, or invalidate Jesus Christ's outward coming, suffering, death, resurrection, ascension, or glorified estate in the heavens; but it brought men to partake of the remission of sins, reconciliation, and eternal redemption, which he hath obtained for us, and for all men, for whom he died, and gave himself a ransom,—which was for all men, both Jews and Gentiles, Indians, Heathens, Turks, and

* State of the Case, &c., by S. Jennings, p. 3.

† Elwood's Epistle, p. 26.

Pagans, without respect of persons, or people, &c. And Christ is to be fully preached unto them, according to the holy Scriptures, by them whom he sends, or may send unto them for that end; that as the benefit of his sufferings, sacrifice, and death extends to all, even to them that have not the Scriptures, or outward history thereof, they may be told who was, and is, their great and chief Friend, that gave himself a ransom for them, and hath enlightened them, yet not excluded from God's mercy or salvation by Christ them who never had, nor may have, the outward knowledge or history of him, (if they sincerely obey and live up to his light,) for his light and salvation reaches to the ends of the earth. He," continues the epistle, "is our Mediator, Intercessor, and Advocate with the Father, and ever lives to make intercession. Seeing we have the true, living, and spiritual benefit of his mediation, there is no reason for any to question or doubt of his manhood, or of his being that one Mediator between God and men, even the man Christ Jesus, whose being, as that entire, perfect, heavenly, and most glorious man, [is] ever living and endures for ever in his soul or spirit and glorious body: we having daily the spiritual advantage, comfort, and benefit of his mediation, by and through his Holy Spirit, we may suppose, that this glorious man, Christ Jesus, who is our Mediator, is and must ever be in being, and nothing proper to his being in a glorified state can be supposed to be annihilated or lost. Do not we believe our souls are immortal, and shall be preserved in their distinct and proper beings, and spiritual glorious bodies, such as shall be proper for them, as it shall please God to give, that we may be capable of our particular rewards and different degrees of glory after this life, or in the world to come, as one star differs from another star in glory and magnitude, and they that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars in the firmament for ever and ever! How then can it be otherwise believed or apprehended in the truth, but that our own most blessed and elder brother, Jesus Christ, even as Mediator, is ever in being in a most glorious state, (as with his heavenly Father,) who, in the day of his flesh on earth, so deeply and unspeakably suffered for us and for

all mankind, both inwardly and outwardly ; inwardly, by temptations, sorrows, and burthens, (as to his innocent soul by men's iniquities,) and outwardly, by persecutions, and the cruel death of the cross, as to his blessed body, which rose again the third day, and wherein he also ascended, according to the Scriptures. But it has not seemed proper or safe for us to be inquisitive about what manner of change his body had or met withal, after his resurrection and ascension, so as to become so glorious, heavenly, or celestial, as no doubt it is, far transcending what it was, when on earth, in a humble, low, and suffering condition. The man, Christ Jesus, was glorified as it pleased the Father ; 'tis not our concern or business to be curious to inquire or dispute, how, or after what manner was he changed, translated, or glorified, but to be content and thankful that we are spiritually united to him and his body, being partakers of Christ Jesus, by his light, life, grace, and good Spirit (in measure) revealed in us.

“None need question aforehand what manner of bodies, garments, or clothing, they shall have, after this life, in heaven ; trust God with that. Have a care to persevere in the grace of God in Christ so as to get to heaven, and then be sure there will be no want of anything to complete your happiness and glory in such a state, wherein the body of our lowness shall be like unto Christ's glorious body, and we made equal to the angels of God in heaven, if we be faithful to the end of our days here on earth.

“Dear brethren, it would be a comfort and joy in the Lord to us, to hear of Truth's spreading, and his work prospering in those parts, and of your love, union, peace, and concord therein, as living examples for encouraging others to receive it, and not of differences and disputes among yourselves about matters of faith, doctrine, or principles, concerning Christ crucified—his body, manhood, and the resurrection—and Scriptures—tending to endanger the peace of the church. In the fear of God, in humility, with souls bowed down before the Lord, meet together, and cease disputes and controversies, and humbly wait upon God, and come into a soul's travel, and earnest breathing to him, that he may by his power tender your hearts one towards another, unto love,

charity, and concord among yourselves, and to a right, clear understanding, that you may rather be fitted and free to give tender advice, Christian counsel, and instruction to the weak and ignorant, than to dispute or differ among yourselves, or to receive any that are weak into doubtful disputations, which ought not to be. Pray keep down all heats, and passions, and aggravations, and hard constructions of one another's words, tending to rents and divisions. We have largely seen the sad and ill consequences of making parties, divisions, and separations, and making sects and schisms, if any lust to be contentious. We have no such custom in the churches of Christ. Such as be given to contention, are foolish, heady, and self-willed, and regard not the church's peace, nor their own, as they should do.

“ We question not but you all aim at one truth, one way, and one good end, and that you believe, profess, and preach one Lord Jesus Christ, and not two Christs, even the very same Christ of God, of whom the holy prophets and apostles give witness; and that repentance and remission of sins is preached in his name, as he told his disciples it should. And we doubt not but you all own him, as he is the true God, and truly man, according to the holy Scripture testimony of him. Why then should you differ or disagree about him, or the Scriptures, you being looked upon as wise, discreet, judicious men, possessing one and the same Spirit, Light, and Truth! Pray have recourse thereunto, and be conversant therewith in yourselves, to be led and guided in meekness and wisdom that is from above, which is pure and peaceable; and suffer no slight, irreverent, or undervaluing expressions to be spoken concerning Christ, his manhood, sufferings or mediatorship for mankind; nor of the holy Scriptures, or reading them, whereby to give the world, or professors thereof, occasion to reproach the blessed Truth, or stumble any.

“ And, dear Friends and brethren, we conclude with the holy apostle's counsel, If there be therefore any consolation in Christ; if any comfort of love; if any fellowship of the Spirit; if any bowels and mercies, fulfil ye my joy, (and we may say, fulfil ye our joy,) that you be like-minded; having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind; let nothing be done through strife or vain-

glory, but in lowliness of mind, every man esteeming other better than himself."*

Conscious that much of the blame of these differences was to be attributed to George Keith, some Friends of Aberdeen who had long known him, appealed to him on the subject with much Christian kindness. After reminding him of his past services in the work of the gospel, and of the talents committed to him for "edifying, comforting, and strengthening the flocks of Christ," they say, "O George! bear with us in love; for we can say, it is in tender breakings of heart we utter it, and in tender breathings for thee, that if that sweet, healing, meek, self-denying spirit of lowly Jesus had been kept and abode in, your breaches thereaway would have been handled after another manner; and such a sad occasion to amuse the world, sadden the hearts of God's children, and rejoice the enemies of Zion's peace and prosperity, had never been told in Gath, nor published in Askelon." After further brotherly advice they conclude, "So, our dear and ancient friends, [his wife being also referred to,] we earnestly desire you to receive in a right mind our innocent freedom and love; and, in the cool of the day, go forth again with your brethren into the ancient green pastures of love, and to the healing springs of life: giving up to fire and sword, that which is for it; so the first and the last works shall be precious together; then righteousness and peace shall kiss each other." †

The entreaty and admonitory language of his friends in the mother country, and the forbearing spirit and kindness of his brethren in America, were all unavailing to produce any change in the disposition of this individual. He had imbibed such bitterness of spirit, and made such high pretensions, as rendered him callous to christian counsel, howsoever wisely and tenderly administered; and from bad he proceeded to worse. His next subject of contention was relative to the time of holding

* Smith's History, chap. vii. in Hazard. This epistle is signed by George Whitehead, Samuel Waldenfield, John Field, Benjamin Antrobus, William Bingley, John Vaughton, Alexander Seaton, Daniel Monro, and Patrick Livingstone.

† "The Friend," [Philadelphia,] vol. vii. p. 254.

the meeting for worship in Philadelphia. He proposed some alteration, to which Friends were not disposed to accede. Insignificant as this might appear, it brought matters to a crisis. Keith and his party, no longer able to brook restraint, now manifested their contentious and dividing spirit, by setting up a separate meeting of their own, under the designation of Christian Quakers and Friends, and thus commenced this lamentable separation.

The party spirit which had developed itself by such a flagrant abuse of christian order and decorum, was immediately followed by other improprieties. The aid of the press was sought to vindicate the disorderly proceedings—the conduct of meetings was arraigned—their active members were calumniated, and at last charges of unsoundness were preferred against the Society at large.* At the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers, held in the First Month, 1692, Keith roundly accused them of meeting together “to cloak heresies and deceit,” and maintained “that there were more damnable heresies and doctrines of devils among the Quakers, than among any profession of Protestants.”† Hitherto he had been laboured with in private, but it was now felt that these delinquencies merited a public remonstrance. Samuel Jennings and Griffith Owen were appointed by the meeting in question to visit George Keith, and to call upon him for a condemnation of his conduct. As might have been expected, he was in no degree disposed to listen to their counsels, and with great superciliousness he told them, that “he trampled upon the judgment of the meeting as dirt under his feet.”‡ All hopes of a reconciliation being now gone, the Meeting of Ministers held in the Fourth Month, 1692, after deliberating upon the report of the committee, came to the conclusion that, for the cause of truth and for the credit and preservation of the Society, it was right to issue a declaration of disunity with him, as one who not only sought by flagrant and unjust charges to render Friends contemptible in the eyes of the world, but also to divide and scatter them as a people. The testimony issued on the occasion was in

* Jennings' State of the Case, p. 18 ; see also Life of Wilson.

† Smith's Hist. in Hazard.

‡ Ibid.

the form of an address to the Society, in which the grounds of the proceeding are set forth. Though long, it yet seems due to the importance of the subject to introduce the document into this narration. It is as follows:—

TO THE SEVERAL MONTHLY AND QUARTERLY MEETINGS IN
PENNSYLVANIA, EAST AND WEST JERSEY, AND ELSEWHERE,
AS THERE MAY BE OCCASION.

BELOVED FRIENDS,

In tender love, and with spirits bowed down before the Lord, is this our salutation unto you, earnestly desiring your growth and daily preservation in the ancient truth, and in the simplicity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. And our hope and breathings are, that no insinuations or wiles of the enemy shall prevail to turn you aside from your stedfastness, or to cause you to esteem lightly of the Rock and Way of God's salvation unto you; but that you be kept in the light and life which was and is the just man's path, to the end of our days. Amen.

Now, dear Friends, it is with sorrow of spirit and grief of soul, that we signify unto you the tedious exercise and vexatious perplexity we have met with in our late friend George Keith, for several months past. With mourning and lamentation do we say, How is this mighty man fallen! How is his shield vilely cast away, as though he had not known the oil of the holy ointment! How shall it be told in Gath, and published in the streets of Askalon! Will not the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph, when they hear that he is fallen upon the soaring mountains and from the high places of Israel? Whilst thou walked in the counsel of God, and wert little in thy own eyes, thy bow did abide in strength; thy sword returned not empty from the fat of the enemies of God; thy bow turned not back. His enemies were then vile unto thee, and his followers honourable in thy esteem. Oh, how lovely wert thou in that day, when his beauty was upon thee; and when his comeliness covered thee! Why should his ornaments exalt thee, which were given to humble thee before him? And how art thou fallen from thy first love, and art become treacherous to the spouse of thy youth!

Consider where thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy first works.

But so it hath happened, Friends, lest any flesh should glory, but become silent before the Lord, that this once eminent man, and instrument of renown in the hand of the Lord, whilst he kept his first habitation, and knew the government of Truth over his own spirit, and witnessed the same to be a bridle to his tongue, was then serviceable, both in pen and speech, to the churches of Christ. But now, and of late, it is too obvious and apparent, that being degenerated from the lowly, meek, and peaceable spirit of Christ Jesus, and grown cool in charity and love towards his brethren, he is gone into a spirit of enmity, wrath, self-exaltation, contention, and janglings; and as a person without the fear of God before his eyes, and without regard to his christian brethren, and letting loose the reins to an extravagant tongue, he hath broken out into many ungodly speeches, railing accusations, and passionate threatenings toward many of his brethren and elders, and that upon slender occasions. And when some, in christian duty, have laid before him his unsavoury words and unchristian frame, he hath treated them with such vile words and abusive language, such as a person of common civility would loathe. It hath been too frequent with him, in a transport of heat and passion, to call some of his brethren in the ministry, and other elders, and that upon small provocation (if any), fools, ignorant heathens, infidels, silly souls, liars, heretics, rotten ranters, Muggletonians, and other names of that infamous strain, thereby, to our grief, foaming out his own shame. And further, his anger and envy being cruel against us, and not contenting himself with his harshness against persons, he proceeded, in bitterness of spirit, to charge our meetings with being come together to cloak heresy and deceit; and published openly several times, that there were more doctrines of devils and damnable heresies among the Quakers, than among any profession among the Protestants. He hath long objected against our discipline, even soon after his coming among us, and having prepared a draught of his own, and the same not finding the expected reception, he seemed disgusted. Since, he hath often quarrelled with

us about confessions, declaring that he knew none given forth by the body of Friends to his satisfaction : and often charged most of us with being unsound in the faith. 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's 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 by us ; or we would concur and agree upon a confession, and have it transmitted for the approbation of the Yearly Meeting here, or at 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.

The Lord knows the trouble which we have had with this unruly member, and the openness of our hearts and well wishes towards him, notwithstanding his rage and violence against us ; and of the endeavours of many in this place to have gained upon him by a friendly converse, and by other means, not inconsiderable to a brotherly freedom. But our labour hitherto seems to be as water spilt upon a rock. And this meeting having orderly and tenderly dealt with him, for his abusive language and disorderly behaviour, he hath not only slighted all applications of gaining him to a sense of his ill-treatment and miscarriages, but in an insulting manner said to the Friends appointed by the meeting to admonish him, that he trampled the judgment of the meeting under his feet as dirt ! And hath of late set up a separate meeting here, where he hath, like an open opposer, not only reviled several Friends, by exposing their religious reputations in mixed auditories of some hundreds, endeavouring to render them, and Friends here, by the press and otherwise, a scorn to the profane, and the song of drunkards ; but he hath traduced and vilified our worthy travelling Friends, James Dickinson and Thomas Wilson, in their powerful and savoury ministry, whose service is not only here but in most meet-

ings in England, Scotland, and Ireland, well known to have a seal in the hearts of the many thousands of the Israel of God. He hath also, within a few weeks, appeared in opposition, as it were, to the body of Friends, by putting on his hat when our well received and recommended Friend, James Dickinson, was at prayer, and that in a meeting of near a thousand Friends and others, and so going out of the meeting to the great disquiet thereof, and to the drawing some scores into the same opposition with him, by his ill example. And he thus persisting in his repeated oppositions, hard speeches, and continued separation, and labouring like an unwearied adversary to widen the breach made by him, and so abusing some of the neighbouring meetings, by being as yet under that cover of being owned by us; we are hereby brought under a religious constraint, and to prevent other meetings from 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 of you, who have walked in fellowship and communion with us, and are drawn aside, through inconsideration or otherwise, into this spirit of separation and prejudice against our meetings, orderly established, and wherein we have been 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. And so, dear Friends, we exhort you all to behave yourselves in the spirit of meekness and peaceable truth, upon all occasions, but more especially upon any discourse or conference with any of them, who are discontented among you, or started aside from you; and avoid all heats and contentions in matters of faith and worship, and let not the salt of the covenant be wanting in your words and actions, for thereby the savour of your conversation will reach the witness of God in them. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen!

Given forth by the meeting of public Friends, in Philadelphia, the twentieth of the Fourth Month, 1692.

THOMAS LLOYD,	SAMUEL JENNINGS,
JOHN WILLSFORD,	JOHN DELAVALL,
NICHOLAS WALN,	WILLIAM YARDLEY,
WILLIAM WATSON,	JOSEPH KIRKBRIDE,
GEORGE MARIS,	WALTER FAWCIT,
THOMAS DUCKETT,	HUGH ROBERTS,
JOSHUA FEARNE,	GRIFFITH OWEN,
EVAN MORRIS,	JOHN BOWN,
RICHARD WALTER,	HENRY WILLIS,
JOHN SYMCOCK,	PAUL SAUNDERS,
JOHN BLUNSTON,	ROBERT OWEN,
WILLIAM COOPER,	WILLIAM WALKER,
THOMAS THACKARY,	JOHN LYNAM,
WILLIAM BILES,	GEORGE GREY.

Before the testimony of disownment had been published, it was concluded to give George Keith, or those of his party that he might wish, a private opportunity of perusing it. This course was adopted, in order that anything they might have to advance in opposition to it might be fully considered, and also to give him a further opportunity of reconsidering his position, and of re-

tracing his steps. He, however, declined the offer, and not only so, but he maliciously published to the world that in the proceedings with respect to him, all gospel order and Christian kindness had been violated.* Against the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers Keith determined to appeal to the ensuing Yearly Meeting. Previously, notwithstanding his exclamations against Friends for an alleged departure from gospel order, he grossly violated it by publishing several pamphlets containing his version of the dispute.† These publications, written with much plausibility and ingenuity, were also characterised by a departure from truthfulness. Mutilated passages from the writings of Friends, and unfair constructions upon others, were liberally resorted to, in order to substantiate the charges of unsoundness in doctrine, and to mislead the unwary. The effect of these unholy endeavours was, to a large extent, successful. Their specious pretensions drew many to unite with him and his party, and a wide and distressing schism ensued. Separate meetings were set up at Philadelphia, Burlington, Neshaminy, and other places. Families were divided, and the ties of friendship broken. Husbands and wives, professedly of the same faith, no longer worshipped in the same house, and scarcely in the history of the Society has there been a more lamentable exhibition of the devastating effects of a dividing spirit, than was manifested on this occasion.

In the course of his malevolent pamphleteering Keith had recourse to defamatory language, and, together with Thomas Budd, an active partizan, calumniated the character of Samuel Jennings as a magistrate. In his anger he had also made some severe personal reflections on Thomas Lloyd, the deputy governor. The conduct of Keith, in assailing the integrity of these and other civil officers of the province, with a view to lessen them in the estimation of the colonists, was an offence which the magistrates considered ought not to be passed over in silence, especially as it was believed that his aim was to raise a public disturbance,

* Jennings' State of the Case, &c., p. 20.

† Vide Keith's "Reasons and Causes of the Separation," &c., his "Plea of the Innocent," and "Appeal from the Twenty-eight Judges."

and to furnish a pretext for subverting the government. In the Sixth Month, 1692, he was brought to trial, found guilty, and fined five pounds ; but the fine, it appears, was not enforced, the object being simply to vindicate and uphold the authority of the government. The excitement that prevailed was heightened by these proceedings, and Keith and his supporters endeavoured to turn this act of the judiciary to their own account, by raising the cry of persecution. The authorities anticipating that misrepresentations would be made, and their motives impugned by the guilty parties, published their reasons for the conviction. "Now, forasmuch as we, as well as others," they remark, "have borne, and still do patiently endure, the said George Keith, and his adherents, in their many personal reflections against us, and their gross revilings of our religious Society, yet we cannot, without the violation of our trust to the king and government, as also to the inhabitants of this government, pass by, or connive at, such part of the said pamphlet and speeches, that have a tendency to sedition and disturbance of the peace, as also to the subversion of the present government, or to the aspersion of the magistrates thereof. Therefore, for the undeceiving of all people, we have thought fit, by this public writing, not only to signify that our procedure against the persons now in the sheriff's custody, as well as what we intend against others concerned, (in its proper place,) respects only that part of the said printed sheet which appears to have the tendency aforesaid, *and not any part relating to differences in religion* ; but also these are to caution such, who are well affected to the security, peace, and legal administration of justice in this place, that they give no countenance to any revilers, or contemners of authority, magistrates, or magistracy ; as also to warn all other persons, that they forbear the further publishing and spreading of the said pamphlets as they will answer the contrary at their peril."*

At the Yearly Meeting of Ministers which met at Burlington in the Seventh Month, 1692, the decision of the subordinate meeting, with respect to George Keith, was brought under review. He had given notice of his intention of appealing to this body,

* Proud, vol. i. p. 376.

but about ten days previous to the time of meeting, he printed and circulated, and even posted up in Philadelphia, the reasons which actuated him in making the appeal. When, however, the Yearly Meeting had convened, instead of proceeding in the usual course of the discipline, he and his party met separately, and, calling themselves the Yearly Meeting, sent a message to the Friends who were regularly assembled, and required that the appeal should be heard before them. As might have been expected, this disorderly requisition was not acceded to, and he was informed that at the conclusion of the usual business of the meeting they were willing to hear and determine upon his case. But this was evidently what he wished to avoid. He felt that in the regular order of the Society he had no hope of obtaining a reversal of his disownment, and consequently he resorted to the strange manoeuvre. The spurious Yearly Meeting which Keith and his abettors had set up, among whom, observes Smith, were those "who made little or no profession of truth,"* now assumed an authoritative tone, and sent to require the attendance of those members of the Meeting of Ministers who had endorsed his condemnation. Finding no response to their application, they proceeded to give judgment in favour of their leader, and issued an epistle to that effect, to be read in the subordinate meetings, signed by seventy persons, "on behalf," as they state, "of ourselves and many more Friends who are one with us herein." They also published what they termed "A confession of faith in the most necessary things of Christian doctrine, faith, and practice, according to the testimony of Holy Scriptures." This "confession," was put forth to vindicate their claim to genuine Quakerism, and was drawn up with such skill, that it was difficult to distinguish it from a genuine document of the Society.

Although Keith shrank from bringing his appeal before the authorised body of Friends, yet as he had set up a separate Yearly Meeting, and was endeavouring, by all means in his power, to widen the schism he had made, Friends judged it right to give forth a testimony in condemnation of his conduct, and a paper to that purport, signed by two hundred and fourteen

* Smith's History, chap. x.

Friends, was issued, addressed "to the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, &c., in East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, or elsewhere, as there shall be occasion."*

The judgment given forth by the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, together with the public trial of Keith for impeaching the character of those in authority, rendered him still more violent and abusive. Opprobrious epithets were now coarsely and unsparingly applied to the objects of his anger. "It would be tedious," observe Friends, "to trace him in one half of his raileries, invective preachings, and loathsome printings against us, since this disorderly Yearly Meeting of his, and separation from us."†

This open schism was a subject which attracted the notice of Friends in other parts of America, who deeply lamented its occurrence. That precious cause which they desired to uphold and promote among men, had been grievously injured by the circumstance, and they felt called upon to declare their disunity with proceedings so utterly at variance with the religion they professed. In addition to the judgment of Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, those for New England, Maryland, and Long Island, and other meetings, gave forth testimonies condemnatory of Keith and his adherents. He also received a severe rebuke from Friends of Barbadoes, who returned some of his controversial books which he had forwarded to them.‡

Finding his conduct so generally condemned by the Society in America, Keith determined to seek the judgment of the Yearly Meeting of London on his case, and in the early part of 1694, arranged with Thomas Budd, one of his most active coadjutors, to accompany him. Friends, on their behalf, appointed Samuel Jennings and Thomas Duckett to act as their respondents; and an epistle, containing an account of the separation, and the ground on which Keith had been disowned, was forwarded for the occasion. The Yearly Meeting of London in the same year commenced on the twenty-eighth of the Third Month (o. s.) On the third day of its proceedings, epistles from America relative to the schism having been read, George Keith was invited to attend,

* Smith's History, chap. x.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

when he presented a written defence of his case, and requested that it might be read. His request was acceded to.* From what had already been elicited, it was evident to the meeting that the case was one, which, in order to its right disposition, required much care, and a patient and full investigation, and as this would be likely to occupy no inconsiderable amount of time, it was concluded to postpone its consideration until after the usual business of the Yearly Meeting had been disposed of.

This exciting subject, it appears, had, to some extent, already claimed the attention of Friends in London; for Keith on his arrival, not having met with a cordial reception from some of them, at once preferred a complaint against them to the Six Weeks' Meeting. This meeting declined to give any judgment on the matter, and reported to the Yearly Meeting, "that upon George Keith's complaint to them of a straitness he found in some public Friends of this city towards him, and his desire that they would put those Friends upon giving the reasons of that their dissatisfaction, the Six Weeks' Meeting did thereupon inquire into it; but, finding the matter extend to the differences in America, they did not think fit to determine anything therein, but to refer it to the Yearly Meeting."† The Six Weeks' Meeting having thus been called to deliberate on the difference, the Yearly Meeting concluded that the members of that meeting should be at liberty to sit on the appeal.

The hearing of this important case commenced on the first of the Fourth Month. In those early days of the Society no precise form or rules for conducting appeals appear to have been laid down, neither, indeed, was there any settled order of the discipline which warranted Keith in thus formally appealing to the Yearly Meeting of London, against the judgment of that of Pennsylvania; and were it not that the former, as the parent Yearly Meeting, extended its care over every part of the Society, and that the case of Keith was immediately connected with a schism in the body, it is doubtful whether the Yearly Meeting of London would have entertained the appeal at all. Keith began by

* Minutes of London Yearly Meeting of 1694.

† Ibid.

desiring that if any Friends "had any matter of offence or objection against him," it might be stated. This invitation called forth some expression of dissatisfaction, in reference to his publications, more particularly that, entitled "The Plea of the Innocent." Samuel Jennings, being present, replied to the statements of the appellant. In the afternoon sitting it was concluded that all George Keith's publications in reference to the dispute should be read in the meeting at large, including the letters and epistles forwarded by Friends in America, and also a copy of the order or proceedings of the court relating to the trial of George Keith and Thomas Budd. The reading of these, together with George Keith's oral defence, and Samuel Jennings' reply, occupied the Yearly Meeting no less than six whole days.

Having proceeded thus far, on the morning of the seventh day the meeting entered upon the consideration of the merits of the appeal. Many of the remarks made, and the opinions given on this extraordinary occasion, are recorded in the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting. The weight and simplicity of some of these are instructive, and may not be inappropriately revived. "George Keith, in discovering the weakness of some," observes one Friend, "by his printing and publishing his books, struck at the whole [body] thereby, and is contrary to truth." "As to the books and disservice of them," says William Edmundson, "need not be spoken to, it's plain—the ground of the matter [or difference] is his spirit." "These things that have happened," remarks another, "have dishonoured God, been a grief to Friends, and hath wounded George Keith's [spiritual] life, and O that that wound might be healed." The representatives from Hampshire, in giving their judgment, declare "its beginning and inroad hath been for want of true watchfulness, and keeping under the cross of Christ." "The occasion of the breach," remarks Joseph Baines, "hath been for want of true tenderness, and the honour of truth, and the prosperity of Zion; for, had this tenderness been regarded and kept to, these things of printing, &c., had not been." "The printing of the books and the first motion to write them," says Richard Vickris of Bristol, "was wrong, and the separation was wrong, and this sense I deliver in a sense of

the love of God." "The books printed by George Keith," says Richard Baker, "have been of great hurt, and I believe that the spirit that led him to print, led him to separate, and was the same." George Whitehead took a very decided view in reference to the separation: "It was unwarrantable," he said, "and not to be excused." "There is," he continues, "no precedent among the apostles or primitive Christians for it. Paul said, upon occasion of division, 'I will not know the speech of them that are puffed up, but the power;' and some were guilty of idolatry, &c., and there were divisions and great corruptions among them, and among the seven churches, but the apostles did not go about to bring a reproach on the name of Christ, or cause separation among them."

At the afternoon sitting, George Keith was again heard in his defence. "He was sensible," he said, "of many failings, weaknesses and imperfections," but for which, he added, "he was only accountable to God." "I am not," he continued with much self-satisfaction, "under any uneasiness myself, and nothing that you can give out against me can prevail with me to condemn anything I have done, for I find peace. The Lord is with me." And concluded by telling the meeting, that he "had greater strength than they were aware of."

Some other papers having been gone through, a committee was appointed to prepare a document embodying the sense and judgment of the meeting on the case, with the special injunction, that those "that have separated be charged, in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, to meet together with Friends in the love of God." The committee accordingly drew up a paper containing, as it states, "The proceedings, sense, and advice of the Yearly Meeting," in which the conduct of George Keith, in printing and publishing on the subject, is condemned as being out of "the wisdom and counsel of God," notwithstanding "that some few persons had given offence either through erroneous doctrines, unsound expressions, or weakness and want of wisdom and right understanding, the spreading of which in an aggravating manner was not consistent with the good order of the Truth;" and it was insisted, that he ought "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 distinctly states that that unhappy circumstance "lay at George Keith's door, and that he ought sincerely to use his utmost endeavours and interest with his friends concerned, to remove it, and to help forward a re-uniting and amicable composure for the holy truth's sake, and the glory of God, and peace of his people." The course adopted by the magistrates of Philadelphia towards Keith and some of 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." "There appears," continues the paper on this point, "to have been too much height of spirit on both sides, and both had need to be deeply humbled; both provokers and provoked." The document then concludes as follows: "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 re-unite 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 a travail for, that the great reproach may be removed, and Go.'s truth exalted, and his churches' peace restored and preserved."*

The deliberate judgment of the Yearly Meeting of London, arrived at after so much patient investigation, was communicated to George Keith in one of the latter sittings on this painful business. Far, however, from manifesting that disposition of mind in which he could appreciate the tender counsel of his friends, he asserted that the advice was that of a party, and not of the Society itself; and he began to exert himself to gain adherents to his cause, and to promote a division similar to that which he had effected in

* Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, vol. ii.

America. But in this unworthy effort he was disappointed, for, excepting "some of the old separatists," but few united with him. He also again had recourse to the aid of the press, and a sharp controversy ensued, in which he was ably met and refuted by the pens of Whitehead, Coole, Ellwood, and Claridge.

Although the appeal to London was ostensibly on Keith's account only, the Yearly Meeting was not slow to perceive that its decision also affected the position of those in America who had separated with him. In view of this, an address of Christian exhortation was soon after forwarded to them, in which they were censured for separating from and printing against the Society, and affectionately entreated to make an open confession of their fault, and to seek by an appointed meeting, a reconciliation with their injured brethren. The Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia was not backward to forward this object, and made advances for the purpose; but the bitterness of spirit that prevailed among the Keithians, and the hostility which they evinced towards Friends, rendered all efforts of this description unavailing.

At the next Yearly Meeting in London, the unsatisfactory conduct of George Keith was again brought under notice. Unwilling to let the opportunity pass without making another effort to sustain his wretched cause, he had prepared a written statement, which, at his own request, he was allowed to read in the meeting at large. The document contained charges against the Morning Meeting and some other Friends. He also "alleged that he was not contentious," and "that divers owned him," and concluded by offering to prove that the writings of Friends contained gross errors. On his withdrawal, the meeting, as it states, "proceeded weightily, and in the fear of God and sense of his eternal power, to give its sense of George Keith's paper and his spirit," to the following effect:—

First. "That he hath not, neither doth his said paper answer the advice given him last year, and is too directive, and filled with undue accusations against the Second-day's Morning Meeting, and many brethren that this meeting own, and are in unity with; and they cannot receive it.

Second. "Their sense is [that] his spirit and works of division

1800 2

are wrong. Therefore, the sense of Truth in this meeting is against both. And they cannot own nor receive him, nor his testimony, while he remains therein, but testify against him, and his evil works of strife and division, as such that tends not only to divide, but to unpeople us.”*

On the following day Keith was admitted to hear, and, if he inclined, to reply to the decision of the meeting. On this occasion, it is recorded, that, “he broke forth into great disorder,” and, after indulging in bitter and intemperate language towards Friends, he left in much anger, before the “further sense and judgment of the meeting could be given him.” The Yearly Meeting, having so long forborne, now unanimously agreed no longer to recognise this turbulent man as one in religious profession with them, and to declare the same by issuing the following minute of disownment:—

“It is the sense and judgment of this meeting, that the said George Keith is gone from the blessed unity of the peaceable Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hath thereby separated himself from the holy fellowship of the Church of Christ; and that whilst he is in an unreconciled and uncharitable state, he ought not to preach or pray in any of Friends’ meetings, nor be owned or received as one of us; until, by a public and hearty acknowledgment of the great offence he hath given, and hurt he hath done, and condemnation of himself, therefore, he gives proof of his unfeigned repentance, and does his endeavour to remove and take off the reproach he hath brought upon Truth and Friends; which, in the love of God, we heartily desire for his soul’s sake.”†

Thus declared to be no longer worthy of church fellowship with a people whom he had sought to injure and divide, and many of those who at one time favoured his cause having “grown weary of him.”‡ Keith now began to hold separate meetings at Turner’s Hall, in London. The novelty of the circumstance, together with his bitter railing against Friends, at first attracted many to hear him. Ever delighting in polemical strife, he published a challenge to William Penn, George Whitehead, and

* Minutes of Yearly Meeting of 1695. † Ibid. ‡ Sewel, p. 642.



others, to answer certain charges which he said he was prepared to sustain against the Society. Not feeling themselves, however, called upon to dispute with a man who had exhibited so much enmity towards Friends, and whose principles were so unfixed, the challenge was not responded to. "We know not," said they, "what religion or persuasion this wavering man is of, or what church or people he adheres to, or [who] will receive him with his speculations that led him to desert us." Keith's deviations from the principles of the Society, which in past years he so long and so powerfully advocated, gradually increased, and in 1695, he preached and published "a thanksgiving sermon." For some years he continued to employ his pen in writing against Friends; but often were his arguments ably confuted by quotations from works of his own, published in former years.

Whilst Keith was thus endeavouring to gain adherents in England, his partizans in America had not been idle in his cause. In some parts of the country there were those who were very zealous on his behalf. In Poetquesink meeting the controversy ran so high, that the Keithians took possession of the meeting-house, and for a time, Friends were obliged to meet at a private dwelling. But symptoms of a want of unity among the separatists soon began to appear. As early, indeed, as 1694, this was apparent. "Those who have endeavoured to scatter us, and break our sweet unity and fellowship in his blessed truth," wrote Friends from Burlington, "the Lord has now suffered them to be scattered and divided into parties, to contradict and charge one another with erroneous doctrine; they wither, and their reputation amongst the world lessens apace."*

Again in 1695, the want of unity among the followers of George Keith is more distinctly alluded to in the epistle from the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia. "That party that followed George Keith doth much lessen, and are much divided amongst themselves; some of their preachers have been dipped in Delaware by a baptist preacher, and one of them having been at New York lately, was there sprinkled by an episcopal priest, and some turn to the Pietists."*

* Epistle of 1694.

At the Yearly Meeting, held at Burlington in 1696, their conduct in disturbing Friends' meetings was very disreputable; their numbers and influence began, however, now to decline rapidly, and with diminishing numbers their dissensions appear to have increased. "Since they have ceased to give us disturbance as formerly," wrote Friends from Philadelphia in 1697, "they are at great variance amongst themselves, biting and devouring one another—a great part of their contention is about water baptism, the supper, and oaths." "The Separatists," they write again in 1698, "grow weaker and weaker; many of them gone to the Baptists, some to the Episcopalians, and the rest are very inconsiderable and mean, some of whom come now and then to our meetings, and some have lately brought in papers of condemnation." In the year following they had so far dwindled that "their name was scarcely heard."†

In an account of the Keithian Quakers, written by Edwards, the foregoing statements are very fully confirmed. "They soon declined," he says; "their head deserted them, and went over to the Episcopalians. Some followed him thither; some returned to the Penn Quakers, and some went to other societies. Nevertheless many persisted 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 the Quakers. But they ended in another kind of transformation into Seventh-day Baptists, though some went among the First-day Baptists, and other societies. However, these were the beginning of the Sabbatarians in this province."

For some years after his disownment, Keith continued to maintain the dress and language of a Friend; but as he gradually progressed in a renunciation of our views, these distinguishing

* Epistle of 1695.

† Ibid. 1699.

characteristics became irksome to him. About the year 1700 he put them aside, and, courting the smiles of the Episcopal ministers, was ordained as one of them. Bishop Burnett, referring to this circumstance, says, "he was reconciled to the church, and is now in holy orders among us, and likely to do good service, in undeceiving and reclaiming some of those misled enthusiasts." About two years after his ordination he proceeded to America as a missionary, under the auspices of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." One prominent object of his mission he declared to be to "gather Quakers from Quakerism to the mother church,"* and during the two years he was thus occupied, he frequently challenged Friends to public disputations. Whilst in New England, John Richardson ably answered him on one of these occasions. "I spoke," he writes, "in the Lord's dreadful power, and George trembled so much as I seldom ever saw any man do: I pitied him in my heart; yet, as Moses said once concerning Israel, 'I felt the wrath of the Lord go forth against him.'" In Maryland, Keith was anxious to engage Samuel Bownas in religious controversy. Bownas however intimated to him that one who "had been so very mutable in his pretences to religion" was not worthy of his notice.† This was a stroke at Keith's pride which he could ill brook, and not long after he gratified his revenge by inciting the authorities of New York to imprison Samuel Bownas, on the vague charge of preaching against the "Church of England." After an absence of nearly two years, Keith returned to England, and made a considerable boast of his missionary labours in the New World, especially in proselyting Quakers. But his attempt in this respect was unquestionably a failure. His Episcopalian patrons were nevertheless on the whole pleased, and the living of Edburton, in Sussex, was the boon awarded to him for these exertions.

Keith must now have been advanced in age; but his contentious disposition did not subside with increasing years, and frequently he became embroiled in angry disputes with his parishioners. His income was good, but in collecting the tithes he evinced an unusual degree of clerical rapacity, and descended to great

* Journal of John Richardson.

† Life of Bownas, page 57.

meanness in exacting his tenths from the most indigent, and on produce, too, of the most insignificant description. His earthly career was, however, now drawing to a close, and in 1714, the pale messenger of death appeared at his threshold. At this awful period, the thought that ere long he should have to stand before the judgment-seat of Him who seeth not as man seeth, raised feelings in his mind, which probably no other circumstance would have induced. From some of his expressions we are led to conclude that, in reflecting on the latter years of his life, no small degree of remorse was his portion. "He did believe," he remarked shortly before his close, "if God had taken him out of the world when he went among the Quakers, and in that profession, it had been well with him." Assuredly his case presents a solemn warning to us all, and vividly reminds us of the scripture injunction, "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

CHAPTER V.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS.

The Occupation of Civil Offices in the State by Ministers of the Gospel — Memorials of the Lives of deceased Ministers of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, viz., Ralph Withers, Cuthbert Hayhurst, Francis Whitwell, Christopher Taylor, Thomas Langhorne, John Skein, Thomas Atkinson, James Harrison, John Songhurst, William Peachy, James Radcliff, John Eckley, Thomas Wynne, Thomas Ollive, William Yardley, John Delavall, William Stockdale, William Walker, Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Janney, Robert Owen, Thomas Fitzwater.

IN the previous volume, several biographical sketches have been given of those who crossed the Atlantic, to preach the glad tidings of the gospel. In continuing notices of this description, our attention will be mostly confined to the settlers and colonists in America who were called to this high and holy vocation. Altogether, the number of these is considerable, and hence the propriety of being brief in each individual case. Those referred to in the present chapter, resided either in Pennsylvania or in the Jerseys, and died prior to the year 1700, and most of them filled the highest civil offices in the community, either as governors, councillors, representatives, judges or magistrates. The discharge of these responsible offices was not, in their apprehension, incompatible with their allegiance to Christ, or with their call to preach Him amongst men. The magistrate and the minister did not in their experience jar; and, so far from the cause of religion suffering by their engagements of this description, there is good reason to believe, that they were often made subservient to its promotion among their fellow-men.

In the early progress of the Society of Friends in England, many who joined its ranks had been in the commission of the peace; but we do not find that, after their conviction, any of

them continued to act in this capacity. The testimony of the Society against judicial swearing, together with other acts inconsistent with the religion of Jesus, which the duties of the office involved, no doubt led our early Friends to retire from services of this character ; and although in the reign of James II., partly through the court influence of William Penn, Friends were invited to accept the office of magistrate, without, it is believed, being called upon to compromise their testimony against oaths, yet it was seen by some judicious members of the body, that the time had not arrived when it would be safe for them to engage in such undertakings. But in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, where the weight of civil affairs rested upon Friends, no objection of that nature existed, to prevent a Friend from consistently occupying posts of civil authority ; a refusal to do so, therefore, under such circumstances, would have been of more than doubtful propriety, and even scarcely practicable.

RALPH WITHERS.

He lived at Bishops Cannings, in Wiltshire, and as early as 1657, appears to have identified himself with the Society of Friends. In 1660, he was imprisoned for many weeks on account of his religious principles, and again in 1678, for being married in a manner other than that directed by the liturgy.* He was one of the ministering Friends who issued the epistle from London Yearly Meeting in 1675, and in 1681 he attended that meeting as a representative from Wiltshire. He was one of the early emigrants to Pennsylvania, and was chosen, in 1683, as a member of the first Provincial Council ; † his services to his brethren in the Western world were however of short duration, since in the following year his death was reported to the Yearly Meeting in London.‡

CUTHBERT HAYHURST.

Cuthbert Hayhurst was born in Yorkshire about the year 1632. He was among the earliest of those who professed our principles in

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 40, 45.

† Proud, vol. i. p. 235.

‡ Yearly Meeting Minutes, vol. i.

that county, and soon after attaining the age of manhood, he came forth as a minister of the gospel. As early as 1654, he suffered imprisonment in Yorkshire for preaching the truths of religion,* and in 1666, whilst on a gospel visit to some of the southern counties of England, he was taken from a meeting at Oxford and committed to gaol.† He was also at other times deprived of his liberty for the faithful maintenance of our religious principles. Cuthbert Hayhurst proceeded to Pennsylvania with William Penn in 1682, and proved an instrument, in the Divine hand, of comfort and consolation to his brethren under their new circumstances. He appears to have been a very devoted minister, and to have given up much of his time to promoting the kingdom of his Redeemer: in the minutes of London Yearly Meeting, he is referred to as "a great traveller" in the cause of truth.‡ "He was," says Nicholas Waln, who knew him well both in England and in America, "of great service to me and many others, being instrumental in bringing us near unto the Lord. I was with him," he continues, "in the time of his sickness, and beheld his meek, innocent, and lamb-like deportment, and I have great cause to believe he is one of those that died in the Lord, and is at rest with Him for ever."§ He ended his course at his residence in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in the First Month, 1683, about the fiftieth year of his age.

FRANCIS WHITWELL.

He was one of the first settlers in Pennsylvania, prior to which no particulars of his life have been met with. He was elected to the important office of Provincial Councillor, and was one of that body chosen, in 1683, to prepare the draft of a new charter for the province. "He was," says Proud, "a preacher among the Quakers; and every way a very useful and worthy member of society."|| He did not however long survive, but died in the year 1684.

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 90.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 571.

‡ Yearly Meeting Minutes, vol. i.

§ Penn. Mem. p. 2.

|| Proud, vol. i. p. 235, 237.

CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR.

Christopher Taylor is supposed to have been born near Skipton, in Yorkshire. He received a classical education, and officiated as a minister among the Puritans, until his convincement by George Fox in 1652,* at which time he resided at Otley, in the same county. Soon after he united with Friends, he came forth in the ministry among them, and he afterwards travelled in various parts of the kingdom. In the course of these gospel labours he passed through much persecution. In 1654, he was committed to Appleby gaol, where he was detained for about two years, under much cruel usage. On the return of the Royalists to power, he was again deprived of his personal liberty, for refusing the oath of allegiance ;† in the following year, we find him travelling in the ministry in the south of England, in the course of which he was taken from a meeting and sent to Aylesbury gaol.‡ From Yorkshire he removed to Waltham Abbey, in Essex, where he opened a classical school. In those days of bigotry, the schoolmaster could not follow his profession without a licence from the bishop, and in 1670, Christopher Taylor was bound over to appear at the sessions, on the charge of violating this law.§ About the year 1679, he removed his establishment to Edmonton, in Middlesex, in which, on his removal to America in 1682, he was succeeded by George Keith. The talents with which he was endowed were appreciated by the settlers of Pennsylvania, and he was chosen a member of the first Provincial Council ; in other respects he also proved himself, in his civil capacity, a valuable member of the community.|| His literary qualifications were considerable, and he frequently exercised his pen in the service of the cause of truth : he had a good knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and in 1679, published his "Compendium Trium Linguarum" of these languages. Under date of 1686, Smith the historian has this notice of him : "In this year died Christopher Taylor of Pennsylvania. He was a diligent and faithful minister among his brethren, the Quakers.

* Whiting's Memoirs, p. 352.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 76.

|| Proud, vol. i. p. 236.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 102.

§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 204

In the exercise of his gift, he was clear, solid, and lively; in prayer, solemn, reverent, and weighty; and in his general deportment, meek and humble. He was a considerable settler of Pennsylvania, and for his many services, the few years he lived there, seems to have been valued among them as one of the best men of the age in which he lived."*

Christopher Taylor

THOMAS LANGHORNE.

Prior to his settling in America, Thomas Langhorne resided in Westmoreland. The first notice that we find respecting him is under date of 1662, when he was committed to Appleby gaol, for refusing to pay a fine of five pounds for attending a Friends' meeting. For more than twenty years from this date, he underwent much persecution on account of his religious profession, during which the prison-house was often his abode, either under the stringent provisions of the Conventicle Act, or for refusing to recognise the anti-christian imposition of tithes.† During an imprisonment in 1668, he wrote a piece entitled "The Captive's Complaint, or the Prisoner's Plea against the burdensome and contentious title of Tithes."‡ In the year 1684 he removed to Pennsylvania, and settled at Middleton, in Bucks county, for which county he was elected a representative in the Provincial Assembly.§ Proud refers to him as "an eminent preacher, of whom," he continues, "there is a very excellent and extraordinary character in manuscript, from Friends of Kendal, in Westmoreland, by way of certificate, on his removal to this country."|| His son, Jeremiah Langhorne, after his death, filled the high office of Chief Justice of the province. John Hayton, a Friend who knew Thomas Langhorne intimately, both in England and in America, has left this testimony respecting him. "Having experienced the work of regeneration in himself, he became qualified to strengthen the brethren, and went forth in

* Smith, in Hazard.

† Besse, vol. ii. p. 10—35.

‡ Whiting's Memoirs, p. 369.

§ Proud, vol. i. p. 335.

|| Ibid. vol. i. p. 289.

the ministry and word of life, preaching the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ ; having freely received, he freely gave, not fearing man, but obeying God, who had committed a large measure and clear manifestation of his Spirit unto him, not only for his own profit and benefit, but many others received comfort thereby ; for his doctrine dropped as the rain, and his speech distilled as the dew, to the renewing and refreshing the seed and plant of God.* He died in the Eighth Month, 1687.

JOHN SKEIN.

He was a native of Scotland, and when he first professed with Friends, resided at Aberdeen. During the greater part of 1676, and the following year, he was imprisoned under severe enactments of Scottish law for the suppression of Quakers, and in the same period, he suffered distrains for fines imposed for his refusing to give bond not to attend the meetings of his Society, to the extent of two hundred and fifty pounds.† In the year 1678, he removed from the scene of persecution to the unsectarian colony of West Jersey,‡ in which province he occupied for nearly two years the distinguished post of Governor. "He was not only a serviceable man in the Government," observes Smith the historian, "but an exemplary useful member in the religious Society of his brethren the Quakers, and had an edifying public testimony, in the exercise of which he was usually very tender."§ He died in 1687.

THOMAS ATKINSON.

This Friend was born at Newby, in the county of York, and early in life became convinced of our principles. By the testimony of his wife, we are informed, that prior to their union, which took place in 1678, he had received a gift in the ministry. In 1682 they emigrated to Pennsylvania. He is described as one "zealous for the truth, whose treasure was not in this world, and who often exhorted others to stand loose from the things which are below, and diligently to seek those things that are above." He died in 1687, giving utterance a short time before his close to many sweet and heavenly expressions.||

* Penn. Mem. p. 7. † Besse, vol. ii. p. 516. ‡ Smith's New Jersey, p. 109.
§ Smith, in Hazard. || Penn. Mem. p. 10.

JAMES HARRISON,

This individual was born near Kendal, in Westmoreland, and afterwards resided at Bolton, in Lancashire. He was one of those who very early professed with Friends in that county, and soon after appearing in the ministry, he became a powerful instrument in the hand of the Lord in turning many to righteousness. "He was," writes Whiting, "an able minister of the gospel, and a great traveller, at home and abroad, in the service of truth."* In common with many of his brethren of that period, he had to suffer severely, both by imprisonment and fines, for his faithful adherence to conscientious conviction.† On the settlement of Pennsylvania his attention was directed to the new territory, and having become a purchaser in Bucks county, to the extent of five thousand acres, he removed thither in 1682.‡ Though it is stated that "he had great concerns in this world,"§ he was, nevertheless, engaged above all to seek after heavenly things. During the early settlement of Pennsylvania, he appears to have taken an active part in its legislation. He was a member of the first Provincial Council, and one of the few chosen from that body, in 1683, to prepare the draft of a new charter. For several years he acted as William Penn's agent at Pennsbury. In 1685, he was nominated by the Council to the office of Provincial Judge, but declined to accept it.|| "He was," says William Yardley, "bold and valiant for the truth, and his testimony was in the power of the Lord."¶ He died in much peace in the Eighth Month, 1687.

* Whiting's Memoirs, p. 368. † Besse, vol. ii. p. 29, 69.

‡ By some MSS. papers of the Pemberton family, it appears, that the Harrison and Pemberton families, who intermarried, went over together in a vessel from Liverpool, bound for the river Delaware. By distress of weather, however, they were landed in the Patuxent river, in Maryland, from whence they proceeded on horseback to the neighbourhood of Pennsbury, "where they settled, and occupied places of distinguished trust." See Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, p. 64.

§ Penn. Mem. p. 8. || Proud, vol. i. p. 300. ¶ Penn. Mem. p. 8.

JOHN SONGHURST.

Before his removal to America, John Songhurst resided at Coneyhurst, in Sussex. No particulars of his early life and convincement have been handed down, and the first notice which we have respecting him, is under date of 1670, when he was travelling in the ministry in London.* "He was," writes Whiting, "a brave eminent man, as well as minister, who had a very fine testimony," and "in the year 1680, he writ a very notable book, entitled 'A Testimony of Love and Goodwill unto all them who desire to come to enjoy an everlasting being with the Lord, when days in this world will have an end.'"† In 1682, he sailed with William Penn for Pennsylvania, and in the following year was elected to represent the county of Philadelphia in the Provincial Assembly, to which office he was re-elected in 1684. He died in West Jersey, but was buried at Philadelphia in the Eleventh Month, 1688.

WILLIAM PEACHY.

Before he emigrated to the western world, William Peachy lived in London. He was one of the early adventurers to the colony of West Jersey, having gone out in company with Thomas Ollive in 1677. These two, observes an early settler, "were the first among Friends in West Jersey who had a public ministry."‡ His call to the work of the gospel did not, however, prevent him from rendering services of a civil nature to his fellow-settlers, who elected him in 1682, as a representative in the Assembly of West Jersey.§ He died in the First Month, 1689, and was interred at Burlington.||

JAMES RADCLIFF.

He appears to have lived in Lancashire. As early as the fifteenth year of his age, he was imprisoned for his religious profession, and in the course of his gospel travels in subsequent years, it is recorded, that he "underwent many hardships and

* Besse, vol. i. p. 408.

† Whiting's Mem. p. 387.

‡ Proud, vol. i. p. 158.

§ Smith's New Jersey, p. 151.

|| Whiting's Mem. p. 393.

imprisonments."* About 1682, he removed to America, and settled at Wrightstown in Pennsylvania, where, says Proud, he "was a noted preacher." He died in or about 1690, "being redeemed from the earth, and laying down his head in peace."†

JOHN ECKLEY.

The first notice that we find respecting this Friend occurs in 1683, when he is recorded as a representative from Herefordshire to the Yearly Meeting in London. In the following year we find him filling the high office of Provincial Judge in Pennsylvania. In 1686, he became still more distinguished, by being appointed one of the five who formed the "Commissioners of State," whose office it was to represent William Penn in the executive of the Government. The parties chosen for this responsible trust were the most eminent and influential Friends in the province. The counsel addressed to them by the proprietor on their appointment is worthy of preservation. "Be most just," he writes, "as in the sight of the all-seeing, all-searching God; and before you let your spirits into an affair, retire to Him, that he may give you a good understanding and government of yourselves in the management thereof; which is that which truly crowns public actions, and dignifies those that perform them."‡ As a christian legislator, the name of John Eckley is worthy of remembrance. Samuel Jennings, who knew him well, says, "I am persuaded it is a justice due to the righteous, and a duty upon us, to contribute something to perpetuate the names of such who have left a fragrancy behind them, and through faith have obtained a good report. Though their bodies sleep in the grave, and by divine appointment they die like other men, yet this signal difference hath the Lord declared: 'The memory of the just is blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot.' The sincere affection I had for this, our dear friend, hath prevailed with me to give the following testimony concerning him. As a man he was pleasant, courteous, discreet, and grave, and in public services accompanied the foremost. The word of wisdom

* Besse, vol. i. p. 290, 318.

† Proud, vol. i. p. 217.

‡ Ibid. 307.

was in his mouth, and he had received the tongue of the learned, to speak in due season. I might truly say much of his innocency, love, and zeal for truth, which hath left a lively impression upon the hearts of many. In his last sickness he was frequently filled with praises to God and instructions to his people."* He died about the year 1690.

THOMAS WYNNE.

He emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1682, in company with William Penn, having previously resided in Flintshire, North Wales, where he practised as a surgeon. He appears to have been a man of some literary attainments, and wrote several pieces in vindication of his principles as a Friend.† He was Speaker of the Provincial Assembly during its first and second year, and in subsequent years also formed one of that body. The historian of Pennsylvania refers to him as a "preacher among the Quakers, and a person of note and good character."‡ He died in the First Month, 1692, and was buried in Philadelphia.

THOMAS OLLIVE.

He was of Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, where he was convinced of our religious principles in 1655, through the ministry of William Dewsbury.§ At what date he first appeared as a minister is not ascertained; there is, however, reason to believe that it was soon after he joined the Society. In 1665 he suffered many weeks' imprisonment under the Conventicle Act, and in 1674, under a fresh enactment of a similar character, he had about sixty pounds worth of cloth taken from him.|| He was one of the early adventurers to West Jersey, having proceeded thither in 1677, in the second ship which sailed for the new colony.¶ His talents for business were considerable, and were highly appreciated by his fellow-settlers. The first Colonial Assembly appointed him its Speaker, which office he held for several

* Penn. Mem. p. 12.

† Proud, vol. i. p. 237.

|| Besse, i. p. 534, 536.

† Whiting's Mem. p. 466.

§ Whiting's Memoirs, p. 487.

¶ Smith's New Jersey, p. 93.

years. In 1684, he was elected governor of the province, and in this responsible position he acted "with great circumspection and prudence."* He was also a justice for the district of Burlington, and exercised his magisterial functions in those primitive days of the colony with patriarchal simplicity, "often doing it to good effect," says Smith, "in the seat of judgment, on the stumps in his meadows."† "By his preaching and writing, as well as by other public and private conduct, he had gained love and esteem, which he merited to the last." He died in the Ninth Month, 1692, and was buried in the township of Northampton, within the compass of Burlington Monthly Meeting.

Thos. Oliver

WILLIAM YARDLEY.

William Yardley was born in the year 1632, and before his emigration to America, resided near Leek, in Staffordshire, where he was brought up as an agriculturist. From early life he appears to have sought after heavenly things, and in his youthful days associated himself with a spiritually minded-people who called themselves the "Family of Love;"‡ a connection which he maintained until about the age of manhood, when he became convinced of the principles of Friends. He first spoke as a minister about the twenty-third year of his age, and in the exercise of his gift, travelled for many years in various parts of the nation, in the course of which, he underwent much suffering by imprisonments and personal abuse. During one of his imprisonments his only resting-place for seventeen weeks was the bare floor of his cell.§ In the year 1682, he removed to Pennsylvania, an dsettled near the falls of the Delaware, and being a man of ability and judgment, he was elected by the settlers to important offices in the province. He represented the county of Bucks in the first Assembly, and for some years was an active member of the Pro-

* Smith's New Jersey, p. 209.

‡ Penn. Mem. p. 13.

† Ibid.

§ Bease, vol. i. p. 650.

vincial Council.* “His ministry,” writes his intimate friend Thomas Janney, “was with a good understanding, not only of what he spoke from, but also what he spoke unto; and the things which he testified, were what he had learned of the Lord, and had himself seen, heard, and tasted, in the good word of life.”† He died in the Fifth Month, 1693, aged about sixty-one years, having been a minister about thirty-eight years.

JOHN DELAVALL.

He was the son of a merchant of New York,‡ and about the time of the settlement of Pennsylvania he was a captain in the militia in that city, where he became convinced of our religious views. He became a minister soon after he had joined Friends, and subsequently removed to New Jersey, and afterwards to Philadelphia, where he married Hannah the daughter of Thomas Lloyd.§ He is described as a man of an amiable and benevolent disposition, and zealous in his ministry; in the exercise of which he visited other parts of America. His literary qualifications were not inconsiderable, and he employed his pen first in conjunction with George Keith, in defending his brethren from the attacks of Cotton Mather, and subsequently in controversy with Keith himself.|| He was also much engaged in the civil affairs of the colony, and for some years was an active member of the Provincial Council.¶ James Dickinson, who knew him intimately, has left the following testimony respecting him: “Although he was one called in at the eleventh hour, yet he was faithful and zealous for the truth, and a man of a tender, broken spirit. The Lord gave him a gift in the ministry, and blessed him in it, and enabled him to get his day’s work done in the day. He was valiant for the truth upon earth, and turned not his back to the opposers of it, nor would spare the backsliders from it, but stood faithful to the end. His bow abode in strength, and in the faith

* Proud, vol i. p. 235, 340.

‡ Whiting’s Memoirs, p. 493.

|| Whiting’s Memoirs, p. 493.

† Penn. Mem. p. 14.

§ Proud, vol. i. p. 394.

¶ Proud, vol. i. 394.

of Christ he finished his testimony with a heart full of love to God and his people."* He died in the Sixth Month, 1693.

WILLIAM STOCKDALE.

William Stockdale was of Charlmount meeting in the north of Ireland. "He was convinced," says Whiting, "early, and receiving a public testimony, travelled much in the service of truth in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and suffered much for his testimony by beatings, bruising, &c."† He removed to Pennsylvania in the year 1687, and soon after was chosen member of the Provincial Council, which office he held until the time of his decease in 1693.‡ His remains were interred in Philadelphia.

WILLIAM WALKER.

William Walker was born in Yorkshire, and was one of the early emigrants to Pennsylvania, where he was convinced of the principles of Friends soon after his arrival. Having received a gift in the ministry, he proceeded, in 1693, on a religious visit to Friends in his native country, and after having laboured in the service in London, Wales, and some of the English counties; he was taken ill in the spring of the following year. During his illness he was favoured, in a remarkable degree, with a feeling of the divine presence and a foretaste of celestial joy. "Oh, the wonders of the Lord!" he uttered on one occasion, "what have I seen of the transcendent glory! Though I see but little, yet it is admirable glory!" Speaking of Christ, he said, "I can see him; his arm is open to receive me;" and subsequently, "Oh, Lord Jesus, come; sweet Jesus, I long for thee; now death is pleasant—I feel the angel of thy presence to surround me!" his dying words being, "I feel the Fountain of life; my soul's beloved is come."§ He died in the Fourth Month, 1694, and was buried in Southwark.

* Penn. Mem., p. 16.

† Proud, vol. i. pp. 340, 369.

‡ Whiting's Memoirs, p. 493.

§ Piety Promoted.

THOMAS LLOYD.

Thomas Lloyd was born in North Wales, about the year 1649. His father was possessed of considerable wealth, and descended from an ancient family at Dolobran, in Montgomeryshire. Thomas, who was the youngest son, after receiving an education in the best schools of the day, was sent to the University of Oxford, where he is said to have made considerable proficiency in learning; and being a man endowed with good natural abilities, and much sweetness of disposition, he gained the notice and esteem of persons of the highest standing in society, and enjoyed opportunities of worldly advancement. In early life, however, his mind was richly visited by the Day Spring from on High, humbling and contriting his soul, and giving him to see the emptiness of all worldly things, in comparison of the riches of Christ his Saviour. Having heard of the people called Quakers, he went to hear them; when the divine power that pervaded the meeting, humbled and bowed his spirit before the Lord, and, clearly perceiving, that their doctrines harmonized with those of the New Testament, he took up the cross, and boldly professed them before his fellow-men. Having received a call to the ministry, he became an eminent instrument in the hand of the Lord in turning many to righteousness; and in controversy with the learned, he proved a powerful advocate for the principles he professed. In common with many others in the principality of Wales, he removed to Pennsylvania soon after its settlement as a province, where he was of great service to the state in its infant days. In 1684, he was elected President of the Council, and in 1686, was one of the five appointed by William Penn, to the responsible office of "Council of State,"—an office which he held until near the close of 1688, when he was released from its cares at his own express desire. In 1690, however, being again prevailed upon to exercise his talents in the civil affairs of the country, he presided a second time in the Council; and in 1691, when the "Council of State" was superseded by the appointment of a Deputy Governor, he was chosen for this high office, which he held for about two years, until the appointment of Fletcher by

the Crown of England. Although Thomas Lloyd, from his first arrival in Pennsylvania, took an active and conspicuous part in its civil affairs, it was, nevertheless, contrary to his own natural inclination, and, so far from deriving any pecuniary advantage from devoting so much of his time and superior talents to the affairs of the colony, it is asserted, that his temporal interests suffered in consequence. "He was," records his Monthly Meeting, "an able minister of the everlasting gospel of peace and salvation, and his acquired parts were sanctified to Truth's service; his sound and effectual ministry, his godly conversation, meek and lamb-like spirit, his great patience, temperance, humility, and slowness to wrath, his love to the brethren, his godly care in the Church of Christ, that things might be kept sweet, and savoury, and in good order, his helping hand to the weak, and gentleness in admonition, we are fully satisfied, have a seal and witness in the hearts of all the faithful that knew him, both in the land of his nativity, and in these American parts; and cannot be forgotten by them. We may in truth say, he sought not himself, nor the riches of this world, but his eye was to that which is everlasting, and he was given up to spend and be spent for the Truth, and the sake of Friends." The expressions of this eminent and devoted individual when near the close of life, evince that his foundation was laid on Christ the Rock of Ages: and he was enabled to say: "I have fought a good fight, and have 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, but for the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of the gospel. I lay down my head in peace—Friends, farewell all." He died in the Seventh Month, 1694, aged about forty-five years.*

THOMAS JANNEY.

Thomas Janney was born in Cheshire, about the year 1633. He united with Friends about the twentieth year of his age, and

* Whiting's Memoirs; Penn. Mem.; Proud's History; Piety Promoted; Smith's Hist., in Hazard.

in the following year came forth as a minister of the gospel. In the exercise of his gift, he travelled extensively, both in England and in Ireland,* and he was more than once a prisoner for the truths he declared. He emigrated with his family to Pennsylvania about the year 1683, and settled near the falls of the Delaware. His station as a minister in the Society, did not preclude his engaging in the civil affairs of the country. In 1691, we find him one of the most active members of the Provincial Council;† and in many other respects, he appears to have been serviceable to his fellow-settlers. The following testimony to his worth was borne by his Monthly Meeting: "As the Lord had bestowed on him a gift of the ministry beyond many of his fellows, so he was careful to improve it to his honour, and the comfort of his people; not only labouring therein here, in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, but he also several times visited the churches in New England, Rhode Island, Long Island, and Maryland."‡ In 1695, he proceeded on a religious visit to his native country, where, after about eighteen months' service in the work of the Gospel, he was taken ill, and died in the Twelfth Month, 1696, in Cheshire, aged about sixty-three years, having been a minister about forty-two years.

ROBERT OWEN.

Robert Owen emigrated to Pennsylvania in the year 1690, before which he resided in the principality of Wales. He travelled much in the work of the ministry, both in his native country, and in America. "He was," says his fellow countryman, Hugh Roberts, "a strong pillar in the Church of Christ, and his understanding was opened in those things that belong to order."§ He appears to have been endowed with many excellent qualities, and to have been of much service in various ways. He died in the Fifth Month, 1697, and was interred at Merion.||

* Piety Promoted.

† Penn. Mem. p. 26.

|| Penn. Mem. p. 29.

† Proud, vol. i. p. 217, 361.

§ Smith's Hist., in Hazard.

THOMAS FITZWATER.

Respecting the life of this Friend but very few particulars have been obtained. He came from Middlesex, and proceeded to Pennsylvania in company with William Penn in 1682, and was one of the members elected to represent the county of Bucks, in the first assembly of 1683. Seven years later we find that he was chosen a member of that body for Philadelphia. Proud remarks that he was "a valuable member of society, and a preacher among the Quakers." He died in the Eighth Month, 1699.*

* Proud, vol. 1. pp. 235, 353, 422.

CHAPTER VI.

CONDUCT OF FRIENDS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

William Penn's object in founding Pennsylvania—Early settlers mostly Friends—Character of its Primitive Legislators—Proceedings of the Assembly—Judicial proceedings—Trials for Coining and Witchcraft—Commissioners of State—Blackwall Deputy-Governor—He attempts to raise a Militia—Resigns in 1690—Progress of the Colony—Dispute between the Province and the Territories of Delaware—Thomas Lloyd Deputy-Governor of Pennsylvania, and Markham for Delaware—The Assembly declines to unite with other Colonies in warlike proceedings—False alarm of an Indian Massacre—William Penn deprived of his Charter—Colonel Fletcher—The Assembly refuses to grant military supplies—Fletcher disputes with the Assembly—The Province restored to William Penn in 1694—William Penn's second visit to it—Grants a new Charter—The Assembly refuses military supplies to the Crown—William Penn returns to England, 1701—Governor Hamilton—Delaware separates from Pennsylvania—Governor Evans—His failure to raise a Militia—His maladministration—Machinations of Quarry and the Episcopalians—Gookin—He fails to obtain military supplies—Disputes between the Council and Assembly—The Affirmation—Sir William Keith—Death of William Penn—Population and social condition of Pennsylvania.

A HISTORY of the Society of Friends in America, without ample reference to the civil and political state of Pennsylvania, during the time the government was under the control of its members, would be very defective. When William Penn founded this colony, there were states on that continent, in which the non-resisting principles of Christianity were recognized; this, as we have seen, was the case in the little colony of Rhode Island, and in the more recently established plantations of East and West

New Jersey. In political importance and general interest, however, these provinces bear no comparison to that of Pennsylvania. Its extent, its prosperity, its rapid growth in population, the entire recognition of equal rights, the democratic form of its government, together with the large proportion of Friends among the early settlers,—all contribute to render that portion of the history of the province, during which it was conducted on the christian principles of its enlightened founder, one of no ordinary moment.

In settling Pennsylvania, William Penn had a great experiment in view,—a “holy experiment,” as he terms it. This was no less than to test, on a scale of considerable magnitude, the practicability of founding and governing a State on the sure principles of the Christian religion; where the executive should be sustained without arms; where justice should be administered without oaths; and where real religion might flourish without the incubus of an hierarchical system. As a firm believer in the perfect adaptation of the precepts of the gospel to man in his corporate, as well as in his individual capacity, he had no doubt of success in the hands of a people evincing themselves, by their lives and conversation, followers of Christ; but, if left to the hands of others, he had no confidence. Leaving, however, further remarks on this subject, we will now proceed to examine to what extent, the favoured commonwealth of Pennsylvania, realized the anticipations and hopes of its benevolent founder.

The early settlers in this province, were mostly in religious profession with William Penn. The constitution, therefore, which he had framed harmonized with their views of civil things; and, whether in the Council, or in the Assembly, as officers of the peace, jurymen, or constables, Friends not only took their full share in serving the state, but, from the confidence reposed in them by the other colonists, the civil offices were, for a long time, mostly occupied by them. In the Council of 1683, composed of eighteen representatives, six, it appears, were ministers in our Society, and a still larger number of Friends in that station, were members of the Assembly. During his stay in the province, William Penn always presided at the Council; and in the infant

days of the colony, so largely were the practices of our religious Society recognized among the representatives, that instead of opening the proceedings of the day with formal prayer, as in the Parliament at home, and in the Assemblies of neighbouring provinces, they waited in solemn silence upon the God of the spirits of all flesh,* and inwardly craved his aid, and his blessing, in their efforts thus to serve their fellow men.

The province now known as Delaware, was also ceded to William Penn. This district had been settled by some Swedes, in the time of Gustavus Adolphus; but on the transfer, they willingly recognized the government of the new proprietor. The Swedes were an industrious and sober-minded people, and, with the German settlers of Pennsylvania, evinced great regard for Friends, and co-operated harmoniously with them in all civil matters. A few Germans and Swedes, were elected to serve, both in the Council and in the Assembly.†

In either of the representative branches of the legislature, any member was at liberty to propose whatever he thought best for the promotion of the public good. Many propositions were consequently made, and many measures concluded upon; but the chief business of the session of 1683, consisted in modifying the charter in a manner more conformable to the views of the settlers. Some of the representatives were men who had received a liberal education, and were scholars in the age in which they lived; but for the most part, the Assembly was composed of those whose literary attainments were small; yet, at the same time they were characterized by great integrity of purpose, and their manners were at once simple, hearty, and unceremonious. Writing to the Free Society of Traders in 1683, William Penn says, "Two general Assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks, and, at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent, in any material thing—courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables, &c., which courts are held every two months. But to prevent law-suits, there are three

* Watson's Annals, p. 75.

† *Vide Ferris's Delaware.*

peace-makers chosen by every county court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences between man and man."*

The judicial proceedings of the province at this early date, present but two cases of sufficient moment to be noticed. One was the case of a party tried in 1683, for coining, in which a greater alloy of copper was used than was lawful. The jury having found them guilty, the principal in the fraud was sentenced to pay a fine of forty pounds, and to make full satisfaction "in good and current coin," to every person who should, within one month from the date of a proclamation to that effect, bring in any of the counterfeit money. The other case was the trial, during the same year, of a turbulent old woman for witchcraft. The charge was made by the Swedes, who, among other Scandinavian superstitions, believed in this notion, and to prevent any dissatisfaction with the issue, the jury was empanelled partly of Swedes, and partly of English. The verdict given, was, that she had the "common fame of being a witch, but not guilty in manner and form as she stands indicted;"† and the affair resulted simply in her friends giving security that she would keep the peace. A belief in witches, among the settlers in the New World, was far from being confined to the Swedes; the records of New England are stained with accounts of executions arising from this superstitious notion;‡ and even fifty years later, civilized nations sent unoffending females to the stake on this account.§ The evidence given in the foregoing instance was like that of most others on such occasions. One witness said, "he was told twenty years ago that the prisoner at the bar was a witch, and that several cows were bewitched by her." Another attested "that her husband took the heart of a calf that had died, as they thought by witchcraft, and boiled it, whereupon the prisoner at the bar came in and asked them what they were doing; they said, boiling of flesh; she said they had better to have boiled the bones, with several other unseemly expressions." Absurd and

* Proud, vol. i. p. 261.

† Colonial records, i. p. 41.

‡ Cotton Mather's Discourse, p. 10.

§ Voltaire's Louis XIV.

unmeaning as were these depositions, it is doubtful whether the life of the accused would have been saved had they been given in the courts at Boston.

In Great Britain, a violation of the law by coining would, in all probability, have been attended by the capital punishment of the offender; and with respect to witchcraft, ten years later, no less than nineteen persons were hung in Massachusetts on charges of this description. The efficacy of the milder jurisprudence of the Society of Friends was thoroughly exemplified in these instances. Henceforward no one in Pennsylvania was ever tried on the charge of witchcraft; and, whilst in England the laws against coining were constantly outraged, the territory of William Penn was comparatively free from the offence.

Events having called William Penn to his native land, it became needful for him to make some provision for the exercise of the executive in his absence. For this purpose he authorised, in the Sixth Month, 1684, the Provincial Council to act in his stead, of which Thomas Lloyd, mentioned in the last chapter, a Friend highly qualified for the office, was president. But the power of the governor being committed to so many individuals, was attended with inconvenience, and in 1686, the commission was restricted to five persons, who were designated "Commissioners of State." The parties chosen for this responsible office, were all Friends of ability and high standing, including Thomas Lloyd, who acted as chairman. This arrangement continued until 1689, when, on the withdrawal of Thomas Lloyd from the turmoils of office, and no other colonist being found suitable to succeed him, William Penn appointed Captain John Blackwall as his deputy. Writing to the Commissioners in reference to this appointment, he says, "He is not a Friend, but a grave, sober, wise man. I have ordered him to confer in private with you, and square himself by your advice. If he do not please you he shall be laid aside."*

* One of the early acts of the Provincial Legislature, soon after William Penn's return to England, was the proclamation of James II. as king. The proclamation issued on the occasion was transmitted to

The administration of Blackwall disappointed the hopes of the proprietor. Unlike those over whom he ruled, he could not appreciate the Christian doctrine of non-resistance, and he attempted to raise a militia. This alone was quite sufficient to unfit him for his position, but in other respects also his actions did not harmonize with the council, and after about a year's duty, at the intimation of William Penn, he resigned and returned to England.

the Home Government, of which the following is a copy taken from the original in the *State Paper Office, Penn. B. T.*, vol. i.

Philadelphia, the 23rd of the Third Month (May) 1685.

PENNSYLVANIA.—The President and members of Provincial Council having received express advice this evening, from the Proprietary and Governor of this province and territories, and transemitted to him, from the Lords of the Council, of the decease of our late sovereign Charles the Second, with speedy instructions to proclaim James Duke of York and Albany, and that his only brother and heir, King James the Second. In obedience whereunto, we, the President and members of the Council, attended with the magistrates, principall officers, and inhabitants of Philadelphia, doe unanimously proclaim James Duke of York and Albany, &c., by the decease of our late sovereign Charles the Second to be now our lawfull Leige Lord and King, James the Second of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and among others of his dominions in America of this province of Pennsylvania and its territories, King. To whom we doe acknowledge faithfull and constant obedience with all hearty and humble affection. Beseeching God, by whom kings doe raign and princes decree justice, to bless our present sovereign King James the Second, with long, healthie, peaceable, and happy years to reign over us, and soe

GOD SAVE KING JAMES THE SECOND!



PRESIDENT.

No other person having been named to succeed Blackwall, the executive, according to law, devolved on the Council, and the talented but retiring Thomas Lloyd, was again induced to act as president.

Since the foundation of the colony eight years had now passed away, and during this period the population had rapidly increased, so that Pennsylvania and the territories could number twelve thousand inhabitants.* In the city new streets continued to be opened, and old ones extended; public buildings were erected, warehouses and wharfs built, and the capital of the province had already become one of the most important commercial depots of the western world. The primeval forests, which had hitherto been the abode of wild beasts, were now giving place to fruitful gardens and fields of corn; and cheerful homesteads were built where once the habitation of man consisted only of the rude wigwam of the Indian. Whether in city or country the settlers were blest with prosperity, and their civil affairs were conducted with harmony; and whilst the political liberties of neighbouring provinces were threatened by the *quo warrantos* of the infatuated James II., the court influence of William Penn protected his territory from dangers of this description.†

The concord with which the affairs of the province had been hitherto conducted was now, however, about to be seriously

* Bancroft's United States.

† The following letter is adduced in proof of this statement :

Windsor, June 6th, 1686.

MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Sir,—His Majesty having, by order in council, directed you to bring writs of *quo warranto* against the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, Carolina, and the Bahama Islands, &c., in America, his Majesty commands me to acquaint you that he has thought fit, for some particular considerations, to suspend the proceedings against the proprietor of Pennsylvania, and accordingly, would have you forbear to do anything further in that matter till further order from him, his intention being, nevertheless, you should continue to proceed against the rest.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

SUNDERLAND P.

Sunderland's Letter Book, vol. ii. p. 337. *State Paper Office*.

interrupted. The representatives from Pennsylvania and those from the territories were originally balanced in number ; but the growing importance of the former, had raised a jealousy in Delaware that this equality would be disturbed, to the injury of its interests. After the resignation of Blackwall, this feeling, which had been smouldering for years, was more conspicuously developed. Discontented at things taking their usual course, six members of the Council from the territories assumed the power of appointing judges without the concurrence of the board or the president ; and the disagreement did not stop here. As William Penn had no prospect of being able to return very early to the province, he gave the colonists the choice of three modes for the exercise of the executive power ; that of a deputy governor, five commissioners, or the Council. This option was given, it is believed, with a view to induce the representatives to a more united action. Pennsylvania chose the first of the three modes, while Delaware so obstinately opposed it, that, notwithstanding the efforts made to reconcile them, its members withdrew from the Council and returned home. The rupture was a source of much pain to William Penn ; but finding the discontented parties were irreconcilable, he met the difficulty by appointing Thomas Lloyd as deputy governor for Pennsylvania, and his cousin William Markham for the territories ; an arrangement which worked far better than he expected.

The want of harmony which had thus unhappily sprung up between the representatives, was soon followed by troubles of a graver description. The English and French being at war, the possessions of the former in North America were exposed to incursions from Indians subsidized by the French to ravage the frontier settlements. Alarmed at their position, the colonists of New England and New York made considerable preparations for war, in which they urgently solicited the co-operation of Pennsylvania. But Friends there, being faithful to their testimony against all wars and fightings, declined to unite in these military demonstrations. Trusting to divine protection, they had settled unarmed in the midst of warlike tribes, and they had amply experienced that this trust was not a vain one. Notwithstanding,

however, the cordial friendship that existed between the colonists and the Indians of Pennsylvania, there were not a few of the more recent settlers, not professing with Friends, who were uneasy and dissatisfied at not having some means of defence. As early as the year 1688, this class were much alarmed at a report which was spread, that the natives had planned, on a given day, to massacre the whole of the settlers. Some Friends, who gave no credence to the report, endeavoured to quiet the minds of the people; but a party employed to investigate the matter, having confirmed the rumour, the consternation became great. Five hundred Indians, it was said, were already assembled at one of the Indian towns in the vicinity, and many now believed, that ere long, the tomahawk and the scalping knife, would prove the fallacy of the Quaker doctrines of peace. The Council being at that time in session, the alarming position of the colony was brought under its notice, when Caleb Pusey, a Friend of high standing, and strong in his belief of the efficacy of gospel principles, offered to go to the place where, it was said, the warriors were assembled, provided the Council would name five others who would accompany him unarmed.* Volunteers were not wanting, and the little band, mounted on horseback, proceeded to face the supposed array of their wonted murderers. On arriving at the Indian town, instead of meeting with five hundred warriors, they found the old king quietly reclining at his ease, the women at work in the fields, and the children at play. The rumour, in fact, turned out to be entirely unfounded.

The colonists had, however, soon to deal with something more than mere rumour. Conflicts between the natives and the settlers of New England and New York, had actually taken place, and there was good reason to suppose that Pennsylvania would be soon invaded by tribes in the pay of the French. In this time of trial, the confidence of Friends in the all-protecting arm of their God, did not fail them, and they steadfastly declined either to subscribe money, or to raise men, for the common defence. Their desire was, to live on terms of peace and friendship with the French as well as the Indians, and they boldly declared

* Proud, vol. i. p. 337.

that, if either the one or the other came against them, they would go out unarmed and tell them so.*

The calm attitude which Friends of Pennsylvania continued to maintain amidst the dangers of war, disturbed the royal authorities at Whitehall. They could not appreciate those Christian views which dictated such a course, and they knew also, that there were not a few of the settlers who were ardent to enrol themselves as soldiers for the defence of their homes.† The schism caused by George Keith, and the rupture between the province and the territories, were also circumstances that tended to lessen the confidence of the English Government in Quaker legislation; added to which, the arrest of William Penn on the charge of treason and conspiracy, further contributed to bring about, what many of his enemies had aimed at, the transfer of his government to other hands. This was done by an order in council, dated "March 10th, 1692," by which the government of Pennsylvania was annexed to that of New York, under the administration of Colonel Fletcher.

Although a blow had been thus inflicted on the Society of Friends, and more particularly on William Penn, still the holy cause which led that great man to found a colony in the western world was not a hopeless one, and he had faith to believe, that his "holy experiment" would be triumphant. Under the great seal of England he was yet proprietor of the province, and no acts of his own, or that of the provincial power, had legally annulled or vitiated his charter. Colonel Fletcher, like most other soldiers, being unable to understand the peace doctrines of the New Testament, William Penn was fearful, lest, in attempting to carry out his military views, he might arbitrarily overrule the legislative power of the Council and Assembly. To guard, therefore, against any evil that might arise in this direction, he wrote both to Fletcher, and to the officers of the province. The former he warned, in a dignified strain, to act with caution, asserting that the king had no stronger title to the crown of England than

* Penn. Papers, Jan. 15th, 1690-91.—*State Paper Office.*

† Fletcher's Corres., "April and May."—*New York Papers. State Paper Office.*

he had to the soil and government of Pennsylvania—that the charter had not been abrogated—that he was still master of his province; and that, as he was an Englishman, he would vindicate his right.* The officers of his government he encouraged to obey the crown when it spoke the voice of law, but in no way to surrender the rights which the charter had conferred upon them.† His advice to the colonists was a word in season. They firmly maintained their religious principles under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and nobly resisted the attempts of arbitrary power to trample on their rights.

Early in the year 1693, Fletcher repaired to Philadelphia to assume the reins of government, and as he intended to conduct it on his principles as a soldier, he entered the Quaker city attended by a military retinue. He had previously, by letter, been urgent in his demand for supplies, but the answer being in the negative, he hastened to the province, to enforce it in person. The representatives of the province and the territories were summoned to meet him; but in issuing the writ, both with respect to the number of delegates, and the time and form of the election, it was evident that he intended to act quite independently of the charter. As an ultra royalist, the democratic principles of Pennsylvania were anything but congenial to his political notions. The Assembly having met, the first business he introduced to it was an application from the crown, for men and money, to aid in defending the frontiers of New York from the French and Indians. The representatives felt that their rights and privileges had already been invaded, and before entertaining the requisition, they unanimously resolved that their laws were not affected by the appointment of Fletcher, and pressed him at once to give his recognition to them. "If the laws," he said, "made by virtue of Mr. Penn's charter, be of force to you, and can be brought into competition with the great seal which commands me hither, I have no business here." "The grant of King Charles," replied the speaker, "is itself under the great seal. Is that

* Penn. Papers, Dec. 5th, 1692.—*State Paper Office.*

† W. Penn's Corres., attested by Fletcher, vol. i. of Penn. Papers.—*State Paper Office.*

charter, in a lawful way, at an end?" To meet the difficulty, Fletcher proposed to re-enact the greater part of the former laws; but this was steadfastly opposed. Having firmly asserted their political rights, and at last obtained from their new governor a distinct recognition of their legislative power, the representatives passed a bill imposing a tax of one penny in the pound, to be presented to the crown, but with the understanding that, "it should not be dipped in blood." As nothing was granted for the specific purpose of war, Fletcher at first refused the bill, but finally complied. On the whole, however, he was greatly dissatisfied, and wrote to the king, setting forth the impossibility of obtaining a war vote from the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and urging the propriety of forming the colony, together with New York, the Jerseys, and Connecticut, into one province, as the only way to outvote Friends, and by this means to obtain the desired supplies.* These representations met with a cordial response from the home government, and the Privy Council proceeded so far as to direct the Attorney-general to scrutinize the patent of William Penn, in the hope that some flaw might be found in it sufficient to justify them in having it annulled.

During his administration, Fletcher was several times in the province, and in the early part of 1694, he again met the Assembly. Having found, by experience, that it was futile to look for military grants from a people who were so decidedly opposed to war, he now asked them to vote money, "to supply the Indian nations with such necessaries as might influence their continued friendship to the provinces."† Fearful in any way of compromising their religious principles, the Assembly adopted the course of the previous year, and again levied a tax of one penny in the pound. The produce of this impost was nearly eight hundred pounds, of which they stipulated that one half should be paid to William Markham and Thomas Lloyd, for their services whilst acting as deputies of the proprietary, and the remainder to the general purposes of the government. The claim of the Assembly to make specific appropriations of money, was

* New York Papers, Sept. 15th, 1693.—*State Paper Office.*

† Proud, vol. i. p. 396.

rejected as an infringement of the royal prerogative, and, after a fortnight's altercation with Fletcher, the Assembly was dissolved.

It must be admitted that, with reference to the last mentioned application of Fletcher, some of the representatives were actuated in their opposition, more with a desire to guard their political rights, than to bear a testimony against war. It is true, the majority were Friends; but there were others, especially from Delaware, who had no fellow-feeling with them on the principles of non-resistance. Had there not existed a strong jealousy of an encroachment on their colonial privileges, the application would, probably, have been granted: William Penn himself regretted the course the Assembly took in this instance.* To feed and clothe the Indians, in order to secure their continued friendship, did not, in his view, at all compromise the testimony of Friends against war.

Whilst Fletcher and the Assembly were thus disputing, William Penn was exerting himself to recover the power of which he had been so unjustly deprived. He had been publicly acquitted before the king and council from the charge of treason—the law officers of the crown were unable to find any flaw in his charter; neither could they discover that any of his subsequent acts could be strained into an offence to justify its forfeiture; and his claim on the crown, for a full reinstatement of his rights and properties, being seconded by some powerful friends, his efforts at last proved successful. The patent, by which he was legally re-invested with his former power and functions, was dated "August," 1694.

Previously to his restoration, William Penn had conferences with the Government in reference to the course he was willing to take, in defending the province as an integral part of the British dominions. By an order in council it is stated, that he did not object to supply a contingent of money or men for the defence of the frontiers.† The records of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, speak less definitely, and go no further than to state that he would transmit to the Council and Assembly, "all orders that the crown might issue for the safety and security

* Proud, vol. i. p. 397.

† Privy Council Registers, W. R. III. p. 455.—*Privy Council Office.*

of the province ;”* whilst in the patent itself, by which the administration was restored to him, no distinct provision is made on the subject. This document is, indeed, good evidence, that in negotiating for his reinstatement, William Penn did not compromise the principles of the Society on war. His position was, undoubtedly, an extremely delicate one ; for, whilst satisfied that so long as his fellow-members were chosen as the representatives of the people, no military supplies of any description would be voted, yet, as there was already no inconsiderable number of persons in the province who were ready to bear arms, and as this class was daily augmenting by immigration, it was impossible for him to say what, in future years, might be the voice of the colony on the subject ; and he believed it right to leave the decision in their hands. It has been stated by more than one historian, that William Penn, on being reinstated in his government, agreed to provide means for its defence ; but this is manifestly an error. On a careful investigation of all the facts of the case, taken in connexion with the course which he afterwards pursued, it is evident that he could not have committed himself to any distinct or implied promise to this effect.

Circumstances having prevented the proprietary from returning at once to his province, his cousin Markham was invested, in 1694, with the executive power. Excepting in the very early part of his administration, he appears to have given satisfaction to the colonists, and to have discharged his functions with vigour and success. With the peace of Ryswick, the war between France and England was brought to a close ; and during the five years that Markham ruled in Pennsylvania, it was blessed with almost uninterrupted peace and harmony.

Towards the close of 1699, after an absence of fifteen years, William Penn arrived a second time in Pennsylvania, with the intention of remaining there for life, to govern in person the commonwealth which he had founded, and on which his hopes had been so long and anxiously set. During the winter, he attended many meetings of the Council, and in the Eleventh

* State Paper Office, B. T., Penn. vol. ii. p. 51. † Ibid. vol. i. B. A. p. 19.

Month he also met the Assembly. For some years past, complaints had been transmitted to the home government, that piracy, and illicit trading, were not sufficiently suppressed in the colony. After advocating and watching the passing of certain acts to check these evils, he dissolved the Assembly.

Since 1683, that body, without consulting the proprietary, had introduced several important changes in the constitution, and a strong desire was now prevalent for a new one. In the kindness of his heart, he did not reproach them for their stretch of authority, or complain of their wish for further modifications. Early in 1700, he again met the Assembly. In his address to them on this occasion, he began by reminding them that, though the colony was but nineteen years old, it was already equal in population to neighbouring ones of twice and thrice that standing. He admitted that their laws, though good, were open to improvement. "If, in the constitution by charter," he said, "there be anything that jars, alter it. If you want a law for this or that, prepare it;" adding the caution, "[But] I advise you not to trifle with government: I wish there were no need of any; but since crimes prevail, government is made necessary by man's degeneracy."* In the following year a fresh code of laws was passed, and the benevolent governor conceded to the settlers, all the political privileges they desired.

About this time William Penn received a letter from the home government, requiring the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds from the province, towards erecting forts on the frontiers of New York. As the circumstance was one of considerable moment to Friends, he immediately convened the Assembly, and in laying the letter before them, he stated that it was impossible for him to answer the application without having their decision in reference to it. As might have been expected, they declined to accede to the demand. The money was for a warlike purpose, and as such, repugnant to their religious views. They did not, however, distinctly state this as the ground of their non-compliance, but rested it rather on their alleged poverty in the infant

* Penn. Hist. Soc., vol. ii part ii. p. 187.

state of the province, desiring the governor, nevertheless, to assure the king "of their readiness to comply with his commands, as far as their religious persuasions would permit."* The representatives from the territories, who differed from Friends on the subject of military preparations, chose to return a separate answer. They, however, also declined, but not from any objection to the character of the requisition. They pleaded their own defenceless condition, and desired to be excused from "contributing to forts abroad, while they were unable to build any for their own defence at home."

It was not long after the royal requisition had been discussed in Pennsylvania, that the startling intelligence arrived, that a bill had been introduced into the House of Lords, for annexing to the crown all the proprietary governments of North America. The dispute on the Spanish succession had led to a rupture between the courts of Great Britain and France, and North America once more became the scene of hostilities. The opportunity was seized by the enemies of William Penn; and, under disguised pretences of public good, they thus sought a second time to deprive him of his property and his political power. The representatives were again convened, and, alarmed at their position, solicited William Penn to return at once to London to defend their common rights.† Reluctant as he was to leave his adopted country, yet as its interests were thus endangered, he decided to go, and having, with the full concurrence of the Assembly, appointed Colonel Hamilton as deputy-governor, and James Logan as his secretary, towards the close of 1701, he sailed for England.

The unhappy want of concord, which had so long existed between the province and the territories, had become in no way lessened by the lapse of time. During his last visit the proprietary had tried in vain to reconcile them. Foreseeing that this dispute might, in the end, lead to a separation, he introduced a provision to meet such an emergency in the new charter which he granted, by which he allowed that each should separately "enjoy all the liberties, privileges, and benefits, granted jointly to them."‡ The administration of Governor Hamilton was but

* Proud, i. p. 426. † Hazard, xii. p. 363. ‡ Proud, i. p. 450.

of short duration. About one year after his appointment he was taken off by death. He spent, however, much of this limited period in endeavouring to bring about a union in legislation between the contending parties. But his efforts were unavailing, and in the year 1703, they agreed to separate and form distinct representative assemblies.

On the death of Hamilton, the executive authority devolved on the Council, until the appointment of Governor John Evans, in the Twelfth Month, 1703.

In appointing deputy-governors for his province, subsequently to the restoration of his charter, William Penn, it appears, invariably sought the approval of the crown for the person of his choice. Although the charter of renewal makes no reference to such submission, there was undoubtedly some understanding to that effect.*

Evans commenced his official career with efforts to restore the union between the province and the territories. The representatives of the latter were willing to accede to the proposal, but those of the province unhesitatingly declined. The refractory conduct of the members from Delaware, and the disorders to which it had given rise, were still fresh in their remembrance, and they were not disposed to place themselves in a position which might again subject them to similar annoyance.

Notwithstanding Evans's good offices in endeavouring to effect a union between these parties, his appointment as deputy-governor appears to have been an unhappy one. At the time of his arrival, the war was still raging between France and England, and, having no sympathy with Quaker views on the doctrine of peace, he

* The following order in council confirms this view:—

“ At the Court at Hampton Court, the 30th day of July, 1703.

Present—

“ The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

“ Her Majesty in Council, is pleased to declare hereby, her royall approbation of the said Evans to be Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, without limitation of time, and of y^e 3 Lower Counties on Delaware Riv^r during her Maj^{ties} pleasure only.”

State Paper Office. Propr. B. T. vol. vii. L. 47.

attempted, like his predecessor, to organize a militia. He treated, indeed, the conscientious scruple of Friends against bearing arms with absolute contempt, and, entertaining the notion that, if fully tested, they would abandon their professions, he unwisely determined to prove it by raising a false alarm. Having planned his scheme, in the early part of 1706, a messenger, in great haste, arrived at Philadelphia from Newcastle, on the Delaware, with the information that the French were coming up the river. Evans, assuming the greatest alarm, rode through the city with his sword drawn, calling upon the inhabitants to arm themselves and follow him.* The consternation was great. Some burned their goods, many fled into the woods, and others, to the number of three hundred, seized arms and placed themselves under the command of the deputy-governor. Notwithstanding the terror which prevailed among many of the citizens, the design of Evans with respect to Friends did not succeed. Instead of flying to arms in the supposed emergency, they exemplified the steadfastness of their faith, by calmness and fortitude of mind; and, it being the regular meeting-day, they met as usual. "There was not a Friend of any note," observes Isaac Norris, in reference to this occasion, "but behaved as becomes our profession." † Proud states that four persons only, "who had any pretence to be accounted Friends, appeared under arms." ‡ The manœuvre was, in fact, a complete failure.

The unfitness of Evans to govern Pennsylvania, was soon after manifested in another case. Having prevailed upon the territories to erect a fort at Newcastle, he also induced them to pass a law for its maintenance, by levying a tax upon all inward-bound vessels passing the fort, whilst all vessels passing down the Delaware, were, under certain penalties, to drop anchor and to ask permission to pass. This was held by the Pennsylvanians to be a direct violation of the charter; but, despite their strong remonstrances, the illegal exaction was still pressed. The matter being too serious to rest here, it was determined to withstand the imposition in another way. Three Friends of Philadelphia,

* Proud, vol. i. p. 469. † Janney's *Life of Penn.* p. 505.

‡ Proud, vol. i. p. 471.

Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and Samuel Preston, "men," says Proud, "of the first rank and esteem," were owners of a vessel then about to sail for Barbadoes, and having acquainted Evans of their intention, they went on board and proceeded down the river. The governor, with a view to enforce the obnoxious impost, hastened to Newcastle, and ordered a watch to be kept for the vessel. On nearing the fort she anchored, when Samuel Preston and Isaac Norris landed, and, informing the commandant of the fort that she was regularly cleared, demanded their right to pass without interruption. This was distinctly refused. Richard Hill now took the helm, and, undaunted by the cannon of the fort, proceeded to pass it. Whilst within range of the guns the firing was kept up, but, excepting a shot through the mainsail, the vessel received no injury. Unwilling to be foiled in his purpose, the commandant now pursued the vessel in an armed boat. As he came alongside, instead of opposing him with force, the crew assisted him to board, but afterwards, immediately cut the boat's rope, which caused it to fall astern. The commandant thus became the easy prisoner of Richard Hill, who proceeded on his way. Evans, who had watched the proceedings, being exasperated, commenced a pursuit in another boat as far as Salem, in New Jersey, where Richard Hill landed and presented his prisoner to Lord Cornbury, the governor of that state. Cornbury, who claimed to be Vice-admiral of the river, was incensed at his conduct, but after severely reprimanding him, and receiving a promise to act differently for the future, he dismissed him, and never afterwards was "powder money," attempted to be exacted from vessels trading to Philadelphia.

It was about this time that Friends of Pennsylvania were much annoyed by the machinations of one Colonel Quarry and his party. Quarry was an Admiralty officer, and a bigoted Episcopalian. He had an inveterate dislike to all democratic forms of government; and, regarding the passing events of the colony through a prejudiced medium, he was constantly forwarding evil reports of its state and prospects to the Board of Trade, and busied himself, in various ways, to undermine the authority of the proprietary. Not content also, to see those professing with the

Anglican church, on a level with others in regard to religious liberty, he intrigued for sectarian domination. The early settlers were nearly all Friends, and even after the large influx of those of other persuasions, they far outnumbered any other religious sect, and at this period were equal to all the rest in the province. Neither at first, nor at any other time, however, did Friends in Pennsylvania ever attempt to force their religious views on others, nor did they in any way assume the character of a colonial church. The entire recognition of liberty of conscience had attracted men of all shades of religious opinion; but notwithstanding this diversity of profession, no heart-burnings for ecclesiastical pre-eminence had been exhibited, until the Episcopalians, prompted by their party in England, and by the renegade Keith, their missionary, fruitlessly attempted to procure special and exclusive privileges. One point of Quarry's attack on Friends was relative to oaths; and by his misrepresentations, he succeeded in obtaining, from the home government, an order for their enforcement on all who did not conscientiously object to them. The effect of this, which no doubt Quarry foresaw, was to disable Friends from acting as magistrates, as they felt restrained from asking others to do that which they themselves believed to be wrong. William Penn blamed Friends for not resisting the order, opposed, as it manifestly was, to their chartered rights and privileges. At length, the Board of Trade was convinced that Quarry's interference proceeded from malicious motives, and they sent him a remonstrance which quieted him.

Besides Evans's attempt to raise a militia, his false alarm, and the affair of the fort at Newcastle, he, in many other respects, did not please the colonists. This was a source of grief to William Penn, who rebuked him severely for his mal-administration. The admonition had a salutary effect, and he began to adopt a policy more in harmony with the pacific views of those over whom he was placed. But his altered conduct came too late. He had lost the confidence of the settlers: in 1707 the Assembly memorialized the proprietary for his removal, and in 1709, he was superseded by Gookin.

Speaking of Gookin, William Penn says, "I have sent a new

governor, of years and experience ; of a quiet, easy temper ;— the queen very graciously approved of him at first offer." Gookin had been a military man, but he had left the occupation of a soldier, and possessed many qualifications for the distinguished post to which he was appointed.

The new governor had not long entered upon the duties of his responsible office, before he received from the Crown orders to provide one hundred and fifty men, together with officers, to aid in an expedition which England had fitted out for the conquest of Canada. Anticipating the objection of the Assembly to all provisions of a military character, Gookin, with a view to meet it, proposed that four thousand pounds should be voted instead ; that being the sum needful to raise the force required. As on all former applications of the same sort, this also was met by the Assembly with a decided negative. "Were it not," said they in their answer, "that the raising of money to hire men to fight or kill one another, was matter of conscience to them, and against their religious principles, they should not be wanting, according to their abilities, to contribute to those designs." After some expressions of loyalty and attachment to the queen, they concluded by saying, that they had resolved to vote a present to her of five hundred pounds for the general purposes of government, and not as a military supply. Gookin, dissatisfied with the answer, pressed the Assembly to reconsider their decision, and several messages and answers passed between them. But the representatives adhered to their former resolution, and declared that "they would not agree to the proposal of raising money, either directly or indirectly, for the expedition to Canada."† The governor was vexed at the result and refused to proceed to any other business ; the Assembly, however, satisfied with having thus borne their religious testimony against war, quietly adjourned.

At their next meeting the governor renewed his application with greater urgency ; especially as the danger of incursions was alarming. But his entreaties were of no avail. The Quaker legislators of Pennsylvania were inflexible. Their abhorrence of

* Proud, vol. ii. p. 26.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 29.

war was founded on its utter repugnance to the spirit and precepts of Christ their Saviour, and they admitted no grounds of mere expediency, as an excuse for violating their conscientious convictions on a matter of so much moment. Excepting an additional sum of three hundred pounds for the Queen, and two hundred for the governor, the Assembly repeated their refusal.

It was about the time of Gookin's appointment, that an unhappy dispute arose between the Council and the Assembly. The origin of the difference may, in great measure, be traced to the turbulent spirit of David Lloyd, a man of considerable ability, a lawyer by profession, and an influential member of the Assembly. Assuming to be the guardian of colonial rights, he ingratiated himself in the favour of the people. But his factious opposition to the government, together with his implacable and ungrateful conduct to William Penn, rendered him undeserving of favourable distinction. James Logan, a leading member of the Council, had been for some years David Lloyd's most powerful opponent; and against him the displeasure of himself and his party was most directed, till at last, articles of impeachment, for an alleged endeavour to deprive the people of their political rights, were preferred against Logan. These charges were ultimately transmitted to England, and Logan having followed, was, after a full hearing, entirely acquitted, "both by Friends and the civil authorities."* He was a man of sterling integrity, of much ability and great learning. Fully appreciating the exalted views and benevolent disposition of William Penn, he was warmly devoted to his interest; in fact his efforts, as secretary, to collect the quit-rents and other proprietary dues, rendered him unpopular among the less scrupulous portion of the colonists; and of this David Lloyd and his associates took advantage, and turned it to their own dishonourable party purpose.

Hitherto Pennsylvania, so far from rendering any pecuniary advantage to its founder, had, on the contrary, entailed upon him a very considerable loss. The dissension caused by David Lloyd and his party, and their endeavours in all possible ways to injure the proprietary rights, was consequently the more keenly felt by

* Proprietary Corresp. in Phil. Friend, vol. xix. p. 210.

William Penn. It evinced a degree of ingratitude, if not of absolute injustice, which he little expected from those whose interests he had sincerely studied; and at last, in 1710, it called from him a calm and dignified remonstrance. "I cannot but think it hard measure, that while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty." "The attacks on my reputation," he continues, "the many indignities put upon me in papers sent over hither, into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against my justice, besides the attempt made upon my estate; resolves passed in the assemblies for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, to the support of the government; my lands entered upon without any regular method; my manors invaded (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them), and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting for the support of that government both here and there, and no provision made for it by that country; to all which I cannot but add, the violence that has been particularly shown to my secretary; of which (though I shall by no means protect him in anything he can be justly charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions), I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all the charges I have seen or heard of against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me, as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his prosecutors; and to think that any man should be the more exposed there on my account, and, instead of finding favour, meet with enmity for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration."

In his attacks on Logan, and in his incessant clamours for the interests of the colonists at the expense of the proprietary, David Lloyd veiled the maliciousness of his motives under the plea of promoting the public good; and he and his party thus artfully obtained many supporters, and indeed, for a short time, they had

a majority in the Assembly. "Most of these sticklers in the Assembly," writes Isaac Norris, "are either Keithians, or such as stand loose from Friends, who have other ends than what is penetrated into by some pretty honest, but not knowing men."* But the injustice of their conduct at last became apparent, and before the expostulatory letter of William Penn had reached the province, his friends were thoroughly aroused. Many, whose quiet and retired habits of life led them to avoid political contests, entered warmly into the question at issue. They felt that the honour and integrity of Pennsylvania had been compromised, and at the election of 1710, they flocked to the hustings to redeem its character. "I cannot but take notice," writes Isaac Norris to James Logan, "how universally and resolutely Friends were spirited about this election; nay, some, from whose cautious or careful temper so much could hardly be expected." The result of the contest was remarkable. Not a single member of the previous Assembly was elected; the whole were friends of the proprietary; and instead of bickerings and contention, all was now harmony and peace.

In 1711, Gookin again received a requisition from England, for aid in prosecuting the war in Canada; and, as before, applied to the Assembly for a war vote. The subject was an unpleasant one to the representatives, and some delay in its consideration took place. Adhering, however, to their principles of peace, they went no further than to grant the sum of two thousand pounds for the Queen's use. "We did not see it," says Isaac Norris, "to be inconsistent with our principles, to give the Queen money, notwithstanding any use she might put it to; *that* not being our part, but hers." The influence of Friends being predominant in the Assembly, an act was passed in 1712, "to prevent the importation of negroes and Indians into the province."† The object of this humane movement proved unavailing. The home government, more disposed to promote unrighteous gain than to hearken

* Letter of Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike, 18th of Twelfth Month, 1709-10.

† Colonial Records, ii. p. 578.

to the cry of the oppressed, negated the law. In a future chapter this subject will be treated more at large.

Another cause of disturbance in Pennsylvania arose in 1716, through Governor Gookin's perverse policy in reference to affirmations. Some years previously, an act had been passed, which allowed affirmations to be taken by all persons who were scrupulous of taking oaths. This act was superseded by another in 1715, recognising the same principle; and to this the Governor had given his sanction. Under the plea, that the enactment was adverse to the laws of England, he subsequently undertook to negate it. The consequence was, that Friends were excluded from filling civil offices; many of them who were judges and magistrates were dismissed, and the whole judicial system became greatly disorganized. These difficulties were increased by Gookin's disagreement with the Council, and by his charges against James Logan, and the Speaker of the Assembly, of disaffection to the Crown — charges which he refused to sustain by any proof. His conduct altogether was, indeed, so unaccountable, that some thought him partially deranged. The result was, that both the Council and Assembly requested his recall; and in 1717, he was superseded by the appointment of Sir William Keith.



OLD ASSEMBLY HOUSE AND MARKET STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

For some years past the health of William Penn had been gradually declining, and in the summer of 1717, his strength was so greatly reduced, that he could scarcely walk without assistance. In the early part of the following year, his decline was more rapid; and on the 30th of the Fifth Month, 1718, being then in his seventy-fourth year, he breathed his last.

At the decease of William Penn, the European population of his province is estimated to have numbered not less than 40,000, of whom one-fourth were inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia. The remaining portion of the population were engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and occupied the country for about one hundred miles along the banks of the Delaware, and from twenty to thirty miles west of that river. About one half of the community were Friends;* the other religious bodies being chiefly Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Episcopalians. But the differences in religious belief did not interfere with the concord of society, and, without distinction of sect, the colonists appeared to delight in being reciprocally kind and helpful to each other. Throughout they were characterized by a frank and generous hospitality. The tone of moral feeling which prevailed was high, and must have cheered the lovers of truth. The first day of the week was religiously observed; and, indeed, all who laboured on that day were liable to fines. There were no theatres or dancing-schools; no pawnbrokers or beggars. Lotteries were forbidden; and so much regard was paid to integrity and uprightness in trading, that when a colonist failed, which was of rare occurrence, it occasioned much sensation; "it was a cause of general and deep regret, and every man who met his neighbour, spoke of his chagrin." † In the absence of military parade, the martial spirit found no fostering influences; and so remarkably did the spirit of peace reign throughout Pennsylvania, that during the lifetime of its founder a duel had not disgraced the community. ‡ Profane swearing and drunkenness were punishable by law, and horse-racing and brutal sports were also similarly suppressed. The only

* Proud, vol. ii. p. 102.

† Watson, p. 163.

‡ Ibid. p. 280.

instrument of authority in the province was the constable's staff; and yet, "never," says Clarkson, "was a government maintained with less internal disturbance, or more decorum and order." * The "holy experiment" of William Penn had, indeed, been successful; and he realized the truth, that the regulation of a state on Christian principles, is eminently conducive to the general happiness of the people.

* Clarkson's Life of Penn.

CHAPTER VII.

CONDUCT OF FRIENDS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA AND
THE JERSEYS.

William Penn's successors—Negotiations with the Crown—Administration of Keith—Act on Affirmations—Keith superseded by Patrick Gordon—Governor Thomas—Causes of the progress of the Colony—Religious equality—Episcopalians aim at Ecclesiastical power—Their success in other Colonies—Friends in England assist in opposing their designs—Efforts of Governor Thomas for warlike measures—London Friends active in opposing his views—Opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown—The power with the Provincial Assembly—Rapid increase of population—Relative position of Friends—England and France at war—Corporation of Philadelphia petitions the Crown for military defences—Franklin raises a Militia—John Churchman's interview with the Assembly—English soldiers arrive at Pennsylvania under Braddock—His disastrous defeat by the French and Indians—Consternation of the Colonists—A war cry is raised—Friends outvoted at the election of 1756—The Government passes from their control—Effects of military scenes and habits on the morals of the people—Remarks on the government of Friends—Government of New Jersey—Life and character of William Penn.

ON the decease of William Penn, in 1718, the government of Pennsylvania was claimed by his eldest son William, the issue of his first marriage; and after the death of this son, in 1720, by his next son, Springett. This was contrary to his will; for, as the eldest son was amply provided for by a settlement of his mother's, William Penn devised the whole of his property in Pennsylvania, with the exception of 20,000 acres of land, to the children of his wife Hannah Penn, whom he had appointed his sole executrix. In the codicil to his will, he thus expresses himself on the subject:—"As a further testimony of my love to my dear wife, I, of my own mind, give unto her, out of the rents of America, viz., Pennsylvania, three hundred pounds a year, for her

natural life, and for her care and charge over my children, in their education, of which she knows my mind ; as also, that I desire they may settle, at least in good part, in America, where I leave them so good an interest, to be for their inheritance from generation to generation, which the Lord preserve and prosper. Amen." * By a decision in Chancery, the will was confirmed ; and the government of Pennsylvania was, consequently, vested in the widow and other trustees, for the benefit of her children ; and thus John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, subsequently became proprietors.

For some years before his decease, William Penn had been in negotiation with the Crown, for the sale of his political power as Governor of Pennsylvania. His pecuniary embarrassments, arising from the unjust claim of his steward, together with the difficulties which he had experienced in administering the affairs of the province, partly from the factious proceedings of David Lloyd and others, and partly from the desire of the home government for the adoption of a military policy, were the chief motives which induced this negotiation. The unfitness of his eldest son to succeed him in the responsibilities of office was, probably, another reason. William Penn was not without strong conflicts of mind in reference to this question. He had founded Pennsylvania on the broad basis of entire liberty of conscience—as a “free colony for all mankind ;” and he had realized the idea, that a state could not only be governed on the principles of the gospel of peace, but that this was, above all others, a policy most conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the people. In his negotiations with the government, he was so anxious to secure the equal religious and political privileges which were enjoyed in his province, that it was several years before the form of contract was concluded upon. In the summer of 1712, he thus writes to some of his friends in America, on the subject :—“ Now know, that though I have not actually sold my government to our truly good Queen, yet her able Lord Treasurer and I have agreed to it. But I have taken effectual care that all the laws and privileges I have granted you, shall be

* Proud, vol. ii. p. 116.

observed by the Queen's governors, &c. ; and that we who are Friends, shall be in a more particular manner regarded and treated by the Queen. So that you will not, I hope and believe, have a less interest in the government ; being humble and discreet in your conduct." * At this stage of the business William Penn was seized with paralysis ; and although he had received an instalment of one thousand pounds of the purchase-money, yet as his mind was much affected, the crown lawyers gave it as their opinion, that he was incompetent to complete the surrender ; and consequently the sale was not confirmed.

The administration of Governor Keith commenced auspiciously. He harmonized both with the Council and with the Assembly, and many excellent laws were passed, among which was one for imposing a duty on the importation of negroes ; and another to prevent the sale of rum to the Indians. The former was not enacted for the purpose of revenue, but solely to discourage a sinful traffic, which, but for the veto of the home government, would have been abolished altogether.

During Keith's governorship, an important act was passed, reviving those privileges in reference to affirmations, which had been in 1705, to some extent interfered with, because the penalty for falsely affirming was greater than that imposed by the laws of England for false swearing ; and this, the then Attorney-general, held to be unconstitutional.† Attempts had, on several occasions, been made to meet the difficulty, but without success, until 1725, when an act passed by the Assembly, prescribing the respective forms of a declaration of fidelity, abjuration, and affirmation, obtained the sanction of the crown, and became law.‡ The Meeting for Sufferings in London, at the request of Friends in Pennsylvania, made considerable exertion to procure the royal assent to this measure, and a deputation from the meeting after-

* Letter to S. Carpenter, Ed. Shippen, R. Hill, and others, 24th of Fifth Month, 1712.

† Proud, vol. ii. p. 190—State Paper Office. Propr. Board of Trade, Oct. 12, 1704, to Nov. 6, 1706.

‡ Proud, vol. ii. p. 191.

wards waited upon the king to "thank him for the favour."* The Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia also in the same year forwarded an address to the king, expressive of their gratitude for his royal confirmation of the act.

Towards the close of 1724, the concord with which the affairs of the province had been conducted, was again unhappily interrupted. This arose from an attempt on the part of Keith, to pass laws without the sanction of the Council, contrary to the terms of his appointment. In this injudicious course he was supported by the factious David Lloyd, who enlisted the sympathies of the Assembly in the dispute, by persuading them that, according to their chartered privileges, the Council formed no part of the legislature. In this opinion Lloyd was probably correct; but as Keith, on taking office, had agreed to consult the Council before giving his assent to any bill, James Logan, on the part of the Council and proprietary, insisted on its fulfilment. The governor, however, was obstinate and refused to yield, and the affair was at length terminated by his being superseded in his office, by the appointment, in 1726, of Patrick Gordon.

The policy of Governor Gordon was distinguished by much wisdom and prudence, and during the ten years he held the important office, the affairs of the province were conducted with great harmony. On his death in 1736, the executive devolved on the Council, of which James Logan was president, until the appointment of Governor George Thomas in 1738.

It was about this time that Andrew Hamilton, on retiring, by reason of age, as Speaker of the Assembly, made a memorable speech on the causes of the prosperity of Pennsylvania. "It is not," he said, "to the fertility of our soil, and the commodiousness of our rivers, that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress this province has made, within so small a compass of years, in improvements, wealth, trade, and navigation, and in the extraordinary increase of the people, who have been drawn hither from almost every country in Europe;—a progress, which much

* Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, Ninth Month, 1724, and Second Month, 1725. Proud, vol. ii. p. 193.

more ancient settlements on the main of America, cannot, at present, boast of: no, it is principally and almost wholly owing to the excellency of our constitution; under which we enjoy a greater share both of civil and religious liberty than any of our neighbours." After adverting to their civil and political privileges, he touches on the complete religious toleration recognised by the laws and foundation of the colony; "Nor are we," he continues, "less happy in the enjoyment of a perfect freedom, as to religion. By many years experience we find, that an equality among religious societies, without distinguishing any one sect with greater privileges than another, is the most effectual method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practice of the moral virtues, and prevent the plagues and mischiefs that always attend religious squabbling."*

The entire civil equality of all religious denominations in Pennsylvania, which had so much conduced to the happiness of the community, was far from congenial to the hierarchy of England. For many years they had been exerting their power and influence with both the local and home governments, to obtain an ecclesiastical ascendancy in the colonies of North America, similar to that which they enjoyed at home. This power they had secured in Virginia from its foundation, and tithes were there regularly imposed; from which Friends suffered "great havoc" of their goods.†

In 1693, they obtained ecclesiastical authority and power in the colony of New York, where the Assembly in that year passed an act "for settling and maintaining a ministry."‡ So domineering and arbitrary, indeed, had they become in this once tolerant portion of the New World, that a few years later, when Samuel Bownas visited those parts on a gospel mission, he was imprisoned for a whole year on the vague charge of "speaking against the Church of England as by law established."§

In 1700, they induced the once free and catholic province of Maryland, to pass an Act "for the service of Almighty God, and

* Proud's Hist. vol. ii. p. 218.

† MSS. Epistle from Virginia Yearly Meeting, 1727.

‡ Holmes's Annals. § Life and Travels of Samuel Bownas, p. 70.

establishment of religion according to the Church of England," * and in 1706, Friends remark in their epistle, "Here the priests' hire lies hard upon us." † Following up their success, four years later, the Anglican Church obtained, by an act of the local legislature, a similar ascendancy in Carolina. ‡ By this time also, they had erected places of worship in the cities of Philadelphia and Burlington, and in 1716, the officiating priest of the former, nothing daunted by the isolation of his position, or by the number of those around him who were firmly and conscientiously opposed to all sectarian domination, actually petitioned the Crown to provide for his maintenance, by directing that a certain amount be paid him out of the customs on tobacco. § Having succeeded in establishing their power in most of the other colonies of America, they were not easy without assuming a similar dictatorial attitude in Pennsylvania, and for this purpose they left no means untried to undermine the religious and even political privileges recognised in the province. One of their favourite objects for this end was, the annexation of the colony to the Crown. They complained that their clergy had not the same rank and the same rights as in England. In a land of equals they wished to be superior, and claimed immunities which the provincial laws denied them. ||

In 1737, the clergy of Maryland, who were now in the enjoyment of ecclesiastical authority, thought it advisable that another attempt should be made to extend their power over Pennsylvania. They therefore addressed the king, and "prayed that a regular clergy might be encouraged, under royal protection, to reside not only on the borders, but also in the whole province of Pennsylvania." ¶ Friends in England, on behalf of their brethren in Pennsylvania, closely watched these prelatial attempts, and a

* "Annals of America," by Abiel Holmes, vol. i. p. 467—*Vide* also *Trott's Laws Brit. Plant. art. Maryland.*

† Maryland Epistle.

‡ Holmes' Annals, vol i. p. 489.

§ State Paper Office. Jenney's Petition, Aug. 31, 1716, Am. and W. Ind. V. 388.

|| Proprietary Correspondence in Phil. Friend, vols. xviii. and xix.; Dixon's Life of Penn.

¶ Min. of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, vol. 26, pp. 366, 460.

Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, was heard before the "Committee of Council," on the injustice and absolute illegality of the request. The result was, that the petition met with no encouragement from the authorities at home ;* and Pennsylvania has remained to this day, one of those favoured spots on earth, unsullied by sectarian domination, and untrammelled by hierarchical oppression.

Governor Thomas is represented as a man of ability, and for some years his administration gave much satisfaction ; but he never appreciated the views of Friends on the subject of peace ; and after the breaking out of the Spanish and French war in 1739, he raised much discontent by pressing for military supplies, and by enlisting indented servants as soldiers.

Not only, however, did the efforts of Governor Thomas for the introduction of warlike measures, meet with the decided opposition of Friends in Pennsylvania, but their brethren in England actively co-operated with them. As early as 1741, the Meeting for Sufferings in London were, at their request, allowed to be heard before the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations upon this subject ; and afterwards, at the suggestion of the latter, they presented a petition to the king in council.† In the course of the same year they were heard a second time before the Board of Trade, &c. ; and in 1743, no less than from thirty to forty of their members appeared before "the Committee of Council," when a petition, "from divers merchants and others, inhabitants of Pennsylvania,"—one from the Meeting for Sufferings on behalf of Friends of Pennsylvania, and one from the agent to the Assembly, were severally presented, and each party was allowed to plead the respective merits of his cause.‡ Though the result of these persevering exertions was favourable to Friends, yet the governor still urged the authorities at home, to take some decided steps to place the province "in a state of defence." The Board of Trade, however, beginning to entertain doubts as to the power of the government to enforce such a proposition, wisely submitted

* Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, vol. xxvi. p. 460.

† Ibid, vol. xxvii. p. 41.

‡ Ibid, vol. xxvii. p. 333.

the case for the opinion of the legal advisers of the Crown, and in the Eighth Month, 1744, the Attorney-general and Solicitor-general, gave the following joint opinion: "That they have no doubt but that, in point of prudence for their own immediate safety, they are obliged to do everything that is necessary to put that province in a good state of defence, by making such laws as may enable the governor to erect forts and raise soldiers, sufficient to answer that end. But as their Assembly is constituted, and makes part of the legislature there, they are the only immediate judges for themselves of the methods to be taken for that purpose. And they do not see how they can be compelled to do more towards it, than they shall think fit; unless by the force of an Act of Parliament here, which can alone prescribe certain rules for their conduct."*

This important opinion settled the question; and henceforward, neither Governor Thomas nor his successors attempted to overrule the decisions of the local legislature of Pennsylvania on the subject of war.

Governor Thomas resigned in 1747, and was succeeded by James Hamilton, a man of considerable wealth, who was much esteemed by the colonists.

The population of Pennsylvania by natural increase, but more particularly by immigration, had, during the last thirty years, or since the decease of its founder, nearly trebled. Anderson, in alluding to its rapid growth, states that it contained in 1731, more white inhabitants than all Virginia, Maryland, and both the Carolinas; † and ten years later, Oldmixon estimates the population at one hundred thousand. † In 1729, no less than six thousand two hundred fresh settlers landed at Philadelphia. This rapid influx alarmed the authorities, and in order to discourage it, a tax of five shillings per head was imposed on all "new comers." § But they soon discovered that such a regulation

* MSS. of the Meeting for Sufferings in London.—Book of Cases, vol. iii. p. 12, and Minutes of ditto, vol. xxvii. p. 472.

† Origin of Commerce, by Adam Anderson, vol. iii. p. 171.

‡ British Empire in America, by Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 304.

§ Ibid. vol. i. pp. 318, 321.

was an unwise one, and after it had existed two years the law was repealed.

The rapid increase of population in the province, did not, however, extend in the same ratio to Friends, and consequently they gradually became as a body relatively less, and at the time of Hamilton's appointment in 1747, they could not have formed more than one third of the population. The anxiety of many of the other settlers, especially in times of apprehended danger, for the establishment of a military force, has already been noticed. On the breaking out of the war in 1739, this feeling was greatly increased, more particularly in Philadelphia, in the corporation of which Friends were in the minority. The Common Council, in fact, in 1744, went so far in direct opposition to the provincial legislature on this subject, as to petition the Crown for a military establishment; one of their chief arguments being, that the prevalence of Quaker principles "denied them that security which is the main end of society."* By the exertions of English Friends at Whitehall, who were in constant communication with their American brethren on the subject, the efforts of the war party, in this direction, were neutralized. "We think it may not be improper," remark Philadelphia Friends to those in London, on this question, "to inform you that this Council is not composed of the representatives of the citizens."† It was, in fact, a self-elected body, at first composed mostly of Friends, but, "either by carelessness, or negligence in making the choice," many opposed to them in sentiment on military matters were introduced: eventually this class obtained a majority, and took care to maintain it. Yet, though in the majority, they were aware it would be somewhat difficult to succeed in the petition they had prepared. They knew that the lovers of peace had the confidence and esteem of the colonists, both in the city and in the country. But, bent on their purpose, the war party had recourse to unworthy means, and, departing from the usual candid and open manner of conducting the business of the Council, they resorted to secret and underhand dealing. "It is not to be

* Watson's Annals, p. 276.

† MS. Epistle of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, 1744.

wondered at," say Philadelphia Friends on this point, "that anything of this kind should be readily agreed to, especially when the occasion of their meeting was kept secret from those of different sentiments, of whom there is a considerable number."*

Recruiting for soldiers for foreign service had been privately pursued in Philadelphia for some years, and in 1744, it was actively renewed for the West India Islands. During the same year also the citizens for the first time witnessed privateering outfits. These were things which the provincial legislature, as a dependency of Great Britain, had no power to restrain. In 1747, great consternation prevailed in Philadelphia, from a rumour that French privateers intended to attack and sack the city. A meeting of the citizens was called, and means of defence were resolved upon. To forward the movement, a Presbyterian minister preached a sermon on the lawfulness of war, and in favour of the association for defence. To this Friends published a rejoinder; and, observes Watson, "On the whole it was a moving and busy time of deep excitement."† The ingenious Franklin was at this time a citizen of Philadelphia, and to his perseverance and contrivances, may be attributed the permanent establishment of a military force. Availing himself of the lax state of morals, as compared with the earlier times of the colony, he had recourse to lotteries for raising the needful supplies. By these means he was enabled to commence the erection of two batteries on the river; and he "found a way," says James Logan, "to put the country on raising above one hundred and twenty companies of militia."‡ Through Franklin's ingenuity a martial spirit was kindled in the province; and Governor Hamilton, hoping that the Assembly would sympathize in the general movement, called upon them to grant money for stationing a vessel of war at the Capes of Delaware, and to assist in the erection of the batteries which had been begun. It was at this eventful period that John Churchman was engaged in visiting the families of Friends in Philadelphia. He was deeply affected at the state of things, and felt himself religiously bound to go to the Assembly,

* MS. Epistle of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, 1744.

† Annals of Phil. p. 274.

‡ Logan's MSS. in Bancroft.

to warn its members not to depart "from trusting in that Divine arm of power, which had hitherto protected the inhabitants of the land in peace and safety."* Although there was no precedent for the admission of an individual under such circumstances, John Churchman was admitted without hesitation. He began by reminding them of the scripture declaration, that "the powers that be are ordained of God," and that if those who were placed in authority sought to Him for wisdom and counsel, such would be a blessing to their country. But that if, on the other hand, through fear or persuasion, they turned from the Divine counsel, and enacted laws for defence by carnal weapons, the Lord in his anger, by the withdrawal of his protecting arm, might cause those evils which they feared to come suddenly upon them. After alluding to the remarkable manner in which the province had, from its rise, been preserved in peace—that no foreign enemy had invaded it—that their treaties with the Indians had been preserved inviolate, he exhorted the Assembly to trust in the arm of God's power, as their surest defence and safety.† Several members were anxious to adopt the recommendation of the governor; but the majority were Friends, and, true to their gospel principles, they negatived the proposal. Peace having been restored by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the fears of the colonists subsided, and the Quaker legislature of Pennsylvania quietly pursued its non-resisting policy.

Notwithstanding the establishment of peace, considerable jealousy continued still to exist between the Courts of Great Britain and France, in reference to their respective territories in North America. Anxious to extend and fortify their limits, the French colonists in Canada were not unfrequently led into collision with the English, in their exertions for this object; and numerous incidents in America, prognosticated another rupture between the two nations. In 1754, things were still worse, and both countries began to make preparations for a contest. One of the measures adopted by the English was, to order the governors of the several North American colonies to form a political

* Churchman's Journal, p. 96.

† Ibid, p. 96.

confederacy for their mutual defence. In the following year, the contemplated rupture broke out, and the English landed a considerable force in Virginia, under the command of General Braddock, to repel the advances of the French on the frontiers of Pennsylvania.* "The first foreign military," observes Watson, "that ever reached our peaceful city of Brotherly Love, were those arriving and preparing for Braddock's expedition to the west." †

The citizens of Philadelphia had now become somewhat familiar with military parade, and its pomp and splendour had allured many of their young men into its ranks. Their standards were stirring and exciting. "*Deus adjuvat fortes*," or, "God helps the brave," was the motto chosen for one of them; another was, "In God we trust,"—a motto more appropriate, certainly, for the adoption of a people without arms. The proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn, also, were not backward to encourage these proceedings. As a proof of their warlike zeal, they presented a considerable number of cannon for the new batteries, which now mounted more than fifty guns.

But amidst all the military fervour that prevailed, Friends still retained their ascendancy in the Assembly. The confidence reposed in them by a large number of the settlers who differed from them in religious belief, particularly the Germans, who formed nearly one-third of the community, was unabated; "notwithstanding the greatest industry often used to induce them to the contrary." † It was evident, however, that in this state of things, with a diminishing proportion of numbers, the Society of Friends could not much longer retain their control in the legislature; and among other things which hastened their being overruled was, the abandonment of the non-resisting principle by some of their own body; who were afterwards distinguished by the name of Free Quakers. In 1755, Braddock's disastrous defeat in the west, near the spot where Pittsburg now stands, took place. The degree of excitement which it caused in Pennsylvania, was most intense. It was the first time that the territory of William Penn

* Hume and Smollett.

† Annals of Phil.

‡ Watson's Annals, p. 492.

had been stained by the blood of the battle-field ; and now that the desolations of war had actually entered the province, the cry for means of defence became loud and overwhelming. Quaker principles were denounced as visionary and absurd ; and, taking advantage of this state of things, the war party, at the election which followed in 1756, carried twenty-four out of the thirty-six representatives which composed the Assembly.* From this date Pennsylvania ceased to be governed in accordance with the principles of the Society of Friends. It was now no longer the Arcadia of peace. The murderous conflicts of Fort Pitt and Bushy Run soon followed ; and within twenty-five years from this time, it had also to record the sanguinary battles of Trenton, Germantown, and Brandywine, and the occupation of the fair city of Philadelphia by troops of British soldiery. But the altered state of things did not stop here. The whole social system of this once favoured community seemed affected by the change. With the presence of armies, its high tone of morality rapidly declined. Theatres were built, and lotteries were encouraged ; duelling was not unfrequent, and brutalizing sports were patronised ; whilst gaming, and cursing, and swearing, became lamentably prevalent.

Turning again to the political state of the province whilst under the rule of Friends, it must be admitted, that notwithstanding the difficulties which occasionally arose, and which, under the best regulated system are ever likely to arise, it was confessedly a triumph of Christian principle. The period from 1682, to 1754, has been called the golden age of Pennsylvania " During the seventy years," writes Clarkson, " while William Penn's principles prevailed, or the Quakers had the principal share in the government, there was no spot on the globe where, number for number, there was so much virtue, or so much true

* In the early part of 1756, the bodies of several who had been slain by the Indians on the frontiers, were carried through the streets of Philadelphia, " with an intent," writes John Churchman, " as was supposed, to animate the people to unite in preparations of war. Many people followed, cursing the Indians and also the Quakers."—*Churchman's Journal*, p. 239.

happiness, as among the inhabitants of Pennsylvania.”* As an example of Christian principles applied in the government of a country, it unquestionably stands without parallel in the history of mankind. While in England the law of triennial parliaments was overruled at the caprice of the sovereign, and while both papists and dissenters were persecuted and disfranchised, in Pennsylvania the inherent rights of the settlers were recognised and protected. Even the enemies of William Penn have unwillingly admitted that his laws were in harmony with, and based on, enlightened reason. “Of all the colonies that ever existed,” says professor Ebeling, “none was ever founded on so philanthropic a plan, none was so deeply impressed with the character of its founder, none practised in a greater degree the principles of toleration, liberty and peace, and none rose and flourished more rapidly.”† The language of the eloquent Duponceau on this subject is still more striking, and we cannot better close this portion of the history than by introducing it. “Let it not be imagined,” he says, “that the annals of Pennsylvania are not sufficiently interesting to call forth the talents of an eloquent historian. It is true, that they exhibit none of those striking events which the vulgar mass of mankind consider as alone worthy of being transmitted to posterity. No ambitious rival warriors occupy the stage, nor are strong emotions excited by the frequent description of scenes of blood, murder and devastation. But what country on earth ever presented such a spectacle as this fortunate commonwealth held out to view for the space of near one hundred years; realizing all that fable ever invented, or poetry ever sang of an imaginary golden age? Happy country! whose unparalleled innocence already communicates to thy history the interest of romance! Should Pennsylvanians hereafter degenerate, they will not need, like the Greeks, a fabulous Arcadia to relieve the mind from the prospect of their crimes and follies, and to redeem their own vices by the fancied virtues of their forefathers. Pennsylvania once realized what never existed before, except in fabled story. Not that her citizens were entirely free

* Clarkson's Life of W. Penn, vol. ii. p. 485.

† Hazard's Register, vol. i. p. 340.

from the passions of human nature, for they were men and not angels; but it is certain that no country on earth ever exhibited such a scene of happiness, innocence, and peace, as was witnessed here during the first century of our social existence.*

As stated in the previous volume, East and West Jersey were colonised under the auspices of Friends, and therefore, some further notice of their political history seems called for. Though by purchase, East Jersey came within the control of Friends, it never, like its sister province of West Jersey, attracted many members of our Society to its soil. The circumstance of Pennsylvania having been founded about the period of its purchase was, probably, one cause of this. At the date of its transfer, East Jersey numbered about five thousand inhabitants. These were mostly Puritans, and for many years after, the new settlers consisted chiefly of Presbyterians from Scotland. In 1682, there were but three small meetings of Friends in the whole of the province, and twenty years later there appears to have been no increase to the number. "The line that divides East and West Jersey," says an eminent writer, "is the line where the influence of the humane Society of Friends is merged in that of Puritanism."†

In West Jersey, Friends constituted the larger portion of the settlers, and for some years they maintained this position. They formed the majority in the Assembly, and the early governors and Council, together with the justices and other civil officers of the province, were mostly chosen from among them; Samuel Jennings, Thomas Ollive, and John Skein, Friends in the station of ministers, were successively its governors. The arbitrary colonial policy of James II. in 1688, threw things into confusion, and under his despotic measures, East Jersey, in common with other English colonies in North America, Pennsylvania only excepted, was, in 1688, deprived of its political power, and by a *quo warranto*, annexed to the province of New York, under the government of Andross. The freemen of West Jersey were not, however,

* Duponceau's Discourse before the American Philo. Soc. 1821.

† Bancroft's Hist. of the United States.

inclined to submit to this unconditional invasion of their privileges, and all that was effected in their case was, a surrender by a council of the proprietaries, not by the people, of "all records relating to government." The Lords of trade held that the domains of the proprietaries might be bought and sold, but disputed their right to exercise the executive power, and for about twelve years from this date, West Jersey was in a state of great unsettlement, during which the government was conducted under proprietary jurisdiction. The Lords of trade, however, still claimed West Jersey as a royal province, and the proprietaries being at last threatened with the interference of Parliament, relinquished the unequal contest, and resigned their pretensions to Queen Anne, in 1702.

On the surrender of the "pretended rights," East and West Jersey were consolidated into one province, and placed under the administration of Lord Cornbury; but no charter was afterwards obtained. The royal commission and instructions to Lord Cornbury constituted its form of government. To the governor appointed by the Crown, with consent of the royal Council, and the representatives of the people, belonged the power of the local legislature. The franchise was a freehold or property qualification. The people had no power as formerly in electing the judiciary; and liberty of conscience was granted to all but papists; but the hierarchy of England, watchful of every opportunity for extending their influence in the New World, seized the occasion, and obtained ecclesiastical power and privileges; the Bishop of London was invested with diocesan control, and, without his sanction, no minister could be preferred to any benefice in the territory. But the restrictive character of the new order of things did not stop here. By the influence of bigotry, the liberty of the press was curtailed, and under the royal instructions, "no book, pamphlet, or other matter whatsoever,"* was allowed to be printed without a license; and worse than this, to please and pander to the cupidity of the African Company, the sinful and debasing traffic in slaves was encouraged, that the province, as stated in

* Smith's Hist. of New Jersey, p. 259.

Cornbury's instructions, "may have a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes."* Provisions of great severity were also made for maintaining a militia, under which, those who had a conscientious scruple against bearing arms, were great sufferers. In truth, a dark day had come over the once free province of New Jersey, and the freemen were not insensible to the unhappy change. The aristocratic policy of the mother country had overtaken them across the wide Atlantic, and instead of enjoying absolute religious freedom, they had now merely toleration; and to make things worse, Cornbury proved not only an inefficient, but also a self-willed and intolerant governor. In 1688, this province had a population of about ten thousand, and at the date of its transfer to the crown in 1702, it had increased to fifteen thousand. At this period Pennsylvania had a population of about twenty thousand,† but, whilst in the next sixty years New Jersey had advanced to fifty-five thousand, the former province had increased to nearly four-fold that number. But it can excite no surprise that, under its altered circumstances, New Jersey should have lost its attraction as a home, to those who sought the far-famed freedom of the Western World.

That such a character as William Penn should have had many biographers can excite no surprise. His fame may be said to be world-wide, and men of far different sentiments have inscribed his name on the pages of history, as one of the most illustrious of his age—an age, it should be remembered, of stirring events, and conspicuous for men of brilliant attainments. It may, therefore, be superfluous to occupy much space in the present volume, in relating the incidents of a life so well known; but we shall hardly be doing justice to a history of Friends in America, without including a brief outline of the life of one who was so conspicuously connected with them.

He was the son of Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn, a distinguished commander in the British navy, and was born in London in the Eighth Month, 1644. His father, who cherished

* Smith's Hist. of New Jersey, p. 254.

† Holmes's Annals.

the hope of advancing him in the world, gave him a liberal education. While very young he evinced promising talents, and at fifteen, he had made such progress in learning as induced his father to send him to Oxford,* where he "matriculated as a gentleman commoner at Christ Church," and advanced rapidly in his studies. As early as eleven years of age, he experienced, in a remarkable degree, the inshinings of divine light upon his soul, by which he was made inwardly sensible of the "being of a God, and that the soul of man was capable of enjoying communion with him."† He was often drawn, amidst the buoyancy of youth, to a contemplation of divine things, and by the crook of the Heavenly Shepherd, was preserved from the dissipation and wickedness which surrounded him. When about sixteen, he attended a Friends' meeting at Oxford, appointed by Thomas Loe. The living and powerful ministry of this devoted servant of the Lord, made a deep and lasting impression on the mind of William Penn, and excited in him more earnest desires after an experimental knowledge of vital religion. He was now given to see the lifelessness and emptiness of those forms and ceremonies in religion, which so generally prevailed, and, together with some of his fellow-students who were similarly impressed, he withdrew from the established worship of the university, and assembled with them for divine worship. The heads of the college took great offence at this procedure, and the absentees were fined for their non-conformity. These were means not at all calculated to effect a change in the purposes of William Penn. They tended rather to increase his zeal for the principles he had adopted, and continuing to meet with his associates, he was finally expelled the university.‡

The expulsion of William Penn was a severe blow to his father, and when he came home he met with a very cool reception. The society of the fashionable and the gay had now no attractions for him, for his eye had been opened to see the beauty of holiness. The Admiral was not long in perceiving the change that had

* Besse, vol. i. p. 1.

† Clarkson, vol. i. p. 7

‡ Pepys' Diary, Nov. 2nd, 1662.

taken place, and fearing that the prospects of worldly greatness which he had fondly pictured for his son, would all be blasted if he persisted in the course he had chosen, he endeavoured, by persuasion and entreaty, to alter his purpose. All, however, was in vain, and, unable to appreciate the pure and heavenly motives which influenced his son, he resorted to severity, and drove him from his house.

The harsh measures pursued by the Admiral soon caused him uncomfortable reflections. Though hasty in temper, and accustomed to receive implicit obedience to all his commands, he was, nevertheless, a man of a kind disposition; he began to relent, and, influenced also by the entreaties of his wife, he soon forgave his son. But the hope of producing a change in the mind of his favourite child was not abandoned, and seeing that sternness failed to effect it, he determined to adopt another expedient. Change of scene and connexions, together with the gaiety of Parisian society, he thought might dissipate the growing seriousness of his mind, and, acting on the idea, he sent him, in 1662, to the continent. After spending some time in brilliant and fashionable society in the French capital, he proceeded to Saumur. Here he studied ecclesiastical literature, and the languages, under Moses Amyrault, one of the most learned and distinguished men in the reformed churches of France. He sequently visited Turin, and returned, after an absence of about two years, to superintend his father's affairs whilst he was at sea.

During his residence abroad William Penn had insensibly acquired a politeness of demeanour: "A most modish person," says Pepys, "grown quite a fine gentleman." His father was delighted at the change, and now spared no pains to introduce him to the drawing-rooms of the great, and the fascinating circles of royalty. It was about this time also that he entered Lincoln's Inn, to acquire a knowledge of the laws of his country. His legal studies occupied him about one year, or until 1665, when he left London on the breaking out of the great plague.

The fashionable appearance and altered air of William Penn, was, however, no true index of the state of his mind. Religious things frequently engaged his attention; and at times he passed

through much spiritual conflict. There is no doubt that the awful visitation of the great plague had a powerful effect on his contemplative mind,* and tended to revive the religious impressions of his earlier years. But whatever the inciting cause may have been, he again sought the company of the grave and the serious. His father, on returning from sea, observed the change with much uneasiness, and again exerted himself to dissipate his religious impressions. He now concluded to send him to the Vice-regal Court of the Duke of Ormond, at Dublin. The scheme proved a failure. His love for the transcendent truths of the gospel had too strong a hold upon him to be shaken by courtly splendours.

Whilst William Penn was in Ireland his father came into possession of Shangarry Castle, and he was sent to take charge of the property. On one of his visits to Cork, he happened to hear that Thomas Loe was there, and intended to hold a meeting. The effect of his ministry at Oxford was still fresh in his remembrance, and he determined to attend the meeting. It was a memorable occasion. Thomas Loe rose with the words, "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." On these words he enlarged with great force and clearness; contrasting the efficacy of that living, purifying faith, which works by love, and enables the Christian to overcome the world and all its allurements, with that formal, dead faith, which consists in a literal knowledge only of divine truths; and which has ever failed to be proof against the temptations of evil. William Penn was deeply affected. The inward conflicts arising from the strife of natural inclinations with the attractions of heavenly love were alluded to, and, in touching language, the invitation was given to a renunciation of worldly glory, for the more substantial and enduring joys of heaven. No cross, no crown, was, indeed, livingly set before him; and, bending humbly to the call of his Saviour, he meekly, and yet boldly, declared himself a Quaker.†

There are but few incidents in the history of Friends more

* Journey in Holland, &c.

† Besse, vol. i. p. 3.

interesting than the conviction of William Penn. It took place in 1667, in the twenty-third year of his age, and in a period one of the most remarkable of later times. During the Commonwealth the Society had been persecuted under various pretexts; but it was not until after the Restoration that acts were passed specifically directed against them: the first of these was in 1661, enforcing, under heavy penalties, the oath of allegiance; and soon after this followed the cruel and oppressive Conventicle Act, than which there has rarely been a greater invasion of the rights of conscience, and the true liberties of Englishmen. By these enactments, and the revival of old laws originally designed for the suppression of popery, such a torrent of persecution burst on the Society as has scarcely been known in the history of this nation. At the time William Penn joined Friends, thousands of them were lying in the loathsome, pestilential gaols of the kingdom;* in which the lives of hundreds of this people had already fallen a sacrifice to Episcopalian reaction and intolerance. At this juncture, Friends were not only a greatly persecuted people, but a greatly despised one also. How great then must have been the sacrifices of William Penn, in the very morning of life, to turn from the dazzling prospects of wealth and honour, and worldly greatness, so alluringly spread before him; and, in the sure prospect of suffering, to unite himself with a people who were regarded but as a despicable remnant of those fanatics that arose in the days of Puritan power. But he had "seen the King, the Lord of Hosts"—he had seen the beauty of holiness; and in holy magnanimity of soul he pressed forward, counting nothing too dear to part with, so that he might win Christ.

Imprisonment was very early the experience which the new convert had to realize in the path he had chosen, and that before he left Ireland. By the aid of influential friends, however, he soon obtained a release and returned to England. But here a trial even more severe awaited him. His father, disappointed and incensed at his conduct, expelled him from his home, and turned him away, penniless, an outcast on the world. In his ex-

* Whiting's Catalogue. p. 171.

tremity he found, as all others have found who have rightly trusted in the Lord, that refuge did not fail him. The Most High by his good Spirit was near to uphold him ; and in the faith and patience of the saints he journeyed forward. In the year following that of his conviction, he came forth in the ministry ; and, richly qualified for the work, he soon became a powerful labourer in the heavenly vineyard. He also became eminent as a writer. His first work was " Truth Exalted ;" written to show the spiritual nature of true religion. Next followed his " Guide Mistaken ;" and then " The Sandy Foundation Shaken ;" both controversial pieces. The latter gave great offence to the dignitaries of the church ; and, at the instance of the Bishop of London, he was arrested and sent to the Tower, under the charge of blasphemy—a charge under which George Fox and others of his contemporaries were not unfrequently incarcerated. William Penn remained nearly nine months* in the Tower. The Bishop of London, indeed, declared that he should either publicly recant or die a prisoner,—a resolve which that intolerant prelate would, doubtless, have carried into effect, had he possessed the power. But the Bishop was ignorant of the character of his prisoner : " My prison," said William Penn, " shall be my grave, before I will budge a jot. They are mistaken in me : I value not their threats. I will weary out their malice. In me they shall all behold a resolution above fear. Neither great nor good things are ever attained without loss and hardship. He that would reap and not labour, must faint with the wind and perish in disappointments."† This was the indomitable language of the youthful prisoner. He soon after wrote his " Innocency with her Open Face," which was issued with a view to correct some misapprehensions as to his religious belief, which had arisen by the publication of his " Sandy Foundation Shaken."

It was whilst he was in the Tower, that William Penn wrote his memorable work, " No Cross, No Crown." This is a composition exhibiting great erudition and research ; and sets forth in a lucid and impressive manner, the necessity of taking up the daily cross

* Penn. Hist. Soc. Mem. vol. iii. part ii. p. 239.

† Besse, vol. i. p. 6.

to the corrupt inclinations of the heart, if we would be partakers of the crown of eternal life. His release from imprisonment took place towards the end of 1669; and being now reconciled to his father, he again proceeded to Ireland on his behalf.

The sufferings of Friends in England about this time, were exceedingly severe, arising from a renewal of the Conventicle Act; the former having expired by efflux of time. This act aimed at the suppression of all religious meetings not conducted "according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England." William Penn exerted himself to obtain a mitigation of the sufferings of his friends; but it was not long before he became himself a victim to this persecuting enactment. With William Mead and many others, he was arrested at Gracechurch Street Meeting, and taken by soldiery to Newgate. His memorable trial at the Old Bailey soon followed—a trial which did much for religious liberty in England. William Penn, well read in the history and laws of his country, took an unexpected ground of defence. He boldly declared that the Conventicle Act, though passed by Parliament and sanctioned by the crown, possessed no force, inasmuch as it was opposed to the fundamental rights of the nation, secured under Magna Charta. In the grounds of the argument he was more than a match for the magistrates; while on the plea in question, he appealed to and was acquitted by the jury, and that too in the face of the most unblushing attempts of the bench to overrule their verdict. The trial was afterwards published by William Penn, under the title of "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted," &c.; and is well worthy the perusal of every one interested in the great question of the rights of conscience.

Whilst William Penn was pleading the cause of religious liberty at the Old Bailey, his father was lying on his death-bed. The Admiral had now become fully reconciled to his son; and not only so, but even commended the principles he had adopted. "Son William," he said, "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and also to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world." Like many others, this naval hero, when near the confines of eternity, saw things in

their true proportions, and felt how infinitely above all worldly considerations was a well grounded hope of salvation: one of his dying exhortations to his son was, "to let nothing in this world tempt him to wrong his conscience." *

On the decease of his father, William Penn came into the possession of large property, and his liberal aid to objects of a charitable nature, evinced how strong was his desire to be a good steward of the trust. The popularity of his memorable trial at the Old Bailey increased the displeasure of the city magistrates, and it was not long ere these persecutors found an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. He was again arrested at a meeting; but, fearing to proceed against him on the questionable validity of the Conventicle Act, the magistrates took the more sure method of securing his committal by tendering him the oath of allegiance. As they had foreseen, he refused to take the oath, and an incarceration in Newgate followed. During the six months of his imprisonment in this miserable abode, he wrote no less than four important treatises; these were, "The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience," "Truth rescued from Imposture," "A Postscript to Truth Exalted," and "An Apology for the Quakers."† His "Caveat against Popery," he had published a short time before. Soon after his release, being then in the twenty-eighth year of his age, he was united in marriage with Gulielma Maria, daughter of Sir William Springett.

During the next ten years, or until the settlement of Pennsylvania, he travelled in the work of the gospel in many parts of England, and twice into Holland and Germany: his pen was also frequently engaged in the service of religion. His chief publications during this period were, "The Christian Quaker," "A Treatise on Oaths," "England's Present Interest Considered," "The Cry of the Oppressed," &c., and "An Address to Protestants." He was frequently engaged in controversial disputes, and in interceding with local authorities and the government for his suffering brethren, on whose behalf he was twice heard before a committee of the House of Commons.

* No Cross No Crown.

† Whiting's Catalogue, p. 116.

Soon after his return from Pennsylvania in 1684, he again visited the Continent of Europe on a gospel mission. His influence with James II. was great, and during his reign he was frequently at court, to plead the cause of the suffering non-conformists. It was mainly in consequence of his exertions that a general pardon was at length obtained, liberating a very large number of conscientious sufferers from the gaols of the kingdom, among whom were no less than thirteen hundred Friends. To William Penn's influence with the king is also to be attributed the "Declaration of Indulgence," which was issued by James II. in 1687. Alluding in after years to these services, he says, "I acknowledge I was an instrument to break the jaws of persecution."* Between this period and that of his second visit to Pennsylvania in 1699, it pleased the Most High, in many ways, to prove the faith of this devoted Christian. In 1690, he was arrested on the charge of holding treasonable intercourse with the exiled James II. On this charge he was, at his own desire, heard before King William and the Council, by whom he was honourably acquitted. In a short time, however, through the perjured evidence of a wretched informer, he was again arrested on the same charge. In the year following he was subjected to the crushing disappointment of being deprived of the government of Pennsylvania. Then followed domestic affliction in the loss of his beloved wife, and for a short time, the censure of some of his brethren under misapprehensions relative to his political conduct.† Amidst these accumulated afflictions, William Penn was sustained in firm confidence in God, and realised that his Name was a strong tower, and a shelter from all the storms and tempests of time. "Under and over it all," he writes, "the Ancient Rock has been my shelter and comfort: 'This world passeth away, and the form and beauty of it fadeth;' but there are eternal habitations for the faithful; among whom I pray that my lot may be, rather than among the princes of the earth."‡ These severe trials he was permitted to surmount and to outlive.

* Letter to Friends.

† Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 74.

‡ Letter to T. Lloyd.

It was during these years of trial that he wrote several valuable pieces, among which may be enumerated his "Key" concerning the doctrines of Friends, "Maxims and Reflections," "Rise and Progress of Friends," and "Primitive Christianity;" all of which have passed through numerous editions in English, and have also been printed in other languages.*

Soon after William Penn's return from his second visit to Pennsylvania, he was brought into much trouble and perplexity by the treacherous conduct of his steward; who, on an unjust demand of a large amount, had him arrested and imprisoned. The affairs of his province occupied much of his time until 1712, when he was seized with paralysis, which so greatly weakened his constitution, and impaired his memory, as entirely to unfit him for business during the remainder of his life. He lingered for some years in great sweetness and cheerfulness of mind, until 1718; when he died, being in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

That William Penn was a man of extraordinary powers of mind, no one acquainted with his writings can doubt, and his whole life proves how strong was his desire for the promotion of righteousness among men. Much, indeed, might be written in his praise. "He abounded," says his intimate friend Thomas Story, "in wisdom, discretion, prudence, love, and tenderness of affection, with all sincerity, above most in this generation; and, indeed, I never knew his equal."† The present notice of this great and good man may be closed by the beautiful and touching description of his character contained in the testimony issued respecting him by his Monthly Meeting. "He was a man of great abilities; of an excellent sweetness of disposition; quick of thought and ready of utterance; full of the qualifications of true discipleship, even love without dissimulation; as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge, and to whom malice

* His "Key" has been printed in French, Danish, and Welsh—his "Maxims and Reflections" in French, Dutch, and Danish—his "Rise and Progress" in French, German, Danish, and Welsh, and his "No Cross no Crown" in all of them.

† Story's Journal.

and ingratitude were utter strangers—ready to forgive enemies, and the ungrateful were not excepted.—In fine he was learned without vanity ; apt without forwardness ; facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious ; of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition ; as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity ; a man—a scholar—a friend ; a minister surpassing in speculative endowments, whose memorial will be valued by the wise, and blessed with the just.”

CHAPTER VIII.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE TESTIMONY OF FRIENDS AGAINST
SLAVERY.

Origin of Slavery—Its existence in the early ages of mankind—Its prevalence—The early Christians—Its amelioration under Christianity—The Saxon Kings of England and Slavery—William the Conqueror—Slavery condemned by the Clergy of England in 1102—By Pope Alexander III.—Abolished in Ireland in 1172—Wycliffe—Slavery revived by the Crusades—The Moors—Negro Slavery—Denounced by Popes Leo X. and Paul III., and by Cardinal Cisneros of Spain—Its extinction in the Spanish dominions under Charles V.—Its revival under Philip—The English engage in the Slave Trade—Negroes bought by the Virginians—Slavery condemned by the Puritans—Its prevalence on the settlement of Pennsylvania—G. Fox, W. Edmundson, W. Penn—Mild treatment of Slaves by Friends—Emigrant Friends from Germany condemn slavery—Their address in 1688—Their views spread among Friends—Exertions of W. Penn for the Negro—Acts of the Assembly quashed by the Crown—The Slave-trade promoted by England—Its spread in America—Georgia—Friends increasingly uneasy with slavery—Lay, Sandiford, Benezet, and Woolman—Friends in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys no longer hold slaves—Their example on the community—Their public exertions—Pennsylvania becomes a Free State—W. Dillwyn—Influence of Friends in America on those in England—Conclusion.

Few, if any, of the social evils that have afflicted mankind, are more terrible, or more affecting, than the evil of slavery. In its most comprehensive meaning, slavery may be simply defined to be, the absolute and unconditional subjection of one human being to the will of another, in which state he is recognised in law as a mere chattel, to be bought and sold as an implement, or as a beast of the field. That it was ever consistent with the holy and beneficent designs of his Creator, for man to be reduced to

such a state of degradation, no one, having a just sense of the attributes of the Most High, can suppose. God created man "a living soul." He recognised no distinction in our race; but, as the inspired penman tells us, "made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The origin of slavery, like that of its somewhat kindred evil, war, can only be traced to human depravity, violating the laws of God's immutable righteousness. What, but an evil influence, could possibly have prompted the strong, to such an absolute tyranny over the weak? What, but sinful usurpation, could thus dare to outrage and suppress the dearest rights of man's existence?

Like war, slavery also seems to have pervaded every nation of antiquity. In the time of Moses the demoralising practice was almost universal; the whole Israelitish nation, we know, were held in the most cruel and abject bondage. As in the case of other evils which had become interwoven in the social systems of men, the laws of Moses did not aim at once entirely to abolish slavery, so much as to mitigate and restrain the evil, and thus gradually to prepare the way for the introduction of that better day, when, under the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, these enormities would find no place among the children of men.

On the institution of the Christian, as on the institution of the Mosaic dispensation, slavery was equally common, and formed a part of the civil constitution of most countries. It existed, in fact, not only in barbarous nations, but throughout the extensive regions of the Roman Empire; and in the slave-markets of Rome were to be found persons of every complexion and every clime, from the Celtic and Slavonic, to the Mongolian and Ethiopian races of men.

This was a state of things essentially opposed to the benign nature and scope of the religion of Christ. The New Testament, it is true, does not specifically condemn slavery, but the spirit which it breathes is utterly opposed to oppression, and, in opposition to previous habits of thinking, the Christian religion tended to diffuse ideas and feelings which were entirely subversive of such relations of society, and which would, if allowed to operate, have led to their ultimate and entire extinction. "It does not

follow," says Paley, the great moralist, in reference to this subject, "from the silence of Scripture concerning them, that all civil institutions which then prevailed were right; or that the bad should not be exchanged for the better."*

Among the early converts of the church were many who were held in bondage, and respecting whom Polycarp, in writing to the Bishop of Smyrna, says, "Let them not be anxious to be redeemed at the expense of the church, lest they be found slaves of their own lusts."† Great exertions were, nevertheless, made by the early Christians for the release of their brethren held in bondage. "Both religion and humanity," says Cyprian, "make it a duty for us to work for the deliverance of the captive. They are sanctuaries of Jesus Christ, who have fallen into the hands of the infidel.‡" The early Christian emperors, though they did not directly interfere with the institution of slavery, did much to ameliorate the condition of the slave. This was very strikingly the case among the Saxons in England, soon after they had embraced Christianity. Ina, king of the West Saxons, enacted in 693, that if a slave were compelled to work on a "Sunday," he should become a freeman. About the same period, Withred, king of Kent, decreed that if a master gave freedom to his slave at the altar, his family also should be free; and at a general Synod in 816, it was provided that, at the death of a bishop, every Englishman of his, who had been made a slave during his episcopate, should be set at liberty, and that every prelate and abbot should liberate three slaves.§ The renowned Alfred advanced still

* Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, book iii. chap. iii.

† Neander's Church Hist. vol. i p. 372.

‡ St. Cyprian, to the Bishops of Numidia.

§ The practice of manumitting slaves in the church, appears to have existed from the early part of the fourth century. In the African code of canons, confirmed at a full synod at Carthage in the year 418-19, from which many of the *Excerptions of Egbert* are transcribed, is the following, "No. 64: And that the manumission of slaves be published in churches, if our fellow-priests in Italy be found to have this practice among them; and that to this purpose a legate be sent to do all that can be done, for the good of souls and of the Church." "It is certain," says Johnson, in reference to this translation, "that in Italy, and some

further in the good work, and enacted that some particular days should be granted to all slaves, for their own enjoyment and benefit; and, in order to suppress the sinful practice of man-stealing and theft, he made a statute strictly forbidding "the purchase of a man, a horse, or an ox, without a voucher to war-

other parts of the empire, slaves were solemnly set at liberty by their masters in the church and presence of the bishop, from the time of Constantine."

In a copy of the four gospels, in the vulgate version, formerly belonging to the church of "St. Petroc," in Bodmin, in the county of Cornwall, but now deposited in the British Museum, (No. 9381), and which is supposed to be of the ninth century, and by some critics, of a yet earlier date, are records of the manumission of slaves. Some of the entries are written in Anglo-Saxon; but the greater part are in Latin, with a copious intermixture of Saxon letters. The entries (forty-six in number,) seem to be contemporaneous with the manumissions which they record; viz., between the years 940 and 1020. The translation of some of these are as follows:—

No. 1.—These are the names of those persons, Huna and his sister Dolo, whom Byrhtflæd freed for the redemption of his soul, on the altar of St. Petroc, before these witnesses: Leofrie, presbyter; Budda, presbyter; Morhaytho, presbyter; Deni, presbyter; Hresmen, deacon; Custentin, layman; Hurlowen, layman; that they may have their freedom, with their seed for ever; and may he be accursed who shall infringe this liberty.

3.—Budic, Glowmoeth, two (whom?) Uulfis, the Bishop, freed on the altar of St. Petroc.

12.—These are the names of the men whom the clerks of St. Petroc freed, Sulleisoc, Oudwythal, for the soul of Eadgar King, on the altar of St. Petroc, on the feast of St. Michael, before these witnesses: Byrhisie, presbyter; Osian, presbyter; Austinus, reader; Siol, deacon.

20.—This is the name of that woman, Aelfgyth, Æthaelflæd freed for his soul, and for the soul of his lord Aethelwerd, the duke, on the (cimbalum?) of St. Petroc, in the town which is called Lyscerryut, [Liskeard] before these witnesses seeing it.

27.—Here be it known in this book, that Aelsig bought a woman named Ongynethel, and her son Gythiecail, from Thurcilde, for half-a-pound, at the church doors, in Bodmin, and gave four-pence, as toll, to Aelsige, the portreve, and to Maccosse, the hundreds' man; then went Aelsig to them that were bought, and took them, and freed them upon Petroc's altar, ever to remain sackless, on the testimony of these good men, [then follow the names of several "mass-priests,"] and whoever

rant the sale."* Athelstan, one of the ablest of our Saxon kings, was imbued with sentiments which made a very near approach to the condemnation of slavery. He decreed that, on certain occasions, "some one should be set at liberty, who, for his crimes, had been condemned to slavery;" and this was to be done, "for the mercies of Christ." "It is necessary," observes the same statute, "that every master be compassionate and condescending to his servants, in the most indulgent manner that is possible. The slave and the freeman are equally dear to the Lord, who bought them, and bought them all with the same price: we are all, of necessity, servants of God, and he will judge us in the same manner, in which we on earth judged them over whom we had a judicial power."† The feelings which prompted our Saxon ancestors thus to mitigate the condition of the slave, led them also by degrees to the increased manumission of those who were held in a state of semi-slavery, as serfs or villeins; a state which had long existed among the people inhabiting the north of Europe.‡

The progress which anti-slavery feeling made under Saxon rule, in no wise lessened under Norman authority. William the Conqueror enacted, that the residence of a slave for "a year and a day, in any city, burgh, walled town, or castle," without being this freedom breaks, let the point be settled in common between him and Christ. Amen.

43.—These are the men whom Hulfisge, the bishop, freed for (the benefit of) King Eadgar, and of himself, at Petroo's altar: Leuhelec, Helet, Unwalt, Beli, Josep, Dengel, Proswetel, Tancwuestel, and these are the witnesses [then follow the names, &c].

45.—These are the names of the sons of Hurcon, Aethan, Indhend, Henweothu, Gunuaret, whose sons and grandsons, and all their descendants, defended themselves by an oath, by permission of king Edgar, because their fathers were said, on the accusation of an evil one, to have been villeins (coloni?) of the King; Gomoere, bishop [with others] being witness."—*Vide The Bodmin Register, and Gilbert's History of Cornwall.*

* London Encyclo. art. Slavery.—*Vide* also Wilkins's Coll. of Laws from Ethelbert to Henry III.

† Ibid.

‡ Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons by Sharon Turner, vol. iv. p. 142.

claimed, should entitle him to liberty. Nor did his legislation for the enslaved stop here. He gave them legal rights, and rescued them from arbitrary bondage. The serfs were not to be deprived of their land, so long as they did the proper service for it, and they were not to be called upon to do any other work than their due service. It was also expressly forbidden for any man to be sold out of the country.*

Notwithstanding the efforts that had been made to suppress trading in the persons of men, it was carried on in some places to a large extent. The cities of Lyons, Hamburg, and Rome, on the continent, and of Bristol in our own island, were notorious for this traffic, particularly the last named, where the citizens sold large numbers whom they had kidnapped, and even their own children, to the Irish people.† Widely as the Christian church had apostatized from its ancient simplicity and purity, it did not allow this sinful practice to pass unnoticed or unreprieved. In an ecclesiastical council held in London, in the year 1102, one of the canons thus condemns this violation of the rights of man:— “Let no one from henceforth presume to carry on that wicked traffic, by which men in England have been hitherto sold like brute animals.”‡ Half a century later, we find the church taking, in the person of Pope Alexander III., a yet more decided attitude on this subject, and making the enlightened and important declaration, that “nature having made no slaves, all men have an equal right to liberty;” and so largely had this opinion been accepted, that at a national synod, convened at Armagh, by the clergy of Ireland, in 1172, it was unanimously agreed, not only to put an end to the nefarious traffic in English slaves, but to emancipate all that were held in bondage throughout the nation.§ The example of the Irish nation was soon followed by that of France. In 1315, Louis X. passed a law enfranchising all serfs belonging to the crown. “Slavery,” he declared, “was contrary to nature, which intended that all men

* Sharon Turner's History of England, from the Norman Conquest, &c., vol. i. p. 104. *Vide* also Leg. W. Conq. p. 229.

† Ency. Metropolitana, *art.* Slavery. ‡ Wilkins's Concilia, i. p. 393.

§ Moore's Hist. of Ireland.

by birth should be free and equal."* These are noble instances of conscientious action, which, contrasted with much that was gloomy and vicious in that age, shine forth with peculiar lustre.

Wycliffe, who has been justly called the morning star of the Reformation, was not behind the ecclesiastical authorities of his day in declaring his abhorrence of slavery. This great and good man, with other enlightened views, declared that it was contrary to the principles of the Christian religion that any one should be a slave.

The wars that took place between the professors of Christianity and the followers of Mahomet operated unhappily for mankind and for the cause of true religion ; since to the frenzied zeal of Peter the Hermit, may be mainly traced the African bondage of the present day. But for the Crusades, there is, in fact, great reason to believe that before the discovery of the western world, the benign spirit of the Christian religion would have led, at least, to the entire abolition of slavery in Christendom. Already had its principal slave-markets been broken up, and the voice of enlightened reason was fast demanding the emancipation of the serfs ; but bigotry, alike impervious to reason and to justice, intervened, and circumscribed the bounds of humanity. Mahomedanism, whilst it pandered to the sensuality of human nature, denounced the enslavement of the faithful, and no Mussulman dared to hold a Mussulman in bondage ; but the enslavement of the heretic was deemed right and just. With the Saracen, therefore, the captive Christian had no alternative but servitude, or the profession of the Koran ; and, in retaliation, Christians enslaved the Turks. The number of Saracens sold into Christian bondage, is said to have exceeded the number of all the Christians ever sold by the pirates of Barbary. The clergy, who had pleaded successfully for the Christian slave, were deaf to the cries of the unbeliever. The final victory of the Spaniards over the Moors of Granada, — an event contemporary with the discovery of America, drove the Moors, after dreadful sufferings, to the coasts of northern Africa, where each mercantile depôt became a nest of pirates, and every Christian the wonted booty of the corsair.

* Koch's *Revolutions of Europe*, chap. v.

Bondage thus befel the European in northern Africa, and an indiscriminate retaliation without remorse doomed the sons of Africa to bondage ; and hence the origin of negro slavery among Christians.

For centuries before, the Moors had trafficked in gold dust and slaves with central Africa ; but to Antonio Gonzalez, a Portuguese, belongs the unenviable notoriety of being the first to introduce the negro race to European bondage. Having, in a predatory excursion on the coast of Africa, in 1440, captured some Moorish persons, he was commanded to restore them. He did so, and received in exchange ten " black Moors," with curled hair.* Mercantile cupidity and avarice was not slow to perceive that the negro race might become an object of profitable commerce. Spain soon followed her neighbour in the odious trade, and years before Columbus sailed on his western expedition, the merchants of Seville and Portugal imported gold dust and slaves from the western coast of Africa.

The profit which resulted to the Peninsular adventurers by their kidnapping expeditions to the coasts of Africa, led the early discoverers of America to follow their example, and hence the atrocities of Cortereal, Soto, and others, in capturing the Indians. Columbus himself sent no less than five hundred of them to be publicly sold at Seville.† But the Indians, though strong and robust, and hardy in the chase, did not thrive under domestic slavery, and disappeared rapidly before the oppressions of the white man. The negroes, however, were better fitted for labour in a tropical climate ; it was said that one negro could do the work of four Indians, and in 1503, considerable numbers of them were sent to the mines of Hispaniola. The scheme appears to have been a profitable one, and the enslavement of the negro race extended rapidly. In 1511, a royal ordinance of Ferdinand V. of Spain, encouraged a direct traffic in slaves between Guinea and Hispaniola ; and in 1517, the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent for the exclusive supply of no less than four thousand annually for the West Indies, to be employed chiefly in agriculture.

* Ency. Brit. *art.* Slavery.

† Irving's Columbus.

The rapid development of this atrocious system, under the fostering influences of Spanish and Portuguese avarice and cruelty, did not pass without strong and decided censure. It was emphatically denounced by the highest authorities in the church, and at times by the most powerful men in the state. Pope Leo X. declared against it in a very early stage of its existence, and he did so under somewhat extraordinary circumstances. The Dominicans, who witnessed the horrors of this cruel bondage, held that it was utterly repugnant to the gospel, and pleaded for its entire abolition. The Franciscans, another order of the Romish church, took a different view, and eventually an appeal was made by the contending parties, to the pope, as head of the church. This was in 1513. His reply was a memorable one. "Not only the Christian religion, but nature herself, cries out against a state of slavery."* Leo X. was one of the most learned of the popes, and, doubtless, was fully aware that, mainly by the voice of the church, slavery had been extinguished in western Europe. It is true his life was a voluptuous one, and his unceasing attempts to promote ecclesiastical power might have deadened his feelings of humanity; but he was not so entirely lost to the requisitions of Christian duty as to sanction negro slavery. Yet, strong as was the opinion of Pope Leo X., the opinion of Paul III., about twenty years later, was still stronger. In two separate briefs he imprecated a curse on any Europeans who should enslave the Indians or any other class of men.† The slave-trade between Africa and America was never, it is believed, expressly sanctioned by the see of Rome.

These noble sentiments of the church dignitaries at Rome, met with a hearty response from Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, a Spanish Cardinal of great learning and eminence. On the death of Ferdinand he was appointed Regent until Charles V. became of age. He had, in the lifetime of Ferdinand, strenuously endeavoured to check the progress of slavery; and, during his regency, his efforts to this purpose were still more earnest. When

* Clarkson's Hist. of the Abolition of the Slave-trade, vol. i. p. 39.

† *Vide* the Brief in Remesal. Hist. de Chiappa, quoted in Bancroft's United States.

Las Casas, a missionary in America, and bishop of Chiappa, applied, in 1516, for liberty to establish a regular trade in African negroes, in order to relieve the Indians, who were fast disappearing under the oppression of their conquerors, Cisneros, true to his enlightened principles, refused the request. Not only did he do much to restrain this evil, but he also spent a large portion of his enormous income in ransoming captives from Africa, and he may be justly regarded as the earliest man of eminence who sought the extinction of negro slavery.

On the death of Cisneros, in 1517, Charles V., Emperor of Germany and Sovereign of the Netherlands, ascended the Spanish throne. He was then only in his eighteenth year, and it was at this period that, in order to gratify one of his Flemish favourites, he granted the exclusive right of supplying his West India possessions with four thousand slaves annually. Charles V. was altogether an extraordinary monarch, and though he devoted himself closely to the affairs of his extensive dominions, yet he visited Spain but six times during his reign, and when the patent in question was granted, he was, doubtless, ignorant of the cruelties of this nefarious traffic. As time passed on, however, he became better acquainted with its true character, and embraced more enlightened views on the subject; and at length, in 1542, he astounded his avaricious courtiers, by at once suppressing the African slave-trade, and by manumitting all the slaves in his western dominions, sending Pedro de la Gasca to enforce the order. His health having become much impaired, Charles V. in 1556 resigned his crown to his son Philip, and retired to a monastery. Gasca, the minister of his mercy, soon after returned to Spain, when the tyrant authorities of the west, unchecked probably, by Philip, resumed their former cruelties, and again reduced the African to bondage.

The immediate and unconditional emancipation of all the slaves in the Spanish dominions was a circumstance of no ordinary character. For nearly forty years the traffic in slaves had been steadily progressing, and at the time of the humane edict, their number must have been very considerable. It is probable that the declarations of Pope Leo X. in 1513, and of

Paul III., only five years before the decree was issued by Charles V., together with the Christian example of Cardinal Cisneros, did much to strengthen the good resolutions of the Spanish monarch; but, whether strengthened in this direction, or by his own growing conviction of the sinfulness of the system, we cannot question that in thus, at one stroke, annihilating a lucrative traffic, and also a large property which the law recognised in the persons of men, he must have had no inconsiderable amount of opposition to encounter. This transaction of Charles V., and the analogous one of the Irish nation in 1172, are among the most striking instances of humanity in the history of the world.

For the first hundred years after Spain had engaged in negro slavery, she was at the height of her national greatness, and her powerful fleets made her mistress of the seas. By the close of the sixteenth century, however, the Dutch and English nations had greatly progressed in naval power, and it was no uncommon thing for some of their bold adventurers to roam the ocean in quest of new discoveries and fresh sources of gain. One of these was Sir John Hawkins, whose youth was spent in trading to Spain and Portugal. The wealth amassed by the African slave-trade, had then become notorious, and kindled in his daring mind a desire to share in the guilty enterprise. Having procured the assistance of some London merchants, in 1562, he fitted out a small squadron, and kidnapped, on the coast of Guinea, three hundred negroes, whom he sold to the planters of Hispaniola. Queen Elizabeth, though anxious to extend her maritime trade, at first revolted at the idea of her people being engaged in this traffic, and on the return of Hawkins she sent for him, and expressed her fear lest any of the negroes had been carried off without their free consent, declaring that, "It would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers."* But Hawkins deceived the Queen, and notwithstanding her injunctions, he himself relates that, on one occasion, he set fire to a city having eight thousand inhabitants, and that he succeeded in capturing two hundred and fifty of them.† These

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 40.

† Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 618.

adventures were the first instance of Englishmen engaging in the inhuman system of the African slave-trade, a trade which Europe now stigmatizes as piracy. It is somewhat remarkable that the crest granted to this violator of the laws of God and man, was the expressive one of "a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord."*

The first permanent settlement of the English in America took place nearly fifty years after Hawkins commenced his wicked career. This was the colony of Virginia, founded in 1607. But so slowly did the colony advance, that in 1660, it numbered no more than ten thousand inhabitants, of whom not more than three hundred and fifty were blacks. The commerce of the plantation was at first monopolized by the company who founded it; but in 1620, it was declared open to free competition. At this period the Dutch also had sullied their national character by a participation in the African slave-trade; and on the adoption of the free-trade principle by the Virginians, a Dutch man-of-war entered James's River, and offered twenty negroes for sale. The demand for labourers in the colony was pressing, and already had the planters become familiar with a sort of semi-slavery, by receiving indented servants from England, who, on their arrival, were sold to the highest bidder. The Dutch speculation was, unhappily, a successful one; and thus commenced the gigantic evil of negro slavery in North America.

The year in which Virginia became a market for Africans, was the year of Puritan settlement in Massachusetts, and to the praise of those zealous reformers it must be recorded, that they at once bore a decided and uncompromising testimony against slavery. They enacted that, except in the case of prisoners of war, "no man should buy or sell any slaves; nor any person be subject to slavery, villeinage, or captivity." The Pilgrim Fathers were successful colonists, and Boston, their capital, took the lead among the commercial entrepôts of the western world. In 1645, two of its citizens, allured by the lucrative character of the trade, then mostly in the hands of the Dutch, sailed "for Guinea to

* Life of Hawkins, in Penny Encyclo.

trade for negroes." * As soon as the speculation became known, it produced an excitement throughout Massachusetts. The two traders were denounced by the people as malefactors and murderers. The authorities characterized it as "expressly contrary to the law of God and the law of the country," and the guilty men were committed for the crime. † Of so much importance was this matter considered, that the representatives of the people were convened; who, after a consultation with the elders of the church, bore a further "witness against the crime of man-stealing," by ordering the negroes to be restored at the public charge "to their native country, with a letter expressing the indignation of the General Court" at their wrongs. ‡ To prevent a recurrence of this crime, the slave-trade was forbidden by the Puritan authorities, under penalty of death. §

The next European settlement in America was New Netherlands, (now New York,) founded by the Dutch in 1625. In the very next year, the merchants of Amsterdam landed negroes on Manhattan, and New Amsterdam became a slave mart; for the prosperity of which, Dutch cupidity instructed Stuyvesant the governor, to use every effort. || Maryland was settled a few years after, and, like Virginia, was also polluted with slaves; but not so much at first with negroes as with whites under sentence. In the same year the enlightened Roger Williams founded Rhode Island; and, perceiving a disposition in some of the settlers "to buy negroes" and "hold them as slaves for ever," he subsequently enacted that "no black mankind" should be held in perpetual bondage, but that "at the end of ten years the master should set them free, as the manner is with English servants." The liberties of blacks and whites were equally dear to Roger Williams. Carolina was settled by charter in 1667; and Locke, in framing its "constitutions," gave the freeman absolute power and authority over his negro slave." A portion of this territory had been

* Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 243.

† Colonial Records, iii. 45, in Bancroft.

‡ Ibid. c. xii.

§ The words of the law are, "If any man stealeth a man, or mankind he shall be put to death."

|| Albany Records, iv. 371.

previously occupied by Sir John Yeamans, a needy baronet and Barbadoes planter, who brought over a number of Africans with him. From its commencement, therefore, Carolina appears not to have been exempt from the crime of slavery. On its conquest by the English in 1664, New Netherlands was dismembered. James, Duke of York, obtained the larger portion, whilst the country afterwards called New Jersey was assigned to Berkeley and Carteret. The Duke of York was then President of the African Company, and, as such, a patron of the slave-trade: Berkeley and Carteret, as Carolinian proprietors, and already conversant with the system, promoted it in their new domains, and offered a bounty of seventy-five acres for the importation of every able-bodied slave. New Hampshire and Connecticut, being colonized by emigrants from Massachusetts, bore a noble testimony against African bondage; whilst Delaware, under Dutch auspices, maintained opposite views.

At the time, therefore, when William Penn founded Pennsylvania, the negro race were held in bondage in every colony south of Rhode Island, though not in large numbers. In Virginia, where they were most numerous, they did not, even thirty years after their introduction, form more than one in thirty of the inhabitants: it is questionable, indeed, whether the negroes at that time were more numerous than the whites who were held in bondage for crime, or under covenant for a term of years to defray the cost of emigration. In England, the evil of negro slavery, before the rise of our religious Society, seems to have attracted but little attention; and down to the close of the seventeenth century, very few, excepting Friends, had raised their voices against its atrocities. Godwyn, a clergyman who had been an eye-witness of its cruelties in Barbadoes; Bishop Sanderson; Baxter, the noted nonconformist; and our great poet, Milton; were the most conspicuous on the anti-slavery side.

The first time that George Fox witnessed men in slavery, was during his visit to Barbadoes, in 1671. On that island, as well as in some other parts of the West Indies, many who had been brought up in the practice of holding slaves, joined our religious Society; and it does not appear that at first their views on the subject underwent much change. George Fox, however,

boldly proclaimed to them the sinfulness of a traffic in men ; “ Consider with yourselves,” he says ; “ if you were in the same condition as the poor Africans are—who come strangers to you, and were sold to you as slaves. I say, if this should be the condition of you or yours, you would think it a hard measure ; yea, and very great bondage and cruelty.” Alluding, in his journal, to the counsel which he gave Friends in Barbadoes, he says, “ I desired also, that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not to use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some had been ; and that after certain years of servitude, they should make them free.” During his stay on the island he had many meetings with the negroes. This was obnoxious to the ruling planters, some of whom maliciously raised an outcry that he was “ endeavouring to make the negroes rebel,” which, he promptly observed, was a “ wretched slander.” * William Edmundson accompanied George Fox to Barbadoes ; and he, too, reprobated slavery. On a subsequent visit to the island, in 1675, he mentions having “ negroes’ meetings in families,” and that “ several meetings were settled on such accounts.” For these gospel labours he was brought before the governor on a charge of “ making the negroes Christians, and [that he] would make them rebel.” † It appears to have been during this second visit to the western world, that he addressed an epistle to Friends of Maryland, Virginia, and other parts of America, containing some strong remarks on the wickedness of the system. “ Truth,” he writes, “ must regulate all wrongs and wrong dealings.”

The evil of slavery, it is evident, was seen by some of the most eminent of our early Friends ; and it appears, by a provision which William Penn made with the “ Free Society of Traders,” that he participated in the feeling, and, like George Fox and William Edmundson, would, after the lapse of a few years, have set the bondmen free. “ If the Society should receive blacks for servants,” it was agreed “ that they shall make them free at fourteen years, and upon condition that they will give unto the Society’s warehouse two-thirds of what they are capable of pro-

* Journal of George Fox.

† Journal of W. Edmundson.

ducing on such a parcel of land as shall be allotted to them by the Society, with a stock and necessary tools."* During the early progress of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, many of the settlers had lands, but were not supplied with labourers, as in the mother country; and in many instances, families were without servants. By English law, the African Company had the monopoly, and also the right, of importing slaves into the North American colonies, and no power, as hereafter will be shown, rested with William Penn, or the legislature of his province, to prevent it. The colonists were also in great ignorance of the cruelties employed in procuring the negroes; and, with other humane and pious persons, Friends in America fell into the practice of keeping slaves.

But although, under their peculiar circumstances, the Society of Friends in America were thus drawn to sanction the system of slavery, their conduct towards the negro differed widely from the general practice. Not only were their slaves treated with much care and kindness, but great pains were also taken for their moral and religious culture. No flogging-houses, no branding nor spiked collars, were allowed by them—no harrowing severance of husband and wife, and of parents from children. They at least sanctioned no law to keep them in ignorance of divine things; no unholy daring prompted them to interpose between God and the souls of men; and far less did they inflict punishment on the poor slave for "the sin of praying!"† So different, indeed, was the conduct of Friends from that of most others towards their slaves, that in the West India islands it excited alarm and jealousy among the planters, and gave rise to persecution. Recognising the negroes as equal objects of our heavenly Father's regard with

* Watson's Annals, 480.

† In most of the slave states, laws are enacted to prevent slaves from being taught to read; and Bible Societies do not distribute the Scriptures among them, because it is prohibited, and because slaves are generally unable to read. "We have, as far as possible," said one of the members of the House of Delegates of Virginia, "closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds. If we could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed; they would then be on a level with the beasts of the field, and we should be safe! I am not certain that we should not do it, if we could find out the process, and that on the plea of necessity."—*Goodell's American Slave Code*, p. 301.

themselves, Friends were anxious to bring them to a knowledge of that glorious redemption which is in Christ Jesus our Lord, and invited them to their religious assemblies. But so opposed were the authorities to this attempt to impart religious truth to these poor oppressed people, that in Barbadoes they actually passed an Act, in 1676, "to prevent the people called Quakers from bringing negroes to their meetings," &c.* It was under this Act that Ralph Fretwell and Richard Sutton—the former of whom had been one of the chief judges in the island†—were severally fined in the sum of eight hundred pounds and three hundred pounds, for having negro meetings at their houses.‡ In 1680, the Governor of Barbadoes interdicted Friends' meetings altogether; but his edict, not being founded on any act or statute, was extrajudicial, and of no force. In Nevis, Friends were, after a time, prohibited from coming on shore; and negroes were placed in irons for attending their meetings. In 1671, William Edmundson and Thomas Briggs were both prevented from landing there; § and in 1677, masters of vessels who brought them were subjected to heavy penalties. Similar proceedings were also adopted in Antigua; "and the poor slave," remarks Clarkson, "who saw nothing but misery in his temporal prospects, was deprived of the only balm which could have soothed his sorrow—the comfort of religion." ||

But even in the primitive days of Pennsylvania, and with slavery under its mildest form, some of its citizens were favoured with clear views on this important subject. The most prominent of these were Friends of Germantown, emigrants from Kreisheim, in Germany. These unsophisticated vine-dressers and corn-growers from the Palatinate of the Upper Rhine, the converts of the devoted William Ames, revolted at the idea of good men buying and selling human beings, heirs with themselves of immortality. Faithful to their convictions, they at once bore an uncompromising testimony against the evil, and, as early as the year 1688, prepared an address to their Monthly Meeting on the subject. Their reasoning was strong and cogent, and evinced

* Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii. p. 308. † Ibid, vol. ii. 291.

‡ Ibid, vol. ii. 309 and 311.

§ Journal of W. Edmundson.

|| Clarkson, vol. i. p. 135.

not only a clear appreciation of the inalienable rights of man, but also of the humanizing tendency of the religion of Christ. The Monthly Meeting appears to have been impressed with the truths laid before it; but the subject being new to many of the members, and containing as it did, an unqualified condemnation of man holding a property in man, in which so many of their brethren in other parts were involved, it was agreed to refer it to the attention of the Quarterly Meeting. But this meeting also hesitated to pronounce an opinion. The subject, they said, was of "too great weight for them to determine," and it was sent on to the Yearly Meeting. To this meeting the subject was equally new, and, without disputing the important and decided position taken by Friends of Germantown, it came at that time to no specific judgment on the matter. The following was the record made on the occasion:—"A paper was presented by some German Friends concerning the lawfulness and unlawfulness of buying and keeping 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."*

* The German Friends arrived at Philadelphia in the Sixth Month, 1683. They settled near together, and, in 1686, were joined by a number from different parts of Holland and Germany. Some few years since, it was supposed that the address of these Friends to their Monthly Meeting above alluded to was lost; but in 1844 it was discovered, and printed in the *Philadelphia Friend* for that year, from which it is here copied entire.

This is to the Monthly Meeting held at Richard Worrell's.

These are the reasons why we are against the traffic in the bodies of men, as followeth:—Is there any that would be done or handled in this manner [themselves]? viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearful and faint-hearted are many on the sea when they see a strange vessel, being afraid it should be a Turk, and they should be taken, and sold for slaves into Turkey. Now what is this better than Turks do? Yea, rather is it worse for them, which say they are Christians; for we hear that the most part of such negroes are brought hither against their will and consent, and that many of them are stolen. Now, though they are black, we cannot conceive there is

The discussion of the views enunciated by Friends of Germantown, was not without effect: in a few years we find Friends in other parts of Pennsylvania expressing similar sentiments. "I have seen," says Watson, "among the earliest pamphlets extant

more liberty to have them slaves, than it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we should do to all men, like as we would be done [unto] ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent, or colour they are. And those who steal and rob men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? There is liberty of conscience here, which is right and reasonable; and there ought to be likewise liberty of the body, except of evil doers, which is another case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed which are of a black colour. And we who know that men must not commit adultery—(some do commit adultery in others, separating wives from their husbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of these poor creatures to other men). Ah! do consider well this thing, you who do it, if you would be done [unto] in this manner? and if it is done according to Christianity? You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This makes an ill report in all those countries of Europe, where they hear of it, that the Quakers do here handle men as they handle there the cattle. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintain this your cause, or plead for it? Truly we cannot do so, except you shall inform us better hereof, viz., that Christians have liberty to practise these things. Pray, what thing in the world can be done worse towards us, than if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries; separating husbands from their wives and children. Now this is not done in the manner we would be done by, therefore we contradict and are against this traffic in the bodies of men. And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must, likewise, avoid purchasing such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing, if possible. And such men ought to be delivered out of the hands of the robbers, and set free, as in Europe.* Then would Pennsylvania have a good report; instead [whereof] it hath now a bad one for this sake in other countries. Especially as the Europeans are desirous to know in what manner the Quakers do rule in their province; and most of them do look upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evil?

If once these slaves (which they say are so wicked and stubborn)

* Alluding probably to the abolition of the old feudal system.

of Philadelphia publication, one from the Friends' Meeting of Philadelphia of the 13th of Eighth Month, 1693, giving 'exhortation and caution to Friends concerning buying and keeping negroes.' The sum of the counsel was, that none should attempt 'to buy except to set free.'** Three years later the

should join themselves [together], fight for their freedom, and handle their masters and mistresses as they did handle them before; will these masters and mistresses take the sword and war against these poor slaves, like, we are able to believe, some will not refuse to do? Or have these negroes not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? And in case you find it to be good to handle these blacks in that manner, we desire and require you hereby lovingly, that you may inform us herein, which at this time never was done, viz., that Christians have such a liberty to do so. To the end we may be satisfied on this point, and satisfy likewise our good friends and acquaintances in our native country, to whom it is a terror, or fearful thing, that men should be handled so in Pennsylvania.

This is from our meeting at Germantown, held the 18th of the Second Month, 1688, to be delivered to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Worrell's.

GARRETT HENDERICK.
DERICK UP DE-GRAEFF.
FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS.
ABRAHAM JR. DEN GRAEF.

At our Monthly Meeting at Dublin, the 30th of Second Month, 1688, we having inspected the matter above mentioned, and considered of it, we find it so weighty that we think it not expedient for us to meddle with it here, but do rather commit it to the consideration of the Quarterly Meeting; the tenor of it being nearly related to the truth.

Signed on behalf of the Monthly Meeting,

Jo. HART.

This, above mentioned, was read in our Quarterly Meeting, at Philadelphia, the 4th of the Fourth Month, 1688, and was from thence recommended to the Yearly Meeting; and the abovesaid Derick, and the others mentioned therein, to present the same to the above said Meeting, it being a thing of too great a weight for this Meeting to determine.

Signed by order of the Meeting,

ANTHONY MORRIS.

* Watson's Annals, p. 480.

subject had made so much progress, that at the Yearly Meeting of 1696, it was again brought under consideration, when it was agreed to issue the following advice: "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 meetings, have meetings 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 or other times."

William Penn deeply lamented the state of degradation to which the African race had been reduced by the wrongs and cruelties of their bondage, and was anxious to raise them in the scale of society, and in no more effectual way did he consider this could be accomplished, than by bringing them under the influence of religion. In the First Month of 1700, during his second visit to America, he brought the subject before the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia. "His mind," he said, "had long been engaged for the benefit and welfare of the negroes,"* and he exhorted and pressed his brethren, to a full discharge of their duty in every way regarding them, more especially in reference to their mental and religious improvement. The Monthly Meeting was not backward in responding to the humane feelings of the governor, and it was concluded, once in every month to hold a meeting for worship specially for the negro race. The following was the minute made on the occasion: "Our dear friend and governor, having laid before this meeting a concern, that hath laid upon his mind for some time, concerning the negroes and Indians, that Friends ought to be very careful in discharging a good conscience towards them in all respects, but more especially for the good of their souls; and that they might, as frequent as may be, come to meetings upon First-days; upon consideration whereof, this meeting concludes to appoint a meeting for the negroes, to be kept once a month, &c., and that

* Proud, vol. i. p. 423.

their masters give notice thereof in their own families, and be present with them at the said meetings as frequent as may be.”*

The attention of William Penn was next directed to an improvement in their social condition, and for this purpose, with the full sanction of the Colonial Council, he introduced into the Assembly two bills. The first provided for a better regulation of the morals and marriages of the negroes, and the second, for the modes of their trial and punishment in cases of offence. There existed at that time, a considerable degree of jealousy on the subject, and the first was rejected.† But it was evident that a feeling adverse to slavery, was gradually gaining ground among the legislators of Pennsylvania, and efforts for its suppression were reiterated in the Assembly. A practice had existed of Carolinians bringing Indian slaves to the province. This was entirely prohibited by an act passed in 1705; and, in order also to lessen the number of blacks, in the same year a duty on their importation was imposed, which was renewed in 1710. In the following year a more important and decided movement took place, which promised to go far to meet this great evil. The Assembly, chosen at the memorable election of 1710, and consisting almost wholly of Friends, now passed an act absolutely prohibiting the importation of negroes for the future, under any condition‡—an act which gave great satisfaction to William Penn.§

But whilst in Pennsylvania the anti-slavery feeling was thus making progress, England was becoming more and more involved in the crime. Some years before, it had formally declared in the statute book, that the trade in slaves was highly beneficial to the country and the colonies,|| and in the very same year that the legislature of Pennsylvania sought thus to suppress the iniquity, a committee of the House of Commons was devising means to facilitate the capture of Africans, in order that their value might be reduced in the slave markets of the plantations.¶ No wonder,

* Rise and Progress of the Testimony of Friends against Slavery, p. 9.

† Watson's Annals, p. 481.

‡ Ibid, p. 481.

§ Dixon's Life of W. Penn, p. 428.

|| Vide 8 and 10. Will. III. c. 26.

¶ Dixon's Life of W. Penn, p. 429.

then, that the Crown peremptorily cancelled the humane Quaker law. The Privy Council, indeed, was indignant at the provincial legislature for proposing such a measure for confirmation, and at once quashed the act.* But the subject had taken so deep a hold on the Assembly, that, undaunted by the repulse of the parent state, they endeavoured, in 1712, upon petition "signed by many hands," to accomplish their object by imposing a duty of twenty pounds a head on all slaves imported. The same adverse policy of the home government again interposed, and its recognition as law was refused.† In the same year a petition was also presented to the Assembly "for the total abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania."‡

Whilst the provincial legislature was thus endeavouring to use its power and influence for the suppression of slavery, Friends in several localities were becoming still more abhorrent of this infraction of human rights. In the Sixth Month, 1711, the Monthly Meeting of Chester brought the subject under discussion in its Quarterly Meeting, then comprising most of the meetings south of Philadelphia. This meeting sympathized in the views of its subordinate meeting, and concluded, as its records state, to express to the next Yearly Meeting its "dissatisfaction with Friends buying and encouraging the bringing in of negroes." The Yearly Meeting, too, responded to the declaration of the Quarterly Meeting, and a record was made, calling the attention of its members to the minute of 1696, advising also "that all merchants and factors write to their correspondents to discourage them from sending any more negroes." §

So strong a hold had the subject now taken on the minds of Friends in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, that it was introduced again in their next Yearly Meeting. A desire evidently prevailed to effect something more towards the uprooting of this unrighteous system. Conscious, however, that the Society in other parts had insensibly gone with the tide in the recognition of negro slavery,

* Proprietary Papers, vol. ix.—State Paper Office.

† Philadelphia Epistle to London Y. M. 1714.

‡ Watson's Annals, p. 481.

§ Rise and Progress of the Testimony of Friends against Slavery, p. 10.

a fear pervaded the meeting, of coming hastily to a judgment condemnatory of their brethren so circumstanced; and it was agreed to take counsel with the Yearly Meeting of London. In thus bringing the subject under the serious notice of their English Friends, after alluding to the advice already issued, they remark: "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."*

The delicacy in giving an opinion affecting so many Friends in America and the West India Islands, was felt also by the Yearly Meeting of London; and the fact that they had not been appealed to on the matter by any other Meeting, increased their difficulty. In returning an answer, therefore, they did it in the following cautious language:—"You had better first have advised with other plantations, and so have stated the case conjunctly; for want whereof we shall say the less, until such time as it is more generally represented. Only this we think meet to impart unto you, as the sense of the Yearly Meeting,—that the importing them from their native country by Friends, is not a commendable nor allowed practice; and we hope Friends have been careful to avoid the same, remembering the command 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," and that "the practice is not commendable nor allowable amongst Friends," contains a request 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." Excepting the full declaration by London Yearly Meeting,—"that to be any ways

* Epistles received 1712—London Y. M. Records.

† Epistles sent 1713—London Y. M. Records.

concerned in bringing negroes from their native country, and selling them for slaves, is a trade not fit for one professing truth to be concerned in" *—nothing further appears to have transpired at that time between the two bodies on the subject.

The more deliberately the system of slavery was contrasted with the requisitions of Christianity, the more clearly was it seen to be incompatible with the benign character and object of that holy religion; and hence these frequent discussions were productive of good. Jonathan Dickinson, a merchant and Friend of Philadelphia, in writing to his correspondents in Jamaica, in 1715, says, "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."† But the progress of the cause did not lessen the ardour of Friends. In 1715, the zealous members of Chester Monthly Meeting again raised their voice against the system, and forwarded a minute to the Quarterly Meeting, expressive of their "great concern," not only at Friends "being concerned in importing," but also at their "buying of negroes;" and Newark Monthly Meeting, belonging to the same Quarterly Meeting, echoed the sentiment. The result of this movement was the adoption of a minute, (though certainly not coming up to the wish of Chester and Newark Friends,) to be forwarded to the Yearly Meeting, stating its "unanimous sense and judgment, that Friends should not be concerned in importing and bringing of negro slaves for the future." The object apparently was, to obtain the sanction of the Yearly Meeting to some disciplinary proceedings, in the event of a member acting contrary to such a decision—an object which, to a considerable extent was obtained. The minute of the Yearly Meeting was as follows:—"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

* Epistles sent 1715—London Y. M. Records.

† Logan MSS. quoted in Watson, p. 482.

them with humanity, and with 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 as servants."*

As the Yearly Meeting had not yet committed itself to a condemnation of the purchase of negroes, but only of their importation, the Friends of Chester Quarterly Meeting in 1716, renewed their solicitations on the subject. They urged, that "the buying and selling gave great encouragement for the bringing of them in, and that no Friends be found in the practice of buying any that shall be imported hereafter."† The Yearly Meeting was not, however, disposed to move quite so fast. It could not then see "any better conclusion," than its judgment of the previous year, "yet in condescension," so runs the minute, "to such Friends as are straitened in their minds against the holding them, it is desired, that Friends generally do, as much as may be, avoid buying such negroes as shall hereafter be brought in, rather than offend any Friends who are against it; yet this is only caution, not censure."‡

Whilst Friends of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys were thus gradually progressing in their opposition to slavery, the other colonies of America, and the West India Islands, under English patronage, had made rapid strides in the gigantic evil. From 1680 to 1700, the English took from Africa about three hundred

* Rise and Progress, &c., p. 12.

Isaac Norris, a Friend of Philadelphia, writing about this time, thus refers to the discussion. His expressions elucidate the question as it then stood in the minds of Friends. "Our meeting was large and comfortable, and our business would have been very well, were it not for the warm pushing by some Friends of Chester, chiefly in the business of negroes. The aim was to obtain a minute that none should buy them for the future. This was opposed, as of dangerous consequence to the peace of the church; for, since they could not tell how to dispose of those we have, and that many members must still possess them, and then it might fall to their lot in duty to deal with future offenders, which, as it could not in itself be equitable, such must do it with an ill grace, and at best it would be a foundation for prejudice, and evil speaking one o another.—*Watson's Annals*, p. 481.

† Rise and Progress, &c., p. 12.

‡ Ibid, p. 13.

thousand negroes, or about fifteen thousand annually, and in the following half-century, the number is calculated to have been not less than one million and a half, of whom one-eighth perished in the Atlantic, victims to the cruelties of the middle passage.* This enormous increase of the traffic, partly resulted from England having, at the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, gained the *Assiento*, or monopoly to supply the Spanish dominions with not less than four thousand eight hundred Africans yearly, for thirty years, at a given rate, and as many more as they pleased, at a lower rate; a treaty which both the French and Portuguese nations had previously made with Spain.† The supply of Africans for the English colonies, had been monopolized by the Royal African Company; but in the time of William and Mary, “for the better supply of the plantations,” it was proposed to lay open the trade, which the statute book in 1695, declared to be “highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom and colonies.”‡ In 1708, a Committee of the House of Commons reported that the trade was “important, and ought to be free;” and again, in 1711, that “the plantations ought to be supplied with negroes at reasonable rates.” Queen Anne, who, in 1710, quashed the act passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania, forbidding the importation of slaves, three years later congratulated Parliament in having secured for the nation, by the *Assiento*, a new market for slaves in the Spanish dominions. So great was, in fact, the importance attached by the mother country to this sinful commerce, that in 1745, a British merchant published a political treatise, entitled “The African Slave Trade the great pillar and support of the British Plantation Trade in America.” The humane Oglethorpe, in 1732, obtained of the Crown, a charter for the colony of Georgia. His object was, to provide for the persecuted Protestants on the Continent a region where they might grow the vine and rear the silkworm, and where also they

* Bancroft's United States.

† *Assiento Treaty*; in Spanish, *El Assiento de los Negros*; and, *El Pacto del Assiento*; that is, the compact for the farming or supply of negroes.

‡ 8 and 10 Will. III. c. 26.

might be free from the arm of ecclesiastical oppression and cruelty. It was one of those schemes of mercy which found general acceptance, and many promoted it with religious zeal. Parliament, responding to the prevalent feeling, granted ten thousand a year to encourage it—sermons were preached in aid of the undertaking, and John and Charles Wesley, enthusiastic in the cause, spent years in America in promoting its interest. It was, indeed, regarded as a "religious colony," and among the early immigrants were numerous Moravians from Germany. Some of the laws of Georgia were extraordinary, and, perhaps the most so, those which related to slavery; for, despite the onward course of the African slave-trade, and the pro-slavery feeling of the government, one law emphatically forbade the introduction of slaves;—"Slavery," said Oglethorpe, "is against the gospel, as well as the fundamental law of England. We refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime." Such was the happy beginning of Georgia. But mark its change. Only two years after its foundation, some of the inhabitants of Savannah petitioned "for the use of negroes;"* and Whitfield, though he exerted himself to improve the condition of the negro, in a blind belief that slavery would terminate for the advantage of the Africans, pleaded in favour of the slave-trade as essential to the prosperity of the colony.† The Moravians, who at first saw in it a sinful oppression, strangely abandoning these enlightened views, "agreed, that if the negroes are treated in a Christian manner; their change of country would prove to them a benefit,"—a conclusion which their brethren in Germany sanctioned. "If you take slaves in faith," they wrote in 1751, "and with the intent of conducting them to Christ, the action will not be a sin, but may prove a benediction." Thus did specious reasoning and covetousness silence conscientious conviction, and convert the territory of Georgia into a land of slaves. The baneful system, pressed on by the cupidity of man, had even found its way into Massachusetts, whilst Rhode Island had also so far degenerated, as to become both a place of import, and a mart for human beings.‡ In 1705, the white population

* Tailfer, 23, quoted by Bancroft. † Uurlisperger, iii. 482 in do.

‡ Clarkson, vol. i. p. 160.

of South Carolina was about six thousand ; in less than twenty years more it had no less than three times that number of slaves, and in 1765, they amounted to ninety thousand, or double the number of whites. At the same date, Virginia possessed one hundred thousand slaves to seventy thousand whites.*

These facts strikingly evince the growing contamination of negro slavery, and show also, how even those, who at one time revolted at this atrocious and daring violation of human rights, allowed their feelings to be gradually blunted by sophistry and selfish reasoning, and at length recognised its existence with an easy and an unconcerned conscience. It seemed, indeed, as though the Christian world, in its unhallowed attempts after gain, was fast settling down under the delusive idea that slavery was an institution of Heaven. At one time, from New England to Carolina, it was generally held that "being baptized is inconsistent with a state of slavery;" and down to 1729, or until the Crown lawyers gave a contrary opinion, all negroes brought to England, who could manage to get baptized with water, obtained their freedom ;† but this feeling, too, gradually wore away, and, in 1727, we find the Bishop of London lending his aid to bind the fetters of the enslaved African, and declaring that "Christianity and the embracing of the gospel does not make the least alteration in civil property." It surely then, would have been no marvel if, under the prevailing influence of things around them, the Society of Friends had also retrograded in their views on this subject. But, for the blessing of mankind, such was not the case. They were not only preserved steadfast in the degree of advance they had attained, but, through the enlightening influences of Christ their Saviour, they made further progress in the relinquishment and condemnation of a system essentially opposed to his reign and government in the earth.

After the decision of the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania in 1716, no further notice of the subject appears on its minutes for the space of ten years. But during this period the conviction of the sin of slavery had deepened. The Monthly Meeting of Chester, acting under this impression, revived the subject in 1729, and submitted to the Quarterly Meeting, "that inasmuch as we

* Holmes's Annals.

† Clarkson, vol. i. p. 65.

are restricted by a rule of discipline, from being concerned in fetching or importing negro slaves from their own country, whether it is not as reasonable we should be restricted from buying of them when imported ; and if so, and the Quarterly Meeting see meet, that it may be laid before the Yearly Meeting for their approbation and concurrence." The Quarterly Meeting adopted this suggestion, and forwarded a minute to that effect to the Yearly Meeting, which concluded to defer the consideration for one year, when the subject was fully discussed, and resulted in the issue of the following advice to its members : "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 relating 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 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 herein."

For nearly every year until 1743, the foregoing advice was substantially repeated, and the subordinate meetings reported annually their care in reference to the subject. Much labour appears to have been bestowed to induce those who were in the practice of buying or selling negroes, no longer to engage in such transactions ; nor were these labours ineffectual. The next step taken by the Yearly Meeting for the discouragement of slaveholding, was to frame a special query on the subject, to be regularly answered by the respective subordinate meetings. This took place in 1743. The query adopted was as follows :—"Do Friends observe the advice of our Yearly Meeting not to encourage the importation of negroes ; nor to buy them after imported?" In 1755 the query was enlarged to the following form :—"Are Friends clear of importing or buying negroes ; and do they use those well which they are possessed of by inheritance or otherwise ; endeavouring to train them up in the principles of the Christian religion?"

Whilst the Society, in its collective capacity, was thus progressing in the great and good cause, the enlightened views and zealous advocacy of some individual Friends were fast preparing the body for the condemnation of slavery itself. Ralph Sandiford, a merchant of Philadelphia, was one of these. He was born in Liverpool in 1693, and in his youth removed to Philadelphia, where he soon united in religious fellowship with Friends.* His commercial pursuits took him occasionally to the West India islands, and here he witnessed the revolting cruelties of African slavery. His benevolent and susceptible mind was much affected by what he saw, and he was soon brought to the conclusion, "that the holding of negroes in slavery, is inconsistent with the rights of man, and contrary to the precepts of the Author of Christianity."† He was earnest in urging on his brethren the duty of emancipating their slaves, and, in 1729, he published a forcible treatise on the subject. Next came the eccentric Benjamin Lay of Abington. He had for some years, like his coadjutor Ralph Sandiford, been a witness to the cruelties of African bondage in the West Indies, and they made a deep and abiding impression upon him. His feelings were at times much excited on this matter, and his mind became almost unhinged in dwelling upon the sufferings of the slave. In 1737, he published a treatise on this subject, which he took much pains to circulate, especially among the young.‡ But by far the most energetic and

* Life of, by Roberts Vaux.

† *Mystery of Iniquity, &c.*, by R. Sandiford.

‡ Benjamin Lay, though not in membership with Friends, professed with them, and as such, a few particulars of his life may not be out of place in this history. He was born at Colchester in England, in 1681,* of parents who were consistent members of our religious Society. On reaching manhood he followed the life of a sailor, in which employment he visited various parts of the globe. On his marriage in 1710, he changed his occupation, and settled in his native town. Lay was a man of an active and energetic mind, and one who took a more than ordinary interest in the public matters of the day, of which ecclesiastical imposition appears to have been one. On this subject he presented to

* Colchester Register of Births of the Society of Friends.

influential in this cause, were John Woolman and Anthony Benezet. John Woolman was born at Northampton, in West Jersey, in the year 1720, and settled at an early age at Mount

George I. and George II., a copy of Milton's essay, entitled "Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church," and on the last occasion, obtained a private audience of the royal family, a favour which was certainly remarkable for a man whose station, a few years before, had been only that of a sailor. 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. In the following year he settled in Barbadoes as a merchant, where his sensitive mind was greatly shocked at the cruelties he saw inflicted on the enslaved Africans, and, with his natural independence of character, he inveighed loudly against such atrocities. His fearless philanthropy on the subject drew upon him the displeasure of the slave-holders, and, after a residence of thirteen years on the island, he determined to remove to Philadelphia. Here he proclaimed so vigorously against slavery, although existing under its mildest form, as to elicit considerable opposition from those whose views were less warm and enlightened; and, disappointed at his reception, he resolved to retire to the country, where he adopted habits of the most rigid temperance and self-denial. In his rural retreat, however, he did not relax his exertions on behalf of the negro. He visited the governors of the adjacent provinces and pleaded with them, and with other influential individuals, on the subject; but with none more unceasingly and zealously than with Friends, whose principles he still professed. In the decline of life he removed to Abington, and boarded in a Friend's family, soon after which he was deprived by death of his wife, who was an intelligent woman, and a valuable minister in our religious Society. But his feelings on the subject of slavery did not slacken with the advance of age; and, without regard to religious distinction, he visited all places of public worship to declare against the evil, in pursuance of which he became at times greatly excited, and conducted himself with much eccentricity. But his motives were truly good, and he was highly esteemed and respected. He was intimately acquainted with Ralph Sandiford, Dr. Franklin, and many other distinguished persons. A short time previous to his death, which took place in 1759, a Friend called upon him to inform him that the Society had resolved to disown such of their members as persisted in holding slaves, on hearing which he ejaculated, "Thanksgiving and praise be rendered unto the Lord God!" adding, after a short pause, "I can now die in peace!"*

* Life of B. Lay, by Roberts Vaux.

Holly in that province. When quite a young man he became a minister of the gospel, in the service of which he afterwards travelled very extensively. Soon after reaching manhood, he had a clear sense that "the practice of slave-keeping was inconsistent with the Christian religion,"* and during the remainder of his active and useful life, he bore an uncompromising testimony against it, and pleaded unremittingly with his brethren on the subject. Whilst on a religious visit to the southern colonies in 1746, his mind was deeply and sorrowfully impressed with what he witnessed of this system. "I saw," he writes, "in these provinces, so many vices and corruptions increased by this trade, and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a gloom over the land." A few years after he visited the south again, on which occasion he remarked that "some of our Society, and some of the society called new-lights, use some endeavours to instruct their negroes in reading; but in common this is not only neglected but disapproved. These are the people by whose labour the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported, and many of them in the luxuries of life. These are the people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of. These are the souls for whom Christ died; and for our conduct towards them, we must answer before Him who is no respecter of persons. They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, gospel spirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled against oppression and cruelty; and in beholding the great distress of so numerous a people will find cause for mourning." Writing at this time to Friends in North Carolina, he says, "I have been informed that there is a large number of Friends in your parts, who have no slaves; and in tender and most affectionate love, I beseech you to keep clear from purchasing any. In 1754, he published his "Considerations" on the keeping of negroes, which, being widely circulated among Friends, tended to increase their zeal against the evil. In subsequent years he published several other pieces

* Journal of John Woolman.

on the same subject. It is questionable indeed, whether any individual has done more to promote the abolition of slavery than John Woolman. Some further particulars of the life of this devoted and self-denying Christian will be given in a subsequent chapter.

Anthony Benezet was born at (Saint) Quentin, in France, in the year 1713. His father, who was wealthy, had associated himself with the Huguenots, and his estate having been confiscated on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he fled from his native country, and settled in London in 1715. Anthony received a liberal education, and was placed in a mercantile house. In very early life his mind became religiously impressed, and at the early age of fourteen, he was received as a member of our religious Society.* From conscientious motives he declined to engage in commerce, and placed himself with a cooper. But this occupation proved to be too laborious for his naturally delicate frame. In 1731, at the age of eighteen, he removed with his parents to Philadelphia. Here, his three brothers were highly successful in business, and he might have shared in their prosperity, had he not felt himself restrained from engaging in trade. He was favoured to see how unimportant was the acquisition of wealth, in comparison with heavenly riches; and, making worldly concerns subservient to higher duties, he chose the humbler path of a teacher in a school. He followed this occupation for twelve years, after which he attended, as a private tutor, some of the most affluent families in Philadelphia. He was deeply interested in the education of youth, and wrote several works in furtherance of that important object. About the year 1750, the degraded condition of the African race attracted his attention, and his feelings became painfully affected at the atrocities of the slave-trade. The interest which these subjects excited in him, drew him from private life, to plead before the world the wrongs of Africa. 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 publication of pieces in almanacks and newspapers, on the unlawful.

* Life of Anthony Benezet, by Roberts Vaux

ness of slavery; and in 1762, he issued a work, entitled "An account of that part of Africa inhabited by the Negroes." This was soon followed by, "A caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, on the calamitous state of the enslaved negroes." His third was, "An historical account of Guinea, with an enquiry into the rise and progress of the slave-trade, its nature and calamitous effects." The last of these, says Clarkson, "became instrumental, beyond any other book ever before published, in disseminating a proper knowledge and detestation of this trade."* Anthony Benezet was untiring in his efforts for the benefit of the oppressed slave. His correspondence on the subject was very extensive, and his pathetic addresses to his brethren did much to awaken them to a just sense of the iniquity of slavery. In 1770, he was appointed to the station of elder in our religious Society; and his remarkably useful and self-denying career terminated in 1784, at the age of seventy-one.†

Anthony Benezet

Returning to the proceedings of the Society at large in Pennsylvania, we find that, in 1754, the Yearly Meeting issued an epistle to its members on this subject, which is supposed to have emanated from the pen of Anthony Benezet. It was a document of much force, and calculated, as the following extract shows, clearly to set forth the inconsistency of slavery with the religion of Christ. "Now, dear Friends, if we continually bear in mind the royal law of 'doing to others as we would be done by,' we should 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

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 169.

† Life, by Vaux.

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. What dreadful scenes of murder and cruelty those barbarous ravages must occasion, in the country of those unhappy people, are too obvious to mention. Let us make their case our own, and consider what we should think, and how we should feel, were we in their circumstances. Remember our blessed Redeemer's positive command; 'to do unto others as we would have them to do unto us;' and that with what measure we mete it shall be measured to us again. And we entreat all to examine, whether the purchasing of a negro, either born here, or imported, doth not contribute to a further importation, and consequently to the upholding of all the evils above mentioned, and the promoting of man-stealing—the only theft which by the Mosaic law was punished with death. 'He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death.'—Exod. xxi. 16. After alluding with feelings of satisfaction to those Friends who had liberated their slaves, it concludes thus: "Finally, brethren, we intreat you in the bowels of 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."

Hitherto the discipline of the Society had enforced no stronger repressive measure with reference to slave-holding, than the extension of advice. In 1755, however, the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania expressed its "sense and judgment," that Friends who were concerned in importing or buying slaves ought "speedily" to be reported to their Monthly Meeting and dealt with on the matter. Three years later the rule of the Society was made still more stringent. It was then agreed that, after the sense and judgment of the meeting "now given against every branch of this practice," any who imported, bought, sold or held slaves, should not be allowed to take part in the affairs of the church. The principle "to do unto others as we would they should do unto us," records the Yearly Meeting of 1758, as it "appears to this meeting, would induce Friends who have any slaves, to set them at liberty,—making Christian provision for them, according to their ages, &c. And in order," continues the minute, "that Friends may be generally excited to the practice of this advice, some Friends here have 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 all 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, or 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."

For nearly twenty years from the date of the foregoing appointment, the records of Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting show that the subject claimed its close and increasing attention, and exhortations were repeated to the subordinate meetings, to labour in Christian love and meekness with delinquents. From 1767, accounts of labours of this description, and of the success that attended them, were forwarded regularly to the Yearly Meeting. But very few were disowned for purchasing or selling slaves.

The mild, yet decided and earnest course pursued, produced a happier result. A considerable number of Friends had already manumitted their slaves, and by the year 1774, the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys appears to have been free from the sin of trafficking in men.*

The holding of slaves had not yet been held to be a disownable offence, nor was a Friend brought under church censure for transferring or accepting a slave without pecuniary consideration. With this degree of leniency some of the Quarterly Meetings became dissatisfied, and, on a proposition from two of them, a committee of thirty-four Friends was appointed, in 1774, to consider with respect to the regulations on this matter, "what additions or amendments are seasonable and necessary." The propositions were favourably entertained, and the committee made the following report:—"That such professors among us who are, or shall be, concerned in importing, selling or purchasing; or that shall give away, or transfer, any negro or other slave, with or without any other consideration than to clear their estate of any future incumbrance, or in such manner as that their bondage is continued beyond the time limited by law or custom for white persons; and such member who accepts of such gift or assignment, ought to be speedily treated with, in the spirit of true love and wisdom, and the iniquity of their conduct laid before them. And if, after this Christian labour, they cannot be brought to such a sense of their injustice as to do every thing which the Monthly Meeting shall judge to be reasonable and necessary for the restoring such slave to his or her natural and just right to liberty, and [do not] condemn their deviation from the law of righteousness and equity, to the satisfaction of the said Meeting, that such member be testified against, as other transgressors are, by the rules of our discipline, for other immoral, unjust, and reproachful conduct." It was also added, that Friends "should be advised and admonished against being accessory to the promotion of this unrighteous traffic," by "hiring slaves on

* Rise and Progress of the Testimony of Friends against Slavery, p. 24—Several of the foregoing extracts of minutes have been taken from this interesting pamphlet.

wages." In 1776, the same Yearly Meeting evinced its earnestness in the cause by adopting a minute directing Monthly Meetings to proceed to disownment in cases where their labours had proved unavailing. The query also on this subject was modified as follows: "Are Friends clear of importing, purchasing, disposing of, or holding mankind as slaves? And do they use those well, who are not free, and necessarily under their care, and not in circumstances through wantage, or incapacity, to minister to their own necessities? And are they careful to educate and encourage them in a religious and virtuous life?"

In receipt of this minute of 1776, the subordinate meetings appointed committees to carry out the views of the Yearly Meeting, requesting such of their members as had not yet complied with these recommendations of the Society. By the reports forwarded from the Quarterly Meetings, it is both cheering and instructive to observe how generally the call of the body at large was responded to, and how effective are the labours of concerned brethren, when undertaken in a spirit of love and solicitude for their fellow-members.

PENNSYLVANIA reports, in 1776, "A considerable number of the slaves heretofore belonging to members of this meeting have been set at liberty." In 1778 seven members were disowned for holding slaves; and a few years later, the meeting reported that "there were no slaves owned by its members."

MARYLAND, in 1781, reported that "there had been a general release from bondage of the Africans among us."

CONNECTICUT, in 1777, states, "A considerable number of slaves have been manumitted--but there are some members that still hold them;" and such members, they remark, "may be safely reported to their Monthly Meetings."

BURLINGTON, in the same year, says, "Most of those who were in a state of slavery among Friends, have been manumitted since last year;" and in 1781, it reports being "clear of all cases of this kind then known."

THE WESTERN, which stretches into Maryland, thus answers the query, in 1777: "Clear of importing and disposing of mankind as slaves, also of purchasing, in all our meetings, except

one, from which a doubt is hinted in one case. Some within the compass of the meeting yet continue to hold slaves; though many have been manumitted since last year."

BUCKS, in the same year, says, "some have complied, so far as to give those they had in bondage their liberty, by instruments of writing, given under their hands and seals; but there are others who still persist in holding them as slaves."

The latest record of the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania which notices slaves being held by some of its members, is in the year 1781; and it is believed, that before the occurrence of another Yearly Meeting, this large section of our religious Society in America was free from the guilt of holding their fellow-men in bondage. But the exertions of Friends did not end here. They viewed the emancipated negro as an injured fellow-being, for whom the law of righteousness claimed a reparation. "We are united in judgment," reports a committee, in 1779, "that the state of the oppressed people who have been held by any of us, or our predecessors, in captivity and slavery, calls for a deep inquiry and close examination, how far we are clear of withholding from them, what, under such an exercise, may open to view as their just right," &c. The philanthropic appeal was not in vain, and the respective meetings answered heartily to the call. Religious meetings were frequently held with the negroes—the families of large numbers of them were visited—funds were raised for the education of their children, and in some instances pecuniary compensation was made, varying according to the duration of their bondage.

The religious exercise into which the Society had been introduced on the subject of the slave-trade and slavery, led the members of this large Yearly Meeting, into a deep and earnest solicitude for the suppression of the African slave-trade, "as grossly unchristian and reproachful to humanity," and also for the utter extinction of slavery in their own land; and from this time forward, memorials and remonstrances on these questions, were repeatedly laid before persons in power and the public at large. "Let no opportunity be lost," wrote the Yearly Meeting in 1787, "of discouraging the unrighteous business, and manifesting to the world, the religious ground of our Christian testi-

mony against this public wickedness." As early, indeed, as 1773, Friends of East and West Jersey petitioned their local legislature on this subject. In this effort they were joined by many not in religious profession with them, and altogether the petition was signed by no less than three thousand persons. It was presented by a deputation; and William Dillwyn, being one of them, was heard at the bar of the Assembly in support of the general manumission of the slaves.* Nor were these more public efforts of the Society on this great question unavailing. Their enlightened views and Christian advocacy, had awakened among their fellow-citizens of Pennsylvania, a strong sense of the injustice of slavery; and in 1780, they had the satisfaction to witness the local legislature responding to this altered tone of feeling, by passing an act for the extinction of the evil within its borders. The language of this enactment is remarkable, and deserves to be handed down to succeeding generations. It was passed in the Third Month, 1780, and contains the following passage, "It is not for us to enquire 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—Be it enacted, that no child born hereafter shall be a slave—that negro and mulatto children shall be servants only till twenty-eight years of age—that all slaves shall be registered before the first of November next—that negroes, &c., shall be tried like other inhabitants—that none shall be deemed slaves but those registered—that no negroes or mulattos, other than infants, shall be bound longer than seven years."†

* Clarkson, vol. i. pp. 187, 198.

† Gordon's Hist. of the Rise, &c., of the Independence of the United States, vol. iii. p. 377.

The effect of this law was, gradually to redeem the state from the pollution of this crime, and to make it, what it now is, in the broad and plain sense, a Free State. In 1790, it possessed 3,737 slaves: ten years later they were two thousand less: in 1810 the number was reduced to 795, and in 1820 to only 211, in a population of more than a million.

This act may be justly deemed the crowning one of Pennsylvania, and contrasts strikingly with the revolting laws of the slave-system prevailing in other States of the Union. Indeed, but for its federal connexion with these, there is even reason to believe that Pennsylvania would ere this have attained that noble position which England assumed in 1772, by declaring personal freedom inherent to the British soil, and which the poor fugitive now realizes in an ecstasy of joy, as he passes the line that divides the great slave-holding republic from the Canadian frontier.

In the year 1783, a year memorable in the history of the United States, as that in which their independence was recognised by Great Britain, and most of the other European powers, the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania addressed Congress on the iniquity of the slave-trade. The address was presented by a special deputation, who were admitted to the assembled Representatives of the Republic. It was signed in the meeting at large, and by more than five hundred members, and it earnestly solicited the interposition of the Federal Government, for the suppression of this atrocity.*

In 1774, William Dillwyn visited England. He had already become distinguished as the energetic friend of the negro, and, through Anthony Benezet, he was introduced to Granville Sharpe, a man of kindred feelings on this great question, through whose untiring efforts had been obtained, only two years before, the memorable decision of law, that slaves could not be recognised in Britain. William Dillwyn went back in the following year to America; but on his return to England to settle, he formed a Committee of influential Friends for the suppression of slavery. It was soon after this that Thomas Clarkson's attention was first

* Gordon's Hist. of the Rise, &c. vol. iii. p. 377.

directed to the subject, and in a somewhat remarkable manner. He was then studying at Cambridge University, and had distinguished himself in 1784, by gaining the highest prize for the Latin essay. In the year following, Dr. Peckard, Vice-chancellor of the University, an enlightened man, especially on the subject of slavery, proposed for the prize essay of that year, this subject: "*Anne liceat invitos in Servitudem dare?*" or, "Is it right to make slaves of men against their will?" As Clarkson had gained considerable reputation by his previous success, it was of some importance to him to maintain his advanced position by gaining the prize in the present instance. But he was wholly unacquainted with the subject of negro slavery. It had not been, nor was it then, a popular theme, or one to which men of literary taste and acquirements had given their attention. He saw that the question was a large one—that it involved important considerations; but as for materials he neither had any, nor knew he where to obtain them, and but a few weeks only were allowed for the composition. What was he to do? His situation was peculiar. But he was soon relieved; and herein we may clearly mark the finger of Providence. Happening casually to take up a newspaper, his eye caught an advertisement of Anthony Benezet's "Historical Account of Guinea, &c." "In this precious book," he says, "I found all I wanted. I obtained, by means of it, a knowledge of, and gained access to, the great authorities of Adamson, Moore, Barbot and others." He wrote the essay and gained the prize. University honours were, however, of small moment compared with the subsequent results of this college exercise. Clarkson, so far from deriving his wonted pleasure from this effort for literary fame, was deeply affected by the painful details which were brought before him. "It was," he writes, "but one gloomy subject from morning to night. In the day-time I was uneasy. In the night I had little rest. I sometimes never closed my eyelids for grief. It became now not so much a trial for academical reputation, as for the production of a work which might be useful to injured Africa." But we must not in this work follow Clarkson further, except to say, that henceforth the whole energies of his powerful mind were given to the subject. His acquaintance was

soon sought by Dillwyn, Phillips, and other Friends, who had taken up the cause of African freedom; and in 1787, he united in Committee with eleven others, nine of whom were Friends, in forming the Society for the Abolition of the Slave-trade, a society whose labours were crowned with remarkable success, in inducing the British nation to suppress within its territories this violation of law * and equity.

From these few facts we may perceive what a powerful influence for good on the world at large, was excited or largely promoted through the faithfulness of Friends of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys on the subject of slavery; for it is evident that their brethren in England were induced to act in this matter, mainly through their example. The first minute of London Yearly Meeting on the slave-trade, was in 1727, and stated that "the practice was not a commendable nor allowed one;"† an opinion which Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting had pronounced thirty years before. And whilst in the latter Yearly Meeting the subject was almost annually discussed, in the former no further notice of it appears on the minutes until the year 1758, when urgent advice was issued to its members, not to be in any way engaged in the slave-trade, which, forty years before was in Pennsylvania, an offence followed by disciplinary proceedings. In 1761, London Yearly Meeting, under an apprehension that many of its members were engaged in the African slave-trade, then made it a disownable offence.‡ John Woolman, when in England in 1772, was deeply pained at what he saw among Friends, in reference to negro slavery. "I have felt," he writes, "great distress of mind, since I came on this island, on account of the members of our Society being mixed with the world in various sorts of traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves! and for the loading of these ships, a great number of people are employed in their factories; among whom are many of our Society."§ His faithfulness had, doubtless, much weight with his brethren; and in the same

* Amidst all its national guiltiness in this matter, Great Britain never recognised negro slavery as legal.

† Rules of Discipline—"Slave-trade and Slavery." ‡ Ibid.

§ Woolman's Journal.

year, some information on the subject having been transmitted from America, induced the Yearly Meeting of London to notice it in its printed Epistle. In 1783, for the first time, the Society in England petitioned Parliament against the slave-trade.

Of the thirteen States of the Union, at the period of American independence, all appear to have been slave-holding, and all to have regarded it as legal. In 1780, Massachusetts, in framing its constitution, adopted words analogous to these memorable ones, contained in the Declaration of Independence:—"We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The introduction into their constitution of the great principle here enunciated, was not intended as a declaration antagonistic to negro slavery. But the judiciary of Massachusetts, contrary to the views of the Federal Government, as honest men, accepted them literally, and in the first case that came before them, decided that, by virtue of such a declaration, slavery no longer existed in their state. The early emancipation of Massachusetts, therefore, from this evil, may be regarded rather as an accidental circumstance, than as a designed object.

The noble course adopted in 1780, by Pennsylvania, in declaring itself a free state, incited the citizens of the Republic to a deeper consideration of the subject; and in a few years its example was followed by other states of the Union. Rhode Island and Connecticut were the first to move; and their initiation as free states, took place in 1784; New Jersey in 1804; and New York in 1817. New Hampshire seems never to have possessed many slaves: in 1808, there were only eight in the province. Seven of the thirteen original states have, therefore, by ostensible acts of their legislatures, pronounced an emphatic condemnation of the system of slavery. The remaining six, viz., Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, together with the slave-holding states which have since been founded, continue, with unmitigated severity, to sanction and encourage this outrage on humanity and religion;—an outrage, it should be remembered, rendered now doubly sinful,

perpetrated as it is, under a degree of light on the subject, to which the early settlers in America were strangers.

Had the poor Quaker emigrants from Germany—had Sandiford and Lay, and Benezet and Woolman, allowed their convictions to have been silenced by the prevailing public opinion, or even by the views of their brethren in religious profession, it is doubtful whether at this day a Free State would be found throughout the widely extended limits of the great American republic. But the labours of Friends, in this great work, though so effective, have been conducted throughout with much circumspection, forbearance, and kindness. In pleading with their fellow-christians, no boisterous manifestations, no violation of order, no impetuous zeal, have marked their steps. They have not sought to excite the passions of men, or to raise feelings of angry recrimination between one section of the community and another; but, in promoting this Christian work, prayerfully seeking, as they have been wont to do, for that wisdom which is profitable to direct, they have been made instrumental in the hand of the Lord, in the propagation of those truths which have tended to restrain the wickedness and the tyranny of man. "The weapons of their warfare were not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strongholds."

CHAPTER IX.

ESTABLISHMENT OF MEETINGS, AND PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY,
FROM 1700 TO 1750.

Visits of Friends from Great Britain and Ireland, containing a brief notice of their Gospel labours in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys—Address of W. Penn to the Colonists—Visits of Friends from Great Britain and Ireland, continued—Early manuscript notice of the ministry of several Friends from Great Britain—Visits of Friends from the other American Colonies—Character of the Yearly Meetings—State of the Society in Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting—Visits of Friends continued—Notice of the increase of Friends, by S. Bownas—Epistle of 1738—E. Peckover visits Friends in the back settlements—Effect of the Gospel Ministry of English Friends in America—Increase of the Society—Settlement of new Meetings—Their number and origin in 1750—Emigration westward checked by the War with the French and Indians.

IN the year 1699, Sarah Clemens from London, whom John Richardson mentions as one that "lived near the kingdom," visited America. No particulars of her gospel mission appear to be preserved, further than that it was to the "good satisfaction" of Friends.

During the year 1700, five gospel messengers from England crossed the Atlantic; these were John Salkeld, Thomas Thompson, Josiah Langdale, John Richardson, and John Estaugh, of whom the last four came in the same ship. John Salkeld was from Westmoreland. "He had," says Smith, "a great gift in the ministry, and passed through these and other provinces with good success."* He subsequently settled in Pennsylvania. Thomas Thompson was from Saffron Walden, in Essex. He came forth in the ministry at an early age, and travelled

* Smith's Hist. chap. xv.

extensively in the work of the gospel. In a letter written from America in 1703, he says, "we have had some glorious meetings in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and East and West Jersey,"* In 1705, he gave to London Yearly Meeting an account of his visit, and, referring to Friends of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, he says, "they thrive in the Truth, and in the love thereof."† He visited America again in 1715. Thomas Thompson died in 1727, and witnessed in his last moments the triumphs of religion in a remarkable degree. "Oh, glory, glory, to thy divine name and power, thou Infinite Fountain of light and immortality. My soul blesses thee, and my spirit magnifies thy name, in the sense of that eternal Word and Wisdom that was in thy bosom from eternity; that light which shone everlastingly, and will be a glory and crown to all them that believe and walk therein: and in the faith of that I live and die." And shortly before his close he added, "The rays of his beauty shine upon me; I am filled with the power of his love; glory be to his name for ever."‡

Josiah Langdale was from Bridlington, in Yorkshire. He appears to have travelled with Thomas Thompson, and at the Yearly Meeting in London in 1705, he also gave a brief outline of his movements. "The Lord," he remarked, "is enlarging his tents in those wilderness countries—many are convinced, and a great openness is among the people; and he believed a great people will be gathered."§ In 1714, Josiah Langdale visited America again, and in 1723, embarked with his family with the intention of settling there. He was, however, taken ill, and died on the passage, his end being full of peace.||

Respecting John Richardson's visit, his journal supplies us with many interesting details. He was at that time in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and he also came from Bridlington, in Yorkshire, where about this time so many young Friends

* Life, &c. of W. and A. Ellis, p. 202.

† London Y. M. Mins. vol. iii. p. 199.

‡ Piety Promoted, part ix.

§ Mins. of London Y. M. vol. iii. p. 199.

|| Life, &c. of W. and A. Ellis, p. 203.

came forth in the ministry, that it became, he says, a proverb that "Bridlington was become a school of prophets."* He visited most of the meetings in Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, where, he says, "I had good service for the Lord,—the Lord helping me by his mighty power through all my trials, as my heart and mind was devoted and resigned to answer his requirings." At North Wales Meeting, which he states "had not long been planted, there was a fine, tender people, with whom he had a good meeting," Truth being over all. They were Welsh people, and Rowland Ellis interpreted on the occasion. Whilst in Pennsylvania, John Richardson also had gospel labours among the Indians.

John Estaugh came from Dunmow, in Essex, and subsequently settled at Haddonfield, in New Jersey. He joined Friends at the early age of seventeen, and came forth in the ministry in the year following. As a gospel minister, he travelled extensively both in Great Britain and America, and died in 1742, at the age of sixty-six, whilst on a religious visit in Tortola, one of the West India islands. He is described by his Monthly Meeting, "as a humble minded, exemplary Friend, solid and grave in his deportment, well becoming a minister of Christ; zealous for pressing good order in the church, and maintaining love and unity, that badge of true discipleship; remarkably careful in his conversation among men, his words being few and savoury."†



FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE, HADDONFIELD, NEW JERSEY.

* J. Richardson's Journal.

† Penn. Memorials, p. 14.

In the year 1703, Samuel Bownas arrived in Pennsylvania on a gospel visit. He had already been more than a year in America, but during most of that time he was imprisoned on Long Island, on an alleged charge of "speaking against the Church of England:" of this persecution, George Keith appears to have been the instigator. Samuel Bownas came from Westmoreland, and was then only in the twenty-seventh year of his age. In the Jerseys he was at most of the meetings, also at "some fresh places where he found the truth growing." He then proceeded to the Falls, in Pennsylvania, passed down through the Welsh towns to Philadelphia, and from thence to the south of the province. "There is," he says, "a noble and numerous people in Pennsylvania, and in all the places that I have yet been in, I was never at greater country meetings. Many young people, both men and women, come forth in a public testimony for Truth."*

In the following year, Friends in America were visited by four of their brethren from England: These were Thomas Turner, whose previous visit has already been noticed; Joseph Glaister of Cumberland, Mary Banister of London, and Mary Ellerton of York. Their religious labours "were well received, and some of them" are said to have been "of eminent service."† "In West Jersey," remarks Thomas Turner, "a great many people come in; and some that formerly turned from Friends to George Keith are returned."‡ Joseph Glaister some years after settled in North Carolina. Mary Ellerton came forth in the ministry at a very early age, and her communications were powerful and edifying.§ She travelled largely on gospel missions, and died about 1736, at an advanced age. Respecting the visit of Mary Banister the following record appears on the minutes of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting: "Our friend, Mary Banister, being, through the goodness of God, returned from her travelling in the ministry in sundry provinces on the main land of

* Mins. of London Y. M. vol. iii. p. 331.

† Smith's Hist. chap. xv.

‡ Mins. of London, Y. M., vol. iii. p. 200.

§ Coll. of Test., p. 95.

America, brought with her certificates from Friends in several of these countries, which were read in this meeting expressing the good unity they had with her, both as to conversation and ministry."

The next gospel labourers from England were John Fothergill, and William Armistead, two young men from Yorkshire; the former about thirty, and the latter about twenty-four years of age. "Though but young," writes William Ellis to one of his American friends, "they are well approved of, and zealous both in doctrine and discipline; men that I look for a great deal of good service out of, if they live; and if they come, you may receive them as such."* They landed on the banks of the Patuxent, in Maryland, in the early part of 1706, and arrived at Philadelphia in time to attend the Yearly Meeting. Most of the summer they were occupied in visiting the meetings in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, which, writes John Fothergill, "very much spent my bodily strength, and, so far, that I think I never recovered it. But the Lord added a blessing to our labours in these parts; some were convinced and gathered to the Truth."† "We had," he said on another occasion, "a laborious time in those provinces, in endeavouring to weigh down what would do hurt, and to search out the obstructions of the love and life of the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour and our Head, and to strengthen and comfort the traveller in spirit, and gather back, and hedge in, some such as were like to wander away."‡ These youthful messengers of the gospel "left a sweet savour behind them," and they are, writes the observing James Logan, "of good sense every way."§

In the year 1707, Patrick Henderson and Samuel Wilkinson, both from the north of Ireland, travelled on a gospel mission throughout the limits of Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting. They also were but young in years, yet eminent ministers, and their labours were appreciated by their brethren. "Patrick Henderson,"

* Life, &c., of W. and A. Ellis, p. 208.

† Journal of J. Fothergill, p. 49.

‡ Mins. of London Y. M., vol. iii. p. 396.

§ Logan Corresp.

writes James Logan to William Penn, "is I think Scotch by birth, and is a most extraordinary young man as ever visited these parts. Of such as these," alluding also to his companion, "the more always the better."*

It was in the early part of 1709, that the newly appointed Governor Gookin arrived in Pennsylvania, by whom William Penn sent an epistle to his brethren in the province, introducing him to their notice. The epistle also contained some religious counsel, which is too valuable to be omitted in these pages. It is as follows:—

"London, 28th of Seventh Month, 1708.

"DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—My ancient love, if you can believe it, reacheth to you as in times past, and years that are gone, even in the divine root and principle of love and life, that made us near to one another above all worldly considerations; where our life, I hope, is hid with Christ in God our Father, so that when he appears, we shall also appear with him in glory, and in the mean time through us to those that love and wait for his appearance, as the desire of nations; that we may glorify God, his and our Everlasting Father, in our bodies, souls, and spirits; in temporal and eternal affairs, being indeed none of our own, for so much as we are our own, we are none of the Lord's: a great mystery, but a great truth, and of absolute necessity to witness, to be of the number of the chosen nation, the peculiar people and royal priesthood of Christ and his glorious kingdom.

"Oh, my dear friends! let all below this keep on the left hand, and wait to feel those blessed things to inherit the right hand, and in faith and courage cry aloud to the Lord for his renewing and refreshing power, that may revive and reform his work upon our hearts and minds, and our humility, meekness, patience, self-denial, and charity, with a blameless walking, may plainly appear, and manifest the work of God upon our hearts to those that are without; which is not only the way to bring up the loiterers and gather in the careless ones to their duty, but

* Logan Corresp.

fetch home and bring in the strangers, and the very enemies of the blessed truth, to confess and acknowledge that God is in you, and for you of a truth.

“ In the first love I leave you, committing you and yours, and all the Lord’s people amongst you, my own family and affairs, to the merciful providence and orderings of our great and gracious God, that welcomed us in poor America, with his excellent love and precious light, and will, I hope once more ; and remain your loving and faithful friend,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

“ Herewith comes your school charter.”

William Baldwin of Lancashire, appears to have been the next from the mother country, who visited the churches in America. He landed in Virginia in the Third Month 1709, and went direct to Philadelphia. In giving an account of this religious engagement to London Yearly Meeting in 1711, he remarked that “ he found Friends a people of a generous spirit, and an openness in their hearts and houses.” He afterwards settled in Pennsylvania, and died there in 1721. He had an eminent, deep, and reaching ministry, was in great esteem among his friends, and well beloved by his neighbours.*

Towards the close of 1713, Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson proceeded again to America, this being the second visit of the former and the third of the latter. They landed on this occasion in Virginia, and, taking the meetings in that and the adjoining province of Maryland, they passed through Delaware to the Jerseys in time to attend the Yearly Meeting of Salem, where, says Thomas Wilson, “ the truth was largely opened to the people.”† They then visited the meetings in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, “ some of which,” writes James Dickinson, “ were the largest I had ever been at : people flocked so to them that several hundreds were forced to stand without doors, the meeting-house not being large enough to contain them. At Burlington Yearly Meeting,” he continues, “ the Lord owned us with his

* Smith’s Hist. chap. xviii.

† Journal of T. Wilson.

living presence, and we had a glorious season together. The meeting held five days ; and there was such a concourse of people that we had two meetings at once, one in the Court House, and the other at the Meeting House." After this they visited, he says, "the out corners of Pennsylvania."*

During the year 1715, three gospel labourers came over from England. These were Thomas Thompson, Josiah Langdale, and Benjamin Holme. A visit from the first-named two Friends, about fourteen years previously, has already been noticed ; no account of the present service appears to be preserved, further than that it was "an acceptable religious visit." Benjamin Holme was from the city of York. He was born at Penrith, in Cumberland, in 1682 ; he spoke as a minister when but fourteen years of age, and, only three years later, travelled to distant parts in this holy calling. He was now in his thirty-fourth year, and had already visited most parts of England, Wales, and Scotland, and also some parts of Holland. In America he was largely engaged for about four years in the work of his Divine Master ; and it is recorded "that divers meetings were settled by him." Before leaving the country he addressed a farewell epistle to his brethren. "It was," say Friends of his Monthly Meeting, "as his daily food to be found doing the will of God ; and a divine ardour and zeal remained on him to the last."† He died in 1749, aged sixty-seven years.

William Armstrong, of Cumberland, and James Graham, appear to be the next who crossed the Atlantic in this good work. They arrived in America in 1717 ; but little, however, is known of their services during this engagement. James Graham died in the course of the visit, at Burlington : "his loss," says Smith, "was regretted by many, who had the opportunity of his acquaintance during his small stay in this country."‡ William Armstrong joined the Society about the year 1690. He travelled extensively as a minister of the gospel in England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as in the western world. About three years

* Journal of J. Dickinson.

† Life of B. Holme, p. 5.

‡ Smith's Hist. chap. xvi.

after the visit in question, being in the fifty-eighth year of his age, he was taken ill and died, having been "much weakened by hard exercises and travels in America."* The power of religion on the mind was strikingly exemplified during the illness of this devoted Christian. "Jacob's God is my God," he said, "He forgets me not in this time of trial—I am inwardly refreshed and comforted."† After commemorating the Lord's goodness to all them that seek him, he concluded, it is said, with "a spiritual song."‡

* MS. Test. vol. i. p. 313.

† Piety Promoted, p. 6.

‡ The gospel labours of several of those whom we have recently noticed, are alluded to in a memorandum penned by one of the early settlers in Pennsylvania. The brevity and simplicity of the remarks, combined with a fulness and evident truthfulness of expression, render them interesting, notwithstanding the quaintness of the style; and, as historical data, they are here inserted:—

"A short account of some Ministers of Christ, who, within these seventeen years came from England and the other islands, &c. to visit Friends and brethren here in Pennsylvania.

"First.—William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson, whereof William was an authoritative minister of the gospel, and Aaron a mighty tender man, and his testimony very prevailing and powerful, so that their service is not yet forgotten by many honest Friends hereaway.

"Secondly.—Roger Gill, and Thomas Story. The power of the Lord was with him, the said Roger, so that his testimony was with authority, and the truth was raised by it in others. When he was gone to visit Friends in New England, and there heard of the hand of God being upon the people of Philadelphia, of which Friends had their share, he was so in love with them that he came hither, and prayed to the Lord that he would be pleased to take his life as a sacrifice for theirs in that day of great calamity; that he was ready to lay it down; and accordingly the Lord took him to himself, and there was health among the people from that time.*

"Thirdly.—Thomas Thompson, and Josiah Langdale. Thomas informed us that when he was binding sheaves in his native land, he became impressed with a duty to visit us, and the Lord had been with him by sea and land—he was a sound preacher. His companion, Josiah, was also a fine tender man, earnestly pressing people to fear the Lord;

* The yellow fever of 1699, before-mentioned.

During the early part of this century, several ministers from other parts of America visited the meetings in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. Among these may be noticed George Skeffington

saying, if he could but gain one soul, or turn but one to Truth in all his travels, he would be well satisfied.

Fourthly.—John Salkeld, a notable man to proclaim the gospel ; he had great openings in the scriptures, which was a mighty help and comfort to many tender Friends.

Fifthly.—Thomas Turner, an ancient Friend, whose testimony was, that the enemies should be scattered, and the truth come into dominion. He had meetings with the Indians in their places of abode, and was very loving, and the Indians had great regard and kindness for him.

Sixthly.—John Richardson, the bent of whose testimony was much to press people to honesty and uprightness.

Seventhly.—John Estaugh, a mild man, desiring people to be true to what was made known to them.

Eighthly.—Mary Ellerton, and Mary Banister, both valiant, faithful women, endeavouring to persuade to the true and continual fear of the Lord, and proclaiming woe to them that were covered with a covering, but not of God's Spirit.

Ninthly.—John Fothergill, and William Armistead, who were also very tender, honest Friends. Their testimony was fervent, and powerful to all sorts, to fear God. Oh ! the good frame of spirit, and how the power of the truth was with John Fothergill !

Tenthly.—Samuel Bownas, a mighty valiant minister to open the mystery of Babylon.

Eleventhly.—Samuel Wilkinson, and Patrick Henderson, whereof Samuel was a plain man, had a fine testimony for truth, and an excellent gift to open the Revelations and other parts of scripture for the edification and comfort of Friends. And his companion was a wise man, or learned : large in his testimony, and of singular parts : may he keep to the Root that bore him.

Twelfthly.—John Turner, a good and sound old man ; his testimony was much against wrath and contention, sometimes between neighbours, sometimes between near friends, and sometimes between man and wife ; and, oh ! he said, how busy the enemy is to plague poor men and women. He warned the people to depart from their wickedness, and turn to the Lord Jesus Christ.

Thirteenthly.—Thomas Wilson, and James Dickinson : these were both very noted men. They were men for God, and he had given them power to preach the gospel with boldness. They had an open door among all sorts, and reached the hearts of many people.

of Newfoundland, in 1700. Gabriel Newby of North Carolina, in 1701, and again in 1715, with Matthew Pritchard, also of North Carolina. Esther Palmer of Long Island, and Susannah Freeborne from New England, in 1704: some years before, the latter had visited these parts in company with Jannah Mott of New England. In 1705, Esther Palmer came twice on a visit to these provinces; she held meetings in several localities where there had been none before, and many, it is said, were brought to a knowledge of the truth through her ministrations.* John Oxley of Barbadoes, also visited this part in 1711, and again in 1719; and Lydia Norton from New England, in 1718.

The Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and the Jerseys appears to have been on many occasions divinely favoured, tending largely to strengthen its members in the Lord, and in love and unity one with another. The sittings were in general very numerous attended, and became larger as years passed on. In addressing, in 1701, their brethren assembled in London, they thus speak of their meeting: "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, hath flowed in an extraordinary manner amongst us, so that the hearts of Friends have been deeply humbled and affected with his goodness to them; travelling Friends, and such of those whom the Lord hath concerned and engaged in the work of the ministry,

Fourteenthly.—William Armstrong, and James Graham: their testimony was precious. Oh! the good frame of spirit they were in, entreating people to walk humbly, and serve the Lord fully. James Graham having finished the service God required of him in these American parts, he took him to himself in the Seventh Month, 1717.

"May we praise and magnify the Lord of the great harvest, in that he was pleased to send so faithful servants amongst us to proclaim his truth, and pray that he may send more like true labourers, that knowledge and faithfulness be increased upon earth, to the exalting and glorifying of his great and worthy name for ever. Amen."*

* Smith's Hist. chap. xv.

* The Philadelphia Friend, vol. v.

being mightily enlarged in his power and wisdom, to divide his holy word and mind aright to the people. Truth prospers amongst us, and meetings are generally large, in town and country." They write again in 1705, "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, their language was equally encouraging: they had "a very precious, large, and heavenly meeting, overshadowed with his tendering love, power, and presence, so that the rain and dew of heaven descended in a plentiful manner, and Friends in a general way were tendered and overcome with it, and brought to the valley of humility, where we hope it will lay long upon our branches, and cause us to bring forth savoury and acceptable fruit to our God."

The sense of encouragement was not confined to the heavenly and heart-tendering opportunities experienced by Friends at their annual assemblies. The state of the church throughout their borders, notwithstanding some causes of uneasiness, presented much that was calculated to cheer and animate them in their Christian course. In 1705, alluding to their state they say, "The Truth prevails and prospers, and great openness in many places, and many flocking to hear the testimonies of it, and some are convinced, and some that are young coming forth in a testimony; and good discipline increases amongst the churches." In 1711, the same cheering description was reiterated. "By the particular returns and accounts from our several Quarterly Meetings, 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 forwards towards a perfect standard in all the holy discipline and order." The willingness manifested by the people generally to listen to the public ministrations of Friends,—the convincements which, in "many places," followed this disposition,—the new meetings that were established, where, to use their own expression in 1712 "the sound of the gospel hath not long been uttered," were circumstances also

of no small comfort to them. "A visitation," says William Penn, "both inwardly and outwardly is come to America."

Up to the date of the foregoing, many excellent advices relative to the conduct and conversation of Friends, and regulations for the right conducting of the discipline of the Society, had been issued. In 1703, the disciplinary regulations were written out for the use of the respective meetings; a work which was repeated in 1720. In 1709, written reports of the state of the Society within their respective limits, were first directed to be sent up by the Quarterly Meetings; a regulation which was superseded in 1755, by the adoption of queries to be answered by the subordinate meetings.

The Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, soon after its establishment, had occasionally corresponded with some other Yearly Meetings in America, and generally with that of London. During the early part of the eighteenth century, the interchange of these tokens of love had become more frequent, and about the year 1720, a correspondence appears to have been pretty regularly maintained with most, if not all, the Yearly Meetings.

Returning to the gospel visits of Friends from Europe, we find that in the year 1718, no less than five ministers left England on this service; these were John Danson, Isaac Hadwin, Elizabeth Rawlinson, Lydia Lancaster, and Rebecca Turner. They all sailed in the same ship direct from London to Philadelphia, in company with Thomas Chalkley of Pennsylvania, and John Oxley of Barbadoes, both returning from a religious visit to Great Britain.* John Danson was from Swarthmore Monthly Meeting, and Isaac Hadwin was also from the same county: but no particulars of their gospel labours have been met with. Isaac Hadwin having, some years after, visited America on business, died at Chester, in Pennsylvania. Lydia Lancaster was from Westmoreland, and was then but about thirty-five years of age.† She travelled with Elizabeth Rawlinson, who came from Lancaster; and they visited most of the meetings

* Chalkley's Journal.

† Piety Pro. part viii.

on the American continent. Elizabeth Rawlinson came forth in the ministry at the early age of seventeen, and lived to the advanced period of eighty; her companion attained the age of seventy-seven, having been a minister fifty-three years. Both of these aged handmaidens of the Lord experienced, in their dying moments, a remarkable degree of the joyful realities of the religion of Christ their Saviour, and an assurance of a blessed resurrection in Him, "A glorious crown, and everlasting song is before me," said Lydia Lancaster, "and if the foretaste be so joyous, what are the riches of the saints' inheritance beyond the grave?"* "My heart," said Elizabeth Rawlinson, "is full of the joy of God's salvation; yea, full of the comforts of the Holy Ghost. Oh! the height, and length, and breadth, of the comfort and joy that flows in my soul; my tongue is too short, and my lips are too narrow, to set forth one half of the goodness of my God."†

In the year following, Elizabeth Whartnaby arrived in Pennsylvania. She appears to have united in gospel labour with Rebecca Turner, and their visit is mentioned as having been "acceptable to their brethren." Both were from England, but no account of their lives has been met with.

In 1720, John Appleton of Lincolnshire proceeded to America. He visited the meetings throughout this Yearly Meeting, and had, he remarks, "many fresh, living meetings," where "some were convinced." In the First Month of 1721, "I was," he states, "at a great meeting at North Wales; I was made to say, the Lord would pour forth of his Spirit upon them, and that many of them should have a public testimony, both men and women, if they were faithfully resigned in heart to the Lord; and before the Tenth Month following, there were nine men and women came forth in a testimony, and some of them were likely to be of good service."‡ In the early part of 1723, he visited the families of Friends in Philadelphia, and soon after returned

* Piety Pro. part viii.

† MS. Test. of Ministers, vol. i. p. 325.

‡ Mina. of London Y. M. vol. vi. p. 227.

to England. He travelled much as a gospel minister in Great Britain and Ireland, and died in 1741.

In the year 1721, four English Friends visited their brethren in America, viz., Margaret (wife of Josiah) Langdale, who afterwards married Samuel Preston, of Philadelphia, and who was, says Smith, "long an eminent preacher in that city;"* Margaret Payne, respecting whom we have no particulars, and John Fothergill, and Laurence King. This was the second visit of John Fothergill. They landed in York River, Virginia, in the Fifth Month, 1721, and reached Pennsylvania in the Tenth Month. John Fothergill was engaged about three years in America on this occasion. Reaching London in time for the Yearly Meeting of 1724, he made the following statement respecting Pennsylvania: "We found in that province, an enquiring openness in divers parts among people of several professions; some were convinced of, and, we hope, 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; though 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."† Laurence King was from Salterforth, in Yorkshire, and died soon after his return from America.‡

In the next year, 1722, Benjamin Kidd visited Pennsylvania; and, in company with Thomas Lightfoot, also held meetings in "some remote places in the Jerseys."§ He came from Settle, in Yorkshire, and was then about thirty years of age. Like many others who crossed the Atlantic, he appeared as a minister when only about twenty-one. He is described as one "eminently qualified for great and singular services in the church, not only in discipline, in which he was excellent, exerting himself in great wisdom; but, through the lively and powerful influences of Divine

* Smith's Hist. chap. xviii.

† Life and Travels of John Fothergill, p. 188.

‡ Life, &c. W. and A. Ellis, p. 189.

§ Mins. of London Y. M. vol. vi. p. 304.

grace, conspicuously arrayed with beauty and brightness in his ministry." He died in 1751, at the age of fifty-nine, having been a minister thirty-eight years.*

The epistle of 1725, from Pennsylvania, notices the attendance of Abigail Bowles from Ireland, who, the year following, united in religious service with Jane Hoskens, of Pennsylvania, "in which journey," says the latter, "we travelled about one thousand seven hundred miles"†—a much more laborious undertaking then, than in the present day. In the year following, William Piggott and Joshua Fielding, both of London, proceeded to America, and also Samuel Bownas, on his second visit. Joshua Fielding landed at Charlestown, and visited the meetings generally within the limits of Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting. He stated to London Yearly Meeting in 1729, that during the visit he had travelled twenty-one thousand miles, to four hundred and eighty meetings, in nine hundred and fifty-two days.‡ In passing to South Carolina, he journeyed for five hundred miles through the forests, with only a pocket compass to direct him.§ William Piggott landed at Philadelphia, and visited his brethren throughout these provinces, in which he remarks, are "a very great body of Friends, and many concerned to maintain Truth's testimonies in all its branches."||

Samuel Bownas arrived in Virginia in the Second Month, 1727, and reached Pennsylvania a few months later. "He preached," says Besse, "with such a divine authority and majestic innocence, as commanded the attention of his hearers." His visit to Pennsylvania was looked forward to with considerable interest, and on his way to Philadelphia a large number of Friends came out to meet him, which, he observes, "gave me great uneasiness, fearing I should never be able to answer the expectations that were raised by such conduct." He had previously attended many meetings west of that city, some of

* MS. Test. vol. i. p. 350.

† Life of Jane Hoskens.

‡ Mins. of London Y. M. vol. vii. p. 81.

§ Life of Bownas, p. 139.

|| Mins. of London Y. M. vol. vi. p. 554.

which were very large, amounting, he says, "to fifteen hundred, and some more." "But very few," he adds, "of the elders, that twenty years before were serviceable, zealous men, were now living; and many of the rising youth did come up in the form, more than in the power and life that their predecessors were in; nevertheless, there was a fine living people amongst them, and they were in a thriving good way, sundry young ministers being very hopeful, both men and women." "I was," he continues, "at three meetings in Philadelphia, exceeding large, more like Yearly Meetings than common First-day Meetings."* After visiting New England, he attended most of the meetings in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. He alludes to Burlington Quarterly Meeting, as a remarkable occasion, in which he says, "I was divinely opened with fresh matter, setting forth the service of a divine, spiritual ministry, which was free from all contrivance and forecast of the creature, in preparing itself, either with former openings, or beautiful collections of texts, or sayings from books or writings, all which gatherings would bring death, and could be no other in the best and most favourable construction, though well looked on by some, than the ministry of the letter, under pretence of the ministry of the Spirit, which is a deception of the highest nature."†

Samuel Bownas was occupied about two years on this gospel mission. He was a man of an intelligent, quick, and observing mind; and his remarks on the state of our religious Society in that land, at the period of his visit, are entitled to more than ordinary attention. "As I had been out of that country," he remarks, "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, and 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 enlarged, or new ones to be built at proper distances; besides the account of new houses, built in that time, in places where none were, nor meetings but in private

* Life of Bownas, p. 141.

† Ibid. 169.

houses, which grew so numerous that necessity put them upon erecting houses to accommodate themselves. In New England and Rhode Island are twelve; in the government of New York are six; in both East and West Jersey are 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 want to be enlarged, not having room for half the people. Now the extraordinary increase of Friends, is much to be attributed to the youth retaining the profession of their parents, and marrying such: for, indeed, most 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."*

During the year 1728, Rowland Wilson, and Joseph Taylor, crossed the Atlantic on a religious mission; but no account of their travels or history has been met with. The next gospel labourer from England, was Henry Frankland, of Yorkshire, whom John Richardson describes as an "innocent good man." He arrived in the colonies in the year 1731, and held meetings with many not in profession with Friends. Speaking of Pennsylvania, he says, he "found very large meetings throughout that province, where, although the church has its exercises, yet some of their youth are hopeful, and some of them are become living ministers, to the great strength of the brethren."† He died in 1739, having been a minister twenty years.

Very soon after, John Richardson proceeded to America on his second visit; and meeting with Henry Frankland at the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, in 1731, they visited the colonies in the south. It was about thirty years since John Richardson's former visit to this country; and he also was struck with the great increase among Friends in the interim. He relates that he had "very large meetings," and that there was in many, great attention to hear the testimony of truth, and an open door

* Life of S. Bownas, p. 172.

† MSS. of London Y. M.

of utterance."* He was then about sixty-five years of age, and was absent from home about two years. He was one of those who were called to the work of the ministry at a very early age, and he was much devoted, and travelled extensively in the service of his Divine Master. He died in 1753, at the advanced age of eighty-seven, having been a minister sixty-seven years. His Journal, numerous editions of which have been printed, is replete with instructive and interesting details.

In 1732, no less than six Friends crossed the Atlantic in gospel love to their American brethren. These were Mungo Bewley, Paul Johnson, and Samuel Stephens, from Ireland; Alice Alderson, and Hannah Dent, of Yorkshire, and Margaret Copeland, from Westmoreland. No particulars of their services on this occasion appear to be preserved. Mungo Bewley, besides the visit in question, which occupied him about two years, travelled as a minister in England, Wales, Scotland, and in Holland. He is represented as a man of superior qualifications, of a noble mind, and a discerning spirit, and a living, powerful minister of the gospel of Christ. He died in 1747, in the seventieth year of his age, having been a minister about forty years.† Alice Alderson, respecting whom a testimony is preserved, though far from possessing much human learning, was frequently copious in expressions well adapted to her subject, as well as deep and weighty in spirit. She lived to the age of eighty-eight, having been a minister sixty years; and her closing moments were remarkable for the divine serenity and sweetness which attended her therein.‡ Margaret Copeland came forth in the ministry at the age of twenty-two. She died in 1759, at the age of seventy-six.§

In the year 1734, John Burton, William Backhouse, and Joseph Gill, visited America. John Burton was from Sedbergh Monthly Meeting, in Yorkshire. He was an unlearned man, but endued with a large and powerful gift in the ministry, and strong

* Journal of J. Richardson.

† Ruty's His. of Fr. in Ireland, p. 340.

‡ Piety Pro. part. viii.

§ MS. Test. vol. ii. p. 57.

were his desires "that the Church of Christ might flourish, and Zion keep her garments unspotted from the world." He died in 1769, aged eighty-seven years, "being filled with light, and divine consolation and peace.* William Backhouse was of Yealand, in Lancashire. He was first engaged in the ministry at the age of twenty-six, and was thirty-nine at the time of the visit in question. He died at the age of sixty-six, rejoicing, at that awful period, that, through Divine grace, he had been more concerned for God's honour and the good of souls, than for any other considerations.† Joseph Gill was from Ireland; he arrived at Philadelphia in time to attend the Yearly Meeting of 1734, after which he travelled to some of the "remote back settlements of the province." He was highly gifted in the administration of the discipline, and his ministry was attended with Divine life and power. He died in 1741, aged sixty-seven years; a minister about thirty years.‡

The devoted John Fothergill was the next that proceeded to the Western world, this being his third visit to his brethren in that land. He sailed in 1736, direct for Philadelphia, and visited most of the meetings in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. In his ministry he is described as "awful and weighty, being endued with true wisdom—strong and immoveably bent against all unrighteousness—quick in discerning, and powerful in detecting the mysteries of antichrist. As a flame of fire to the rebellious and stubborn, but refreshing as the dew of Hermon to the honest traveller—zealous and wise in the support of the discipline." The mighty God, who visited him in his youth with the discovery of his saving power, and sanctified him to Himself a chosen vessel, was near him in the decline of life, and became his evening song.§ He died in 1744, at the age of sixty-nine; a minister fifty years.

Soon after the last-mentioned visit, John Tylee, from near Bristol, Ruth Courtney, and Susanna Hudson, of Ireland, and, in 1738, John Hunt of London, visited Friends in America; but no

* Piety Pro., part viii.

† Ibid.

‡ Rutty's Hist. p. 333.

§ Life of John Fothergill, p. 336.

account of their visit, or of their history has been found. Thomas Gawthorp, of Westmoreland, was the next. He went over in 1739, being then in the thirtieth year of his age. About six years after he paid a second visit to his transatlantic brethren, a third in 1754, and a fourth in 1766. No memoranda of his religious engagements during these gospel missions appear to exist, excepting that on his third visit he was particularly interested on behalf of the negro population. Thomas Gawthorp was a deep and able minister of the gospel, not in the wisdom of man, nor with eloquence of words, but in the power and demonstration of the Spirit, by which it is recorded, "he reached the witness in the hearts of many." He died in 1781, aged seventy-one, having been a minister forty-seven years.*

The Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys was mostly attended by some Friends in the ministry from England, and continued to be a time of much spiritual refreshment and comfort. The epistle to London Yearly Meeting, in 1738, thus refers to the Divine favour which marked that occasion.

"This our annual meeting hath been large and solid, tending to build up the true believers in the faith and righteousness of Christ Jesus our Lord, the fountain of love, truth, and abundant grace, both in things spiritual and temporal, whereof we are partakers in his name, and are thereby excited to perseverance and constancy in the way of our duty and true interest (that is) in the love and service of God and of one another, as brethren and fellow-members of the one holy body of Christ, redeemed with his blood, instructed by his blessed Spirit, who ever remains to make intercession for the saints. Divers testimonies have been borne amongst us with energy and demonstration, for a general gathering and settlement on this self-evident and permanent foundation of piety and sound morality, confirmed by scripture authority, which was the basis and fundamental principle of our ancient worthy Friends, and of all truly Christian reformers in every age, whereby they obtained a good report, and, amidst manifold conflicts, had the strongest assurances of future and eternal happiness."

* Piety Pro., part viii.

In the year 1741, Samuel Hopwood, of Austle, in Cornwall, proceeded to America. He landed at Boston, and went without much delay to the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, visiting the meetings, it is said, "to satisfaction." He died in 1760, aged eighty-six; a minister sixty-one years.

Edmund Peckover of Norfolk, and John Haslam of Yorkshire, crossed over in 1742. The former reached Burlington in time for the Yearly Meeting. At this date many Friends of Pennsylvania had removed to inland parts, and settled in a wilderness country, rarely visited by Friends from England. To this class the attention of Edmund Peckover was directed; and during his travels, "the back-settlers on the Susquehanna" were not forgotten. "Here," he says, "I found, in about thirty miles riding, more than one hundred who go to meetings; and this was the most general visit they had had since they settled there. It may be observed," he continues, "that but very few of these back-settlers (who in a general way removed from Pennsylvania) from Opeckon all along to Susquehanna, were of much note amongst Friends; but since their leaving that province, they seem, as I apprehend, more near to a growth in the best sense, and I hope the Lord will bless them every way. In Lancaster County, in the province of Pennsylvania, several Friends from Ireland dwell, and there are three or four meetings; though Friends are but thin here to what they are in other parts of the province. In the three lower counties [Delaware], viz., Newcastle, Kent, and Surrey, there are not many meetings, and [they] lay a great distance from each other; and, in a general way, Friends are weak and feeble in these parts." Returning from a visit to New England, he again visited this part, and went to the back-settlements "beyond the Jerseys and Pennsylvania," to a place called "Mendon Creek, and the Forest, where," he says, "are many Friends settled who came from Ireland; there are six or seven meeting-houses that have been built that way of late years."*

Edmund Peckover entered on the work of the ministry as early

* Mins. of London Y. M., vol. ix. p. 322.

as the fifteenth year of his age, and only three years later visited several parts of England in that service. In his ministry "he was frequently enlarged in divine counsel, and as a cloud filled with celestial rain to the reviving and refreshment of the living heritage of God." In his dying moments he was favoured with a foretaste of the glorious immortality and endless felicity prepared for the righteous, and he "passed away as with a heavenly song of divine praise in his mouth." He died in 1767, aged seventy-two years.

Of John Haslam's religious services we have no account. He also once visited the continent of Europe, and twice the nation of Ireland. He is mentioned "as being exemplary in a deep inward exercise of spirit and patient waiting for the arising of the divine life, as a necessary qualification for service, either in the ministry or in discipline." He died in 1773, aged eighty-three, having been a minister fifty-seven years.*

Christopher Wilson of Cumberland, and Eliezer Sheldon of Ireland, also visited Pennsylvania about the same time; no record, however, of their labours appears to be extant, excepting the following minute of London Yearly Meeting in 1745: "Our dear and well esteemed friends, Samuel Hopwood of Cornwall, John Haslam of Yorkshire, Edmund Peckover of Norfolk, Christopher Wilson of Cumberland, and Eliezer Sheldon of Dublin, being, through the merciful providence of Almighty God, returned safe from their visit to Friends in America, gave this meeting a very comfortable and satisfactory verbal account of their said visit."

In the year 1747, Samuel Nottingham visited America. He first appeared as a minister when about twenty-three. After his gospel mission to America he resided for some years first in Tortola, and then in Long Island until 1779, when he returned to England. His ministry is described "as not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the fresh openings and flowings of light and life and love." He died at Bristol in 1787, at the age of seventy-one.†

During the year 1750, Josiah Thompson, James Thornton, and

* Piety Pro. part ix.

† MS. Test. vol. iii. p. 330.

Mary Weston, all from England, visited, in the love of the gospel, their brethren in the American plantations.

The gospel labours of many devoted ministers of Christ, to which allusion has been thus briefly made, together with those of other zealous servants of the Lord in the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, were eminently blessed to the church in that land. Their powerful and lively addresses, delivered in the authority, and in dependence on the immediate influence of Him who is both tongue and utterance to those whom He sends forth, tended not only to comfort and confirm the fainting and the feeble-minded on their heavenly way, but also to arouse those who were resting too much in the mere profession of religion, to the momentous concerns of eternity, and to alarm the careless ones to the dangers of their situation. It is, indeed, questionable, whether in the history of the Society, there have been any portions of the Church more highly favoured with the labours of faithful ministers, than were the early settlers in these provinces. It is true, and it may be noted as one of the remarkable features in the history of Friends, that most of those who crossed the Atlantic in the work of the Lord, were, during the period in question, but young in years; yet were they also strong and valiant in Him, deeply experienced in the mystery of godliness, and zealously affected in his holy cause. Nor were the religious services of these, as we have seen, confined to Friends. They were called forth largely in public ministrations to others,—ministrations which, as in the earlier days of the Society in England, were attended with a convincing effect on the hearers, and followed by considerable additions of members. So that in consequence of the natural increase of population in these newly-settled countries, the immigration of Friends from Europe, and the numerous convincements which took place, the members of the Society in this Yearly Meeting had, from the year 1700 to 1750, more than doubled; whilst the number of meetings for worship had also increased from about forty-three to one hundred, comprehending, it is believed, about thirty thousand members.

Previously to the year 1680, the district included in this Yearly Meeting numbered but four meetings for worship, and those were situate in the Jerseys. In the following ten years, during which so many Friends emigrated to Pennsylvania, the new meetings established amounted to no less than twenty-seven. From 1690 to 1699, the increase was twelve, and successively for similar periods, ten, nine, thirteen, twelve, and thirteen, which brings us to the year 1750. Up to the year 1700, the meetings most distant from Philadelphia were Gwynned and Buckingham in the north, and Concord and Middletown in the west, the latter two not being more than fifteen miles from the banks of the Delaware. In the following twenty years, however, settlements of Friends had extended considerably westward. Of the nineteen established during this time, four were in the Jerseys, three in the northern parts of Maryland, and eight in Chester Quarterly Meeting, reaching westward as far as Caln and London Grove, and to East and West Nottingham on the borders of Maryland. During the ten years following, five were settled in the Jerseys, one at Cold Spring or Monaquassy in Maryland, one as far north as Plumstead in Bucks Quarterly Meeting, and the rest mostly in the western parts of Chester Quarterly Meeting as far as Sadsbury. From the year 1730 to 1750 the movement inland was still more apparent. Friends had now settled and established meetings west of the Susquehanna, and over the Blue Mountains in the remote parts of Virginia, at least one hundred and fifty miles in a direct line from Philadelphia. Of the additional meetings during these twenty years, ten were in the Jerseys, three in the distant settlements of Virginia, four west of the Susquehanna, three in the northern parts of Maryland, and the others mostly in the western parts of Chester Quarterly Meeting.

As yet there were no Europeans resident west of the Alleghany Mountains, except a few traders who wandered from tribe to tribe, and dwelt among the Indians, neither cultivating nor occupying land. The first movement towards the formation of settlements over the Alleghanies did not take place until after

this date ; the earliest treaty with the Indians for the cession of lands on the basin of the Ohio was in 1744,* and this was in Virginia. In 1752 a treaty for land was held with the Indians on the right bank of the Ohio in Pennsylvania, but the war with the French, and the conflicts which followed with them in this direction, checked the stream of emigration westward, and five-and-twenty years later, even the now populous Pittsburg did not exceed thirty houses.

MEETINGS IN THE YEARLY MEETING OF PENNSYLVANIA AND THE JERSEYS IN 1750.			
	When Established.	House when Built.	Remarks.
PHILADELPHIA QUARTERLY MEETING.			
<i>Philadelphia Monthly Meeting</i>	1682	..	{ The first meeting was held at Shackamaxon.
<i>Philadelphia (Centre)</i>	1681	1684	
<i>Ditto (Bank)</i>	1685	1685	
<i>Ditto (High Street)</i>	1696	1696	
<i>Abington Monthly Meeting</i>	1684	..	{ Byberry (called at first Poetquesing) was settled in 1682 by Friends from England, whose dwellings at first were small rough log-houses. One family lived in a wigwam which they built under the instruction of the Indians, until they erected a small log-house. The Meeting-house was rebuilt in 1714, and was 50 feet by 30, with galleries. Frankfort, (called at first Tookany,) and Byberry, were constituted a Monthly Meeting under the following minute of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting of Fifth Month, 1683: "It was agreed and concluded, that there be established a First-day Meeting of Friends at Tookany and Poetquesing, and that these two make one Monthly Meeting of men and women, for the ordering of the affairs of the church." Germantown was settled by Friends from Germany, who bought 6,000 acres of land. These Meetings were settled by Friends from Wales, who bought of W. Penn 40,000 acres of land in this part It previously formed a part of Haverford Monthly Meeting. A larger house built in 1712, and a still larger one in 1823. Most of the Friends of this Meeting were convinced Welsh settlers.
<i>Abington</i>	1682	..	
<i>Byberry</i>	1683	1694	
<i>Frankfort</i>	1683	..	
<i>Cheltenham</i>	1683	..	
<i>Germantown</i>	1683	early	
<i>Fairhill</i>	early	..	
<i>Horsham</i>	1716	early	
<i>Haverford Monthly Meeting</i>			
<i>Haverford</i>	1683	..	{
<i>Radnor</i>	1683	..	
<i>Merion</i>	1683	1698	
<i>Gwynned Monthly Meeting</i>			
<i>Gwynned</i>	1714	..	{
<i>Gwynned or North Wales</i>	1698	1700	

* Day's Pam. p. 70.

	When Estab- lished.	House when Built.	Remarks.
Plymouth	1695	early	This meeting was at first composed of Friends from Plymouth in Devonshire. They met at the house of James Fox. "But being most of them tradesmen and citizens, and not used to a country life, they removed to Philadelphia," and thus the meeting was discontinued for a time.
BUCKS QUARTERLY MEETING	1694	..	
<i>The Falls Monthly Meeting</i>	1693	..	In 1690, there were many settlements of Indians in the townships of this district, who were "kind neighbours."
<i>The Falls</i>	1690	1690	
<i>Bristol</i>	1690	1710	These two Monthly Meetings established Bucks Quarterly Meeting by direction of the Yearly Meeting of 1694.
<i>Neshaminy Monthly Meeting</i>	1683	1690	
<i>Neshaminy</i>	1682	1690	
<i>Southampton</i>	1663	..	
<i>Buckingham Monthly Meeting.</i>			
<i>Wrightstown</i>	1686	1721	House built on land given by John Chapman's family. Rebuilt in 1729, and a larger one subsequently.
<i>Buckingham</i>	1700	1706	
<i>Plumstead</i>	1727	1750	
<i>Richland Monthly Meeting</i>	1742	..	This meeting belonged previously to Gwynedd Monthly Meeting.
<i>Richland</i>	1710	..	
CHESTER QUARTERLY MEETING	1683	..	
<i>Chester Monthly Meeting</i>	1691	..	The first minute of the Monthly Meeting runs thus: "10th of Eleventh Month, 1691. A Monthly Meeting of Friends belonging to Marcus Hook, alias Chester and Upland, held at the house of Robert Wades."
<i>Chester</i>	1691	..	
<i>Springfield</i>	1696	..	The meetings at first all belonged to Chester Monthly Meeting, but in 1721 it was agreed to divide them into two Monthly Meetings. A General or Yearly Meeting for worship was set up at Gosben in 1726.
<i>Providence</i>	1696	..	
<i>Middletown</i>	1696	..	
<i>Gosben Monthly Meeting</i>	1721	..	Upland was settled principally by Welsh Friends.
<i>Gosben</i>	1703	..	
<i>Newton</i>	1729	..	
<i>Upland</i>	1720	..	
<i>Exeter</i>	1745	..	
<i>Wantageal</i>	1750	..	
<i>Concord Monthly Meeting</i>	1694	..	
<i>Chichester</i>	1693	..	
<i>Concord</i>	1694	1697	
<i>Birmingham</i>	1715	1718	
<i>Darby Monthly Meeting</i>	1644	..	Before 1694, it formed a part of Chester Monthly Meeting.
<i>Darby</i>	1692	soon	Many of the early settlers were from Derbyshire in England.
<i>Newark Monthly Meeting</i>	1695	..	
<i>Newark</i>	1692	1698	
<i>Centre</i>	1697	1707	
<i>Kennett</i>	1707	1710	House enlarged in 1719, and again in 1721.

	When Etab- lished.	House when Built.	Remarks.
George's Creek	1703	..	{ Settled by consent of Newark Monthly Meeting.
Hookeson	1737	1738	House enlarged in 1745.
<i>Wilmington Monthly Meeting</i>	1700	..	
Newcastle	1684	1705	{ Previous to 1730, these meet- ings formed a part of Newark Monthly Meeting.
Wilmington	1734	1748	
<i>New Garden Monthly Meeting</i> . New Garden	1719	1713	A larger house built in 1743.
London Grove	1714	..	
<i>East Nottingham Monthly Meeting</i>	1730	..	{ John Churchman was one of the early settlers here.
East Nottingham	1704	..	{ Meeting held in a log-house until 1731. Previous to 1730, three meetings formed part of New Garden Monthly Meeting.
West Nottingham	1710	1737	
Bush River, or Deer Creek	1738	..	
Little Britain	1740	..	
<i>Bradford Monthly Meeting</i> . Cala	1716	1716	
Bradford	1722	1737	
<i>Balsbury Monthly Meeting</i>	1737	..	1735
Balsbury	1724	..	
Leacock	1732	..	
<i>Duck Creek Monthly Meeting</i>	1706	..	{ A Half-year's Meeting was established at Duck Creek in 1715.
Duck Creek	1704	..	{ Previous to 1706 this meeting belonged to Newark Monthly Meeting.
Mush Mullion Creek	1707	..	
Little Creek	1714	..	
Lawistown	1720	..	
<i>Warrington Monthly Meeting</i>	1747	..	{ This Monthly Meeting pre- viously formed a part of Bads- bury Monthly Meeting; the particular meetings are all on the west of the Susquehanna.
Warrington	1745	..	
Newbury	1745	..	
Minallon	1748	..	
Huntington	1750	..	
<i>Hopewell Monthly Meeting</i>	1744	..	{ In 1739, some Friends of Penn- sylvania and Elk River in Mary- land, obtained a grant of 100,000 acres of land on Opsekon Creek, and settled there.
Hopewell or Opsekon (Virginia). Providence or Tuscarora (ditto)	1739 1743	soon ..	
<i>Fairfax Monthly Meeting</i> Fairfax (Virginia)	1744 1733	.. 1741	
Coldspring, or Monaquany, in Maryland	1720	1726	{ In 1736, these meetings were, by consent of Chester Quarterly Meeting, constituted a Monthly Meeting. In 1744, Friends being much increased, it was divided.
HUNTINGTON QUARTERLY MEETING	1682	..	{ Women Friends' meetings for discipline were set up here in 1681.
<i>Burlington Monthly Meeting</i>	1678	..	{ Meetings here were first held in tents.

	When Estab- lished.	House when Built.	Remarks.
Burlington	1677	1685	{ A new house built in 1716, on ground given by Thos. Wetherill.
Ranococas	early	1703	{ House built on ground given by John Wills; at first the meetings were held at the house of Thomas Olive.
Old Springfield	1690	1698	{ House built on ground given by Richard Ridgway.
Mount Holly	1718	1718	Ditto, Nathaniel Crips.
Upper Springfield	1728	1728	
Mansfield	1731	1731	
Woodwards	1742	1742	{ House built on ground given by Joseph Arney.
<i>Chesterfield Monthly Meeting.</i>			
Chesterfield	1677	1680	
Crosswicks	1699	..	
Stoney Brook	1726	{ House built on ground given by Benjamin Clark; meetings were held in Friends' houses here many years before.
Trenton	1731	1740	
Allentown	1727	..	
Bordentown	1740	1740	{ House built on ground given by Joseph Borden.
<i>Bethlehem Monthly Meeting.</i>			
Bethlehem	1744	..	
Great Meadows	1731	1746	Burnt down and rebuilt in 1752.
	1740	1751	
<i>Little Egg Harbour Monthly Meeting</i>	1715	..	
Little Egg Harbour	1704	1709	{ This meeting was established through the gospel labours of Ed. Andrews. A Yearly Meet- ing for worship was established here in 1729.
Barngat	1746	..	
SALEM QUARTERLY MEETING			
<i>Gloucester Monthly Meeting</i>	1682	..	
Newtown	1682	1687	{ Settled by Friends from Ire- land in the Spring of 1682, before the arrival of William Penn.
Evesham	1694	1698	
Woodbury	1696	early	
Haddonfield	1721	1721	{ Built on ground given by John Estangh.
Chester	1721	1721	
<i>Salem Monthly Meeting</i>	1676	..	
Salem	1675	early	{ A Yearly Meeting chiefly for worship, was established here in 1686.
Greenwich	
Alloways Creek	
Glam House	
<i>Egg Harbour Monthly Meeting</i>	1709	early	
Great Egg Harbour	1702	..	{ Two meeting-houses were afterwards built here.
Cape May	1750	..	

	When Estab- lished.	House when Built.	Remarks.
SHREWSBURY QUARTERLY MEETING.			
<i>Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting</i>	1670	..	{ A new house built in 1719. Meetings were held here occa- sionally a few years previous.
Shrewsbury	1670	1672	
Mansequan	1700	1730	
Middletown	early	..	{ A meeting was held at Free- hold in 1683, but given up in 1698, as most of its members went off with George Keith.
Upper Freehold	1740	1740	
<i>Rahway Monthly Meeting</i>	1686	..	
Rahway	early	..	{ House built on land given by John Laing.
Woodbridge or Amboy	1680	1709	
Plainfield	1721	1731	



ABINGTON MEETING HOUSE.

CHAPTER X.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS.

Memorials of deceased Ministers, from 1700 to 1750, viz. : Hugh Roberts, John Simcock, Eleanor Smith, Samuel Jenings, Richard Gove, John Lowdon, Edward Andrews, John Smith, Griffith Owen, Ellis Pugh, Vincent Caldwell, Anthony Morris, Thomas Lightfoot, Aaron Coppock, Hannah Hill, Hannah Carpenter, Rowland Ellis, Joseph Booth, Richard Townsend, Joseph Kirkbride, John Salkeld, Christopher Wilson, Thomas Chalkley, Esther Clare, Robert Jordan, John Cadwallader, Margaret Preston, Cadwallader Evans, Evan Evans, Jacob Holdcombe, William Trotter, Elizabeth Wyatt ; and some other public characters among Friends in Pennsylvania, viz. : Samuel Carpenter, Jonathan Dickinson, Caleb Pusey, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, James Logan.

In the preceding chapter but little allusion has been made to the gospel labours of those Friends, of whom there were not a few in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, who travelled in the work of the ministry in other colonies of America, or in Europe. The following memorials will, to a large extent, supply this information, but it must not be understood that all who were called to the work of the ministry are here noticed : they are presented to the reader in the order in which the decease occurred.

HUGH ROBERTS.

Hugh Roberts emigrated from Wales in 1684. He is represented as "a man fitted and qualified by God's power to be a serviceable minister to the church of Christ. His doctrine in meetings," continues the account, "dropped as dew, and his speech as small rain upon the tender plants ; for in the openings of

life, things new and old came forth of the treasury of wisdom." He travelled in the work of the gospel in Maryland, Long Island, and New England, where, it is said, "his services were effectual to the people." He died in 1702, and was buried at Merion.*

JOHN SIMCOCK.

John Simcock removed to Pennsylvania from England about 1682, and settled in Chester county. He was one of William Penn's first Council, and one of his commissioners of property, and subsequently also a member and speaker of the Assembly. These civil services were not, however, permitted to interfere with his call as a minister of the gospel, in which he travelled extensively. He was, says one who knew him well, "a nursing father in Israel—his ministry was sound and edifying, and he was endued with a spirit of discerning and wisdom beyond many in spiritual things." During his illness he was favoured with a sweet and heavenly serenity of mind. "The Keeper of Israel," he remarked, "is near to all them that wait upon and truly put their trust in Him." The day preceding his dissolution he bore a living 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 in 1703, aged about seventy-three years.†

ELEANOR SMITH.

Eleanor Smith was a native of Leicestershire, in England, and joined in religious profession with Friends about 1666, when but thirteen years of age. On emigrating to America she became a member of Darby Monthly Meeting; and some years prior to her decease was called by her Divine Master to declare

* Piety Promoted, part iii.

† Col. of Memorial, p. 63.

to others the good things of his everlasting kingdom. This handmaiden of the Lord, was one of those who, in their dying moments, have realised the triumphs of religion: "I can praise thy name, O Lord," she said, "in the midst of affliction; for surely thou art worthy of all praise, honour, and glory, and that for evermore; for thou neither leavest nor forsakest those that put their trust in thee;" adding, "the presence of the Lord I feel flowing as a river into my soul." She died in 1708, aged fifty-five years.*

SAMUEL JENINGS.

Samuel Jenings emigrated to New Jersey, from Coleshill in Buckinghamshire, in 1680. He was at that period in the station of a minister. His signature appears among others to the epistle issued by London Yearly Meeting in 1677. On his arrival in New Jersey, Byllinge, the proprietary governor, appointed him his deputy, in which capacity he acted until 1683, when he was chosen governor for one year by the Assembly; and up to the time of his removal to Philadelphia in 1692, we find him occupying the highest offices in the province. His abilities were highly appreciated by the executive of Pennsylvania, and soon after, he was nominated to the commission of the peace. About this time the controversy with George Keith arose, in which Samuel Jenings was much engaged on behalf of the Society; and in the early part of 1694, he sailed for London and as respondent on the appeal of Keith to that Yearly Meeting, he ably vindicated the cause of his American brethren from the aspersions of their detractor. Soon after his return from England he removed to Burlington, the place of his former residence; and in 1702, the Crown, to which the government of New Jersey had been transferred by the proprietaries, appointed him one of the Provincial Council; and in 1707, the year preceding his death, he filled the office of Speaker of the Assembly, in which station he distinguished himself by a bold and fearless opposition to the arbitrary misrule of the bigoted Lord Cornbury.† As a labourer in the work of the gospel, he appears to have been

* Coll. of Mem. p. 37.

† Smith's New Jersey, p. 231, 294.

highly valued by his brethren. "He was," says the historian Proud, "of worthy memory, endued with both spiritual and temporal wisdom. He was a suppressor of vice, and an encourager of virtue; sharp towards evil-doers, but tender and loving to them that did well; giving good counsel, and wholesome advice to friends and neighbours; an able minister of the gospel, and laboured much therein to the comfort and edification of many people, both in this province and other places."* Samuel Jenings was one of those rare individuals, in whom was concentrated a variety of qualifications and mental endowments, by which, under the sanctifying power of Truth, he was made eminently useful to his fellow-men, both in his ministerial and civil capacity. He died at Burlington in 1708, leaving three daughters, who all intermarried with three brothers named Stephenson.†



RICHARD GOVE.

This Friend emigrated from Plymouth, in Devonshire, in 1685, and, with several other Friends of that place, settled on a spot in Pennsylvania, which they called Plymouth. He afterwards resided in Philadelphia, and was much engaged, both at home and abroad, in the service of his divine Master. In 1702, he visited New England; in 1704, the Carolinas; and in the same year, in company with John Estaugh, the West India Islands. Whilst on this voyage, they were taken by a French privateer, and carried into Martinique, where they were detained as prisoners about two months, during which period they had much religious service with the inhabitants. In 1707, he visited the West Indies a second time, in company with Thomas Chalkley. They had service in Barbadoes, Jamaica, Antigua, Nevis, Christophers, Anguilla, and Montserrat. From the West Indies they sailed for

* M.S. in Proud, vol. i. p. 159. † Smith's New Jersey, p. 354.

England, and during the voyage were twice chased by French privateers. In the first instance they escaped, by the privateer's masts having broken down; and in the second, by running on the coast of Ireland, the captain preferring rather to lose his vessel and rich cargo in this way, than to fall into the hands of his pursuers, who, observing this, gave up the chase; and the captain casting anchor in time, saved his vessel. After visiting Friends in Ireland, Scotland, and England, for nearly three years, Richard Gove died at Uxbridge, in 1709, at the age of fifty-eight.* He is described by Thomas Chalkley, as an "inoffensive, loving Friend, whose testimony was sound, serviceable, and convincing, and who left a good savour and report behind him, wherever he travelled in the world."†

JOHN LOWDON.

This Friend emigrated from Ireland in 1711, and settled at New Garden, in Chester County; soon after which, he was engaged in different parts in gospel labours. In 1714, he was occupied in this service on Long Island, in New England, and in the counties of Bucks and Philadelphia, but was taken ill in the same year, and died at Abington. "He was," says Proud, "an eminent preacher among the Quakers, travelled much in that service, and was much esteemed and beloved."

EDWARD ANDREWS.

He was the son of Samuel and Mary Andrews, of Mansfield, in New Jersey. His mother's maiden name was Mary Wright; who, when very young, went to Boston to remonstrate with the rulers on their cruelty to Friends. Edward, in his youth, wandered from the paths of true peace, and brought much sorrow on his parents, who were deeply solicitous for the best welfare of their children. "As I grew in years," he remarks, "vanity increased upon me, and I took great delight in music and mirth, and by this means would strive to stifle the witness of God in

* London Registers.

† T. Chalkley's Journal.

my heart." As years passed on he deviated more widely, and at last left off attending meetings, "to take," as he said "my swing in the world." But the Lord visited him with his judgments; "crosses, losses, with great afflictions," were the means employed in heavenly love to bring him home to the true sheep-fold; and, "so the Lord followed me," he says, "until my music became a burden to me, and I grew weary of my sin." About this time also, he appears to have been "mightily reached" through the ministry of Thomas Chalkley, at a meeting held under the trees at Crosswicks, and to which Thomas Chalkley particularly refers in his journal. But turning again a deaf ear to the voice of the good Shepherd, he slighted these mercies of God, and again turned to evil. He now removed to Egg Harbour, prompted by the idea, that in the wilds of that remote district, he might pursue his wickedness unrestrained by human observation. But the Lord followed him, and by his good Spirit pleaded mightily with him. "I saw my sins," he writes, "which made me abhor myself, and I cried out, Lord, be merciful to me! Oh! the bitter days and nights I had, in weeping and mourning, and there was no man nor woman that knew my condition. I soon became a gazing stock to the people; for I had no comfort in anything, but weeping alone and crying to the Lord for strength to please him." "After some time," he writes, "I felt the favour of God unto me: and the Lord shewed me his people; and my heart was filled with love to all mankind." This appears to have been about 1704, when in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He was soon required to prove his love and allegiance to God by a call to the ministry, and being faithful therein, was instrumental to the gathering of many to the fold of Christ; and to the establishment of a meeting at Egg Harbour. His removal from time was in the meridian of life. In the Tenth Month, 1716, he was seized with the small-pox, and died after an illness of thirteen days, but was throughout sweetly attended with the presence of the Lord.*

* Philadelphia Friend, vol. xix. p. 55.

JOHN SMITH.

He was a member of Darby Monthly Meeting, having been an early emigrant from Leicestershire in England. When but fourteen years of age he joined our Society from religious conviction, and some time after came forth as minister, but of his labours in this character no particulars appear to be preserved. Shortly before his close he said, "I feel the fresh remembrance or renewings of the love of God, flowing into my heart, which is of much more comfort to my soul than all transitory things; now I feel that God's living, divine presence, is with me, which bears up my spirit over that which flesh and blood would or could not be able to bear." At another time he said, "he was full of pain, yet he could sing of the mercy and goodness of God to his soul in the midst of affliction;" adding, soon after; "do not mourn for me, but be still and quiet, and let me pass away quietly, that so my soul may enter into God's everlasting rest;" and nearly his last words were, "Come Lord Jesus, receive my soul; thy servant is ready, come quickly." He died in 1714, aged about sixty-nine years.*

GRIFFITH OWEN.

Griffith Owen resided in Philadelphia; the following brief notice is given respecting him. "He came over among the early settlers of Pennsylvania, and was of eminent service among them in divers capacities. As a minister among Friends, he had a sensible, pathetic, and lively testimony. As a member of that religious community, he was active, exemplary, and useful. In civil society, his merit raised him to several public stations, wherein he acted with judgment and a becoming integrity. But his practice as a physician, in which he was very knowing and eminent, rendered him of great additional value in the place where he lived. With these qualities he preserved the sincerity and meekness of a Christian, was ready to every good office, and died greatly beloved and lamented by a large acquaintance of

* Coll. of Mem. p. 39.

people of different ranks and persuasions."* For some years he was an active member of the legislative council,† and in 1709, he went on a gospel mission to New England.



ELLIS PUGH.

He was born at Dolgelly, in Merionethshire, in the year 1656. At the age of eighteen he was convinced of the principles of Friends through the ministry of John-Ap-John, and six years afterwards spoke as a minister of the gospel. He removed to Pennsylvania in 1687, and with several of his countrymen settled at Gwynned, where his gospel services appear to have been much blessed to his friends. "His pious labours," they remark, "have been profitable in directing and edifying us in the way of truth; for by the tenderness and influence which came as dew upon our souls, while we sat under his ministry, we believed his doctrine was of God. He was," they add, "of a meek and quiet spirit, considerate and solid in his judgment, of few words, honest and careful in his calling, honourable among his Friends, and of good report among people generally."‡ In 1706, he went on a gospel visit to Great Britain, which occupied him about two years, and a short time previous to his decease he wrote his "Salutation to Britons," a piece which has been widely circulated, and shows him to have been largely experienced in divine things. He died in 1718, at the age of sixty-two.

VINCENT CALDWELL.

Vincent Caldwell resided at Marlborough in Chester county, Pennsylvania. He had emigrated about the year 1699, from Derbyshire, his native country, where he was brought to unite with Friends when about seventeen years of age, through the

* Smith's Hist. chap. xviii.

† Proud, vol. ii. p. 100.

‡ Coll. of Mem. p. 46.

ministry of John Gratton. He travelled much on the continent of America in the work of the ministry, particularly in the more southern provinces; and in 1718, visited several of the West India islands, where he was instrumental to the gathering of many to Friends. He was a man of but little learning, yet eminent as a gospel minister, his communications being convincing, and affecting the hearts of the hearers.* His end was bright and peaceful. "Give me a little water," he said just before his close, "and I think I shall not want any more, till I drink at that fountain which springs up into eternal life." He died in 1720, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and was interred at Kennet.†

ANTHONY MORRIS.

Anthony Morris emigrated to New Jersey in 1680, and after residing for some years at Burlington, he settled in Philadelphia. He first appeared as a minister in 1701, being then in the forty-seventh year of his age, and soon after circumscribed his worldly affairs, that he might devote himself more entirely to the promotion of righteousness among men. He travelled in the work of the gospel in most of the colonies of North America, and in 1715 he visited Great Britain. Towards his close, he was favoured with that peace which passeth all understanding, and impressed upon his friends, "that his hope for eternal salvation was alone in the mercy of God through his Son Christ Jesus, the only Saviour and Mediator. Remember," he said, "my dear love to Friends in general; tell them I am going, and that all is well."‡ He died in 1727, aged sixty-seven years.

Antho. Morris

THOMAS LIGHTFOOT.

He resided at New Garden, in Chester county, Pennsylvania, having emigrated from Ireland, in 1716. In the year 1724,

* Proud, vol. ii. p. 120.

† Coll. of Mem. p. 56.

‡ Ibid. p. 58.

being then nearly eighty years of age, he accompanied his young friend Benjamin Kidd from England, on a religious visit to Friends in New England. "He was," says his intimate friend Thomas Chalkley, "greatly beloved for his piety and virtue, his sweet disposition and lively ministry: the Lord was with him in his life and death, and with us at his burial."* His decease took place in the year 1725.

AARON COPPOCK.

Aaron Coppock was born in the year 1662, and united with Friends when but a young man, and soon after he removed to Pennsylvania. For some years he was an elder in Nottingham Monthly Meeting, but during the latter period of his life occupied the station of minister, in which he manifested a deep concern that his friends might live a life of self-denial, watchfulness and prayer. He died in 1725, at the age of sixty-seven, in a sure hope of an entrance into everlasting life.†

HANNAH HILL.

Hannah Hill was the wife of Richard Hill of Philadelphia, and relict of John Delavall, her first husband. She was the daughter of Governor Thomas Lloyd, and was born in Wales, at Dolobran, the family seat, in the year 1666. Her natural accomplishments were many, and she was conspicuous for her Christian virtues. It pleased the Lord to call her in her younger years to bear a public testimony to his truth, and though her communications were not long, yet "her doctrine dropped as the dew, and distilled as the small rain." She travelled in the service of the gospel in New England, and other parts of North America, and for some years filled the office of Clerk to the Women's Yearly Meeting. "She was," say her friends, "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." During the latter years of her life, much bodily weakness attended her, but under this she experienced the

* T. Chalkley's Journal.

† Coll. of Mem. p. 60.

Everlasting Arm to be near her, comforting and sustaining her in the eventide of life. She died in 1726, in the sixty-first year of her age.*

HANNAH CARPENTER.

Hannah Carpenter was born at Haverfordwest, in South Wales, where she was convinced of the principles of Friends, and where, it is said, "she became very serviceable to those who were in bonds for Christ's sake." After her settlement in Pennsylvania, she was united in marriage to Samuel Carpenter of Philadelphia, a Friend of considerable influence in the province. Her gospel ministry was attended with much divine sweetness, and was truly acceptable and edifying. She was a tender nursing mother in the church, and a bright example of Christian meekness. Her decease took place in 1728, at the advanced age of eighty-two years.

ROWLAND ELLIS.

Rowland Ellis was born in Merionethshire in the year 1650; where, it is said, "he was a man of note." He united with Friends about the twenty-second year of his age, and for several years suffered imprisonment for his religion; and, in 1697, settled with his family within the compass of Gwynned Monthly Meeting, in Pennsylvania. His communications in the ministry were not frequent, but sound and edifying. "He was," says Proud, "an acceptable man in every station, his services both in the Church and the State being considerable." The members of his meeting being Welsh people, his ministry was in that language, and he was also useful as the interpreter of others.† He died in 1729, in the eightieth year of his age, and was buried at Plymouth.‡

Rowland Ellis

* J. Richardson's Journal.

† Coll. of Mem. p. 85.

‡ Coll. of Mem. p. 65.

JOSEPH BOOTH.

Joseph Booth was born at Scituate, in New England, and was brought up as an Independent. When a young man he removed to Delaware, where for many years he filled the station of a magistrate, and was also chosen as a member of the Assembly for Sussex, the county in which he resided. He was convinced of the principles of Friends in 1699, through the ministry of Thomas Story, who, in alluding to him, remarks, "that he was the most sober and knowing person in those parts. Continuing faithful to the divine manifestations, it pleased the Lord to call him to declare to others what had been done for his own soul, and his communications were solemn and awful, delivered in the power of Truth." It was through his instrumentality, that the meetings at Motherkill, in Delaware, and Cold Spring, in Maryland, were settled. He died about the year 1732.*

RICHARD TOWNSEND.

He was a member of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, which meeting issued the following brief testimony concerning him: "He was a meek and humble man, sincerely concerned for the promotion of piety and virtue; his ministry, being sound, living, and tending to edification, was well accepted. He visited Friends in the service of truth in Great Britain, continued faithful to the end of his days, and departed this life in 1737."†

JOSEPH KIRKBRIDE.

He emigrated when but a boy, in one of the three ships that left England in 1681 for Pennsylvania, "and is an instance," says Proud, "among many others that might be given, in the early times of this country, of advancement from low beginnings, to rank of eminence and esteem." For many years he filled the responsible office of magistrate in Bucks county, and was frequently chosen to represent that county in the Assembly.‡ He is referred to as a "sound and serviceable" minister of the gospel, of an exemplary life, and zealous in the cause of truth. In the

* Coll. of Mem. p. 85.

† Ibid. p. 95.

‡ Proud, vol. i. p. 193.

year 1699, he crossed the Atlantic on a gospel mission to his brethren in England; and in after years was similarly engaged in some of the northern provinces of America. "He finished his course in the unity of his brethren, in which he had lived near fifty years."* He died in 1737.



JOHN SALKELD.

John Salkeld visited America in the year 1700, on a gospel mission, his home being then in Westmoreland. Some years after he emigrated to Pennsylvania, and settled at Chester. He is thus described by Smith: "He was long and fervently engaged for truth's prosperity and the promotion of righteousness in the earth. To this purpose he travelled several times through most of this continent; often to many of the meetings in these and the neighbouring provinces, and about the year 1712, visited his native country of England; also Scotland and Ireland. He was naturally of a cheerful disposition, and in conversation found it necessary to keep a constant guard. 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."† He died in 1739, at the age of sixty-eight years.

THOMAS CHALKLEY.

This able and devoted minister of Christ was born a member of our religious Society, in the borough of Southwark, in the year 1675. "My parents," he says, "were careful of me, and brought me up in the fear of the Lord." In very early life he was sensible of the extendings of heavenly goodness to his soul, awakening conviction, and preserving him from the snares which surrounded him. At the age of ten years the fear of the Lord

* Smith's Hist. chap. xviii.

Ibid. chap. xix.

wrought so powerfully on his mind that "he could not forbear," he writes, "to reprove those lads who took the Lord's name in vain."* As he advanced in years, he grew in religious experience, and being brought more fully to see the beauty and the excellency of true religion, the Lord was pleased to visit his soul abundantly with his enriching presence, and to call him to the ministry when about twenty-one years of age. In the year following he proceeded on a religious visit to Scotland, and in the succeeding one to America. Soon after his marriage in 1699, believing it to be his religious duty to settle in America, he bought a lot of ground near the Delaware, where he pursued the business of an agriculturist. Pennsylvania was his home during the remainder of his life, though many of his latter years were spent on the ocean as the master of a vessel. Few characters present instances of greater devotedness in the work of their Divine Master than Thomas Chalkley. In addition to his gospel labours in Great Britain and Ireland, he once visited Holland and Germany, and repeatedly most of the North American colonies and the West India islands; his religious labours being blessed to many, both Friends and others. He wrote several instructive essays on divine things, one of which, entitled "God's great love to mankind through Jesus Christ," has been very extensively circulated. In his temporal affairs, through losses by fire and at sea, many were the trials and discouragements which were permitted to attend him; but through all, his faith was unwavering in the ever-watchful care of the unslumbering Shepherd of Israel, and he was enabled to exemplify to those around him, a remarkable degree of resignation to these proving dispensations. He was a man greatly beloved and esteemed by his brethren. His virtues are said to have been many, his faults few; and he evidenced to the world in many countries, and on some closely trying occasions, a bright example of a meek and quiet spirit. His ministry was "informing, edifying, and tender," and was accompanied with an evident sense in the hearers, that he felt what he said. His manner also was marked by an inviting sweetness.† He died at Tortola in 1741, whilst on a gospel mission to those parts,

* T. Chalkley's Journal.

† Smith's Hist.

and this passage of Scripture, so peculiarly applicable to himself, comprised the last words which he uttered as a minister: "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."*

ESTHER CLARE.

Of Esther Clare's life and gospel labours, but few particulars have been preserved. In 1722, she crossed the Atlantic, on a religious visit to Great Britain and Ireland; and in Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, of which she was a member, it appears she was often largely engaged in the ministry. She is represented as one "well qualified for the publication of the doctrines of the gospel;" and her ministrations were often attended with evidences of Divine help. She died in 1742, in the sixty-eighth year of her age.†

ROBERT JORDAN.

Robert Jordan was born in Nancemund county, Virginia, in the year 1693, of parents who were members of our religious Society, and received a call to the ministry at the age of twenty-five. He was unwearied in the exercise of his gift, and paid repeated religious visits to Friends in the several colonies of America. He was an unusual instance in that country, of suffering severely for his testimony against war and tithes, and was once imprisoned for the non-payment of the latter. In 1728, he came to Europe, on a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, and in one of his visits to the southern colonies, proceeded as far south as Georgia. He afterwards removed to Philadelphia, where he resided the remainder of his life. "His ministry," say Friends of his meeting, "was convincing and consolatory; his delivery graceful but unaffected; in prayer he was solemn and reverent; he delighted in

† T. Chalkley's Journal.

† Coll. of Mem. p. 102.

meditation, recommending, by example, religious retirement in his familiar visits among his friends. In his sentiments he was generous and charitable, yet a firm opposer of obstinate libertines in principles or practice, demonstrating his love to the cause of religion and righteousness above all other considerations." It pleased the Most High to remove this devoted minister from his labours, when in the meridian of his day. He died of a fit of apoplexy, in 1742, in the forty-ninth year of his age.*

JOHN CADWALLADER.

John Cadwallader lived at Horsham, in Pennsylvania, and became convinced of our principles in early life. He travelled extensively as a minister, and twice visited Europe in that capacity. In 1742, he proceeded, in company with John Estaugh, on a religious visit to Tortola, and, whilst on that island, was taken ill and died.† He was then about sixty-six years of age, and his end was unclouded and peaceful. "He had a lively testimony, and was in great esteem among his brethren everywhere."‡

MARGARET PRESTON.

She was formerly the wife of Josiah Langdale of Yorkshire, and went to America in 1721, on a religious visit; and in 1723, left England, to settle in Pennsylvania with her husband, who died on the passage. She afterwards married Samuel Preston of Philadelphia. She travelled much in the work of the ministry on the continent of North America; her communications being "lively, sound, and edifying." She died in 1742, in the fifty-eighth year of her age.

CADWALLADER EVANS.

He was one of the Welsh emigrants who settled at Gwynned in 1698, and who soon after became convinced of our principles. His offerings in the ministry, though short, were "instructive, lively, and manifestly attended with a divine sweetness;" and his meek, affable manners, combined with a marked gravity of mind, greatly endeared him to his friends. In his later moments, it is

* Coll. of Mem. p. 110. † Ibid. p. 111. ‡ Smith's Hist.

recorded, that "his soul overflowed with love to God and man," and he was favoured with "a blessed hope and confidence that he was going to that place which God had prepared for those that love him; and he had a happy exit from time to eternity, in 1745, aged eighty-one years."*

EVAN EVANS.

Evan Evans was born in Merionethshire, in 1684, and in 1698 emigrated with his parents to Gwynned. He had an excellent gift in the ministry, which he exercised in much fear and reverence of soul, visiting most of the colonies of North America, and the meetings in his own province. His service in the ministry, his friends remark, "was rendered more effectual, by the distinguishing marks which he bore of 'an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile;' a plainness and simplicity of manner in word and deed, with a zeal seasoned with divine love; and as he had large experience in the work of regeneration, and the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, as well as the snares of the world, he was thereby well qualified to administer to the states of the people." His conduct and conversation in life adorned the doctrine he preached; and the God of his youth, who had raised him up as an instrument in his hand, and on whom he relied all his life, continued to be his shield and support in the evening of his days.† He died in 1747.

JACOB HOLCOMBE.

He resided at Buckingham, in Pennsylvania, having been born at Tiverton, in Devonshire, of parents who were members of our religious Society. He was of a naturally quick and cheerful disposition, and endowed with strong mental powers. His early days were devoted to vanity and folly; but the Lord mercifully followed him with the visitations of his good Spirit, and wrought a willingness in him to take up the daily cross, and to bow to his redeeming judgments. He was diligent in the exercise of his gift in the ministry, and zealously concerned to commemorate the goodness of the Lord, by declaring to others what he had done for his soul.

* Coll. of Mem. p. 122.

† Ibid, p. 128.

His last illness was a short one, but the prospect before him was unclouded. "He was thankful," he said, "that he had known his Redeemer to live, and redeem him from all iniquity, and that he was well assured he should see a happy eternity." He died in 1748, a minister upwards of eighteen years.*

WILLIAM TROTTER.

William Trotter was educated in our religious principles, and resided at Plymouth, in Pennsylvania. He early chose the Lord for his portion, and about the twenty-first year of his age received a gift in the ministry. "His preaching," it is said, "was sound and savoury, attended with a good degree of that life and power by which the dead are raised, and without which all preaching is vain. In his life and conversation he was grave, yet innocently cheerful, and was a lover and promoter of peace, unity, and brotherly love among Friends." He died in 1749, aged about fifty-three years, in the good hope of an entrance into that kingdom "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."†

ELIZABETH WYATT.

She was the wife of Bartholomew Wyatt, and during the latter period of her life resided within the limits of Salem Monthly Meeting in New Jersey, having previously been a member of Haddonfield and Philadelphia Meetings. She was one who possessed mental qualifications of a superior order, and, submitting to the baptizing, sanctifying power of Truth, she became a dignified servant of the Lord. Her gift in the ministry was large and edifying, and she was sound in word and doctrine. To the humble-minded she was comforting, but to the backslider and unfaithful, as a sharp threshing instrument in the hand of the Lord. It pleased the Good Husbandman to send her forth in his service in many parts of his vineyard, and her labours were extended to nearly all the colonies in North America. Her life was, however, cut short in righteousness; she died in 1794, at the age of forty three.

* Coll. of Mem. p. 131.

† Ibid, p. 137.

Hitherto these biographical notices have been confined to those who were called to preach the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ, and to declare to others what God had done for their own souls. There were, in the provinces of North America, more especially in those of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, many Friends not called thus publicly to labour in word and doctrine, who were eminent for their Christian virtues, and who, by the grace bestowed upon them, were enabled to contribute much to advance the cause of righteousness among men. Some of these were hidden characters, whose deeds and whose prayers for the eternal welfare of their fellow-men are never likely to be chronicled by the pen of the historian. Concerning a few others of this class, memorials exist, which it is due to posterity and the cause of truth to notice; for, occupying as some of these did, distinguished positions in the community, their light was placed as on a candlestick, and their faithful occupation of the gifts committed to their trust, tended to the glory of Him whose bounteous hand had dispensed them.

SAMUEL CARPENTER.

Samuel Carpenter emigrated to Pennsylvania a few years after its settlement. He had previously resided in Barbadoes, where in 1673, and again in 1685, he suffered considerably in distrains for his faithful testimony against bearing arms.* Next to William Penn, he was considered as the most wealthy person in the province; for, besides large mills at Bristol, Darby, and Chester, and dwelling houses, warehouses, and wharfs, in Philadelphia, he also held nearly twenty thousand acres of land in different parts of the province,† and was largely engaged as a merchant. In 1693, he became member of the Assembly, and a few years later one of the Council; and ultimately the Treasurer of the province. "Through a great variety of business," says Proud, "he preserved the love and esteem of a large and extensive acquaintance. His great abilities, activity and benevolent disposition in divers capacities, but more particularly among his friends the Quakers,

* Besse, vol. ii.

† Watson's Annals, p. 503.

are said to have distinguished him as a very useful and valuable member, not only of that religious Society, but also of the community in general.* He died in the year 1713.



JONATHAN DICKINSON.

He emigrated with his family from Jamaica, in 1696, and was shipwrecked on the voyage in the gulf of Florida. His remarkable preservation on that occasion, especially among the Indians, is commemorated in an interesting and well-known narrative, which he wrote and published, entitled "God's protecting providence man's surest help and defence." He became an influential merchant at Philadelphia. For some years he filled the office of Speaker in the Assembly, and was also Chief Justice of the province. He was a Friend much and universally beloved; and died in the year 1722.

CALEB PUSEY.

Caleb Pusey was born in Berkshire, in England, about 1650, and at an early age united in religious profession with Friends. He subsequently resided in London, from whence he emigrated in 1682, to Pennsylvania, and settled near Chester. He was long one of the Provincial Council, and was also on several occasions elected to the Assembly. It was Caleb Pusey who, in 1688, when the alarming report was spread that the natives were coming to massacre the colonists, offered to go out and meet them unarmed, provided five others accompanied him. New Garden Monthly Meeting thus recorded its testimony respecting him: "He was a worthy elder of the church, being endowed with a good natural capacity, sound in judgment, and zealous in maintaining the cause of truth against contrary and contending spirits. His

* Proud, vol. ii. p. 60.

constancy in attending meetings for worship and discipline was remarkable, and worthy of imitation. Much might be said of his zeal, and integrity for truth, which he retained to the last; but, for brevity's sake let it suffice, that he was a just man, therefore, let him be had in remembrance." He died in 1726, aged about seventy-six years, and was interred in Friends' burying-ground at London Grove.*

Label p. 59

RICHARD HILL.

Richard Hill was born in Maryland, and was brought up to the sea. As early as 1703, he was a member of the Provincial Council in Pennsylvania. He possessed considerable ability and influence among the settlers, and became additionally popular by the bold and decisive course he adopted in resisting the enforcement of "powder-money" by the fort at Newcastle, as mentioned in a preceding chapter. In 1703, he was united in marriage to Hannah, the widow of John Delavall, and daughter of Thomas Lloyd, who was a valuable minister and of whom a notice has been given. Richard Hill was twenty-five years a member of the Council; many times Speaker of the Assembly; for years First Commissioner of Property, and, during the last ten years of his life, one of the provincial judges. He was an active member of our religious Society, his services being much appreciated by his brethren. "He had," says the 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

* Penn. Mem. p. 65.

which he was engaged, and rendered him of very great and uncommon value, in the place where he lived. He died in Philadelphia, in 1729."*



ISAAC NORRIS.

He emigrated from Jamaica, where he had been a merchant of respectable standing.† In 1701, we find him one of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and during the remainder of his life he held many public offices with "great reputation and honour." He was endowed with good natural abilities, which, from conscientious conviction, "he improved and applied to the benefit of mankind." His services among Friends were many and highly esteemed by them. "His character," says Proud, "in most respects was so honourable among men in general, and his services so universally beneficial, more particularly to his brethren in religious profession, that he has been justly called an ornament to his country and religious profession."* He died in 1735, being at that time Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.

SAMUEL PRESTON.

Samuel Preston was born in Maryland, and, after the settlement of Pennsylvania, resided in Sussex county, Delaware, which he represented in the Assembly in 1701. He subsequently became a member of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, and filled some of the highest stations in the government of the province, having been for a long time one of the Council, and Treasurer of the province. His first wife was Rachel, the daughter of Thomas Lloyd, and his second, Margaret, the widow of Josiah Langdale. He is described as a man of great benevolence, of sound judgment, and much presence of mind, whose life was

* Proud, vol. i. p. 473.

† Watson's Annals, p. 501.

‡ Ibid.

instructive to others, "and his practice a continued series of good offices." In a testimony issued by his Monthly Meeting, he is thus spoken of: "He was an Elder circumspect in his conduct, and carefully concerned for the good of the Church; active and serviceable in the maintenance of our Christian discipline, and by his attention to the dictates of Divine grace, he became well qualified for this service."* He died in great resignation of mind, in 1743, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

JAMES LOGAN.

James Logan was descended of an ancient family of high standing in Scotland, but was born at Lurgan, in Ireland, about 1674, to which country his father had removed. He early evinced an aptitude for learning, and before he was thirteen years of age had learnt not only the Latin and Greek languages, but, to some extent, the Hebrew also; and in a few years more he made himself master of French and Italian. In the year 1698, he commenced business in Bristol; but at the solicitation of William Penn, he accompanied him in the spring of the following year to America, where he acted confidentially and faithfully as his secretary. Being a man of powerful intellect, he filled with great ability and integrity the offices of Commissioner of Property, Chief Justice, and for nearly two years, that of Governor of the province. He was deeply skilled in mathematics, in natural and moral philosophy, and was the author of several works in Latin and English. His learning led him into an extensive correspondence with the literati of Europe. To the citizens of Philadelphia he bequeathed a choice library of three thousand volumes, with a sum of thirty-five pounds a year for

* Coll. of Mem. p. 118.

its maintenance. It is still known there as the famous Loganian Library. Except on the subject of defensive war, to which it is remarkable that he seems to have had no very decided objection,* James Logan was a consistent Friend. He was a man of sterling integrity and worth, and preserved through life a character marked by piety and uprightness. He died in 1751, at the age of seventy-six years.†

J Logan

* Vide Logan Correspondence in the Philadelphia Friend.

† Memoirs of James Logan, by Wilson Armistead.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY FROM 1750 TO 1775.

Visit of C. Payton and M. Peisley—S. Fothergill and J. Dixon—War with the French and Indians—Outcry against the pacific views of Friends—State of feeling in England on the subject—Epistle from Friends of London—Friends vacate their seats in the Assembly—They raise money for the relief of the settlers on the frontiers—They form “An Association for preserving peace with the Indians”—Success of this Association—Friends and the Militia—Establishment of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings—The Lancaster Massacre of Indians—Sensation in Philadelphia—Charges against Friends—Answer to them—Theatres opened in Philadelphia—Exertions of Friends to suppress them—Gospel labours of W. Reckitt, S. Spavold, and others—Visit of J. Griffith, S. Neale, J. Oxley, R. Walker, and others.

IN the year 1753, Mary Peisley, afterwards Mary Neale, and Catherine Payton, afterwards Catherine Phillips, visited the colonies of North America. They were then young and unmarried, the former about thirty-six and the latter about twenty-six years of age. Landing at Charlestown in the Twelfth Month, they attended nearly all the meetings of Friends within the compass of Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, including some of the most remote. Of the state of the Society in Bucks county, Catherine Payton remarks, “There is in this county a weighty, living number of Friends, unto whom my spirit was closely united in the covenant of life; but there are many dwellers at ease. Some of the youth appear promising, and the divine visitation was largely extended to many.”* During their travels in Pennsylvania the people were greatly excited by the incursions and devastations of the Indians on the frontiers in the pay of the French; and it was a time of close trial to Friends. “I was concerned,” writes Catherine Payton, “to testify against that

* Memoirs of C. Phillips.

spirit, which, from human considerations, was for war; and to strengthen the minds of Friends against leaning thereto. Divers times during those troubles, I was concerned publicly to assert the consistency of our peace principles with the gospel dispensation." Catherine Payton was from home about three years on this visit, and travelled in America nearly nine thousand miles. For further particulars of this journey the reader may be referred to her published journal. She died in 1794, in the sixty-eighth year of her age, and forty-sixth of her ministry. Mary Peisley returned with her companion. She was a very eminent minister, and had "extraordinary service" in America. Her death took place in 1757, a few months after her return, at the age of thirty-nine.* A memoir of her life has been published.

Samuel Fothergill of Warrington, and Joshua Dixon of Durham, appear to have been the next ministers that visited Friends in America. Of the religious labours of the latter we have no account, but the two Friends reached America, and returned nearly at the same time, but not together. Samuel Fothergill was then in the fortieth year of his age, and was a very powerful, baptizing minister of the Gospel. He landed at Wilmington in Delaware, in the Eighth Month, 1754, and proceeded from thence to Philadelphia, where he remarks, "the meetings are exceedingly large, all sorts and ranks of people flock to them, and the mighty name is deservedly exalted." Of the state of the Society in Delaware, and some parts of Maryland, he speaks discouragingly: "their numbers being small, but their care and zeal for the truth in general less than their numbers." He extended his visit to the meetings in the remote parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, "and along the Blue Mountains;" going also to a settlement of Friends "beyond those mountains, who were then," he writes, "in great quiet, but have since all removed through fear of the Indians, and left their plantations and dwellings desolate." Speaking of the incursions of the Indians, he says, "Many thousand pounds of the province's money have, by the Assembly's committee, been laid out in erecting forts upon the frontiers, and placing men in them; a

* Life of Mary Neale.

step as prudent, and likely to be attended with as much success, as an attempt to hedge out birds or the deer. The distress of this province is great—its commotions violent—all the desolations of a cruel Indian war impendent, and the legislature in a great degree infatuated; it seems like a judicial desertion of all their counsels, and every step they take increases their perplexity. Friends have interposed for the restoration of peace, and borne their testimony faithfully.”* Samuel Fothergill was about two years in America, and came back in the same vessel with Catherine Payton and Mary Peisley. He brought returning certificates from most of the provinces to this effect: “His public labours amongst us, both in the ministry and the discipline, have been fervent, deep, and lively; to the edification and building up of the Church, the information of strangers, and to the great satisfaction of such as wish well to Zion’s cause.”† “His ministry at times went forth as a flame, often piercing into the inmost recesses of darkness and obduracy; yet descended like dew upon the tender plants of our Heavenly Father’s planting. . . . 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.”‡ He died in the Sixth Month, 1772, in the faith and hope of the gospel he had preached, having a foretaste of that everlasting rest and joy into which he was about to enter. He was in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his ministry.



The ravages of the Indians, under French influence, on the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, caused a great degree of alarm among the colonists, and increased their outcry against Friends, as legislators and lovers of peace. So strong, indeed, had this feeling become, and so great the dread of these incur-

* Memoirs of S. Fothergill, p. 255. † Ibid. 264.

‡ Testimony concerning S. Fothergill.

sions, that loud complaints were transmitted to England. The authorities at Whitehall began also to entertain the notion that, unless some decided steps were taken to quash Quaker rule in Pennsylvania, the province would fall into the hands of the French; and in 1756, they actually prepared a Bill, making the taking of an oath imperative on every member of the Assembly; the effect of which they knew would be, to exclude Friends from that body.

The misrepresentations to which the members of our Society were subjected at this period, rendered their position a painful one; and at the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia, in the Fifth Month, 1755, it was concluded again to seek the aid of their brethren in England. The application was heartily responded to, and the Meeting for Sufferings in London exerted its influence with the government on behalf of their calumniated brethren. The result of the labours of this body was, to obtain the withdrawal of the Bill instituting oaths as a test. But this was not effected without considerable difficulty, and on condition only, that Friends "would give a reasonable hope of their not allowing themselves to be elected" as members of the Assembly; accompanied with a strong recommendation, that Friends in England should send a deputation to Pennsylvania, to promote this course. In their epistle to Friends of Philadelphia, the Meeting for Sufferings in London thus describes the state of feeling in England on the subject:—

"You are not, we believe, unacquainted, that great pains have been taken to represent the conduct of the Assembly, and Friends in general in Pennsylvania, in such a manner as to create a belief here, that the calamities, which the country hath of late sustained, proceed from the principles and behaviour of the Society, and this we apprehend with a view to subject us to public odium and resentment, as the majority of representatives is known to consist of persons under our profession.

"These charges have been laid with so much industry and success, and our known sentiments respecting war so speciously alleged in support of them, as to excite a general and strong prepossession against us; insomuch, that not only the lower and

less discerning, but even those in the administration, have been so far influenced by these charges, as to think that Friends in Pennsylvania, merely to preserve their power, have procured a majority of their persuasion to be elected into the Assembly; though they knew their religious principles would restrain them from providing for the security of the province, then exposed to the incursions of a cruel and barbarous enemy.

“The government was likewise induced to believe, that the dangers which threatened this flourishing colony, could not be so easily averted, as by excluding those from its legislation who professed such principles; and as they saw that this might speedily be done by imposing an oath as a test, a Bill was ordered, and actually prepared, for excluding all those from having seats in any legislative Assembly in America, who refused to take and subscribe the oaths directed as a qualification.

“Though we were early apprised that some steps were taking for this purpose, and were not wanting in a timely and diligent application on your behalf, yet our utmost endeavours would undoubtedly have been ineffectual, had not some persons in high stations, from a steady regard to the Society, greatly assisted in preventing any further proceedings relative thereto, this sessions of Parliament. And which we esteem a favourable interposition of Providence.

“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 pursuance of the recommendation of the British Government, it was concluded to send a deputation to Pennsylvania, and John Hunt of London, and Christopher Wilson of Cumberland, were appointed to the important service. These Friends had, some years before, crossed the Atlantic on a gospel mission, and were well known, and highly esteemed, by their brethren in America. They arrived at Philadelphia in the Tenth Month, 1756, and were warmly welcomed. A conference was soon had

* Minutes of Meeting for Sufferings, vol. xxix. p. 524.

with Friends of the city : there was, however, but little for the deputation to do, for already had the advice from London, of which they were the bearers, been anticipated and acted upon. Six of the representatives in the Assembly who were Friends, had vacated their seats, and at the close of the session for that year, other members of the Society declined to offer themselves as candidates. From this date it was the constant care of Friends, to discourage their members from being candidates for office, and but few of our members of any religious standing ever after formed part of the local legislature of Pennsylvania. "Upon the whole," write Friends of Philadelphia to their brethren in London in 1759, "you may observe somewhat of our present circumstances, and that our connections with the powers of the earth are reduced to small bounds, which we fervently desire may have the proper effect to establish the Church in righteousness, and fix our trust in the Lord alone for protection and deliverance."

The incursions of the Indians on the western frontiers were attended with very calamitous results. A number of the settlers fell victims to the tomahawk and the scalping knife, and many settlements were entirely destroyed, causing great distress to the inhabitants, who, to avoid further danger removed to the interior. For the relief of these a subscription was entered into, towards which a large amount was contributed by Friends. At Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting in 1756, it was agreed to raise a thousand pounds for this object. Very early also after these Indian outrages, Friends exerted themselves to obtain a reconciliation with them. They used their endeavours to induce the local government to take steps for this purpose, but all their efforts proved unavailing. The public mind was too highly excited on the subject to listen to pleadings for forbearance and peace, and the rulers, under similar feelings, fostered a spirit of revenge. To increase the excitement, the mangled bodies of some of the settlers who had been massacred, were purposely brought to Philadelphia, and paraded through the streets ; "many people," says John Churchman, "following, cursing the Indians, and also the Quakers, because they would not join in war for

their destruction. The sight of the dead bodies, and the outcry of the people, were very afflicting and shocking.* In the Assembly too the conflict ran high, between those who took different views on the subject; but the war party prevailed, armaments were prepared, and many of the Indians were destroyed.†

Seeing no prospect of obtaining assistance from the government towards a peaceful termination of hostilities with the natives, in the Eleventh Month, 1756, an association was formed, consisting chiefly of Friends, "for gaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures." This association continued its exertions until the time of the definitive treaty in 1764, during which period, by their private and individual subscriptions, several thousand pounds were raised to enable them to carry out their designs.‡ The money thus raised was expended, chiefly in presents to the Indians, in order to conciliate them; and sometimes to induce them to seek out and release the settlers whom they had taken prisoners. These exertions appear to have had a most salutary effect, and, indeed, they were mainly instrumental in restoring the peace of the province.§ But benevolent and disinterested as their designs were, Friends were still reproached by many, and even the government, in some instances, repelled their proffered services to preserve peace.|| During the war, several treaties were held with the Indians at Easton, Lancaster, &c. On these occasions Friends believed it to be their duty to attend, notwithstanding the governor's dislike to their presence; and they were instrumental in assisting on these occasions to a peaceable settlement of the questions at issue.

The war cry throughout the province, entailed other difficulties on Friends. In Delaware, or the three lower counties, a militia bill was passed, and passed, too, without the slightest regard to the known conscientious scruples of the Society, but rather, with

* Journal of J. Churchman.

† Watson's Annals, p. 450.

‡ The total amount raised was £4004 1s. 6d. £130 of which was contributed by the Menonists. In addition to this sum a German sect called Swingfielders, raised £236 14s. to be applied for the redemption of the captives among the Indians.

§ Friends and the Indians, p. 91.

|| Watson's Annals, p. 450.

the aim to bring suffering upon them. A memorial on this subject was presented to Thomas and Richard Penn, the proprietaries, but without producing any effectual relief. Friends were also involved in difficulty by the imposition of a tax in Pennsylvania, to defray the expenses of the war.

It was during these troubles, that steps were taken to form a representative body, to act on behalf of the Society in the interval of the Yearly Meetings. During 1755, conferences of Friends were held in Philadelphia, which addressed the Assembly, and also issued, on the emergency, an epistle of advice to the members of the Society under their altered circumstances. These conferences not being regularly constituted 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. This was the first meeting of this description established in America, and it has continued to be held, down to the present time, with much advantage to the body. The Meeting for Sufferings in London, had been established as early as the year 1675, or within a very few years after the Yearly Meetings were held in that city; its object being, chiefly to obtain relief for Friends under suffering in support of their various christian testimonies. The objects of the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia were defined as follows:—

“ To hear and consider the cases of any Friends under sufferings, and to administer relief as necessity is found to require, or to apply to the government, or persons in power, on their behalf.

“ To correspond with the Meeting for Sufferings or the Yearly Meeting in London, and to represent the state of Friends here, and in general to represent this (the Yearly) Meeting, and appear in all cases where the reputation and interest of truth and our religious Society are concerned, but not to interfere in matters of faith or discipline, which are not already determined by the Yearly Meeting.

“ To consider the uses and manner of application of charitable legacies and donations, and to advise respecting the titles of any land, or other estate belonging to the several meetings, &c.

“ To receive an account from the several particular meetings, of any sufferings to which Friends may be subjected for the testimony of truth.

“ And that fair minutes of all their proceedings should be kept, and laid before the Yearly Meeting from time to time.”

Some years after, the revisal of all manuscripts intended for publication by any member, having reference to Friends, was transferred from the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, to the Meeting for Sufferings; and any proposal for reprinting a work was also committed to its care.

The massacres that had taken place during the late war, had raised in the minds of most of the settlers on the frontiers, a strong feeling of hatred toward the Indians, and also towards those who were supposed to be advocates of Indian rights, or friendly towards them, more especially Friends. In no part was this feeling more conspicuous than in Lancaster county, where also some pulpit discourses of a sect of zealots, chiefly Presbyterians from the North of Ireland, added religious fanaticism to the already excited passions of the people. At Conestogoe, in this county, there resided a small remnant of an Indian tribe who had welcomed William Penn on his first visit to Pennsylvania. They had always preserved an inviolate friendship with the settlers, and had lived in harmony and good-will with those in their own immediate neighbourhood. Their numbers had, however, gradually dwindled, and in 1763, their community consisted of but twenty individuals. In the Twelfth Month of this year, a band of cruel fanatics came to their village, with the avowed intention of destroying them, to avenge the whites slain on the frontier, and to extirpate, as they declared, the heathen from the land, that the saints might inherit the earth.* The ruffians were all armed, and, surrounding the Indian huts, they fell upon the defenceless inmates, and murdered in cold blood, three men, two women, and a boy, being all that happened to be then at home. After the massacre, the murderers set fire to the huts.

The news of this dreadful act produced great sensation in the province, and a proclamation was issued, calling upon the officers

* Watson's Annals, p. 452.

both civil and military, to exert themselves in bringing the perpetrators to justice. No inconsiderable number of the inhabitants of the county of Lancaster abetted this wicked proceeding, and with this encouragement, in about two weeks after, a similar band of ruffians actually rode into the town of Lancaster, and in full day, broke open the workhouse where the remaining fourteen Indians were placed for protection, and deliberately put them all to death. But the wickedness of these lawless destroyers did not stop here; they even attempted to murder all the Indians within their reach, and, understanding that some of them had fled to Philadelphia for protection, they determined to march on to the city to carry out their dreadful designs. Their numbers were formidable, amounting to between two and three hundred, and they advanced as far as Germantown, threatening death, not only to the officers of the government, but also to some prominent members of the Society of Friends. On the emergency, the governor called a public meeting; a large number of the citizens enrolled themselves for the common defence; cannon were planted to command the principal streets; and the ferries on the Schuylkill were put in a state of defence. This was a time of peculiar trial to Friends, for they were deeply concerned not only for the preservation of the poor Indians, but for the lives of their beloved brethren.

The determination of the citizens of Philadelphia to resist these wretched men by force of arms, caused them to hesitate in this mad career, and, on reaching Germantown, they contented themselves by forwarding to the governor a detail of their alleged grievances; Friends being thus specifically alluded to: "The hands that were closely shut, nor would grant his Majesty's General a single farthing against a savage foe, have been liberally opened, and the public money basely prostituted, to hire, at an exorbitant rate, a mercenary guard to protect his Majesty's worst of enemies, those falsely pretended Indian friends; while at the same time, hundreds of poor, distressed families of his Majesty's subjects [have been] obliged to abandon their possessions, and fly for their lives at least, or left, except a small relief at first, in the most distressing circumstances, to starve neglected, save

what the friendly hand of private donations has contributed to their support, wherein they who are most profuse towards savages, have carefully avoided having any part."* in about a week after, they presented a second paper to the governor; in which among the grievances set forth, Friends are again referred to: "We complain," say they, "that a certain society of people in this province, in the late Indian war and at several treaties held by the king's representatives, openly loaded the Indians with presents, and that Israel Pemberton, a leader of the said society, in defiance of a government, not only abetted our Indian enemies, but kept up a private intelligence with them, and publicly received from them a belt of wampum, as if he had been our governor, or authorised by the king to treat with his enemies. By this means the Indians have been taught to despise us as a weak and disunited people, and from this fatal source have arisen many of our calamities under which we groan."†

The return of the rioters to their homes, was followed by the issue of a number of bitter and abusive publications against Friends. These were promptly and fearlessly answered. The malevolent feeling thus exhibited, although fostered by many Presbyterians of Philadelphia, drew down on the authors and abettors of such unworthy attacks the contempt of the community at large. During this time of excitement, the Meeting for Sufferings was not inactive. They published, in the form of an address to the governor, an answer to the charges contained in the two papers just referred to. The document is too long for insertion in these pages. Alluding to the government of the province under the auspices of Friends, 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

* "The Friend," Philadelphia Journal, vol. xx. p. 13.

† Ibid. p. 14.

sorrow, for some years past, we have observed the circumstances of the province to be much changed, and that intestine animosities and the desolating calamities of war have taken the place of tranquillity and peace :” in addressing the Meeting for Sufferings of London, about the same time, 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 extended in the meekness of true wisdom for the help and restoration of such that have thus erred. When we consider the ferments which were then excited and prevailed, and the numbers suddenly brought together from different places in this state of mind, we have abundant cause with deep and reverent thankfulness to acknowledge and remember the merciful interposition of favour extended toward us, that through the commotion no lives were lost, nor personal injury done to any, that we have heard of, and that the mischiefs which seemed for some time inevitable, are for the present arrested.”*

The original laws of Pennsylvania, framed under the influence of Friends, did not allow exhibitions of a theatrical character, “as tending to looseness and immorality;” and hence, for a period of nearly seventy years from the settlement of the province, no attempt to introduce them took place. The first appearance of entertainments of this description, in Philadelphia, was in the year 1749 ; but, at the instance of the Common Council, they were speedily suppressed as illegal, and the actors bound over “to their good behaviour.”† Six years later, a similar effort was made, when the Common Council, not then under the control of Friends, gave the actors licence “to act a few plays,” provided “nothing indecent or immoral was offered.” But the more

* London Yearly Meeting Records.—Philadelphia Epistles, vol. i.

† Watson’s Annals, p. 408.

religious portion of the citizens, who witnessed with sorrow the opening of this floodgate of vice, endeavoured to counteract the evil by the distribution of tracts, setting forth the demoralizing tendency of all such exhibitions. Their efforts appear to have been successful; for after two months only, the performers ceased to act in Philadelphia; and no further movement of this sort took place until 1759, when a theatre was opened a little southward of the city bounds, in order to be out of the reach of civic control.

It may be remarked, that the progress of theatrical entertainments in Philadelphia nearly kept pace with the gradual increase of military display; and the "pomp and circumstance of war," seems to have been especially congenial to the growth of this potent instrument of vice and irreligion. The dancer in the theatre first established in the province, was a military character; and whilst the English army occupied Philadelphia, plays were frequently acted; the officers themselves being the principal performers.*

In 1766, the city authorities had so far relaxed in their views on this subject, as to allow these entertainments within their limits. Friends were much distressed at the circumstance; and with a view to induce the Governor, John Penn, to suppress them, they addressed him on the occasion. It was, however, unavailing. The actors had already obtained his consent; and, so far from sympathising with Friends on the matter, he openly expressed his approval of such exhibitions. The exertions having thus failed of success, an epistle of caution was addressed to the younger members of the Society on the temptations placed before them. In the following year, the Governor was again memorialised on the subject, and also the Assembly; but, as in the former instance, the "remonstrances were ineffectual to induce a suppression of these seductive scenes."

As a natural consequence of the deplorable change that had taken place, through setting aside the original laws of the province, in reference to theatrical and other vain amusements,

* Watson's Annals, p. 410.

vice and immorality made rapid strides in the once quiet and orderly city of Philadelphia. The attention of the Meeting for Sufferings was closely directed to the subject; and it was concluded, in 1770, once more to plead with the Governor respecting it. A promise that he would use his authority in suppressing booths on the race grounds, appears to have been, in this instance, the only favourable result. A few months afterwards, the same Meeting memorialized the proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn; they being resident in England, the memorial was forwarded to Friends of London for presentation, accompanied by a letter, in which occurs the following passage:—"Whether our endeavours may succeed or not to prevent the torrent of corruption overspreading the city and country, we think it our duty to bear our testimony against it; desiring, by every means in our power, to perpetuate the happiness we have heretofore enjoyed, and that our successors may have such proofs of our concern for their welfare, as we have of the virtue of our predecessors."*

Returning to the gospel labours of Friends from England, we find that William Reckitt of Lincolnshire landed at Philadelphia in the Ninth Month, 1757. He had in the previous year sailed from London for this purpose; but the vessel being taken by a privateer, he was carried as a prisoner to France. William Reckitt's gospel mission in America occupied him about two years; during which he visited nearly all the meetings within the limits of this large Yearly Meeting, including those in the remote parts of Virginia and Maryland. He refers to the meeting at Shrewsbury, in New Jersey, as a memorable time, and very large, people of all ranks being present. "I had," he writes, "to declare of the Lord's mercy and goodness towards the children of men, and to invite them to come and see for themselves, what great things the Lord will do for them that trust in Him."† Salem Yearly Meeting, which held three days, for worship and discipline, was, he remarks, "an edifying time, things being conducted in a degree of the pure wisdom; and the over-

* "The Friend" of Phil., vol. xx. p. 133.

† Life of William Reckitt, p. 73.

shadowing of divine power was witnessed by many."* Bucks Quarterly Meeting he mentions, as consisting of several hundreds, mostly a young generation. He "was glad he was here, and his spirit rejoiced in the Lord." Many of the meetings in Pennsylvania, he speaks of, as consisting of a large body of Friends; "the sight of whom," he says, "in many places, and the sense of divine favour still extended towards them, was cause of humble thankfulness."† In the year 1764, he made a second visit to the provinces in North America, "and passed through most of them;" but his return home was hastened in the early part of 1766, by the decease of his wife. No particulars of this visit are extant. William Reckitt came forth in the ministry about the thirty-sixth year of his age. "He was," record Friends of his own meeting, "deep in the ministry, and powerful in prayer." He died, after a very short illness, in 1769, at the age of sixty-three.

Samuel Spavold of Hertfordshire, and Mary Kirby of Norfolk, went on a gospel errand to their brethren in America, in 1757; but no record of their services on the occasion has been preserved. Samuel Spavold first spoke in the ministry when very young, and travelled extensively therein in Great Britain and Ireland, as well as in America. Although he was at times largely engaged in gospel labours, yet he was a lover of silent waiting upon God. "Oh, how I love this silent waiting," he said, "and to feel my mind humbled before that great Power! We want to be more inward; the Lord's people are an inward people."‡ He died in great peace and assurance of acceptance with God his Saviour, in the First Month, 1795, aged eighty-seven years.

In the year 1760, four ministers crossed the Atlantic to North America. These were John Storer of Nottingham, Jane Crosfield of Westmoreland, George Mason of Yorkshire, and Susannah Hatton, formerly Susannah Hudson, and afterwards Susannah Lightfoot. No particulars of their religious engagements during the visit have been met with, nor of five others who went over in the following year, viz., Robert Proud, John Stephenson, Hannah Harris, Elizabeth Wilkinson, and Alice

* Life of W. Reckitt, p. 104. † Ibid. p. 142. ‡ Piety Pro. part ix.

Hall, the last of whom died at Philadelphia in the following year.*

We come now to notice the services of John Griffith of Essex, but who had previously resided in Pennsylvania. He landed at Philadelphia in the Ninth Month, 1765, and visited most of the meetings throughout America; first attending the "great meeting," in Philadelphia, where, on First-day, "nearly if not quite fifteen hundred Friends" were present. He then proceeded to the Jerseys. John Griffith's gospel labours in America occupied him about a year. "In ministry he was sound, powerful, and clear; and in discipline, diligent and judicious." He died in 1776, at the age of sixty-three, having been a minister about forty-two years.† A journal of his life and travels has been published, containing many instructive incidents.

In the same year 1765, Abigail Pike visited America on a like gospel mission, and was followed in 1768, by Rachel Wilson of Kendal; and two years later, by Joseph Oxley of Norwich, and Samuel Neale of Ireland. Of the religious labours of the first two no account is extant, excepting that it is recorded of Rachel Wilson, that her ministry was "remarkably interesting and eloquent," and that she "was much admired by people of all classes."‡ Of the movements of Joseph Oxley and Samuel Neale, our biographical publications supply some interesting details.

Samuel Neale landed at Newcastle in Delaware in the Tenth Month, 1770, and proceeded at once to Philadelphia. In the early part of the following year, he visited many of the meetings in the remote parts of the province and in Maryland. "I have rode," he remarks in the Third Month, 1771, "already upwards of seventeen hundred miles, and have lain out five nights in the woods; I have breakfasted, dined, and supped in the woods, as contented as if I were in a palace, and though I have had to partake of fare that in Ireland would go hardly down with any servants, yet the contentedness of the mind made it a feast."§

* Piety Pro. part xi.

† Phil. Friend, vol. xx. p. 108.

‡ Journal of John Griffith.

§ Life of S. Neale, p. 48.

His religious labours in America occupied him about two years, and extended to most of the meetings in that land. "There are," he says, "a great body of Friends on this continent, beyond what I expected; many of them deep and valuable in the church, and many of them too deeply settled in earth and earthly things; and though they are not in much pomp as to worldly splendour, the root and leaven of that spirit which dissipates and renders useless, very much hurts and weakens as to coming forward in the brightness of Truth, and in service in the church."* Samuel Neale died in 1792, aged sixty-two years, having been a minister forty years.

Joseph Oxley landed at New York in the Ninth Month, 1770, and reached Philadelphia during the sitting of the Yearly Meeting in the same month. Respecting this meeting he made the following entry in his journal: "It was a very large, awful, and solemn gathering, *such as I had not seen before*; so consistent in appearance of dress and uniformity throughout, agreeable to our holy profession, as greatly affected my mind; and my tongue was loosened to speak of the love I was made comfortably to partake of, in this the latter part of their feast, which they acknowledged had been throughout to mutual comfort and edification. The meeting continued two days after my coming, 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 largely in the provinces of America for about a year and a half, going over about seven thousand miles in that time, and nearly fourteen thousand during his absence from home. Alluding to the visit of this devoted Friend, John Pemberton says, "he has stepped along wisely, and has gained the love of Friends, and, indeed, it is a great blessing and mercy to be so preserved, so that I expect he will leave us much united to him."‡ Joseph Oxley died in 1775, in the sixty-first year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his ministry.

In 1773, or soon after the return of the two last mentioned Friends, Robert Walker and Elizabeth Robinson of Yorkshire, and Mary Leaver of Nottingham, visited America. The two

* Life of S. Neale, p. 171. † Journal of J. Oxley, p. 317.

‡ John Pemberton's Letter to Mary Oxley.

women Friends were companions in their gospel labours, in the course of which they visited the families of Friends in Philadelphia. It was from the ministry of Elizabeth Robinson that Thomas Scattergood dates his awakening, and he ever after regarded her as his mother in the Truth. Robert Walker was largely engaged in the love of the gospel among his American brethren. He was given to see the approaching troubles of the revolution, and ardently desired that Friends might find a hiding-place in Him who is the only sure refuge from the storms and tempests of time. "He was wise in his counsels, prudent in his cautions, and prophetic in his warnings ;—the humble were encouraged by his ministry, and the faithful were strengthened."* He finished his religious labours among Friends in America in the early part of 1775, and, with Elizabeth Robinson and Mary Leaver, went on board a vessel to return to England. There was, however, one religious requirement from which he had shrunk, and that was to have a meeting with the Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. The wind being adverse, the captain did not think it prudent to set sail with the first tide, and told his passengers that they might go on shore again. Robert Walker now saw that he must embrace this opportunity to give up to the call of his Divine Master, and seek an interview with Congress, and through the influence of some of his brethren this was granted him. Excepting Matlack, the secretary, they all heard him attentively and patiently. In the evening Robert Walker went on board again, and the ship immediately put to sea. No record exists of the character of his communication to the Congress ; but whether from any doubt of what he said, or from sheer maliciousness on the part of Matlack, before the following morning, the house where Robert Walker had been lodging was surrounded by a body of soldiers, sent at the instigation of Matlack to arrest him. Finding he had sailed, a cutter was forthwith sent after him. It soon neared the object of its pursuit, and its prey seemed almost within grasp, when, unexpectedly, a thick cloud enveloped them, putting an end to the chase, and thus by a

* T. Scattergood and his Times.

marked interposition of Providence, Robert Walker escaped the hands of his enemies. He died in a sweet and heavenly state of mind, whilst on a visit to London in the year 1785, aged about sixty-nine years, a minister about thirty-four years.*



FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE, MEDFORD, NEW JERSEY.

* Piety Promoted, part ix.

CHAPTER XII.

DIFFICULTIES OF FRIENDS DURING THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Opposition of the Americans to the Stamp Act—Repeal of the Act—Duty on Tea opposed—Cargoes destroyed—Conduct of Friends—American Congress established 1774—Friends advised to keep out of the political struggle—Address to the Inhabitants—Epistle from London Yearly Meeting—War commenced between Great Britain and the American Colonies—Lexington and Bunker's Hill—Friends address the Assembly—Their Address to the people at large—The "Free Quakers"—Paper-money for carrying on the war—Sufferings of Friends—Exhortation to faithfulness—Views of Friends with respect to Government—Jealously regarded by the Revolutionists—The Spanktown Yearly Meeting forgery—Arrest of many Friends on the charge of disaffection—Their banishment to Virginia—Seizure of the documents of the Meeting for Sufferings and of Monthly and Quarterly Meetings under suspicion—Their several remonstrances—Death of two of the exiles—Release from exile—Observations on the measures of Congress—Roberts and Carlisle executed on the charge of high treason—Insufficiency of the evidence—Records of the trial secreted or destroyed.

SCARCELY had peace with the Indians been restored to Pennsylvania, and hostilities between England and France suspended by the treaty of Fontainbleau, in 1762, ere troubles of another description arose in North America, and proved the incipient cause of the War of Independence. Hitherto, Great Britain had not attempted to increase its revenue by taxing its American colonies, and when, for the first time, it entertained the idea of doing so, the colonies boldly disputed the point. They contended that the mother country possessed no such right over their properties ;

but, despite their remonstrances, the memorable and impolitic Stamp Act was passed in 1765. This attempt roused the indignation of the Americans, and from New England to Georgia, the whole community was in a state of fervid excitement. The Assembly of Virginia at once declared the act invalid, and recorded its resolution "that the colony alone had the right of taxing its inhabitants."—Massachusetts proposed a Congress of Representatives from each of the provinces, to deliberate on the alleged infraction of their rights; whilst at Philadelphia, when the vessel bearing the stamped paper arrived, the general feeling was demonstrated by a public mourning—the bells were muffled—the shipping hoisted colours half-mast high, and, on the day when the act was to take effect, the newspapers of the city were issued in mourning. These demonstrations in Philadelphia were soon followed by others more grave, for in a very short time, no less than four hundred traders of the city bound themselves neither to buy nor to sell British exports, so long as the obnoxious enactment continued in force.

Although some Friends united in this compact, the Society was generally preserved in much calmness; and they remark in 1766, "Under the violent ferment reigning at this time in the colonies, the observation, that the people of Pennsylvania and West Jersey have hitherto kept more free from tumults and riots than their neighbours, gives us cause to believe, that the conduct and conversation of Friends, hath in some measure tended to promote this good effect."* In the Second Month, an epistle of caution was issued by the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia to the members of that Yearly Meeting.

The attitude assumed by the colonies alarmed the Home Government, and during the session of 1766, the Stamp Act was repealed. Parliament, however, unwilling to concede the point for which the Americans contended, formally declared its right to tax the colonies. Acting upon this resolution, in the following year a bill was passed, imposing a duty of three-pence per pound on tea imported from England, with taxes on some other

* Epistle to London Meeting for Sufferings.

articles. The colonists were again roused, and a "non-importation agreement" was entered into, extending now throughout the colonies. The opposition succeeded, and, for some years, but little tea was imported from England, the colonists being supplied mainly from Holland. The East India Company soon felt the effect of this. Their warehouses becoming overstocked with the article, they began to complain, and in 1773, the duty was repealed. Thus a second time, by a peaceful yet firm and unbending course among themselves, the American people defeated the designs of the Imperial Parliament. The British Government, however, still unwilling to yield the point, now adopted a somewhat ingenious course to maintain it. It was enacted, that the duty charged on tea exported by the East India Company should be repealed, but that the Company should pay a small duty on all teas landed by them in the American colonies. The Americans were still dissatisfied, for though tea was thus rendered to them at a lower rate, the principle of raising a revenue from them without their consent was retained, and they determined to resist. At Boston, and in South Carolina, cargoes of tea brought over by the East India Company were seized and thrown into the sea, and in Philadelphia, also, it was resolved to oppose the landing.

The destruction of property which thus took place, was clearly inconsistent with the acknowledged views of our Society, and Friends were urged not to engage in any political movement which might compromise their Christian principles. In the following year the aspect of things grew worse, and the Meeting for Sufferings, anxious for the religious welfare of its members amidst the general excitement, was closely engaged in deliberating on the subject. At the Meeting in the Sixth Month, 1774, this record occurs: "A considerable time was spent in this meeting, in a weighty consideration of the fluctuating state of people's minds. In the situation of public affairs, it appeared to be the sense of the meeting, that it would be the safest, and most consistent for us, as a religious Society, to keep as much as possible from mixing with the people in their human policy and contrivances, and to forbear meeting in their public consultations. Snares and

dangers may arise from meetings of that kind, however well disposed individuals may be to mitigate and soften the violent disposition too prevalent; it being a season in which it is abundantly needful to seek best Wisdom, to guide and preserve in safety and in consistency of conduct with our religious profession."

In the Ninth Month of the same year, a Congress of Representatives from the colonies assembled in Philadelphia, and determined, as in the previous instances, on resisting by a non-importation compact, the designs of Parliament; agreeing to meet again in the spring of the following year. During this first sitting of the American Congress, the Yearly Meeting was also held in Philadelphia. Amid the commotions of that excited period, Friends were mercifully preserved in much quietness, and were enabled to put their trust in Him who is a sure refuge at all times to those who truly seek him. In a feeling of deep solicitude for the best interests of the members generally, an epistle of advice was issued to Friends throughout the whole of the North American provinces. In this address they thus urge the example of our early Friends: "Our forefathers and predecessors, were raised to be a people in a time of great commotions, contests, and wars, begun and carried on for the vindication of religious and civil liberty, in which many of them were zealously engaged, when they received the knowledge of the truth; but through the influences of the love of Christ in their minds, they ceased from conferring with flesh and blood, and became obedient to the heavenly vision, in which they clearly saw that all wars and fightings proceeded from the spirit of this world, which is enmity with God, and that they must manifest themselves to be the followers of the Prince of Peace, by meekness, humility, and patient sufferings."

After the termination of the war between England and France by the treaty of 1762, Friends in Pennsylvania did not feel the same objection as before to serve as Representatives in the Assembly, and during the struggle for independence, some of them were members of that branch of the local legislature. The resolutions passed by the Congress having been introduced to the

Assembly of Pennsylvania, received its sanction, and hence a fear pervaded the minds of Friends, that there was still a danger of their members who were of that body, compromising our religious testimony against war, and a Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings was appointed to confer with them respecting it.

In so large a religious community as that of Friends in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, it was likely that there should be some who differed from the body at large in reference to these civil commotions, and whose conduct was more or less cause of anxiety to their brethren. This circumstance led the Meeting for Sufferings, in the First Month, 1775, to issue an exhortation to Friends, to recur in that period of confusion and excitement, "to the doctrines and precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, who expressly declared, 'My kingdom is not of this world:'" and also to reflect on the sufferings which their forefathers endured; in the maintenance of their religious testimonies in times of great difficulty. This address thus proceeds: "As divers members of our religious Society, some of them without their consent or knowledge, have been lately nominated to attend on and engage in some public affairs, which they cannot undertake without deviating from these our religious principles; we therefore earnestly beseech and advise them, and all others, to consider the end and purpose of every measure to which they are desired to become parties, and with great circumspection and care, to guard against joining in any, for the asserting and maintaining our rights and liberties, which, on mature deliberation, appear not to be dictated by that "wisdom which is from above; which is pure, peaceable, gentle, full of mercy and good fruits."

About the same time, the Meeting for Sufferings also addressed an epistle to the several Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, in which elders and overseers, and all others who had the real prosperity of our religious Society at heart, were earnestly exhorted "to unite in their respective Monthly Meetings in the fervency of brotherly love," to labour with all their members who might have been concerned in promoting the hostile attitude taken by the Colonists towards Great Britain; special reference being made to the minute of the Yearly Meeting of 1710 on this

subject.* Addressing their brethren in London, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, in the Third Month, 1775, remarks: "On the late return of two Friends, members of this Meeting, who have been on a visit to many of the meetings in those provinces, we are informed, that there is a number of Friends there, careful to avoid joining with the people in their public consultations, and the commotions prevailing, who, we hope, will be instrumental to advise and caution the weak and unwary, in order that such a conduct may be observed, as will contribute to their own peace, and the maintaining the testimony of Truth among them." The epistle concludes: "That the exigencies of the present time of probation may have the happy effect to excite all more closely and more earnestly to seek after and know the munition of rocks,—the quiet habitation, where alone is safety, is the sincere concern of many among us."

Having counselled their brethren in religious profession, the Meeting for Sufferings next thought it right to address the inhabitants at large, and the following, expressive of the views of the Society on the existing state of things, was accordingly issued:—

"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 24TH 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 en-

* The minute is as follows:—"As to matters of government, we advise that all Friends concerned therein, whether in legislation or administration, may be very careful to act therein according to Truth, and the testimony of it in all things, and not to think to excuse a contrary practice by any temporal station, or evade the due censure of Truth, on pretence of any conjunction with such as may take liberty to act such things as consist not with our holy communion, profession and discipline; for notwithstanding any such station, where any offend, the judgment of Truth must go out against them.

deavours 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 favour, 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 labours.

"Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting,

"JAMES PEMBERTON, *Clerk at this time.*

It has been seen in the course of this history, that the welfare of our religious Society in America was always dear to Friends in England; and that the latter were ever ready, when circumstances appeared to call for it, to exert themselves on behalf of their distant brethren, whether in pleading for them with the authorities of the state, in defending them more generally from unjust imputations of designing men, or in conveying to them brotherly advice in times of difficulty. The peculiar situation of Friends on the American continent, in the political contest then prevailing, did not fail, therefore, to obtain the lively sympathy of Friends in the mother country; under a feeling of which, and of ardent solicitude for their preservation, amid the many dangers and temptations with which they were surrounded, the Yearly Meeting of London in 1775, addressed to them the following epistle:—

"FROM OUR YEARLY MEETING HELD IN LONDON BY ADJOURNMENTS, FROM THE 5TH OF SIXTH MONTH, 1775, TO THE 10TH OF THE SAME INCLUSIVE."

"TO OUR FRIENDS AND BROTHERS IN AMERICA."

"DEAR FRIENDS.—Our minds have been awfully bowed in this our annual assembly, before the God and Father of all our mercies; and we have been brought in deep humility, to sym-

pathize with you our brethren in this time of outward trial and affliction, under a sense whereof we affectionately salute you.

“ Our hearts being tenderly affected with the consideration of the difficulties to which you are exposed, and filled with earnest desire for your preservation amidst the present confusions, we feel ourselves engaged to recommend you to attend to the reasonable advices communicated to you from hence, as well as those from our concerned brethren on your continent; but we exhort you above all things, to keep near to the pure principle of Truth, not only in your meetings and in your families, but throughout your whole conversation and conduct, as the alone sure and safe guide to peace and rest. It will be a comforter in adversity, and a guard against dangers that may attend in times of prosperity.

“ Great indeed, and exercising in divers respects, may be the trials which now attend many; and how long or how far they may prevail, is known only to the Lord, who, though he afflicts not willingly, sees meet at times to suffer his judgments to be in the earth, that its inhabitants may learn righteousness.

“ The wise in heart will enquire, if there be not a cause, and if proper returns have been made for the innumerable mercies you have so long enjoyed. We tenderly advise one and all, diligently to examine themselves, and profit by the instruction that may in mercy be conveyed by these calamities.

“ It will add much to your safety in every respect, to dwell alone, to suffer your minds to be agitated as little as possible by the present commotions, to keep out of the spirit of parties, and to cherish in your hearts the principle of peace and good-will to all.

“ This will help those who live under its influence, to walk wisely as in the day, will enable them to comfort the afflicted, add strength to the weak, restrain the hasty and inexperienced from rushing into dangers of which they are not aware, and may be the means, through divine favour, of preserving the Church, and its members, holy and acceptable unto God.

“ And dear Friends, we earnestly entreat you, live in unity, the unity of the spirit, the bond of peace. Let nothing arise to scatter and divide you; wait, one and all, to feel that amongst you,

which would root out contention ; so will you be preserved a comfort one to another, and a stay to the minds of many who may be tossed with the waves of affliction, and know not where to seek for a quiet habitation.

“Dwell under a sense of the power and presence of God, all-sufficient and merciful, so will ye be preserved in peace and innocency amidst all the various exercises ye may meet with ; and if afflictions, such as neither we nor our fathers have felt, are permitted to come upon you, you will be enabled to bear a part in the general calamity, with a patience and resignation that a sense of the Lord’s presence only can inspire.

“Finally, dear Friends, may you in humble confidence be enabled, from a degree of living experience, to say with the prophet formerly, ‘Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on Thee, because he trusteth in Thee. Trust ye in the Lord for ever, for, in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.’

“We salute you in much love, and are

“Your friends and brethren.

Signed in and on behalf of the said Meeting, by

JOSEPH DOCWRA,

Clerk to the Meeting this Year.”

The violent course adopted by the citizens of Boston in destroying the cargoes of tea in their port, greatly incensed the government at home, and a bill was quickly passed, imposing on that city a penalty, to the full value of the property destroyed, and closing it as a port during the pleasure of the Crown. These measures brought on the colonists of Massachusetts much distress, from which Friends were not exempt. Their trials did not escape the notice of Friends in Philadelphia ; but in the early stage of these portentous proceedings, so anxious were they not to appear in any way to sanction the belligerent course pursued by their countrymen, that they felt restrained from aiding their brethren in New England, lest such an act should be construed into an approval of their conduct. Towards the close of the year 1775, however, after warlike measures had been taken by Great Britain,

to enforce its arbitrary policy, and Lexington and Bunker's Hill had already become the scene of bloodshed, Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey no longer hesitated to act for the relief of their suffering brethren and others in those parts. An epistle, representing the distress to which the inhabitants of New England were exposed, and inviting Friends to contribute for their assistance, was addressed to the several meetings of the two provinces. The appeal was liberally responded to, a large sum was raised, and, under the feeling which prompted the benevolent design, two Friends visited New England to assist in the distribution of two thousand pounds, of which they were the bearers, accompanied by an epistle of affectionate sympathy. Up to the Ninth Month 1776, the amount collected for the sufferers from the war amounted to three thousand nine hundred pounds, of which the greater part had been sent to the Meeting for Sufferings in New England, and distributed, according to accounts received, to about seven thousand persons under suffering.* A further relation of the trials of Friends in New England at this period will be given in a subsequent division of the history.

The agitation of the colonies became greatly increased by the conflicts of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, and war, not with the Indians, but with British forces, was the fearful prospect that now awaited the Americans. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania, impetuous in the quarrel, petitioned their Assembly for the adoption of warlike measures in defence, and there appeared to be a danger that Friends might be involved in much difficulty and trial in consequence. The Meeting for Sufferings was fully alive to this critical situation of things, and in the Tenth Month 1775, prepared an address to the Assembly, which was presented by a deputation of ten Friends. After alluding to the popular cry for an appeal to arms,—to their own well-known principles against all wars and fightings—to the settlement of the province in unison with those principles, and to its prosperity under them, they refer to that part of the charter of Pennsylvania, wherein it is expressly provided that Friends should not be obliged "to

* Gough's MSS.

do or suffer any act or thing contrary to their religious persuasion ;” concluding with the expression of a fervent desire, that “the most conciliatory measures” may be pursued, “and that all such may be avoided, as are likely to widen or perpetuate the breach with the parent state, or tend to introduce persecution and sufferings among them.”

The opening of the year 1776, was inauspicious for peace. A petition from Congress to the British Parliament, styled by the Americans, “The Olive Branch,”* and presented at the Bar of the House of Commons by Richard Penn, one of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, had been rejected ; and, under the idea of possessing superior force, a disposition to refuse all further attempts to promote an amicable arrangement of the dispute, prevailed in the councils of George III. In the First Month of this year, therefore, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, in order to make the conscientious views of the Society in reference to this distressing state of affairs more widely known, determined on an extensive circulation of a paper entitled “The ancient Testimony and Principles of the people called Quakers, renewed with respect to the King and Government, and touching the commotions now prevailing in these and other parts of America, addressed to the people in general.” It commences with an expression of religious interest for all classes of the community, and a desire that all may “in the most solemn manner,” carefully examine, in reference to the present troubles, “whether they are acting in the fear of God and in conformity to the precepts and doctrines of our Lord Jesus Christ.” It then refers to the blessings of peace with which the provinces had been signally favoured, and urges the enquiry how far these blessings had been met with corresponding dedication of heart to the Lord. After setting forth the peaceable nature of the religion of Christ, and quoting from an early declaration of the Society on civil government, and on the duty of Friends “to live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set

* Hume and Smollett’s Hist. of England.

over us ;" it concludes by desiring that nothing may be done "to break off the happy connection heretofore enjoyed with the King of Great Britain."

The gloomy aspect of things at this period, and the difficulties which appeared to be hastening on Friends in the respective colonies of America, induced the appointment of representatives from New England, Virginia, and North Carolina, to attend Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1776, to consult on their trying circumstances—a course which was adopted during the greater part of the revolutionary war.

A circumstance which at this period distressed Friends, was the defection of a number of their members who were but ill-grounded in their attachment to the principles of the Society, from its acknowledged testimony against war. Associations having been formed to learn military exerciae, the individuals in question evinced their declension by joining in the movement. The Church was not backward in labouring with such, but unsuccessfully as regarded many of them, who afterwards formed themselves into a distinct Society, under the name of "Free Quakers." The number of these was not however large. In and near Philadelphia they amounted to about one hundred, but, except within the limits of two country meetings, there were very few besides.*

Friends were, also, brought into much trial and perplexity, with respect to the issue of paper notes of credit, for the purpose of carrying on the war. Many felt themselves religiously restrained from countenancing this plan devised expressly for war-like ends, and refused to receive the notes as money. It does not appear, however, that the Society in its collective capacity, enforced such a course, or that those who took a contrary view in this particular were censured.† Some members were also severe sufferers through distrains for military purposes. A demand having been made on the city of Philadelphia for a supply of blankets for the American army, many families had all they possessed of these articles forcibly taken from them, and were obliged to pass the winter without them. Others had their

* Gough's MSS. † *Vide* Journals of John Woolman and Job Scott.

houses stripped of the lead for the use of the army. The habitations also of many were wantonly attacked by the rabble, for opening their shops on a day appointed by Congress for a general fast; whilst others, for refusing to act in military service, were committed to prison; and some for declining to accept public offices to which they had been nominated were fined twenty pounds each, and distrained upon for the same to much larger amounts. Israel Morris, whilst travelling in New Jersey, was imprisoned for refusing to take the declaration of allegiance required by a recent law, and, after a trial at Trenton, was fined seventy-five pounds, to be levied on his estate. John Cowgill of Duck Creek, for refusing to take the paper currency, was arrested and taken before a body called a Committee of Inspection; and having declined to give assurances that he would alter his course, was advertised in the newspapers, as an enemy to his country, all persons being warned against having any dealings with him. The effect was, that some millers refused to grind his corn, whilst the schoolmaster who taught his children, sent them home. On one occasion as he was going with his family to a week-day meeting, he was seized by a number of armed men, who told him that the Committee had sent for him. These men, having fixed a paper on his back inscribed, "On the circulation of the Continental currency depends the fate of America," conveyed him in a cart to a neighbouring town, and in this manner paraded him through it.

The foregoing are a few of the cases selected from many recorded by the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia. They are, however, sufficient to illustrate the feeling entertained towards Friends by their excited neighbours, in their determined resistance to British authority. But notwithstanding these trials of faith and patience in the spoil of their goods, in the imprisonment of their persons, and in the aspersion of their characters, Friends were in general preserved in much union and harmony of spirit, and experienced Him who is the all-sufficient helper and strength of his people, to be their safe hiding-place in the day of trouble. Under this feeling the following epistle was indited, which was printed and widely circulated among Friends.

To some of the revolutionists it seems to have given great umbrage, and Mark Millar of Woodbury, and Thomas Redman of Haddonfield, in New Jersey, were imprisoned eight weeks for reading it in their religious assemblies.

“TO OUR FRIENDS AND BRETHERN IN RELIGIOUS PROFESSION,
IN THESE AND THE ADJACENT PROVINCES.

“DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS AND BRETHERN,—Our minds being renewedly impressed with a fervent religious concern for your spiritual welfare, and preservation in the love and fellowship of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, by the constrainings of his love, we are engaged to salute you in this time of deep exercise, affliction, and difficulty; earnestly desiring that we may, by steady circumspection and care, in every part of our conduct and conversation, evidence, that under the close trials which are and may be permitted to attend us, our faith and reliance is fixed on Him alone for protection and deliverance; remembering his gracious promise to his faithful followers, ‘Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.’ And as ‘it became Him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through suffering,’ let us not be dismayed, if we are led into the same path. As we keep in the Lord’s power and peaceable Truth, which is over all, and therein seek the good of all, neither sufferings, persecutions, nor any outward thing that is below, will hinder or break our heavenly fellowship in the light and spirit of Christ.

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

“We therefore, in the aboundings of that love which wisheth the spiritual and temporal prosperity of all men, exhort, admonish,

and caution all who make religious profession with us, and especially our beloved youth, to stand fast in that liberty, where-with, through the manifold sufferings of our predecessors, we have been favoured, and steadily to bear our testimony against every attempt to deprive us of it.

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

“Our profession and principles are founded on that spirit, which is contrary, 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.

“Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting for Sufferings held in Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the 20th day of the Twelfth Month, 1776.

“JOHN PEMBERTON, *Clerk.*”

In the course of the year 1777, many Friends suffered imprisonment, and others were distrained upon to some thousands of pounds in the aggregate, for bearing a faithful testimony against war. From the members of one meeting alone, goods to the value of near twelve hundred pounds were taken for their refusal to enrol in the militia.* Some Friends residing near Hopewell in the western parts of Virginia were, under the militia laws, forcibly taken from their homes to the army; and continuing steadfast in their refusal to bear arms, they were at last forced to move from place to place in military order, and some of

* Records of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings.

them even had muskets tied to their persons. Critical as was the state of things in the American army at this period, these were acts which did not meet the approval of General Washington, and soon after arriving at his camp the Friends were discharged.*

Severe as were some of the foregoing cases of suffering, a much heavier trial befel some others. Ever since the war with the Indians and French, in 1755, a strong prejudice had been entertained towards the Society of Friends, arising mainly from their opposition to the warlike course pursued by the Assembly. They still possessed large influence in Pennsylvania; and this fact, in connection with their general withdrawal from official stations, placed them in a somewhat isolated situation, and contrasted strikingly with their former position as rulers of the province. Throughout their history, Friends, as a people, have leaned in politics to the popular and democratic view of things. Their conduct throughout America, and more especially the laws and government which they were instrumental in establishing in Pennsylvania, support this assertion; and none have been more bold and unflinching in the maintenance of the inherent rights of the subject, and in passive resistance to oppression and tyranny in government. But whilst this has been, and still is, a characteristic of Friends, yet an utter abhorrence of violence and war, as opposed to the plainest commands of Christ and the very spirit of his holy religion, and a belief that it is the duty of Christians to "live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set over them,"† are characteristics of the body not less prominent. Friends in America, though professing and sustaining the principles of peace, have been intrepid and fearless defenders of their natural and political rights. As early as 1679, when the Duke of York, who claimed the sovereignty over New Jersey, attempted to tax the settlers, they made a bold remonstrance against it. They declared that taxation without representation was untenable, being opposed to the fundamental laws of the British constitution, and that the King of England cannot take

* Exiles in Virginia, p. 181.

† Ancient Testimony, 1696. Sewel's Hist.

the goods of his subjects without their consent.* The firmness of their opposition carried the point; and thus, without a resort to arms, the Friends of New Jersey successfully resisted an imposition which, as we have seen, was followed by others, and at length gave rise to the American Declaration of Independence. The successful resistance of Friends to the exactions levied on vessels by the fort at Newcastle, is another instance of what a peace policy can effect; and the extent to which this policy succeeded with the aboriginal tribes of North America, is of historical notoriety.

At the commencement of the disputes with the mother country on the subject of the Stamp Act, Friends united with others of their countrymen, in remonstrating against its injustice; and the non-importation agreement of 1765, was signed by no less than fifty of our members, nine of whom were afterwards objects of the persecution we are about to detail, in consequence of their condemning a warlike course, which, though taken in maintenance of civil rights, they believed to be contrary to the spirit of the gospel.

The various epistles and advices which had been issued by the Society in Pennsylvania, cautioning its members against participating in any movement that compromised their religious principles on the subject of war, together with the disownment of those who had joined the republican army, were regarded by many of their fellow-citizens as demonstrations adverse to the American cause. But though Friends, disapproving of warlike measures, reprobated the hostile progress of the revolution, yet this was the natural result of their principles, and did not arise from any favourable leaning towards the pretensions of England. It was their religion alone which caused them to differ from others of their countrymen, who had no conscientious objection to seek redress for colonial grievances by an appeal to arms.

Notwithstanding their endeavours to explain their objections to war, Friends were viewed by the republican party through a prejudiced medium, and with an unkind and jealous eye. A feeling, in fact, of great suspicion and dislike to them,

* Smith's New Jersey, p. 120; and Proud's Penn. vol. i. p. 151.

prevailed among those who called themselves patriots. About the Eighth Month, 1777, this feeling seemed to have reached its height; when the notorious Spanktown forgery appeared, and led to the banishment of a number of Friends to the remote parts of Virginia. The circumstances of this affair are now to be related.

During the second year of the war of Independence, the English army, which had been landed at New York, proceeded by sea to the head of Chesapeake Bay, and after the battle of Brandywine, in the Ninth Month, 1777, they took possession of Philadelphia. New Jersey was then held by the American army; and so anxious were they to prevent their movements from being known to the British, that it was death for any person to pass their lines into Pennsylvania, without having first obtained a pass. A few weeks before the entry of the British into Philadelphia, General Sullivan succeeded on the 22nd of the Eighth Month, in capturing on Staten Island the baggage of an English officer. Amongst the papers found in this baggage, one was stated to be from "the Yearly Meeting of Spanktown," held a few days previously to the capture; and a copy of this document Sullivan forthwith sent to Congress, then sitting at Philadelphia. Writing on the 25th, he says, "Among baggage taken on Staten Island, the 22nd instant, I find a number of important papers. A copy of three I enclose, for the perusal of Congress. The one of the Yearly Meeting of Spanktown, held the 19th instant, I think worthy the notice of Congress." This is the paper:—

"Information from Jersey, 19th August, 1777.

"It is said General Howe landed near the head of Chesapeake Bay; but cannot learn the particular spot, or when.

"Washington lays in Pennsylvania, about twelve miles from Coryell's Ferry.

"Sullivan lays about six miles north of Morristown, with about two thousand men.

"SPANKTOWN YEARLY MEETING."*

* Exiles in Virginia, p. 62.

Spanktown was a nickname for Rahway in East Jersey, at which place no Yearly Meeting of Friends had ever been held. The letter, also dated in East Jersey on the 19th, spoke of the actual landing of the British army in Chesapeake Bay; but this did not take place until the 22nd, and was known in Philadelphia on the day following; and on the 25th, it was recorded on the minutes of Congress. The forgery was, in fact, a clumsy performance; and that its true character was not immediately detected is to be attributed to the general agitation which then prevailed. It may here be remarked that, on the approach of the British army, Congress, a few days before the receipt of Sullivan's despatch had resolved "That the executive officers of the states of Pennsylvania and Delaware, 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."* It was under this order that several Friends of high standing in Philadelphia were arrested; and as they refused to sanction the measures of the revolutionary party, the Supreme Executive Council declared "the Friends to be notoriously disaffected to the cause of American freedom,"† and as such they were reported to Congress, most of its members being, it is believed, ignorant of their real principles and the cause of their conduct. It was at this juncture that Congress received the Spanktown paper, the reading of which caused an apparent panic among the members; who at once drew the inference that the religious meetings of the Society of Friends were intimately connected with politics, and that they were promoting the interests of the enemy. The following is the record made by Congress on the occasion:—

"Thursday, August 28th, 1777.

"A letter of the 25th, from General Sullivan, at Hanover, with several papers enclosed, also another from him without date, were read.

"Ordered, That the letter of the 25th, with the papers enclosed,

* Exiles in Virginia, p. 35. † *Ibid.* p. 36.

be referred to a committee of three. The members chosen, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Duer, and Mr. R. H. Lee.

“The Committee to whom the letter of General Sullivan, with the papers enclosed, was referred, report :—

“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 these 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 Twelfth Month, 1776,’ was published, and as your committee is credibly informed, circulated amongst many members of the Society called Quakers through 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 Philadelphia, 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.

“And whereas there is strong reason to apprehend that these

persons maintain a correspondence and connexion highly prejudicial to the public safety, not only in this state, but in the several States of America.

“*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the executive powers of the respective States, forthwith to apprehend and secure all persons, as well among the people called Quakers as others, who have in their general conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America; and that the persons so seized be confined in such places and treated in such manner as shall be consistent with their respective characters and the security of their persons.

“That the records and papers of the Meeting of Sufferings in the respective States, be forthwith secured and carefully examined, and that such parts of them as may be of a political nature be forthwith transmitted to Congress.”

“The said report being read, and the several paragraphs considered and debated, and the question put severally thereon, the same was agreed to.”

For some weeks a report had been current, that lists of a great number of the citizens of Philadelphia were made out, with a view to their arrest. But as it was supposed that these reports originated only from personal animosity, they were generally discredited. It is clear, however, that a design of this nature had been entertained for some time; and there is no doubt that the Spanktown forgery was one of the means devised for its accomplishment. The day on which Congress recorded the foregoing, the Supreme Executive Council, losing no time, issued a warrant for the apprehension of a considerable number of Friends, in which one of the instructions was, that “early attention should be paid to John Hunt, who lives on the Germantown road, about five miles from the city, and to John Pemberton, Samuel Emlen, and other leaders in the Society of Quakers, concerning books and papers.”* The parties named in the warrant were called upon to subscribe to a declaration, promising not to depart from their dwellings, “and to be ready to appear

* Exiles of Virginia.

on demand of the President and Council of the State of Pennsylvania, and to engage to refrain from doing anything injurious to the United States of North America, by speaking, writing, or otherwise, and from giving intelligence to the commander of the British forces, or any person whatever, concerning public affairs." Conscious of their innocence with reference to the charges insinuated by the declaration, and valuing their liberty as free citizens, and disdaining also to recognise the imputation that they had forfeited this liberty by crime, they at once rejected the proposal; immediately on which, arrests took place in the following order:—

1777, *Ninth Month 2nd.*—William Drewitt Smith, Thomas Affleck, Thomas Gilpin, William Lennox, Alexander Stedman, Charles Stedman, Samuel Rowland Fisher, William Inlay, James Pemberton, Miers Fisher, Thomas Fisher, Thomas Wharton, Edward Pennington, John Pemberton, Owen Jones, jun., Charles Eddy, Joseph Fox, Thomas Combe, jun., William Smith, broker.

Ninth Month 3rd.—Henry Drinker, Charles Jervis, John Galloway, William Hollingshead, E. Ayres, Phineas Bond, Thomas Pike.

Ninth Month 4th.—John Hunt, Israel Pemberton, Samuel Pleasants.

Ninth Month 5th.—Elijah Brown.

The seizure of these citizens in an arbitrary and illegal manner, on a declaration of Congress and on orders issued by the Executive Council, without any specific charge of offence, and without an opportunity of being heard in their own defence, was one of the extraordinary incidents of the revolution, and one, certainly, which leaves a stain on the characters of the members of the Executive Council, who were the chief actors in the affair. The parties arrested immediately remonstrated against the injustice of the proceeding. Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants presented, on the day of their arrest, a strong document to the Council. "We claim," they said, "our undoubted right as freemen, having a just sense of the inestimable value of religious and civil liberty, to be heard before we are confined in the manner directed by the order; and we have the more urgent cause

for insisting on this our right, as several of our fellow-citizens have been some days and now are confined by your order, and no opportunity is offered them to be heard; and we have been informed that it is your purpose to send them and us into a distant part of the country, even beyond the limit of the jurisdiction you claim, and where the recourse we are justly entitled to, of being heard or clearing ourselves from any charge or suspicions you may entertain against us, will be impracticable." On the same day, another address of a similar character, signed by twenty of the prisoners, was drawn up. The day following, they addressed Congress; and their address seems to have opened the eyes of that body to the injustice of the act, for on the 6th of the Ninth Month, they passed this resolution:—

"That it be recommended to the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, to hear what the said remonstrants can allege, to remove the suspicions of their being disaffected or dangerous to the United States."*

The ruling men in the Council, however, had evidently made up their minds to punish Friends; and despite the recommendation of Congress, and setting at nought the common principles of justice, they resolved as follows:—

"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."

Other remonstrances followed; but the Council were unmoved in their resolution to send the prisoners into exile, unless they would sign a test, which, on the grounds of their previous refusal, they again unanimously declined, addressing the Council to that effect. "Having thus," they conclude, "remarked on your proposal, protesting our innocence, we again repeat our pressing demand, to be informed of the cause of our commitment, and to have a hearing in the face of our country, before whom we

* Exiles of Virginia, p. 39.

shall either stand acquitted or condemned."* A remonstrance stigmatizing the proceedings as "an alarming violation of the civil and religious rights of the community," was also presented to the Council, signed by one hundred and thirteen Friends.

In order to give colour to these proceedings, and to quiet the public mind, the epistles of advice issued at different times by the Meeting for Sufferings, of which several of the prisoners were members, were, by order of Congress, published in the newspapers of the day; care being taken also to subjoin the Spanktown paper.

On the 9th of the Ninth Month the Council resolved, that twenty-two of their prisoners should without delay be removed to Staunton, in Virginia. Having failed by remonstrances to gain a hearing before the tribunals of their country, the Friends concluded to offer a solemn protest on the subject. "As we consider this," they said in an address to the inhabitants at large, "to be the highest act of tyranny that has been exercised in any age or country where the shadow of liberty was left, we have in the following manner entered our protest against these proceedings:"—

PROTEST.

9th of Ninth Month, 1777.

"TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

"The remonstrance and protest of the subscribers, sheweth:

"That your resolve of this day was this afternoon delivered to us; which is the more unexpected, as last evening your secretary informed us you had referred our business to Congress, to whom we were about further to apply.

"In this resolve, contrary to the inherent rights of mankind, you condemn us to banishment *unheard*.

"You determine matters concerning us, which *we could have disproved*, had our right to a hearing been granted.

"The charge against us, of refusing 'to promise to *refrain* from corresponding with the enemy,' insinuates that we have already held such correspondence, *which we utterly and solemnly deny*.

* Exiles of Virginia, p. 110.

"The tests you proposed, we were by no law bound to subscribe, and notwithstanding our refusing them, we are still justly and lawfully entitled to all the rights of citizenship, of which you are attempting to deprive us.

"We have never been suffered to come before you to evince our innocence, and to remove suspicions, which you have laboured to instil into the minds of others, and at the same time knew to be groundless; although Congress recommended you to give us a hearing, and your President this morning assured two of our friends we should have it.

[After then making a declaration that they had held no correspondence with the "contending parties," it proceeds:]

"Upon the whole, your proceedings have been so arbitrary, that words are wanting to express our sense of them. We do therefore, as the last office we expect you will now suffer us to perform for the benefit of our country, in behalf of ourselves and those freemen of Pennsylvania who have any regard for liberty, *solemnly remonstrate and protest* against your whole conduct in this unreasonable excess of power exercised by you.

"That the evil and destructive spirit of pride, ambition, and arbitrary power, with which you have been actuated, may cease and be no more; 'and that peace on earth and goodwill to men,' may happily take the place thereof, in your and all men's minds, is the sincere desire of your oppressed and injured fellow-citizens,

ISRAEL PEMBERTON	OWEN JONES, JUN.
JOHN HUNT	THOMAS GILPIN
JAMES PEMBERTON	CHARLES JERVIS
JOHN PEMBERTON	PHINEAS BOND
THOMAS WHARTON	THOMAS AFFLECK
EDWARD PENNINGTON	WILLIAM DREWIT SMITH
THOMAS COOMBE	THOMAS PIKE
HENRY DRINKER	WILLIAM SMITH (broker)
THOMAS FISHER	ELIJAH BROWN
SAMUEL PLEASANTS	CHARLES EDDY
SAMUEL R. FISHER	MIERS FISHER."

On the 11th of the Ninth Month, the prisoners were all sent off from Philadelphia, in carriages provided by the Executive

and guarded by soldiers. To witness their departure, a motley crowd of spectators had assembled, who appeared, however, generally affected with sorrow at this extraordinary instance of cruelty towards some of their most esteemed and valued fellow-citizens. Through the influence of some kindly disposed individuals, the place of their exile was finally fixed to be at Winchester, a place in the back settlements of Virginia, about three hundred miles from Philadelphia. The journey to their destination was a tedious one and occupied no less than twenty days.

On the seizure of the papers and minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, by order of Congress, a committee of that meeting was appointed, to enquire into the circumstances of such an extraordinary and unlooked-for event; and for the purpose, also, of recovering possession of their documents. All of these were returned, excepting three, which it was understood Congress intended to hold. The three thus retained were copies of epistles issued by the Meeting for Sufferings in 1775 and 1776.

With a view to obtain further evidence against the Society, the minutes of several Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were also seized, under the powers of the same warrant. On the minutes of the Executive Council is recorded the report, of "the gentlemen appointed and authorized to arrest" Friends. In fourteen of the arrests their language is, "*no papers;*" of four, "*no papers found of a public nature;*" of Samuel Emlen, Jun., "*confined to his bed; we broke open his desk, but found no papers of a public nature;*" of Henry Drinker, "*a number of papers found of a public nature, belonging to the Monthly Meeting;*" of John Pemberton, "*a number of papers in a brown bag;*" of William Lenox, Jun., "*had a pocket-book and some papers;*" of William Smith, (broker), "*his chamber is locked up for the inspection of his papers, the key in the possession of Captain Smith;*" Samuel Jackson, "*out of town; no search has been made for papers as yet.*"

Several writers on the American War of Independence have censured the Society of Friends for their expressions of attachment to the British Government, and for the advice to its members

contained in the epistles issued at that period. By minute of "September 28," 1777, Congress itself, mainly from the character of these epistles, declared of Friends that it is evident "they are, with much rancour and bitterness, disaffected to the American cause," and the epistle of Twelfth Month 20th, 1776, inserted in a previous page, is expressly referred to as a "seditious publication." It is singular that the Christian addresses of a religious Society, which conscientiously believed all war to be wrong, exhorting its members to act consistently with those views, should have been so construed. There must have been men in Congress, who were fully aware that such were the religious principles of Friends in this matter, and that in warning their members at such an excited period not to compromise them, they were only performing a consistent duty. With respect to their attachment to the powers that be, it is notorious that even Congress itself surpassed them in the strength of its language on this head; and at dates too, subsequent to the issue of the epistles of which they complain. In illustration of this statement the following may be referred to, for comparison of the language of both:—

Epistle of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, First Month 5, 1775.

"Should any now so far deviate from their example, and the practice of faithful Friends at all times since, as to manifest a disposition to contend for liberty, by any methods or agreements contrary to the peaceable spirit and temper of the gospel, which ever breathes peace on earth and good will to all men; as it is the duty, we desire it may be the care of Friends, in every meeting where there are any such, speedily to treat with them, agreeable to our Christian discipline, and endeavour to convince them of their error."

Declaration of Congress to the People, July 6th, 1775.

"Our forefathers, inhabitants of Great Britain, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom, at the expense of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from whence they removed.

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union, which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored."

Testimony of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, First Month 24, 1775.

"We are, therefore, excited by a sincere concern for the peace and welfare of our country, publicly to declare against every usurpation of power, in opposition to the laws and government; and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies; and as we are restrained from them by a conscientious discharge of our duties to Almighty God, by whom "kings reign, and princes decree justice," we hope, through his assistance and favour, to be able 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 hitherto united the people of these provinces, and been attended by the divine blessing on their labours."

Address of Congress to the King, July 8th, 1775.

"Attached as we are to your Majesty's person and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire; connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties which can unite societies; and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them; we solemnly assure your Majesty, that we not only most ardently desire that the former happiness between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis, as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory, that hath attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have added the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame."

The Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, sitting in usual course in the Tenth Month, felt constrained to issue an address to the inhabitants at large, relative to the banishment of their friends. This paper sets forth the peaceable principles of the Society, controverts the charge against Friends of favouring the cause of England, and denies "in general terms all charges and insinuations which in any degree clash with their profession." It also "solemnly denies" the Spanktown letter, asserts that the

“banished Friends had done nothing to forfeit their just right to liberty,” and calls upon the authorities to restore them to their families and friends.

A few days after the arrival of the prisoners at Winchester, feeling their lives insecure, they once more addressed Congress on the injustice of their arrest, and of their banishment without a hearing. “If you are determined,” they conclude, “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.”

On the day following, they forwarded an address “to the Governor and Council of Virginia,” representing their situation, and soliciting “that protection which the claims of hospitality and the common right of mankind entitle us to, in a country where we are strangers. The firm manner,” they add, “in which we have demanded our rights, and the reluctance we have shown in parting with our liberty, will, we hope, be forcible evidence in our favour, and suspend the opinions of all candid persons until the charge, founded on our ‘general conduct and conversation,’ is properly inquired into.” Towards the close of the Twelfth Month, they drew up a memorial “to the Congress and to the Executive Council,” remarking therein, “As our banishment was the act of both your bodies, we think it most proper to address you jointly.”

An opinion was now rapidly gaining ground, that the exile of these Friends was unjustifiable, and some of the more considerate both of the Executive Council and of Congress, condemned it as such. “As things have turned out,” wrote the Secretary of the Executive, “the original arrest was thought by many not to have answered any good purpose, and detaining them in confinement not serviceable to the public cause.”* On receiving the last memorial, Congress appointed three of its members to meet Isaac

* *Exiles in Virginia*, p. 198.

Zane and some other Friends, who presented it; after an interview with whom, the Committee candidly avowed, writes James Pemberton, "that they had no other accusation against us, than the several epistles of advice which had been published."* The Committee having urged on Congress the propriety of either hearing the prisoners in their defence, or of discharging them from custody, that body on the 29th of First Month, 1778, passed a resolution for their discharge, on their taking an affirmation of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania, as a free and independent State; but, as in the former instance, Friends declined to accept their liberty on such a condition.

During this banishment, no provision whatever was made by the authorities for their support. "You will dispose of them," was the direction of the War-office to its agent, "in a manner suitable to their respective characters and stations, and suffer them to be supplied with every necessary they may want, *at their own expense.*"† They boarded with some of the inhabitants of Winchester, but were at times exposed to inconveniences and hardships to which some of them had hitherto been strangers. Towards the latter end of the Second Month, 1778, Thomas Gilpin, one of their number, was taken ill with fever, the consequence of a severe cold, which he had caught by exposure about two weeks before; and on the 2nd of the Third Month, he died. Within the same month, John Hunt, another of the exiles, being an aged minister, was also taken off by death. About the same time, several others of their number, suffered severely from indisposition.‡

There* is no doubt but that the death of the two Friends, and the illness of others, hastened the release of their companions. The public sympathy was increasingly awakened, as it was considered that these circumstances were attributable to causes connected with their banishment. Almost as soon as the news of the decease of Thomas Gilpin reached Lancaster, where Congress was then sitting, it resolved on liberating the prisoners. This was

* Diary of James Pemberton during his exile.

† Exiles of Virginia.

‡ Diary of James Pemberton.

done by a resolution on the 16th of Third Month, placing them at the disposal of the Council of Pennsylvania. The latter body, however, were not disposed to hasten in the matter, and nothing was done by them until the decease of the second Friend was made known to them. This event, together probably with the growing discontent of the people on the subject, appears to have quickened them; and on the 8th of the Fourth Month, they decided to set the prisoners free, adding, however, this unjust proviso: "That the whole expense of arresting and confining the prisoners sent to Virginia, the expenses of their journey, and all other incidental charges, be paid by the said prisoners."

By virtue of the foregoing resolution, the remaining prisoners, who had now been in exile more than seven months, were brought to Lancaster on the 27th of the Fourth Month; from whence they were forwarded to Pottsgrove, in the county of Philadelphia, and discharged. Thus ended this extraordinary affair. It is much to be regretted that the American people, whilst struggling for political rights, against the oppression of the parent state, should have so far compromised their consistency in the professed love of freedom, as to have thus unconstitutionally and unwisely exiled, unheard, a number of their best citizens—men who were confessedly ornaments to the country in which they lived.

As the deaths of Thomas Gilpin and John Hunt have been mentioned, it seems due to their memories, before passing on to other subjects, to refer to a few facts on record respecting them. Thomas Gilpin was a man of a mild and amiable disposition, and possessed good mental abilities. He bore his trials with much resignation, and throughout his illness was favoured with great composure. "I am going the way of all flesh," he remarked, a short time before his close, adding, "and I hope it is in mercy."—"There are many religions in the world, and a variety of forms, which have occasioned great persecutions and the loss of many lives; each contending that they are right; but there is but one true religion, arising from faith in God, and in his Son, Jesus Christ, and hope in his mercy. A monitor is placed in every mind, which if we attend to, we cannot err." He was buried at Friends' burial-ground at Hopewell, on the 3rd of Third Month,

1778. His fellow-prisoner, Israel Pemberton, has left this testimony respecting him: "I had but little acquaintance with him before our being confined together; but his conduct recommended him much to my esteem. He was steady in maintaining his own sentiments, but with due care to give no cause of offence to others. His principles were liberal, free from bigotry to any party: thus he could discover that which was laudable or culpable in either. He supported his opinion, but without severity, and never expressed one murmur or complaint on our unjust suffering during his illness."

John Hunt was formerly of London. He came to America in 1756, with Christopher Wilson, as a deputation from the Society in England, to assist Friends during the difficulties of that period. After going back to Europe, he returned and settled in Philadelphia. Towards the close of the Second Month, 1778, whilst an exile at Winchester, he was taken ill; and being confined to his bed, he was suddenly seized with pain in his leg; mortification followed, and amputation became necessary. He was enabled to bear the operation with great patience and resignation. His health, however, continued to give way, and an attack of paralysis having come on, his speech faltered, and he gradually grew weaker until the 31st of Third Month, when the vital spark fled. James Pemberton, in a diary which he kept at Winchester, recorded the following of his deceased fellow-sufferer, after the funeral: "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 meetings for worship [which] we had during the time of our exile at Winchester. He expressed himself much concerned that the inhabitants should come to a 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 religious 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 ; of a strong constitution ; low in stature ; but favoured through life with general good health."*

In almost all revolutions there have been some who have adopted a course opposed to the popular will. This was the case during the American war of Independence ; and among these were a few members of the Society of Friends, who, contrary to the example of their brethren, and to the principles of the Society, became partisans in the struggle. John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle were of this number. John Roberts resided at Merion, near Philadelphia, and was much respected for his hospitality and benevolence. He appears to have been a man of a warm and zealous temperament ; and on hearing of the arbitrary acts of the revolutionary party in banishing Friends, he became greatly excited, and began to devise plans for the rescue of his brethren. He hastened to the English army, then approaching Philadelphia, gave them information of the arrest of his friends, and proposed that a troop of horsemen should be sent to intercept the guard who were on their way with the exiles to Reading. Abraham Carlisle was a citizen of Philadelphia, of good moral conduct, and esteemed by his neighbours, though inconsistent as a Friend. The city of Philadelphia was occupied by the English for about nine months, and during that time its outlets were guarded by soldiers, no one being allowed to pass without an order. The office for granting these orders to persons with produce for sale, or on visits to their friends, was accepted by Abraham Carlisle, who was known to be much attached to the British Government. He was strongly remonstrated with by his friends on the subject, as acting in direct opposition to the advice of the Yearly Meeting, and as compromising his principles as a Friend. He, however, unwisely pleaded that he was engaged in a good and benevolent work, and declined to accede to the solicitations of his brethren. In the Sixth Month, 1778, the Americans retook Philadelphia, and very soon after Roberts and

* Diary of James Pemberton, 2nd of Fourth Month, 1778.

Carlisle were arrested as traitors to their country, and tried on the charge of high treason. The violence of popular feeling against all who sympathised with the British, was at that time very strong, and the prejudice against Friends was but little if at all diminished; and disappointed, as many of the revolutionists were, in not being able to sustain a case against the exiles to Winchester, every effort was now made to procure the conviction of the accused, in a spirit of revenge on the Society to which they belonged. The prosecution was conducted with rigour, and notwithstanding the evidence adduced was contradictory, and much of it was evidently prompted by private revenge and party feeling, they were found guilty. There is no doubt that their attachment to the Crown had been imprudently manifested; but some of their friends who attended the trial, and were acquainted with all the facts of the case, have left a record to show that they were neither guilty of high treason, nor had had a fair hearing. After the condemnation, many persons not members of our Society exerted themselves to obtain a pardon for the prisoners. All, however, was unavailing. Their death had evidently been determined upon by the leading men of the Executive Council, and these were deaf to all solicitations and reasoning on the subject. As a body, Friends made no effort for the condemned. Had they done so, not only would it have been ineffectual, but their motives might have been misconstrued and misrepresented. The result was that both Roberts and Carlisle were hung. Whilst in prison they were visited by many Friends, and were brought to see their error in deviating from the Christian counsel of their brethren. They were favoured to meet their solemn change with resignation, and with hope in the unmerited mercies of God, expressing their forgiveness of those who had sought their destruction.* It is singular that the public records of these trials cannot be discovered, having been either secreted or destroyed. To conceal the authentic evidences of the slender ground on which the conviction rested, is probably the cause of their being thus withheld from the scrutinizing eye of the public, and from the condemnation of the proceedings by posterity.

* T. Scattergood and his times.

CHAPTER XIII.

DIFFICULTIES OF FRIENDS DURING THE WAR OF AMERICAN
INDEPENDENCE (CONTINUED).

Occupation of Philadelphia by the British—Excesses of the soldiery—Interview of Friends with General Howe—Friends imprisoned, fined, &c.—Their Address to the Assembly—Test Laws more rigorously enforced—Memorial to the Assembly on the subject—Sufferings of Friends increase—Case of Moses Roberts and Job Hughes—Captivity of the Gilbert family among the Indians—Attempt of disowned parties to obtain a share in the property of the Society—Conclusion of the American war—Independence of the United States—Observations on the situation of Friends during the struggle—Their Address to General Washington—His reply to the Address.

DURING the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army, the members of our religious Society, in common with others of the citizens, suffered considerably by the wanton excesses and plunder of the soldiery. A committee of Friends had an interview with General Howe on this subject.* In the country, over most parts of which the Americans still held control, the sufferings of Friends were even more severe. Many were subjected to heavy fines, imprisonments, and other oppressions, for conscientiously refusing to join in warlike demonstrations; and it is not a little singular, that in Pennsylvania and New Jersey,—provinces founded under the especial auspices of members of our Society,—their trials in this respect were greater than in other parts of the Union. The Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, having received information of the imprisonment of many on this account, in several localities, presented an address, in the Eighth Month, 1778, to the Assembly of Pennsylvania on the subject. "They respectfully represent, that the government of the consciences of men is the prerogative of Almighty God, who will not give His glory to another; that every encroachment on this his prerogative,

* Gough's MSS.

is offensive in his sight, and that he will not hold them guiltless who invade it, but will sooner or later manifest his displeasure to all who persist therein. These truths," they say, "will, we doubt not, obtain the assent of every considerate mind. The immediate occasion of our now applying to you, is [that] we have received accounts from different places, that a number of our friends are and have been imprisoned, some for refusing to pay the fines imposed in lieu of personal services in the present war, and others for refusing to take the test prescribed by some laws lately made. The ground of our refusal is a religious scruple in our minds against such compliance, not from obstinacy, or any other motive than a desire of keeping a conscience void of offence towards God, which we cannot, without a steady adherence to our peaceable principles and testimony against wars and fightings, founded on the precepts and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace; by a conformity to which we are bound to live a peaceable and quiet life, and restrained from making any declaration or entering into any engagements as parties in the present unsettled state of public affairs." After alluding to the manner in which civil and religious liberty had been secured to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania under the charter of its enlightened founder, they express a desire that "the laws which have a tendency to oppress tender consciences may be repealed," and that provision may be made for the release of those who are in "bonds for the testimony of a good conscience, and which may prevent others hereafter from suffering in like manner."

The year 1779, brought no mitigation of the sufferings of Friends. Fines and imprisonments for refusing to bear arms, were rigorously enforced, and not only so, but many were now subjected to heavy exactions for refusing to become collectors of the taxes imposed for maintaining the war; an office which the Revolutionists seemed determined to urge on their more peaceable neighbours. Strong remonstrances on this grievance were made to those in power; but amidst the excitement and tumults of war, very little disposition existed to lend an ear to conscientious pleadings for the Christian principles of peace. The distrains upon Friends on these various accounts, in five of the Quarterly

Meetings, in Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, as returned to the Meeting for Sufferings, amounted during this year to upwards of nine thousand five hundred pounds,* three of the Quarterly Meetings having omitted to make a return; and even this large sum did not include many cases of spoil, the value of which had not been returned.

About this time sufferings of another kind arose, in consequence of a recent law rendering the execution of the test acts more rigorous, and incapacitating all persons refusing to take them from conducting schools or engaging in certain other employments. This was a grievance that closely affected Friends; and in truth, any law, by which a religious body is prevented from educating its youth according to its own principles, is a serious infraction of the inalienable rights of conscience, and utterly inconsistent with the American professed zeal for liberty. The Meeting for Sufferings at once decided to remonstrate with their rulers on the injustice of this oppressive measure, and in the Eleventh Month, 1779, a forcible appeal against it was presented to the Assembly of Pennsylvania. On the subject of education they observe:—

“Our predecessors, on their early settlement in this part of America, being piously concerned for the prosperity of the colony, and the real welfare of their posterity, among other salutary institutions, promoted at their own expense the establishment of schools for the instruction of their youth in useful and necessary learning, and for their education in piety and virtue, the practice of which forms the most sure basis for perpetuating the enjoyment of Christian liberty and essential happiness. By the voluntary contributions of the members of our religious Society schools were set up, in which their children were taught; and careful attention hath been given to the instruction of the children of the poor, not of our Society only, but our liberality hath been extended to poor children of other religious denominations generally, great numbers of whom have partaken thereof; and these schools have been in like manner continued and maintained for a long course of years.”

* Records of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings.

On the subject of conscience they remark, "Duty to Almighty God made known in the consciences of men, and confirmed by the Holy Scriptures, is an invariable rule, which should govern their judgment and actions. He is the only Lord and sovereign of conscience, and to Him we are accountable for our conduct, as by Him all men are to be finally judged.—By conscience we mean, the apprehension and persuasion a man has of his duty to God; and the liberty of conscience we plead for, is a free open profession and unmolested exercise of that duty—such a conscience as, under the influence of Divine Grace, keeps within the bounds of morality in all the affairs of human life, and teacheth to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world."

After alluding to the grounds of their objection to war and oaths, to the sufferings of many of their members on these accounts, and to the "groundless reports and misrepresentations" respecting Friends, they conclude thus:—"The matters we have now freely laid before you are serious and important, which we wish you to consider wisely as men, and religiously as Christians; manifesting yourselves friends to true liberty, and enemies to persecution, by repealing the several penal laws affecting tender consciences, and restoring to us our equitable rights, that the means of education and instruction of our youth, which we conceive to be our reasonable and religious duty, may not be obstructed, and that the oppressed may be relieved. In your consideration whereof we sincerely desire that you may seek for, and be directed by that supreme "wisdom, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits."

In presenting the address, the Committee accompanied it with a selection of cases of oppression arising from the laws in question. All the documents were referred by the Assembly to the Committee of Grievances, who, in the Fourth Month, 1780, took the extraordinary and inquisitorial course of proposing a series of questions to the Society to be answered in writing. These related chiefly to an acknowledgment of the American Government—to the validity of its laws—to the paper money, and concluded with the following singular request: "As you are specially associated together, though not incorporated in law, and issue

public letters and recommendations, and promulgate opinions not only on religious, but political subjects, or at least uniting them together, you are requested to communicate the letters and testimonies which have been published from time to time for seven years past, and signed by the clerks of your General or Quarterly Meetings of this city, to be sent to other meetings, or to persons of your Society."

The questions proposed had the close and serious consideration of the Friends appointed on the subject, who did not think proper to submit so far to this categorical and despotic proceeding, as to return specific answers to the several questions; but concluded again to invite those in power to a calm and impartial examination for themselves, of the principles of Friends set forth in their address, as furnishing a sufficient explanation for their not uniting in the present contest with Great Britain. The reply commenced as follows:—

"TO THE COMMITTEE OF GRIEVANCES,

"Your paper directed to Isaac Zane and others, propounding divers questions to our religious Society, hath been considered, and, agreeable to the advice of an eminent Apostle to his Christian brethren, it becomes us 'to be always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in us with meekness and fear,' so also we think it necessary, according to their practice, after the example of their Lord and Master, to adapt the answer to the nature and tendency of the question proposed.

"On reviewing the Memorial presented to the Assembly, and our address to you, they appear to us to contain matter of such importance, and so clearly point out the sentiments and practice of our religious Society, in the various changes and revolutions which have occurred in civil government since we were distinguished from other Christian professions, that a weighty, impartial attention to them, and a willingness to remove the cause of oppression complained of, would, we apprehend, sufficiently enable you to represent to the House, the justice and expediency of relief, on the principles of Christian and civil liberty.

“Our religious meetings were instituted for the laudable intention of inculcating in our fellow-members, worship to Almighty God, benevolence to mankind, and to encourage one another in a steadfast, upright conduct, according to the pure principles of the Gospel ; and have been continued for those Christian purposes for more than a century past ; nor hath the original design of their institution been perverted to the purpose of political disquisitions, or any thing prejudicial to the public safety : we therefore conceive the queries you have proposed to us in a religious capacity, are improper, and a mode of redressing grievances new and unprecedented, and such an inquisition made on a religious Society, as we have not known nor heard of in America ; nevertheless, we may briefly repeat what has been already declared on behalf of our religious Society, to revive the important subject of the Memorial in your view ; which we think is still worthy of a very serious and unbiassed consideration.

“Our Friends have always considered Government to be a divine ordinance, instituted for the suppressing vice and immorality, the promotion of virtue, and protection of the innocent from oppression and tyranny. And they esteem those legislators and magistrates, who make the fear and honour of God the rule of their conduct, to be worthy of respect and obedience. And that it is our duty to live a godly, peaceable, and quiet life. It is also our firm belief that conscience ought not to be subject to the control of men, or the injunctions of human laws ; and every attempt to restrain or enforce it, is an invasion of the prerogative of the Supreme Lord and Lawgiver.”

After referring to their reasons for objecting to all war, it proceeds thus : “As our Christian principle leads into a life of sobriety and peace, so it restrains us from taking an active part in the present contest, or joining with any measures which tend to create or promote disturbance or commotions in the government under which we are placed ; and many of our brethren, from a conviction that war is so opposite to the nature and spirit of the Gospel, apprehend it their duty to refrain in any degree voluntarily contributing to its support ; some of whom, for a considerable number of years past on former occasions, have not actively

complied with the payment of taxes raised for military services ; and divers, from conscientious motives, have now avoided circulating the currency which hath been emitted for the immediate purpose of carrying on war ; although on these accounts, they have been, and still are, subjected to great inconvenience, losses, and sufferings. It hath been the uniform practice of our religious Society, after the example of other Christian churches in every age, to issue epistles of counsel and admonition to their members as occasion required ; those and the testimonies you allude to, contain seasonable exhortations to observe a godly conduct, consistent with the peaceable principles of our Christian profession ; and the papers and records of some of our meetings were seized and detained in the Ninth Month, 1777, and, after undergoing a scrutiny and examination, nothing seditious or prejudicial to the public good being found in them, they were returned.

“In whatever mistaken or unfavourable light our religious Society may be held, by those who are unacquainted with us and our principles, or prejudiced against us, we hope to manifest by our conduct, that we are true friends to all men, and sincerely desirous to promote and inculcate such a temper of mind in our fellow-professors in general, as to enable us to forgive them who evilly entreat us, and pray for them who persecute us.

“Signed on behalf of the Committee of the people called Quakers, who waited on the Assembly of Pennsylvania, with a memorial and address, in the Eleventh Month, 1779.

“ISAAC ZANE.”

So greatly and singularly was the original feeling of the public towards Friends in Pennsylvania now reversed, that their efforts for a mitigation of their sufferings appear to have produced but little effect. The Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, addressing their brethren in London in 1781, thus allude to their situation : “Various are the trials and sufferings of Friends on this continent, and in many instances very grievous ; men actuated by the spirit of war, prejudiced and blinded by party heats and animosities, are unwilling to understand our peaceable Christian testimony, as anything more than a political enmity

against them ; and thus precluding themselves from the candid exercise of their own reason as men, they treat Friends in some cases with great rigour and inhumanity." During the same year, the subject is thus referred to by the Yearly Meeting, in their epistle to London Yearly Meeting. "The sufferings of Friends in these parts have much increased, and continue increasing, in a manner which, to outward prospect, looks ruinous. . . . Our two brethren who have been long imprisoned in Lancaster jail, are still under confinement there, although their innocence of any crime is acknowledged by those who detain them."

Not only was severity used towards the Society of Friends during the American war by laws of an oppressive character, expressly directed against them, but they were also at times exposed to great havoc and spoil of their goods, and to much personal suffering, by both civil and military officers, without any legal sanction or authority whatever. The imprisonment of the two Friends at Lancaster, referred to in the preceding extract, was a case of this description, and strikingly illustrates the excited and vindictive feeling entertained towards members of our religious Society, by the Revolutionists, during their struggle for political independence. The Friends in question were Moses Roberts and Job Hughes, residents at a new settlement composed mostly of Friends at Catawissa in the present county of Columbia, and at that time on the northern frontiers of Pennsylvania. The ravages from Indians in the employ of the British had, for some years, been great in this part of the country and many of the inhabitants had fled to the interior for safety. But, confiding in Him who has the hearts of all men at his disposal, these Friends did not feel it right to remove, and no harm, it appears, befel them from the dreaded inroads of the red man. In the Fourth Month, 1780, however, they were attacked from a quarter least expected. One First-day morning, as Moses Roberts, who was a valued minister among Friends, was preparing to set out for meeting, he was arrested by a company of armed men, and, together with Job Hughes and some others, taken before a military officer, who, without alleging any offence, sent them forthwith to Sunbury jail, to be placed in irons. In a few days they were brought before a

“private Court of Sessions,” where also no accusation of any breach of the laws was preferred against them; and they were astonished to find, that their liberation was only to be obtained, on their giving bail in the enormous sum of ten thousand pounds each, that they would not appear in that part of the province during the war. The bail of course was not given, and, fettered with irons, the two Friends were passed down the Susquehanna in a canoe to Lancaster, where, notwithstanding the intercessions of Friends of Philadelphia with the President and other heads of the government, they were imprisoned for the space of more than eleven months without the opportunity of a trial, and without a single specific charge of offence. A suspicion, it appears, that the two Friends had held intercourse with the Indians who had made devastating inroads in the north, was the sole ground of these illegal proceedings. But their unjust imprisonment was not all. About two months after their arrest, a body of armed men proceeded to their farms, and forcibly ejected their wives and children, nine in number, who, destitute of all means of support, were thus driven from their homes, to seek shelter where they best might find it, and to depend on the bounty of the humane; their property, which was large, being all seized by their jealous and unprincipled oppressors, to the entire ruin of the two families.



LOG FARM HOUSE, ON THE FRONTIERS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Within a few days after the arrest at Catawissa, two other families of Friends, consisting of fourteen persons, and residing on the northern frontiers of Pennsylvania, within forty miles of that place, were suddenly seized and carried off by a company of Indians in the interest of the British. This was the memorable captivity of Benjamin Gilbert and family, a brief notice of which is here introduced.

Benjamin Gilbert was born at Byberry, in 1711, and resided there until the year 1775, when he removed with his family to a farm on Mahoning Creek, near the township of the present Mauch Chunk, in Carbon County. He soon provided himself with a good log dwelling-house, barn, and saw and grist mill, and for five years had pursued his course quietly and prosperously, little expecting the affliction that awaited him, or that, from the pure pleasures of domestic life, he should so soon be a captive with a wandering and warlike band of Iroquois Indians.

Early on the morning of the 25th of the Fourth Month, 1780, the family, consisting of twelve individuals, were surprised by a party of eleven Indians, by whom they were all seized as prisoners of war, any attempt at escape being death.* The Indians then proceeded about half-a-mile to the dwelling of Benjamin Peart, whom they captured, together with his wife, and their child nine months old. Having bound their prisoners with cords, the captors next proceeded to plunder and fire the dwellings; and the last look that Benjamin Gilbert and his family had of their once happy and peaceful homes, was to behold them wrapt in flames. They were then led by a toilsome path over the hills of Mauch Chunk to Mahoning mountain, on which, tied to large poles and stakes after the manner of the Indians, they passed the first night of their captivity.

* Their names were Benjamin Gilbert, aged 69 years; Elizabeth his wife, 55; with their children—Joseph, aged 41; Jesse, 19; Rebecca, 16; Abner, 14; Elizabeth, 12; and Sarah, wife of Jesse, 19; Thomas Peart, son of Benjamin Gilbert's wife, 23; Benjamin Gilbert, son of John Gilbert of Philadelphia, 11; Andrew Harrigar, a servant of Benjamin Gilbert, 26; and Abigail Dodson, 14, a daughter of Samuel Dodson, who lived on a farm about one mile from Gilbert's mill.

For the space of two months was this forlorn band dragged over the wild and rugged region of northern Pennsylvania, and through the swamps and rivers of the Genessee country, to Fort Niagara on lake Ontario. Often from fatigue and hunger were they ready to faint by the way, but the threat of immediate death from their ferocious captors urged them again to the march. At times their provisions were nearly exhausted, and on one occasion they were reduced to feed on "a little hominey and a hedge-hog;" at another on soup made of wild onions and turnip-tops; and more than once on wild potato roots: "days of bitter sorrow and wearisome nights," were truly the experience of these unhappy sufferers. The aged Benjamin Gilbert's health began at last to give way, which the Indians observing, painted him black, as a prelude to death by their own hands, and which they would have carried into execution, had not his wife's intercession prevailed. When he afterwards remarked to the Indian chief on their having brought them alive through the country, the chief replied, "It was not I, but the great God, who brought you through; for we were determined to kill you, but were prevented."

On the fifty-fourth day of their captivity, entering an Indian town not far distant from Fort Niagara, they had to encounter the fearful ordeal of the gauntlet. On these occasions, the Indians, men, women, and children, with clubs and stones, assemble to vent on the unhappy prisoners their revenge for relatives who have been slain, until they are weary of the cruel sport. There is no escape; and the blows, however cruel, must be borne without complaint. The sufferings of the devoted family on this occasion, were excessive. But a severer trial even than this awaited them. Being entirely at the disposal of their captors, they were soon separated from each other. Some were given to Indians to be adopted into their tribe, others were hired out by their Indian owners to service in white families; and others were handed over to the British, and sent down the (St.) Lawrence to Montreal as prisoners of war. Among the latter was the aged Benjamin Gilbert. Accustomed to the comforts of civilized life, he sank under his accumulated sufferings, and in

about two months from the date of his seizure, death relieved him from all earthly sorrows. His end was marked by much patience and holy resignation of mind; and his remains were interred at the foot of an oak on the (St.) Lawrence, below Ogdensburg.* Andrew Harrigar, had made his escape on the eleventh day of his captivity, and was the first to give an authentic account of the rest of the family, who were all eventually redeemed from the Indians and collected at Montreal in the Eighth Month, 1782, whence they returned to Byberry, after a captivity of two years and five months.†

In the Tenth Month, 1781, the British forces under Lord Cornwallis, in Virginia, surrendered themselves to the American army under General Washington. The event was cause of great exultation to the Revolutionists, and an illumination was determined upon. But the Society of Friends, acting in accordance with their ancient testimony, declined to exhibit any such marks of rejoicing. Their conduct was, as before, attributed to a disposition inimical to the American cause, and "outrages and violences" were committed on their property and persons, by "companies of licentious people who paraded the streets of Philadelphia." Doors and windows were destroyed, and houses broken into and plundered, to the great loss and injury of Friends of that city. Notwithstanding the repeated addresses of the Society to those in power, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia concluded it right once more to place before them and the inhabitants generally, the real grounds of their declining to take any part in the existing struggle with the mother country, and also of their refusal to unite with their fellow-citizens in exhibitions of public rejoicing. A document to this effect was consequently prepared, addressed "To the President and Executive Council, and General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and others whom it may concern." After alluding to the dawn and commencement of the Reformation—to the breaking forth of a

* Day's Historical Coll. of Pennsylvania, p. 191.

† A Narrative of the Captivity, &c., of B. Gilbert and his Family.

greater degree of light on the minds of men which succeeded, and to the rise of our religious Society from individuals thus enlightened—to their condemnation of war as opposed to the doctrines and precepts of Christ—to their testimony against all “public fasts, feasts, and thanksgivings,” as only of human authority—to the continued profession of these views by the Society, and to that “full and free enjoyment of liberty of conscience” secured to the early settlers in Pennsylvania by its founder, they conclude as follows:—

“We are not incited by party views or vindicative motives in this representation, but to awaken your cool and dispassionate attention to our multiplied sufferings, and the abuses we have received; knowing that magistracy is intended for a terror to evil-doers, and an encouragement to the virtuous; but where the necessary care and exertions are not used for the prevention and suppression of profanity, tumults, and outrage, and a virtuous part of the community are oppressed and insulted, the true end of government is neglected, and anarchy, confusion, contempt of authority, and insecurity to persons and property will succeed; and although public fasts may be proclaimed, and days under the name of humiliation recommended and appointed, and confession of sin and transgression verbally made, yet unless there be a true and sincere fasting from ambition, strife, ill-will, animosities, infidelity, fraud, luxury, revelling, drunkenness, oppression, and all manner of evil, it cannot be a fast, or acceptable day to the Lord, nor can we have a well-grounded hope, that the scourge with which the inhabitants have been visited will be removed, and days of peace and tranquillity restored.

“The dispensation of war, bloodshed, and calamity, which hath been permitted to prevail on this continent, is very solemn and awful, demanding the most serious and heartfelt attention of all ranks and denominations among the people, individually to consider and examine how far we are each of us really and sincerely engaged to bring forth fruits of true repentance and amendment of life, agreeable to the spirit and doctrine of the Gospel. And although we have been exposed to great abuse and unchristian treatment, we wish to be enabled, through the assistance of

Divine Grace, to cherish in ourselves, and inculcate in others with whom we have an influence, that disposition of forgiveness of injuries, enjoined by the precepts and example of Christ our holy lawgiver; and to manifest our desires and endeavours to promote the real good of our country."

In addition to the trials already mentioned, the Society, towards the close of the war, was troubled by those who had been disowned during that period, for various departures from our acknowledged principles. Taking advantage of the general prejudice against Friends at that critical juncture, these individuals made a combined effort to obtain a part of the property of the Society in Pennsylvania. For this purpose they petitioned the State Legislature to interfere and enforce their claim. "Your petitioners," they said, "are not only by birth, but some of us also by subscription to the common stock, and by subscription for particular purchases, &c., justly entitled to the common use and possession of the estates so held by the said people." After stating that many had been disowned "by the leading men of the Society,"—some for holding offices in the government,—some for bearing arms "in defence of their invaded country," and some for paying taxes, and that such had been refused the use of Friends' burial-grounds for their friends, &c., they close by praying for a bill "recognizing the right of persons disowned by the people called Quakers, to hold in common with others of that Society, the meeting-houses, school-houses, burying-grounds, lots of land, and other the estates held by that people as a religious Society; and to recognize their right to search, examine, and take copies of the records, books and papers of the said Society."* The petition was signed by Timothy Matlack, who was notoriously malicious towards Friends, and by about sixty other complainants.

This mean attempt, although annoying, was not difficult to be met with sound and common sense argument, and a counter petition was forthwith prepared by the Meeting for Sufferings. "The religious liberty of a person," they observe, "consists not

* "The Friend," Phil. pub., vol. xxi. p. 68.

in a power to impose himself upon any religious society against the rules of its communion, but in a freedom to join himself to one whose rules, doctrines and worship, are conformable to his conscience." The right of the Society to disunite from membership those who violate its doctrines and rules was asserted as consistent with the laws of the land, and as having been publicly established by high legal authority. After stating the fact that many of the complainants were so disunited, it was added "the causes, for their sakes, we do not choose to revive, unless they should make it unavoidable. There are also in the number such who were never acknowledged members amongst us." After distinctly denying that any had been disowned for the payment of taxes to support government, the petition proceeds to say, "the petitioners do not agree with us on the fundamentals of our faith, and what has been the uniform practice from our first becoming a united Society."

It was evident that the legislature did not sympathize with the discontented applicants, and was not disposed to accede to their wishes. They were, however, pressing and in earnest, and in a few months made a second appeal "for leave to bring in a Bill." This petition was referred by the Assembly to a Committee, before whom the complainants were allowed to produce evidence in support of their cause. Matlack, and a few of his associates in the business attended; whilst several members of the Meeting for Sufferings appeared on behalf of the Society. The occasion was one of no small interest. The talented and acute Nicholas Waln, who was by profession a lawyer, and at that time a man in the vigour of life, watched the proceedings closely. The evidence adduced by the petitioners related, for the most part, to cases of individuals disowned by the Society. By the time they had gone fairly through their case, he had determined on his course of action. Quick-sighted as he was, he saw that the leaders in the attempt were careful not to bring into view their own individual cases; and he knew their reasons. Addressing the Committee, he freely admitted that a number of those present who complained against Friends, had been disowned by them, and that on various accounts. Then turning

suddenly round to one who had been disunited for cock-fighting, and fixing upon him his penetrating eye, he said, "What wast thou disowned for?" The question was so unexpected, and the true answer to it so damaging to his character and to the cause he was espousing, that he was completely confounded. He durst not answer; and his confusion told its own tale. Nicholas Wain having rested his eye on the man, until the full effect of such an unlooked-for exposure had been produced on the Committee, then turned with a like enquiry to a second and a third—each having been disowned for something disreputable. The unworthy design was completely baffled. The Committee could not fail to see that its promoters had been disowned for no love of country, or devotion to its cause. Their application was negatived.*

The cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and the United States, in 1782, and the recognition of the political independence of the latter in the year following, greatly relieved the sufferings and the difficulties of Friends. The old confederation of the States being superseded in 1789 by the federal constitution of a President, Senate, and House of Representatives, and George Washington being first elected to the high office of President, it was thought by the Society to be a fitting occasion to testify their adhesion to the ruling powers, by addressing him on the occasion. When the form of Government in the United States became settled and established, and especially when it was recognised by Great Britain, the Society of Friends in America cheerfully acknowledged the new Government, as that of the "powers that be," and declared their resolution to yield to it submission and allegiance. The sufferings and difficulties to which they had been subjected during the eventful period of excitement and conflict, were naturally to be expected from the circumstances of such a period. Many of them were the immediate consequence of their firm adherence to the doctrines of peace and their unqualified advocacy of them; and to similar sufferings the Society of Friends have been exposed at different periods and in various countries, on this account. But in other respects, the situation of Friends in

* Scattergood and his Times.

America during the revolutionary war was extremely perplexing and difficult. By Friends, as a religious body, obedience to government, and a rendering "unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," have always been inculcated; and all combinations of a hostile nature, in opposition to those who, in the order of Providence, are placed in secular authority, have been uniformly condemned. On the formation, therefore, of the American Confederation, for the express purpose of resisting by force of arms, the laws and ordinances of Great Britain, Friends could not, as they apprehended, consistently with these views, acknowledge either such a combination or the object attempted, as legitimate; while, on the other hand, their principle against war precluded their being in any way partizans in favour of the British, vindicating their cause, as they then were, with violence and bloodshed, and by fleets and armies. Throughout this contest by arms, Friends invariably declined to make any formal declaration renouncing their allegiance to England; and hence, together with their Christian testimony against war, arose the sufferings they underwent, and the antipathy they encountered from the people. With the return of the blessings of peace, they regained also the inestimable blessings of liberty of conscience and protection, which have ever since been happily enjoyed, together with the regard and confidence of their fellow-citizens.

This chapter may be closed with the address to President Washington, already referred to, together with his answer.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE ADDRESS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY CALLED QUAKERS,
FROM THEIR YEARLY MEETING FOR PENNSYLVANIA, NEW-
JERSEY, DELAWARE, AND THE WESTERN PARTS OF MARYLAND
AND VIRGINIA.

"Being met in this our annual assembly, for the well ordering the affairs of our religious Society, and the promotion of universal righteousness, our minds have been drawn to consider, that the Almighty, who ruleth in heaven, and in the kingdoms of men, has permitted a great revolution to take place in the government of this country; we are fervently concerned, that the rulers

of the people may be favoured with the counsel of God, the only sure means of enabling them to fulfil the important trust committed to their charge; and, in an especial manner, that divine wisdom and grace, vouchsafed from above, may qualify thee to fill up the duties of the exalted station to which thou art appointed.

“ We are sensible thou hast obtained great place in the esteem and affections of people of all denominations over whom thou presidest; and many eminent talents being committed to thy trust, we much desire they may be fully devoted to the Lord’s honour and service—that thus thou mayst be a happy instrument in his hand, for the suppression of vice, infidelity, and irreligion, and every species of oppression on the persons or consciences of men, so that righteousness and peace, which truly exalt a nation, may prevail throughout the land, as the only solid foundation that can be laid for the prosperity and happiness of this or any country.

“ The free toleration which the citizens of these States enjoy, in the public worship of the Almighty, agreeable to the dictates of their consciences, we esteem among the choicest of blessings; and as we desire to be filled with fervent charity for those who differ from us in matters of faith and practice, believing that the general assembly of saints is composed of the sincere and upright-hearted of all nations, kingdoms, and people; so, we trust, we may justly claim it from others: and in a full persuasion that the divine principle we profess, leads unto harmony and concord, we can take no part in carrying on war on any occasion, or under any power, but are bound in conscience to lead quiet and peaceable lives, in godliness and honesty among men, contributing freely our proportion to the indigencies of the poor, and to the necessary support of civil government, acknowledging those that rule well to be worthy of double honour; and if any professing with us are, or have been, of a contrary disposition and conduct, we own them not therein; having never been chargeable from our first establishment as a religious Society, with fomenting or countenancing tumults or conspiracies, or disrespect to those who are placed in authority over us.

“We wish not improperly to intrude on thy time or patience, nor is it our practice to offer adulation to any; but as we are a people whose principles and conduct have been misrepresented and traduced, we take the liberty to assure thee, that we feel our hearts affectionately drawn towards thee, and those in authority over us, with prayers, that thy presidency may, under the blessing of Heaven, be happy to thyself and to the people; that through the increase of morality and true religion, Divine Providence may condescend to look down upon our land with a propitious eye, and bless the inhabitants with the continuance of peace, the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and enable us gratefully to acknowledge his manifold mercies: and it is our earnest concern, that He may be pleased to grant thee every necessary qualification to fill thy weighty and important station to his glory; and, that finally, when all terrestrial honours shall fail and pass away, thou and thy respectable consort may be found worthy to receive a crown of unfading righteousness in the mansions of peace and joy for ever.

“Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting, held in Philadelphia by adjournments, from the 28th of the Ninth Month, to the 3rd of the Tenth Month inclusive, 1789.”

“NICHOLAS WALN, *Clerk.*”

THE ANSWER OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO THE ADDRESS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY CALLED QUAKERS, FROM THEIR YEARLY MEETING FOR PENNSYLVANIA, NEW-JERSEY, DELAWARE, AND THE WESTERN PARTS OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA.

GENTLEMEN,—I receive with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes which you express for the success of my administration, and for my personal happiness.

“We have reason to rejoice for the prospect, that the national government, which, by the favour of Divine Providence, was formed by the common councils, and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them; to render it such, my best endeavours

shall not be wanting. Government being among other purposes instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but according to their stations to prevent it in others.

“The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights; while men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety expect or demand, and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion or mode of faith which they may prefer or profess.

“Your principles and conduct are well known to me; and it is doing the people called Quakers no more than justice to say, that (except their declining to share with others, the burthen of the common defence) there is no denomination among us who are more exemplary and useful citizens. I assure you very explicitly, that in my opinion, the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the protection and essential interests of the nation may justify and permit.

(Signed) “GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY FROM 1780 TO 1820.

The Indians retire to the interior of America—Visits of Friends to them—Their desire for civilization and instruction—Their visits to Philadelphia—Indian treaty at Sandusky in 1792—Friends memorialize Congress on their behalf—Visit to Indians in Ohio in 1793—War between the Indians and the United States—Indian Treaty at Canandaigua—Labours of Friends among the Oneida Indians—Friends' Indian establishments, schools, &c., at Genesanghota, Tunesassah, and Cattaraugus—Benevolence of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland towards Friends in America, sufferers by the revolutionary war—American Friends reciprocate the feeling by a subscription for their brethren in England during the Continental war—Distribution of Bibles and Friends' books—Families visited on this subject—Exertions with Friends of Carolina, New York, and New England thereupon—Care and assistance to Friends in Nova Scotia—Settlement of Friends in Canada—Publication of the Book of Discipline—Efforts of Friends on Education—A Boarding School proposed—Establishment of West Town School—Memorials to Congress on the Militia—Labours of Friends on the subject of Slavery, and on behalf of the Negroes—Visits of Friends from England—Settlement of Friends west of the Alleghany Mountains, and in the northern parts of Pennsylvania—The Western Quarterly Meetings transferred to Maryland Yearly Meeting—State of the Society in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys—Extracts from Epistles, &c.

THE gradual extension of European settlements into the interior of the North American continent, caused the aborigines repeatedly to retire farther westward, and their associations with Friends became consequently, less frequent. But the solicitude of the Society for this interesting people, did not lessen by distance, and, under a sense of religious duty, we find our members and ministers occasionally labouring among them. John Woolman in 1763, and Zebulon Heston in 1773, were thus engaged; the

latter visiting the Indian settlements as far west as one hundred and twenty miles beyond the river Ohio. The former exertions of the Society were not forgotten by the Indians, and for several years they had repeatedly solicited Friends of Philadelphia to send some well-qualified persons to settle among them for their religious instruction. On the occasion of the visit of Zebulon Heston, accompanied by John Parish, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia addressed an epistle to the Indians, in which their desire for religious instructors is alluded to with approbation and encouragement. To this they replied, "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 things of this life, as well as the world to come."*

Though the Indians were so far removed, yet they had occasionally business to transact with the government, which brought some of their chiefs to Philadelphia. It was the practice of Friends at such times to notice them with friendly regard, to endeavour to inculcate on their minds a peaceable disposition, and to cultivate that mutual feeling of cordiality which had always subsisted. In 1791, two such occurrences took place, and a similar one in the year following. On one of these occasions, a request was made by a Seneca chief, that Friends would undertake the instruction of his son and some other Indian boys. For such a purpose, he remarked, "We have too little wisdom among us, we cannot teach our children what we perceive their situation requires them to know, and we therefore ask you to instruct some of them; we wish them to be instructed to read and to write, and such other things as you teach your own children; and especially to teach them to love peace." The request was readily acceded to. A few years later other interviews of this character took place, with tribes more remote.

In 1792, the Indians were again involved in war with the United States. Impressed with the belief that they had been unjustly deprived of the land of their fathers, they were vainly

* Friends and the Indians, p. 98.

endeavouring to redress their wrongs by physical force. The circumstance excited the sympathy of Friends, and the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, with a view to promote the termination of these hostilities, appointed a large Committee to unite with the Meeting for Sufferings. A memorial was presented to the President and Congress on the subject, and in the Second Month, 1793, at the request of the Indians, a few Friends were deputed to attend a treaty to be held at Sandusky in Ohio. In their report on this mission, the deputation say: "Notwithstanding the desirable object of peace was not obtained, we have not a doubt of the rectitude of our submitting to go on the arduous and exercising journey; we believe it tended to renew the ancient friendship with the Indian natives; and although we were not admitted to see them in full council, yet we have reason to believe they were all made acquainted with our motives and friendly sentiments towards them, through divers of their chiefs."* William Savery, one of the Friends on this appointment, has left in his journal some interesting memoranda of the interview.

In 1793, a visit was paid by two Friends to the Delaware Indians, who were then located near Muskingham, in Ohio. The desire which they had expressed in former years for religious teaching, was still prevalent; "when we think of our poor children," they said, "our hearts are affected with sorrow—we hope you will send us teachers."†

In 1794, another Indian treaty was held at Canandaigua, in the State of New York, to which the attendance of Friends was particularly solicited by the natives. Four members of the Meeting for Sufferings offered themselves for the service, of whom the benevolent and sympathizing William Savery was one. There were assembled on this occasion no less than sixteen hundred Indians, by whom the friendly offices of the deputation were much appreciated. The Indians, they remark in their report, "still retain a lively remembrance of the just and friendly treatment their forefathers experienced from the first founder of Pennsylvania, continue to distinguish him by the name of Onas, and

* Friends and the Indians, p. 105.

† Ibid. p. 106.

consider Friends as his descendants, expressing that if we deceive them they can no more place any confidence in mankind. We continued with them about seven weeks. Many are the difficulties and sufferings to which the Indians are subject, and their present situation appears loudly to claim the sympathy and attention of the members of our religious Society, and others, who have grown opulent on the former inheritance of these poor declining people. We cannot but believe some mode may be fallen upon of rendering them more essential service than has yet been adopted."

The war between the Indians and the Federal Government being happily terminated in 1794 (to effect which Friends had unremittingly laboured) the way was again open for promoting the good of the natives. At the Yearly Meeting of 1795, the subject obtained much consideration, and issued in the appointment of a committee, "to promote," as the report states, "among the Indians, the principles of the Christian religion, as well as to turn their attention to school learning, agricultural and useful mechanical employments." The Committee, by circular letters, soon communicated to the Indian tribes the solicitude of Friends for their welfare. Many of them received the intelligence with joy; and the Oneida Indians and a portion of the Stockbridge and Tuscarora tribes, who were settled on their reservations in the State of New York, expressed their anxiety to avail themselves of the assistance of Friends. They were not kept long in suspense; and in the summer of 1796, three Friends settled among them. Unaccustomed as these sons of the forest had been, to any settled habits of labour, the difficulty of inducing them to abandon the chase for the more profitable cultivation of the soil, was very great. Much, however, was effected by the persevering efforts of Friends. By first proceeding to improve a piece of land, they soon strikingly exhibited to the Indians the fruits of steady industry. In a few years, many of these roving tribes were to be seen industriously occupied on their little allotments of land, or in the handicraft trades of the blacksmith and the carpenter; whilst the women and girls were busily engaged with the spinning-wheel and the needle. A school for the instruction of the children was also opened among

them, and an educated Indian employed, at a salary, as their teacher. In addition to this assistance, several of the young Indian women and girls were received into the families of Friends in Philadelphia, where they were instructed in reading, and writing, and such other things as might be beneficial to themselves and their community.

The amount expended by Friends in these benevolent objects, in the supply of tools, farming implements, the erection of grist-mills, and saw-mills, and houses, and barns, was considerable. The Indians, who had too much cause to be suspicious of the motives of their white neighbours, began to imbibe the notion, that Friends, like some others, must have a sinister object in rendering them so much aid: a fear, in fact, possessed them, that their land would be claimed as a compensation for the outlay. To convince the natives that no such ulterior view was entertained, it was deemed advisable, in 1799, for the resident Friends to return.

The advantage which had resulted to the Oneida Indians by these efforts, did not escape the notice of other tribes; and in 1798, the Seneca nation solicited similar aid. Their request was promptly acceded to; and three Friends proceeded to their towns, on the Alleghany river, for the purpose. To learn to plough, and to do what was proposed, appeared to the poor Senecas almost impossible, seeing, as they said, "they had no horses or oxen, and were poor, living in cabins covered with bark." In one of their councils on this subject, a chief, touched with a sense of the love and interest manifested towards them, said, in addressing the Friends who were present, "Brothers, we can't say a word against you. It is the best way to call Quakers brothers. You never wished any part of our lands; therefore, we are determined to try to learn your ways."

An ancient Indian village called Genesanghota, in the State of New York, but near the boundary line of Pennsylvania, was fixed upon for the residence of the Friends, being about the centre of the settlements on the Alleghany. Here, as among the Oneidas, the progress of civilization was striking. In a very few years, their bark cabins had been replaced by substantial log

dwellings; fencing had been erected, and roads made; whilst gloomy forests had given place to pasture lands and fields of yellow corn. But the improvements of these poor people did not stop here. Their moral condition also underwent a change. School learning had been afforded; and the use of spirituous liquors, so much the besetment of the Indian, had been greatly discouraged. Although the establishment of Friends was at Genesanghota, their labours extended to other villages of the Senecas. Occasionally, some of the Committee visited the settlements, and handed them Christian counsel. In 1803, Friends removed their Indian establishment about two miles from the former place, to Tunesassah, where it has continued, down to the present time; and reports of its progress are annually made to the Yearly Meeting.

The successful efforts of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in this good work, excited a deep interest in the minds of their brethren in England, and a very prevalent desire existed to encourage their endeavours, by rendering some substantial assistance. In 1806, the subject was discussed in the Yearly Meeting of London, and a liberal subscription was raised, amounting to above seven thousand pounds sterling, equal to nearly twelve thousand pounds in American currency. Of this amount about two-fifths were transmitted to Philadelphia, and the remainder to New York and Maryland, where similar exertions for the improvement of the natives had been made.

The labours of Friends of Philadelphia on behalf of the Indians, some years later, appeared likely to be much frustrated by an attempt which was made to induce those on the Alleghany reservation to remove to the uncultivated wilds of the far West. In 1817, the Committee of Friends on Indian affairs memorialized the President on the subject, stating that upwards of forty thousand dollars had been expended by the Society, for the purpose of promoting among them the principles of the Christian religion and the arts of civilized life; and urging the President to use his influence in preventing the unjust measures contemplated, and also in promoting among this remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants, a separate ownership of land, in order that the

power of transferring their reservations as a whole, might no longer exist. In 1819, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia addressed Congress on this subject. "With deep concern," says the memorial, "we have observed a disposition spreading in the United States, to consider the Indians as an incumbrance to the community, and their residence within our borders as an obstruction to the progressive improvements and opulence of the nation." In 1818, a school was opened for the Indians at Cattaraugus; and in 1820, the school at Tunesassah, under the tuition of a Friend, was regularly attended by about twenty-five boys, in a building erected for the purpose.

Throughout their history, the Society of Friends in America have been the steady and uncompromising friends of the Indian population. But the gradual removal of most of the tribes from the land of their fathers to the wilds of the far West, by unjust and oppressive measures on the part of the Federal Government, has largely interfered with opportunities for benefiting them. Like most others of the uncivilized races, they have been marked victims of the avarice and cunning of the more enlightened sections of mankind, and in the guilt of this conduct, it must be confessed, that the professors of the Christian name are deeply implicated.

The distress in which numerous families of Friends in America were involved during the revolutionary war, excited the sympathy and the liberality of their brethren in the mother country, and many thousands of pounds were raised for their relief. During the time of active hostilities, the sums applied were mostly on behalf of Friends in New England and the Carolinas.* Several years after the conclusion of the war, Friends in England raised sums also for their brethren who had been sufferers by it in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, several thousand pounds having been remitted for this purpose, from 1789 to 1797. The amount was distributed chiefly to about seventy families, who in most cases

* Epistles of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, and Gough's MSS.

had been reduced to great trial and difficulty by either one or other, or by both of the contending parties.*

The views of the Society of Friends on Christian benevolence, and on the support and maintenance of their poor and distressed, form a distinguishing trait in their character. "As mercy, com-

* Records of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings.

The following, selected from the list of recipients, will convey an idea of the general character of the whole :—

	£	s.	d.
To — of Abington, who suffered much loss and damage by the two contending armies	20	0	0
„ — of Abington who was plundered of nearly all his property by the contending armies	30	0	0
„ The Widow and Children of Moses Roberts, who were driven from Catawissa	50	0	0
„ — who, with his family, was driven by the Indians from their dwelling in Northampton County	37	10	0
„ — with six young Children, a like case in Northampton County	37	10	0
„ — of Mount Holly, New Jersey, whose house was plundered by the British army, and he with his wife and eight children obliged to flee and shelter themselves in a neighbouring county	50	0	0
„ — of Philadelphia, whose house and shop were broken into and robbed by the British army of a variety of valuable goods, on the sale of which he depended for the support of his family	100	0	0
„ — of New Jersey, who had a wife and eleven children, and was frequently much stripped of his property by the contending armies and militia	75	0	0
„ — of Shrewsbury, New Jersey, who was grievously stripped during the war; the whole of his stock taken away	15	0	0
„ — of Horsham, Pennsylvania, whose house was forcibly entered and plundered	25	0	0
„ — of Abington, who suffered greatly by the ravages of the British army, which made a barrack of his house, burned his fences, and laid waste his farm	70	0	0
„ — of Pennsylvania, who suffered considerably by the American army; the camp being near his farm. He was also taken prisoner and carried to the camp on suspicion of being disaffected to the American cause	50	0	0

passion, and charity, are eminently required in this new covenant dispensation we are under," observe their rules,—“so, respecting the poor and indigent amongst us, we must see that there be no beggar in Israel.” The rules of the Society, from a very early date, have clearly set forth, that for such, “nothing was to be wanting for their necessary supply;” and equally explicit have they been that “none were to be sent to the township for relief.”*

The feelings of Christian love which led Friends thus to care for their brethren in distress, as well as to adopt rules and regulations for carrying the same into practice in our several Monthly Meetings, have at times taken an extensive range, as was the case in reference to the sufferers by the American war. Within four years after, a similar illustration of this Christian virtue was exhibited in a reciprocal benevolent exertion. In the beginning of the present century, many Friends and others in England, were distressed by the long-continued high prices of food; arising partly from the Continental wars, and partly from a failure of the crops. To relieve this distress, Friends in America in 1801, transmitted no less than £5691. To this circumstance they thus allude in their epistle of that year: “In the course of the sittings of this Yearly Meeting, the situation of things amongst you, and the various distresses known on your side the water, from the scarcity and high price of bread, have excited our fellow-feeling, and our minds have been impressed with humble thankfulness, in the remembrance of the many favours we enjoy from the all-bountiful hand, under which sensations, a disposition became prevalent to share with you a portion of the abundance with which we have

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To — who, during the battle of Brandywine, lost most of his property	37	10	0
„ — of Philadelphia, who, in consequence of the war, sustained a loss of £1500.	100	0	0
„ — of Concord, widow, who suffered greatly by the distresses which ensued after the battle of Brandywine, being plundered of her live stock and produce	25	0	0
„ — of Chester County, who sustained so much loss by fines, &c., as to break him up from farming	37	10	0

* Philadelphia Rules of Discipline, first ed. p. 106.

been blessed." How greatly would the sum of human happiness be increased, were the professors of Christianity more generally disposed to similar acts of liberality and brotherly kindness !

At a very early period, the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, following the example of the Society in England, printed and circulated books and writings illustrative of our doctrines. This also was one of the subjects to which the attention of the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia was early and specially directed. In furtherance of this object, that Meeting, about the year 1771, issued directions to the several Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, more particularly those in remote and distant parts, to institute an inquiry, "in order," as it is expressed, "to learn how the poorer families of Friends are furnished with Bibles and Friends' books, and where it is necessary, that they be supplied therewith, as also to excite their members in general to be conversant therein."* Nor were the efforts of the Meeting for Sufferings limited to its own Yearly Meeting. Other Yearly Meetings in America were encouraged to do the same; and in 1772, an epistle was addressed to Friends of New York and New England on this subject; "We are desirous," they say, "that a like brotherly care may be promoted in your several meetings as your settlements increase, that every family of Friends may be encouraged and expected to put the writings of Friends in the hands of their children, servants and others, who may thus at times be induced to peruse them to their profit. As there is a great increase of vain books, that amuse the thoughtless youth, and lead such who love to read them from the simplicity of the Truth, we are the more concerned to urge this religious care, which we desire may increase among us, that all may be done that is in our power towards the preservation of our youth, and their growth in piety and virtue.

"On this occasion, we use the brotherly freedom of mentioning to you, that it appears to have been the early care of Friends of our Yearly Meeting to provide a stock for the divers necessary purposes, which did and might arise for the general service of

* Epistle of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, 1771.

Friends. A part of this has been frequently applied for printing and dispersing books and other writings of our Friends. We believe a provision of the like sort may be useful among you, as it may be an easy means for the poor and sober inquirers within the compass of your meetings, to be the more generally furnished with the means of instruction, and in many other occurring cases may be found necessary and of service."

To this epistle was appended a list of Friends' books which had been printed by direction of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and could be furnished at very low prices.*

A similar care was extended to Friends in the southern states, and in 1785, the epistle of the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia to that in London, notices the supply of school books to Friends in the western parts of North Carolina. In 1798, no fewer than nine hundred copies of Gough's history of Friends were subscribed for through this meeting.

It was about the year 1785, that some Friends who had settled in Nova Scotia, obtained the care and attention of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings.† In 1787, some of its members united with John Townsend of London, then on a religious mission to America, in a visit to these settlers. There were, it appears by their report, "a considerable number in different places who made profession with Friends." At Beaver Harbour, in the neighbourhood of which they chiefly resided, there were forty in membership, and a large number "professing, but not in membership." Many of these being reported to be in very straitened circumstances, a Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings was appointed to render them some pecuniary aid; and out of the money raised in England for Friends in America, five hundred pounds were allotted for their relief.

The attention of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to those in distant settlements, was next directed to Friends in Upper Canada, to which several families from Pennsylvania had removed about the year 1792. The emigration of our members to this

* Philadelphia Friend, vol. xx. p. 204.

† Epistle to London, MS.

region continued to increase, being induced mainly by the inviting terms offered by the British Government to settlers, among whom were some from New Jersey. In 1797, the subject obtained the attention of the Yearly Meeting, and as no meetings had yet been settled in Upper Canada, a committee was appointed to render such assistance as might be needed; the Committee visited some of them in the same year. Their number consisted at that time of twelve families and parts of families, who resided on Black Creek, and Short Hills, near the river Niagara.*

A similar visit was made in 1799, when a Monthly Meeting was established to be held at Pelham and Black Creek; to which Friends of Yonge Street, about a hundred miles northward, near Lake Simcoe, were afterwards united. As there was no Quarterly Meeting to which Friends in Upper Canada could be conveniently associated, Pelham Monthly Meeting for a few years, forwarded answers to the queries to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In 1805, there were regularly settled meetings for worship at Pelham, Black Creek, and Yonge Street; and in the following year, another Monthly Meeting was set up at Yonge Street. About this time some difficulty arose to the members of these meetings on the question of oaths, in connexion with the patents under which their lands were held; and by refusing to take the oaths the legal tenure of their estates was endangered. On this subject, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia memorialized the Government and Legislature of Upper Canada, for an "abrogation or explanation of the exceptionable clauses" in the patents, "so as to prevent any future molestation on these accounts." Referring to this matter some years later, the Meeting for Sufferings remark, that "from the kind disposition of the Government towards them, there is reason to believe they have not suffered much inconvenience."†

Settlements in Upper Canada had also been formed by Friends from the State of New York. These were in the vicinity of Kingston, near Lake Ontario; and a care had been extended to them by the Yearly Meeting of New York. In 1809, the

* Jacob Lindley's Journal. † Epistle of Meeting for Sufferings, 1807.

meetings in Canada were formed into a Quarterly Meeting, under the sanction of the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and New York, and with the latter it was soon after incorporated. Subsequently a Half-year's Meeting was established for Friends in Upper Canada, composed, in 1820, of four Monthly, and seventeen particular Meetings.

Until a comparatively recent period of the history of Friends, it had been the practice of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, to preserve in manuscript the various minutes and advices issued from one time to another by the Yearly Meetings for the right conducting of the discipline of the Society. It was found, however, that in many instances, sufficient care was not taken in this respect. To meet the difficulty, the Yearly Meeting of London, in 1781, concluded to arrange its minutes and advices under suitable heads in one volume, and so to print them, that each meeting, as it states, "may be furnished with a complete and correct collection, and that being thus more generally made known, may be more uniformly put in practice, that order, unity, peace and harmony may be preserved throughout the churches."* This example was soon followed by the Yearly Meeting of New England; in 1797 by that of Philadelphia, and subsequently, by other American Yearly Meetings.

In issuing its "Rules of Discipline and Christian Advices," for the use of the subordinate meetings, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting accompanied them with the following observations:—

"In the early times of Christianity it was found necessary for the apostles, disciples, and believers, to meet often together for the consolation and strengthening one of another; when, pursuant to the very nature and design of the gospel, which brought peace on earth, and good-will to men, a care arose for the establishment and edification of the church, and their labour was, that all should be of one mind, and become as one family.

"And, as it hath pleased the Lord in these latter days to call a people to freedom, and from under that unwarrantable yoke of

* Preface to the London Rules of Discipline.

bondage [set up in the apostacy], so he hath been pleased to raise in the hearts of his servants, that primitive love and goodwill which eminently distinguish his disciples; wherein they have been persuaded and directed by his wisdom and power, to have meetings established for like good purposes as in the primitive times; therein to worship him, and have oversight, care, and compassion, one over another, and to endeavour that all may walk humbly, decently, and honestly, and be of one mind, as becomes the servants and followers of our holy Lord.

“This is called our Discipline, in the exercise whereof, persuasion and gentle dealing is, and ought to be our practice; and when any, after all our Christian endeavours, cannot be reclaimed, the extent of our judgment is censure, or disowning such to be of our religious communion. And as this authority and practice is Christian, so it is laudable and reasonable in Society; for the good and reputation of the whole body ought to claim our greatest regard, subordinately including that of every member. Hence arises a care and concern for decency and comely order in all our meetings for worship and discipline, as well as honesty, plainness, and orderly walking, in all the members of our religious Society, that others seeing our good works may be induced to glorify our Father, who is the author of them, and thereby be brought into that faith which works by love to the purifying of the heart.”

For many years, the Book of Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was kept in the different meeting houses of the Society, under the special charge of the overseers and clerks, and however much any other individual member of the meeting might be interested in its contents, the volume was, for the most part, inaccessible to them.* In 1825, however, Friends of that meeting determined on a wider circulation of the volume. “What is good in itself,” they remark on this occasion, “cannot be too widely diffused, or too extensively known. We believe that the rules of our discipline have this tendency; and so believing, we have taken the usual means of making them public;

* Preface to Rules of Philadelphia Y. M., ed. 1825.

and we earnestly hope, that all our good intentions may be realised.”*

In addition to the printing of its Rules of Discipline, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting published, in 1808, a small volume of “Christian Advices,” consisting of extracts from its records, having reference to the support of our several Christian testimonies, and to our conduct and conversation among men; compiled, as its introduction states, “for the benefit of the members of our Yearly Meeting; that observing the travail of the Church under various concerns, which in divine wisdom have been communicated for its weighty attention, they may be drawn to the principle of life and light manifested in the mind, which points out the path of duty, and can alone preserve therein.”

* Preface to Philadelphia Rules, ed. 1825.

The following are the heads of arrangement as printed in the edition of 1825 :—

Appeals.	Ministers and Elders, and Meetings of Ministers and Elders.
Arbitrations.	Moderation and Temperance.
Births and Burials.	Negroes or Slaves.
Books.	Oaths.
Certificates and Removals.	Overseers.
Charity and Unity.	Parents and Children.
Civil Government.	Plainness.
Conduct and Conversation.	Poor.
Convinced Persons.	Queries.
Days and Times.	Schools.
Defamation and Detraction.	Scriptures.
Discipline and Meetings for Discipline.	Stock [Collections].
Donations and Subscriptions.	Taverns.
Family Visits.	Testimonies of Denial and Acknowledgments.
Gaming and Diversions.	Trade.
Law.	War.
Marriages.	Wills.
Meeting Houses.	Women's Meetings.
Meeting for Sufferings.	Yearly Meetings.
Meetings for Worship.	
Memorials[of Ministers & Elders.]	

From an early period, the subject of a guarded religious and literary education of their offspring engaged the serious attention of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In 1746, Friends of the "several Monthly Meetings were encouraged to assist each other in the settlement and support of schools for the instruction of their children, and to employ such masters and mistresses as are concerned, not only to instruct their children in learning, but are likewise careful to bring them to the knowledge of their duty to God, and one to another."*

Various plans had been proposed for more effectually ensuring this object, and an effort was made in 1769, to found a boarding-school for the accommodation of a number of boys not exceeding thirty. For the purchase of a farm and for the erection of the necessary buildings, it was proposed that funds should be raised in shares of twenty pounds each, the proprietors of which, with others under appointment, were to exercise a supervision of the establishment. The remuneration of the master and teachers was to depend on the payments of the children. The instruction was to include "reading, writing, arithmetic, navigation, surveying, gauging, and such other learning as is usually taught, and the parents may direct; and likewise the Latin, Greek, and French languages." The annual charge for each pupil was to be twenty pounds; and about three pounds on entering for buying household linen, &c. Whether on account of the troubles which arose out of the dispute between England and her American colonies, or from other obstacles, the proposal did not at that time succeed, and for several years little appears to have been effected by united efforts.

In the year 1778, the subject of education was revived with increasing earnestness, and an address and observations, principally from the pen of Anthony Benezet, who took a deep interest in the matter, were issued by the Yearly Meeting. It was recommended that "the former advice of collecting a fund for the establishment and support of schools, under the care of a standing committee appointed by the several Monthly or Particular Meet-

* Rules of Discipline, first ed., p. 114.

ings, should generally take place.—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, stable, &c., be erected thereon. There are few meetings," continues the address, "which may not, in labour, in materials or money, raise so much as would answer this charge. 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, to engage therein. The benefit of the youth, and the means of a comfortable living for the master, may be increased, by the conveniency which might be made for boarding some children, under his care, whose distant situation might otherwise impede their instruction."*

The effect of this address was encouraging. Subscriptions were raised, amounting to many thousands of dollars. School-houses were built in most localities where there were Friends sufficient to form a school, and in some places for the accommodation also of teachers ; committees for superintending them also were appointed in Monthly or Preparative Meetings ; and with these lay the choice of the master. In some places these schools still exist ; but the subsequent establishment of the large boarding-school at West-town, together with the district or State school system, has broken up several.

Although the attempt, in 1769, to found a boarding-school in Pennsylvania had failed, yet it did not cease to find earnest advocates and supporters. About the same time the idea was a favourite one with Friends in England, and in 1779, the experiment of a school, under the care of London Yearly Meeting, was made at Ackworth. The success of this institution probably quickened the zeal of our American brethren ; at any rate, in 1792, the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia proposed to its Yearly Meeting the founding of a similar institution. A committee to consider the subject was appointed, who reported favourably, and in 1794, an appointment was made to carry out the design. Within two years more a sum of twelve thousand

* Rules of Discipline, pp. 116, 117.

pounds was raised, and an estate at West-town in the county of Chester, about forty miles from Philadelphia, containing about six hundred acres, was bought for the purpose. The cost of the original purchase was about six thousand pounds, and the outlay in the requisite buildings involved about three thousand three hundred pounds more. The accommodations were for two hundred and fifty children of both sexes. The following were some of the regulations laid down for its government :—

“That this institution, being intended for the benefit of the children of Friends generally, shall continue under the care and superintendence of a standing committee of the Yearly Meeting.

“That spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, shall be taught in the different schools; and such other useful branches of learning as the circumstances of the pupils may require, and the state of the institution shall permit.

“That the boarding and lodging of the children shall be plain and frugal, without distinction, except in cases of sickness.

“That no children shall be taken in under the age of eight years, or entered for less than one year.

“That whenever there shall be more applications than can be received, a preference be given to the members of our own Yearly Meeting.”

The school was opened in 1799, and up to the present time no less than ten thousand children have been educated therein for longer or shorter periods of time. For some years past the Latin and Greek languages have also been taught.

The exertions of Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey had, as we have seen in a former chapter, accomplished much on the subject of slavery; their Christian endeavours to uproot this monstrous evil, did not, however, stop there. In writing to their brethren in England in 1785, they remark: “The silence of Congress on the subject-matter of our Yearly Meeting’s address in 1783, relating to the slave-trade, engaged us to revive that important affair in their view by a letter to the President.” In 1789, they memorialized Congress a second time on the subject. The noble example set in 1780, by the inhabitants of Pennsyl-

vania, in declaring theirs a free state, had not as yet been followed by New Jersey; and in 1792, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, addressed the legislature of that State on the question of negro rights. In the same year they also presented a "Memorial of Congratulation," to the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, for having refused the petition of sundry persons from the French West India Islands, praying that their domestic negroes may be exempted from the operation of the law, passed in this Commonwealth for the abolition of slavery."*

Steadily pursuing the great work of negro emancipation, Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, in 1799, prepared and issued an address "To their fellow-citizens of the United States of North America, and others whom it may concern." The enormity of the evils of slavery was boldly asserted; "Whether people will hear, or forbear," they observe, "we believe ourselves authorised to say, that it is the mind and will of the Most High, that slavery should be abolished." The address also included a general exhortation to piety. In 1802, the same Meeting, united with Friends of Maryland, in memorializing the legislature of that state on behalf of the "poor blacks."

In the year 1804, the Meeting for Sufferings, as the representative body of Friends in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, again pleaded with Congress on behalf of the injured African. By a deputation of four Friends, a memorial was presented, containing a bold remonstrance on the wickedness of slavery. The following is an extract:—

"We believe the testimony against slavery is advancing, and will in time overcome all opposition. We pray the Almighty Sovereign of the universe, to carry on, bless, and prosper this good work, and that legislatures, as well as individuals, may co-operate with the benign spirit of the gospel, in dispelling the dark clouds which hang over this country, by doing justly to all men—the work of righteousness being peace, and the effect thereof quietness and assurance for ever.

* Epistle to London Meeting for Sufferings.

“Can it be supposed that the Almighty Creator, who made of one blood all nations of the earth, beholds with indifference one part of his rational creatures, equally the objects of his love and mercy, held under oppression by another part? And is it not just and reasonable to fear, if the gentle language of his Spirit—‘let this people go’—is not attended to, that he will by terrible things in righteousness evince his sovereignty, and sustain the character of a God of justice, who is no respecter of persons.”

“The temporal sufferings of this people will, by the course of nature, terminate in a few years: but what will be the lot of their oppressors? We wish the attention of all to the awful consequence of neglecting in time to hear the cries of the poor. We are sensible that we have to encounter the prejudices of interested men, and may subject ourselves to the obloquy and reproach of such; but a sense of duty and the noble cause we espouse is our firm support: to God we leave the event, who knows that in this regard our hearts are upright before him.”

The unceasing efforts of Friends of America, in this righteous cause, were not without good results; and in 1807, they were cheered in their work by the passing of an Act of Congress, prohibiting the African slave-trade. In this national act of justice, the United States preceded Great Britain. The abolition of the foreign slave-trade took place, in fact, as early as the constitution gave the Federal Government the power to effect it. Over the internal slave-trade it possessed no control. The exertions made by Friends in England, with their Government, on this question, had, for twenty years past, been very considerable; but it was not until the United States of North America had taken the initiative, that the legislature of Great Britain declared the African slave-trade to be illegal—this was in 1808. Would that the Americans had not slackened in their onward progress in the vindication of human rights! but that they had preceded England in not merely declaring to the civilized world, that “all men are created equal;—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights;—that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;” but that they had followed up the declaration of these great truths by a consistent course of action.

Had this been the case, how powerful would have been their example! and how far would it have gone in removing the foul stain of slavery from among the nations of men. And until this great and rising commonwealth shall have ceased its iniquitous inconsistency, and emancipated the negro race, so long, we feel assured, will the Society of Friends, in faithfulness to its principles, continue to lift up its voice against an evil, destructive alike of the temporal and the eternal interests of mankind.

Delaware, like New Jersey, had been slow to recognise the rights of the negro; and in 1812, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia addressed the legislature of that State on the subject. In 1816, they also presented a memorial to Congress against the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, by which many free blacks were kidnapped and taken back into slavery; and two years later, they appeared again before this body, to remonstrate on the same unrighteous enactment.

Before turning from the subject of slavery, it seems only right to notice the civil disabilities to which persons of colour in North America are subjected, and the strong prejudice which is generally entertained against them. In some of the States of the Union, coloured persons, when they obtain their freedom, are obliged forthwith to leave the State. In Georgia, not only is one free negro prohibited from teaching another, but a white man is liable to a fine of five hundred dollars, for teaching him to read and write.* In Louisiana it is gravely set forth, by express statute, that "free people of colour ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites."† In other states, whatever may be his attainments or his standing, a coloured man, in the eye of the law, is rendered incapable of preaching the gospel. Their civil rights and liberties are also greatly curtailed in some of the professedly free states. Until recently, a law existed in Ohio, excluding blacks from the benefit of the public schools. This law has been lately repealed, but in New York and some other northern cities of the Union,

* Goodell's American Slave Code, p. 337.

† Martin's Digest, p. 640 in Goodell.

coloured persons are still denied licences to drive carts, and to pursue other common avocations for a livelihood. In the free State of Indiana, the testimony of free negroes and mulattoes is not received against a white man, and the constitutions and statutes of most of the free States debar the coloured citizen from eligibility to office, and from equal access to the ballot box. Of this oppressive legislation of the northern states, it has been justly observed, that "the negro pew, and the corresponding treatment of negroes in seminaries of learning controlled by the church, are the principal supports."* The social customs are in strict keeping with this state of things, and access within the pale of refined society is denied to coloured people.

The origin of this systematic persecution of free Africans is to be found simply in the desire to perpetuate slavery. Freedom for whites, but slavery for the blacks, is an all-important article of the American slave-holder's creed; the foundation stone, indeed, of his wretched system. The line of distinction which, with unrighteous assumption, he has thus dared to draw between the children of the One Great and Universal Parent of mankind, he knows would be rendered less definite, and less clear, by the presence of free blacks among slaves, and hence his endeavours to prevent the mingling of the two. That the northern states should have pandered to such wicked policy, and lent themselves to this indirect mode of maintaining slavery, is truly to be deplored.

This invidious distinction in reference to coloured people being thus generally entertained in America, it is not at all surprising that Friends should have partaken in some degree of the prejudice; and that, as in other Christian communities, a question should have been raised on the propriety of admitting them as members of the Society. Up to the year 1785, only one instance of an application of this description appears to have occurred, but the subject had excited much attention.† No rule seems

* Goodell, p. 348.

† Letter of James Pemberton to James Philips of London, 18th of Eleventh Month, 1785, in S. Dimsdale's Collection.

to have existed, excluding any of the negro race from church fellowship; and in 1796, on the question being submitted by one of the Quarterly Meetings to the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, that meeting adopted this just and Christian judgment: "Where Monthly Meetings are united in believing that the applicants are clearly convinced of our religious principles, and in a good degree subject to the Divine witness in their own hearts, manifested by a circumspect life and conduct, said meetings are at liberty to receive such into membership, without respect to nation or colour."* . Paul Cuffé, a free negro of Massachusetts, was not only admitted a member, but became also a minister in the Society of Friends.†

Friends in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys remonstrated occasionally with their rulers on other subjects of importance. The proposal, in 1790, for establishing a general militia throughout the United States, was one of these. On this occasion the Yearly Meeting addressed the American Congress, plainly setting forth the grounds of our testimony against all war. The Meeting for Sufferings memorialized Congress on a similar occasion in 1796, referring with much emphasis to the rights of conscience. "By conscience," they observe, "we mean that apprehension and persuasion a man has impressed on his mind of his duty to God—and the liberty of conscience we plead for, is a free and open profession, and unmolested exercise of that duty; such a conscience as keeps men within the bounds of morality in all the affairs of human life, and requires us to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world, on which depend the peace, safety, and happiness of every government." The relief sought for by these representations, was not, however, obtained, and some young men were imprisoned for not complying with the militia laws. These sufferings called forth, in 1808, another remonstrance to the legislature, which was repeated in 1813. The United States being at that time involved in war with Great Britain, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, in the following year, also addressed Congress on the subject.

* Memorials of Rebecca Jones, p. 232.

† Memoir of Paul Cuffé, by Wilson Armistead, p. 34.

The last previous notice of Friends from England who visited America in the work of the gospel, was under date of 1775. In that year the American war of Independence commenced, and for ten years after, no Friend from the mother country appears to have crossed the Atlantic on service of this description. The difficulty of performing a religious visit during most of this period, is the simple explanation of the circumstance. Very soon after its conclusion, by the recognition of American independence, gospel messengers from England again sought the shores of the new world. In 1785 three arrived in Pennsylvania; these were John Storer on a second visit; John Townsend of London, and Thomas Colley of Sheffield. Four years later, Mary Ridgway, and Jane Watson of Ireland, proceeded on a similar errand. Of their gospel labours on this occasion very little is on record; it appears, however, that the mission occupied some of them for several years.

In 1793, Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, from Shropshire, crossed the Atlantic. Their gospel visit occupied them about four years. John Wigham of Scotland, and Martha Routh from Staffordshire, were the next. They passed over in 1794; Samuel Emlen, who was then returning from a similar visit to his brethren in England, being their fellow-passenger.* The two last-mentioned ministers visited Friends generally throughout America. They were the first gospel messengers from Great Britain to the meetings settled west of the Alleghany mountains. Although not associated during their travels on the western continent, they completed their visits about the same time, and returned together to their native land.† John Wigham states that he travelled 10,979 miles in America, and "in all, by sea and land 22,752 miles." Martha Routh says, "I was three years, three weeks, and three days on the continent, and travelled about 11,000 miles." In 1801 Martha Routh proceeded on a second visit to that country, but she has left very few memoranda respecting it.

In 1797, Jervis Johnson of Ireland paid a religious visit to America, but no account of it appears to be on record. Mary

* Memoirs of J. Wigham, p. 19. † Life &c., of Martha Routh, p. 269.

Pryor of Hertford was the next: she crossed over in 1798. During about twelve months spent in America, her "fervent labours" in the service of her Lord, and the sweetness and humility of her deportment, greatly endeared her to her friends in that land.* In 1799, John Hall from Cumberland visited North America. His gospel mission occupied him about three years, and is recorded as being acceptable to his transatlantic brethren.† Sarah Stephenson from Wiltshire crossed over in 1801. She landed at New York, and for several months was occupied among Friends of that state. Thence she proceeded to Philadelphia, where, after a short illness she died, in the Fourth Month, 1802. Following her was Ann Alexander of York, in 1803, whose visit occupied about two years, during which she visited most of the meetings of Friends in the United States, and held many with those not of our religious Society.‡

Several years now elapsed without a visit from any Friend of the United Kingdom; in 1810, however, Susanna Horne, afterwards Susanna Bigg, was led in this direction. She was absent about three years, "labouring diligently in the different parts of that continent where Friends were settled, to their cordial acceptance and the strengthening of their faith." § Mary Naftel, from Essex, was the next. She was engaged in America about two years. Referring to this visit, she writes, "Oh! how often is my mind bound up with some there in the ever-blessed covenant of love and life." || The last visit of this description that will be noticed in the present volume, is that of William Rickman, of Kent, who left England in 1818, in company with Hannah Field, who was returning from a gospel visit to England. William Rickman paid a very general visit to the meetings of Friends in America.

From the time when Mary Fisher and Ann Austin sailed on their gospel mission to New England in 1656, down to the date of William Rickman's visit, Friends in Great Britain and Ireland had undertaken no less than a hundred-and-eighty-three gospel

* Piety Pro., part xi. p. 207.

† Ibid., p. 24.

‡ MS. Testimony. § Ibid.

|| Piety Pro., part xi. p. 230.

missions to America. Within the same period, but not commencing till 1693, there had been a hundred and ten visits paid by our transatlantic brethren to the mother country. With reference, however, to these missions, there are two circumstances which deserve particular notice, viz., the gradually decreasing number of gospel messengers from the United Kingdom, and the increasing number of those from America. Dividing the one hundred and sixty-four years, the whole time comprehended in these visits, into four equal periods, we find, that during the first period no less than seventy-three Friends went on religious visits to America; in the second, fifty-seven; in the third, thirty-five; whilst in the last they decreased to eighteen. From America in the first period there were only four; in the second, twenty-nine; in the third, thirty-eight, and in the last, thirty-nine. This altered state of things is, however, what might be reasonably expected, seeing that the Society has so largely increased in the western world, and by emigration and other means has diminished in Great Britain.

The increase of the Society, and the establishment of new meetings within the limits of the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, have already been noticed down to the year 1750. At that date no settlements of Friends had been formed west of the Alleghany mountains, or further north than the meeting at Plumstead in Pennsylvania. The war, which broke out between England and France soon after, and the conflicts which ensued between the colonists and the French in Canada, and the Indians in their pay, checked the extension of settlements in Pennsylvania. Scarcely had these troubles subsided, ere the War of American Independence began; throughout which, but little desire, and probably less opportunity, existed for extending cultivation into the interior.

Soon after the restoration of peace between Great Britain and the United States, many fresh settlements of Friends were formed in the northern and southern parts of Pennsylvania. In the northern, meetings were established about 1790, on branches of the Susquehanna at Catawissa, Muncy, and Elklands, and some years after at Stroudsburg, near the Delaware. These, with

the exception of a small meeting at Friendsville, lying still further north, but now extinct,* were the only meetings in the northern parts of Pennsylvania. About 1793, a considerable number of Friends settled about Martinsburgh, a mountainous district in Bedford county.† In the south, the increase of Friends was much more considerable; and as new meetings were set up and old ones became larger, additional Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were formed. Thus the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia, which in 1750, included but four Monthly Meetings was, in 1785, divided into the Quarterly Meetings of Philadelphia and Abington, embracing in 1820, at least twelve Monthly Meetings. In the Quarterly Meeting of Chester, the increase was yet more apparent. In 1758, this Meeting was divided into that of Concord and the Western; from the latter of which, in 1800, the Quarterly Meeting of Caln was set off. The meetings west of the Susquehanna had also increased; and the Monthly Meetings of Warrington, Hopewell, and Fairfax were, in 1775, erected into a Quarterly Meeting, and this, in eight years after, was divided into two Quarterly Meetings. In the Jerseys there had also been an increase; and in 1794, the Quarterly Meeting of Haddonfield was divided off from that of Salem.

Large, therefore, as was the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia in 1750, it increased considerably during the next half-century, and its maximum of members could not have been much, if at all, under forty thousand.‡ As a Yearly Meeting, its importance, from 1769 to 1788, was yet further increased by the Friends of Maryland forming a constituent part of it. During this period, representatives regularly attended from that State; and, in common with the other members of the Yearly Meeting,

* Day's Collection, p. 622.

† Ibid. p. 12.

‡ In the year 1766, Franklin, in his evidence before the British Legislature, stated the population of Pennsylvania at 160,000 whites, of whom, he said, one-third were Quakers. But this estimate is, as regards Friends, much over-rated. In Hazard's Register, vol. v., page 339, the population of the province is set down, in 1757, at 200,000; of whom, it is stated, Friends formed one-eighth. The population of New

they were appointed on disciplinary services. On some alterations which took place in 1789, this arrangement ceased.*

Jersey, in 1745, is stated at 61,403, and the number of Friends, 6079. In 1765, the number of places of worship were stated as follows:—

Presbyterians	55	Dutch Reformed	12
Quakers	39	Dutch Calvinists	10
Episcopalians	21	Lutherans	8
Baptists	20	Other Sects	5

—Vide *Smith's Hist. of New Jersey*.

* Friends' Library [Philadelphia] vol i. p. 120.

The following statistics of the meetings of Friends in North America, is taken from a MS. account, forwarded by Mary Elliott of Philadelphia, to Rachel Wilson of Kendal, in the year 1768, previously to the embarkation of the latter on a gospel visit to that country:—

RHODE ISLAND YEARLY MEETING.

Quarterly Meetings.	Monthly Meetings.	Meetings for Worship.
Newport.....	8	28
Sandwich	2	7
Salem	4	13
	<u>14</u>	<u>48</u>

and seven General Meetings for worship held once a-year.

FLUSHING YEARLY MEETING.

Flushing.....	2	9
Purchase	2	11
	<u>4</u>	<u>20</u>

and four General Meetings.

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING.

Shrewsbury	2	6
Burlington.....	4	15
Gloucester and Salem	4	11
Bucks.....	4	7
Philadelphia	6	21
Concord	5	14
Western	10	37
	<u>35</u>	<u>111</u>

and eleven General Meetings.

MARYLAND YEARLY MEETING.

Quarterly Meetings.	Monthly Meetings.	Meetings for Worship.
Gunpowder	2	11
Chopthank	2	9
	<u>4</u>	<u>20</u>

and two General Meetings.

VIRGINIA YEARLY MEETING.

Cedar Creek	3	15
Blackwater	2	11
	<u>5</u>	<u>26</u>

NORTH CAROLINA YEARLY MEETING.

Perquimons and } Pasquotank..... }	...5	(6 in pt.)
New Garden and } Crane Creek ... }	2	11

TOTAL IN 1768:—

18 Quarterly Meetings,
69 Monthly Meetings,
242 Meetings for Worship (not quite complete).

No sooner had the political horizon cleared, and peace again beamed on the Anglo-American population of the western world, by the recognition of their independence, than a desire arose to form settlements in the interior, and more especially on the rich alluvial soil extending westward from the great chain of the Alleghany mountains. Before the outbreak of actual hostilities, some Friends from Virginia, in 1769, had founded Union Town, on a tributary of the Monongahela :* and when Zebulon Heston, and John Parish, were returning from a mission to the Indians in Ohio in 1773, they had some religious service with Friends in that newly-settled district.† Warrington and Fairfax Quarterly Meeting, to which these belonged, reported to the Yearly Meeting, in 1776, that eighteen families of Friends were then residing west of the Alleghanies, about Redstone, Union Town, and Brownsville.

About the same date, other inhabitants from Virginia, and also from Maryland, who were not Friends, removed to the banks of the Ohio, westward of the boundary line of Pennsylvania. These took their slaves with them, under the impression that the locality was within the limits of the slave-state of Virginia. As soon as they discovered their mistake, many of them descended the river to Kentucky, as being a district more secure for the possession of their human "chattels." It was on this occasion that some Friends from New Jersey, and from Chester county in Pennsylvania, purchased the property of these slave-holders and settled on their farms. ‡

The first meeting for worship established west of the Alleghany Mountains was Westland. Thomas Scattergood, who visited these

In the district embraced by the above Yearly Meetings, there were in 1850,

44 Quarterly Meetings,
145 Monthly Meetings,
348 Meetings for Worship,

and these do not include the Yearly Meetings of Ohio and Indiana, which contain as many members as in all other parts of America.

* Day's Collection, p. 340. † MS. Epistle of Philadelphia M.S., 1774.

‡ Day's Collection, p. 343.

parts in 1787, mentions his attendance of four particular meetings, which appear to have composed one Monthly Meeting, called Redstone.* From this date there was a rapid increase. When Martha Routh visited the district in 1795, it had two Monthly Meetings, and at least eight particular meetings. Ten years later, it was computed that no less than eight hundred families of Friends had emigrated into the State of Ohio alone,† and in the year 1820, not less than twenty thousand of our members were settled westward of the Alleghany range.

Although a considerable number of the Friends in the new settlements of the west, had removed from other Yearly Meetings in America, and some also from the British Islands, yet a very large proportion of them appear to have come from the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and of course the number of members of that Meeting was correspondingly diminished. "On a beautifully shady knoll, a little apart from the dust and din of the village of Catawissa," says Day, "stands, the venerable Quaker meeting-house; a perishable monument of a race of early settlers that have nearly all passed away. 'And where are they gone?' we inquired of an aged Friend, sitting with one or two sisters on the bench, under the shade of the tall trees that overhang the meeting-house. 'Ah,' said he, 'some are dead, but many are gone to Ohio, and still further west: once there was a large meeting here, but now there are but few of us to sit together.'"‡ It does not appear, however, that many meetings were closed on account of this western migration, although some suffered much diminution.

Another circumstance by which Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was reduced in numbers, was the transfer, in 1789, of the two Quarterly Meetings of Warrington and Fairfax to Maryland Yearly Meeting, which then included all the meetings west of the Susquehanna, and in the western parts of Maryland and Virginia; Maryland Yearly Meeting transferring in exchange the small Quarterly Meeting on its eastern shore. By these altera-

* *Memoirs of T. Scattergood*, p. 28.

† *Sutcliff's Travels in America*, p. 235.

‡ *Day's Collection*, p. 244.

tions, together with the great movement westward, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, though still very large, had in 1820, probably not less, than thirty thousand members, of whom about five thousand were in the city of Philadelphia.*



FRIENDS' LOG MEETING-HOUSE, CATAWISSA, PENNSYLVANIA.

The middle of the last century was a very low period with the Christian church under various names and in most countries. Of the state and condition of the Society in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, during the period from 1750 to 1820, it may be more difficult to speak with precision. In many parts much weakness existed, particularly in the period preceding the revolutionary war. Prosperous in the things of time, too many were forgetful of those pertaining to eternity. John Smith of Marlborough, in Pennsylvania, an aged minister, who had witnessed, as he believed, considerable declension among his brethren, expressed himself on this subject in 1764, in a meeting of ministers and elders to the following purport:—"That he had been a member of our Society upwards of sixty years, and he well remembered that in those early times [about 1700], Friends were a plain, lowly-minded people; and that there was much tenderness and contrition in their meetings. That at twenty years from that

* In 1828, the numbers as given on evidence in the case of Shotwell v. Hendrickson and Decow, are stated at about twenty-seven thousand.—*Vide Foster's Report*, vol. ii. p. 461, 495.

time, the Society increasing in wealth, and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the world, true humility was less apparent, and their meetings in general were not so lively and edifying. That at the end of forty years, many of them were grown very rich; and many of the Society made a specious appearance in the world; that marks of outward wealth and greatness appeared on some in our meetings of ministers and elders; and as such things became more prevalent, so the powerful overshadowings of the Holy Ghost were less manifest in the Society. That there had been a continued increase of such ways of life, even until the present time, and that the weakness which hath now overspread the Society, and the barrenness manifest among us, is matter of much sorrow.* The answers to the queries bore out the conclusions of John Smith. "By the accounts from our several Quarterly Meetings," records Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1768, "there are sundry sorrowful remarks of deficiencies."

The trials and sufferings, to which Friends were subjected during the War of Independence, caused many of their nominal and superficial professors—the traditional Quakers—through the fear of penalties, to relinquish their connection with the Society; whilst others during that period were drawn off by the influence of the martial spirit. On the other hand, the troubles of that day unquestionably drove many others to a nearer acquaintance with Him who is the only sure and unfailing refuge, and to a firmer establishment in the Christian principles they had professed. Many, during this memorable period, were refined in the furnace of affliction, and at the conclusion of the war, the Society was in a more healthy and vigorous state than it had been for many years previously. The numbers added to the Society on the ground of convincement, were again cheering, and in 1788, they could announce to their brethren in England, "in most of our Monthly Meetings, divers sober persons have, on their application been admitted into membership."†

* Journal of John Woolman.

† Epistle to London Yearly Meeting, 1788.

The Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia continued to be very largely attended. In the early part of the present century there were usually present on these occasions not less than two thousand of each sex.* "In this our large and solemn gathering," they write, in 1803, "we have the acceptable company of brethren from all the Yearly Meetings on this continent but one, and an evident increase of weight in our deliberations has from time to time been experienced, inducing a hope and belief that many are concerned to dig deeper and deeper, in order to an establishment upon the true foundation, where, in quietude and stillness of mind the voice of truth is heard, and our several duties are discerned."

The present chapter may be closed with an extract from their epistle to London Yearly Meeting in 1807 :—

"In the rise of our religious Society, many of its members were exposed to trials and difficulties ; by their dedication and faithfulness to divine requirings, and not despising the day of small things, they arrested the attention of the serious, and the cause was advanced ; the spirit of opposition was subdued by patient suffering, and the way has been opened before us to the inheritance of many important privileges. We are now at liberty to meet together, and attend to the discharge of conscientious duty unmolested ; we may educate our offspring, we may cultivate their understanding, and bestow upon them every advantage which human learning can furnish.—If those natural means were made subservient to the best of purposes, if they were all sanctified by the power of truth, what an interesting band would our Society be !"

* *Sutcliff's Travels in America*, pp. 85, 230.

CHAPTER XV.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS, AND CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Memorials of deceased Ministers and some other public characters among Friends in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, from 1750 to 1820, viz. : Israel Pemberton, Israel Pemberton, Jun., James Pemberton, John Pemberton, Michael Lightfoot, Susannah Morris, Abraham Farrington, Benjamin Trotter, Daniel Stanton, John Woolman, John Churchman, Sarah Morris, Joseph White, Susannah Lightfoot, Thomas Ross, Isaac Zane, Samuel Emlen, William Savery, Nicholas Waln, Thomas Scattergood, Rebecca Jones, George Dilwyn—Concluding remarks.

A FEW biographical notices are again introduced, commencing with some members of the Pemberton family.

ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

He was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in 1684. His father, Phineas Pemberton, emigrated in 1682 from Lancashire, and having bought three hundred acres of land, he settled on them by the Delaware, near Bristol. He was an active, useful member of the Society, and for some years occupied the important office of clerk to the Yearly Meeting. He also filled, with reputation, several civil offices in the province. In 1697, he was a member of the Council, and Speaker of the Assembly. He died in 1702, aged about fifty years.*

Israel served his apprenticeship in Philadelphia, where he resided during the remainder of his life. Being a man of a calm, even, and cheerful disposition, and whose daily walk was in the fear of the Lord, his whole life afforded an instructive example of the Christian virtues. He was one of the most considerable merchants of Philadelphia, and was, for nineteen years succes-

* Memoirs, &c. of Samuel Fothergill, p. 160. .

sively, a representative of that city in the General Assembly.* Friends of his Monthly Meeting say in a testimony concerning him, "He was a member of this meeting near fifty years, and being well grounded in the principles of truth, of sound judgment and understanding, he approved himself a faithful elder; adorning our holy profession with a life of meekness, humility and circumspection. He had a disinterested regard to the honour of truth; and was of great use in the exercise of our discipline, being a lover of peace and unity in the church, careful to promote and maintain it; constant in the attendance of meetings, and his deportment therein grave, solid, and reverent;—a true sympathizer with those who were honestly concerned in the ministry; a conspicuous example of moderation and plainness; extensive in his charity, and of great benevolence. In conversation cheerful, attended with a peculiar sweetness of disposition, which rendered his company both agreeable and instructive."† He died suddenly in 1754, being then in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Israel Pemberton

ISRAEL, JAMES, AND JOHN PEMBERTON, were the sons of Israel, just referred to. Israel Pemberton had ten children, of whom only these three survived: they inherited a considerable estate, received a liberal education, and were brought up with great parental care for their spiritual welfare. They became influential men in Pennsylvania, and were among those who were banished to Virginia in 1776, by the American revolutionists.

ISRAEL Pemberton, the eldest, though not so active as his brothers, in the concerns of our religious Society, was strongly attached to its principles: as a man he was upright; feared as well as beloved—as a citizen he was useful and respected. He filled many public appointments with dignity, and discharged the duties attached to them with propriety and faithfulness.‡ He

* Memoirs, &c. of Samuel Fothergill, p. 161.

† Penn. Memorials, 145.

‡ Scattergood and his Times.

was also extensively engaged in commerce and in benevolent pursuits. He died in 1779, at the age of sixty-four.

Jr. Pemberton Junr.

JAMES PEMBERTON, the second son, was a man of a mild disposition, and from early years he manifested great steadiness of conduct. His intellectual powers were great, and highly cultivated. Possessed of ample pecuniary means, endowed with a sound judgment, and influenced by enlarged benevolence, he cheerfully devoted his powers, his time, and his substance, to promote the good of his fellow-creatures. To the various benevolent institutions of Philadelphia, he was a liberal benefactor, and in their management he took an active share. With his brother Israel, he was the steady friend and advocate of the oppressed African race, and of the Indian tribes. They were both at one period members of the State legislature, and possessed considerable influence, which they often exerted on behalf of the Indians.* He was an approved Elder among his brethren, acted for many years as Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings, and filled with ability many other offices in our religious Society. He died in 1809, at the advanced age of eighty-five years.† His close was peace. Trusting to the mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ, he looked forward with joy to an entrance into those mansions, of which the Lord had said there were many in his Father's kingdom. "What a blessed company," he exclaimed, "are already gone there before me! I feel the time of my own departure draw nigh." Then, full of love to his friends, and in unity of feeling with all who loved the Lord Jesus, he sweetly and in great humility put off the shackles of mortality.‡

James Pemberton

* Memoirs, &c. of S. Fothergill, p. 162.

† Watson's Annals, p. 564.

‡ T. Scattergood and his Times.

JOHN PEMBERTON was a young man of an amiable and tender disposition, and one who early sought the Lord for his portion. Being of a delicate constitution, he was induced, in 1750, for the sake of his health, and also on account of business, to take a voyage to Europe. He had for companions, John Churchman and William Brown, who were both going on a religious visit to England. After their arrival, he accompanied John Churchman for a time, and while with him first spoke as a minister. He returned to Philadelphia in 1754, and soon after, with his two brothers and other Friends, formed the "Friendly Association," for preserving peace with the Indians. During the labours of this association, he had, on several occasions, some of the Indian chiefs for his guests. The three brothers appear to have possessed great influence with the natives. John Pemberton was also much engaged in endeavouring to suppress theatrical exhibitions in Philadelphia, and with a few others had interviews with the governor on the subject. As a gospel minister he visited Friends in most parts of North America, and in 1783, proceeded on a second voyage to Europe. This gospel mission occupied him about six years, during which time he visited most parts of Great Britain and Ireland. In 1794, he again crossed the Atlantic, on a religious visit to Holland and Germany, and after labouring about six months in those countries, he was taken ill at Pymont, in Germany, and died in about a month, being then in his sixty-eighth year. Throughout this trying season, he was preserved in great patience; his mind being anchored on Christ the rock of ages. A few hours before his close, he said triumphantly, "I am departing for heaven; from you all, to the kingdom of God and of Christ." His last words which could be distinctly understood were, "I can sing the songs of Zion, and of Israel." The Friends of Pymont, with whom he spent much time, have given this testimony respecting him as a minister. "It was his principal concern to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God; endeavouring to show that God has given a measure of his Spirit, light or grace, to all men, as a talent which he has placed in their hearts. His ministry was in plainness of speech, and attended with divine authority; for his

words, whether they contained exhortation, comfort, or reproof, reached the inward states of those concerned.—The solemn reverence of his waiting spirit appeared so manifest in his countenance, that others who beheld him, were thereby invited to stillness; and such as had a desire of hearing words were taught by his example to turn their minds inward, to the measure of grace in themselves; showing that it is infinitely better to keep silent before the Lord, than to utter words that are not accompanied with the life-giving and baptizing power of the Spirit.”* John Pemberton left a valuable journal of his life.

Rarely have three brothers been so eminent and useful in civil and religious society, as were Israel, James, and John Pemberton.†

MICHAEL LIGHTFOOT.

Michael Lightfoot emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1712. He came forth as a minister about the forty-second year of his age, and travelled extensively in the exercise of his gift both in America and in Great Britain and Ireland. “His ministry was deep and penetrating, attended with the demonstration of the spirit and power; under the influence whereof he was frequently led to unfold the mysteries of the kingdom, and eminently qualified to set forth the excellencies of the gospel dispensation, with the benefit and advantage of inward and spiritual worship; recommending diligent attendance on the Spirit of Truth, for instruction and assistance therein. His delivery was clear, distinct, and intelligible, and in supplication humble and reverent.”‡ He died in 1754, after a short illness, being in the seventy-first year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his ministry.

* Life of J. Pemberton.

† Scattergood and his Times.

‡ Penn. Mem. p. 149.

SUSANNA MORRIS.

The following is extracted from a testimony issued by Richland Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania, concerning this devoted handmaiden of the Lord,—“She was the wife of Morris Morris, and was a member of our Monthly Meeting near fifteen years of the latter part of her time. Her memory still lives, and yields a precious savour to those who are measurably sharers of that divine love and life, with which she in an eminent degree was endowed. She was frequently made an instrument to others, by a living and powerful ministry; in which she faithfully laboured with unwearied diligence both at home and abroad, for the space of forty years and upwards, having travelled much in the service of the gospel, both in America and Europe, made three voyages over the seas to visit the Meetings of Friends in Great Britain, and twice through Ireland and Holland. In which voyages and travels the gracious arm of Divine Providence was evidently manifested, in preserving and supporting her through divers remarkable perils and dangers, which she ever reverently remembered and gratefully acknowledged.

“Her life and conversation were innocent and agreeable, seasoned with Christian gravity; she was a bright example of plainness, temperance, and self-denial; devoted to the service of truth, and the propagating of religion and piety amongst mankind. In which ardent love and zeal she continued, until it pleased her great Lord and Master, in his wisdom, to put a period to her pious labours, and to take her to himself, as a shock of corn gathered in due season.” After a short illness of nine days, during which she lay in a calm and quiet state of mind, she died in the Fourth Month, 1755, in the seventy-third year of her age.

ABRAHAM FARRINGTON.

He was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, of parents in profession with Friends. In early life he was exposed to many temptations and snares. Referring to this period, he says, “Yet I took delight in my Bible, and believe the good hand was with me that inclined me thereto. Though I followed lying vanities

and so forsook my own mercies, yet I could say my prayers every night, till I grew afraid to say them any more, and seemed like one abandoned from good for several years." Whilst in this state of mind, he was powerfully affected by the ministry of Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson, and after having passed through many conflicts of mind, it pleased the Lord to call him to declare to others what he had done for his soul. In this holy work "he was made helpful to many, being enlarged and sound in his testimony, and at times very particularly led to explain passages in the Scriptures, to the comfort and information of the hearers." In his labours as a gospel minister he travelled much, and whilst on a religious visit to England, he died in London, in the year 1758. Friends of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, gave forth a testimony respecting him, thus describing his character: "His conversation was innocently cheerful, yet grave and instructive; he was a man of a weighty spirit, a valiant in Israel, a sharp reprover of libertine and loose professors, but tender to the contrite and humble; and a lover of good order in the church. 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. His ministry was in plainness of speech, and attended with divine authority, reaching the witness of God in man, and to the habitation of the mourners in Zion; frequently pointing out, in a lively manner, the paths of the exercised travellers, and the steps of heavenly pilgrims; by which he was made helpful to such as are seeking the true rest, which the Lord hath prepared for his people. It may truly be said, he was eminently gifted for the work of the present day, remarkably qualified to expose the mystery of iniquity, and to point out wherein true godliness consisted."*

Abm Harrington

* Penn. Memorials, p. 179.

BENJAMIN TROTTER.

Benjamin Trotter was born in Philadelphia, in 1699. He was early visited by the Day-spring from on High, and, in obedience to the calls of heavenly love, forsook his youthful vanities, and amidst much mocking, bore the yoke and cross of Christ his Saviour. He first spoke as a minister in the twenty-sixth year of his age, adorning the doctrines he preached by an humble circumspect life and conversation. "In his ministry," observe Friends of Philadelphia, "he was zealous against errors both in principle and practice, and constantly concerned to press the necessity of obedience to the principle of divine grace; a manifestation of which is given to every man; knowing, from his own experience, that it bringeth salvation to all them that obey and follow its teachings. He was frequently enabled with energy and power, to bear testimony to the outward coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, his miraculous birth, his holy example in his life and precepts, and his death and sufferings at Jerusalem, by which he hath obtained eternal redemption for us." Many afflictions, and some of them of a very deep and proving kind, fell to his lot, all which he was enabled, through the power of divine grace, to bear with exemplary patience and resignation. His sufferings during his last illness were very great, and often was he engaged to pray that he might be preserved in patience to the end—a petition which was graciously answered. Throughout life his love to his brethren was very conspicuous, and particularly so as he drew toward the closing scene. He died in 1768, leaving "a well-grounded assurance that he is passed unto life, and hath received the reward of the righteous." His funeral was attended by a large number of the inhabitants of Philadelphia.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

He was born in the year 1720, at Northampton, in West Jersey, of parents who were members of our religious Society, and who were concerned to train him up in the fear of the Lord. Before he was seven years of age he was sensible, he says, of "the operations of divine love." His pious parents early inculcated on

his mind a love for the Holy Scriptures, and on one occasion, in his way to school, leaving his companions he sat down and read the twenty-second chapter of the Revelations: "He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, &c." "In reading it," he writes, "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 language, it troubled me; and through the continued mercies of God, I was preserved from that evil. . . . 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 the present age, often troubled me while I was a child.

"Having attained the age of sixteen years, I began," he says, "to love wanton company; and though I was preserved from profane language, or scandalous conduct, yet I perceived a plant in me which produced much wild grapes: my merciful Father did not, however, forsake me utterly, but at times, through his grace, I was brought seriously to consider my ways; and the sight of my back-slidings affected me with sorrow; yet for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of instruction vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance. Upon the whole, my mind became more and more alienated from the truth, and I hastened toward destruction. While I meditate on the gulf towards which I travelled, and reflect on my youthful disobedience, for these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water."

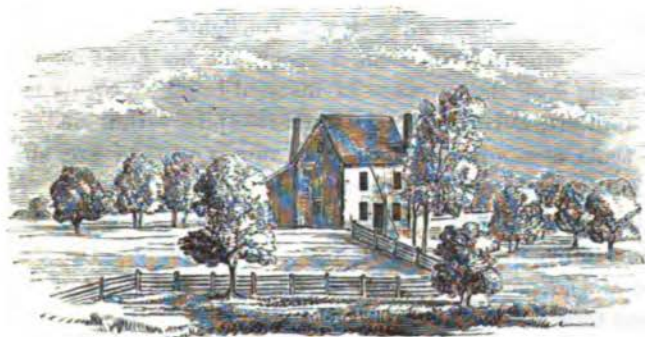
Whilst he was thus going, as he remarks, "from the flock of Christ," he was visited by a serious illness, which awakened solemn reflections, and a desire for amendment of life. He however again gave way to youthful vanities, but again the Lord mercifully followed him with his judgments "like a consuming fire," and at length he was, he says, "made to bow down in spirit before Him. Thus being brought low, he helped me; and as I learned

to bear the cross, I felt refreshment to come from his presence. 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. . . .

While I silently ponder on that change wrought in me, I find no language equal 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 in 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 these do not fully show forth that inward life to those who have not felt it ; this white stone and new name is only known rightly by such as receive it."

Soon after reaching manhood, John Woolman believed himself called to declare to others the unsearchable riches of Christ, and being preserved in a watchful dependent state of mind, he was careful not to mar this work of the Lord by cumbering himself with outward concerns. "I saw," he says, "that an humble man, with the blessing of the Lord, might live on a little ; and that where the heart was set on greatness, success in business did not satisfy the craving ; but that commonly with an increase of wealth, the desire of wealth increased. There was a care on my mind, so to pass my time, that nothing might hinder me from the most steady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd." He first travelled from home in the work of the ministry in his twenty-third year. This was into East Jersey. He subsequently, and more than once visited the meetings of Friends in all the Yearly Meetings in North America, and in 1769, he went on a gospel mission to the West India Islands, and four years later to Friends in England, where he was taken ill and died. His illness was a short one, but it found him ready. His lamp was burning, and he had oil in his vessel. "My hope," he said, a short time

before his close, "is in Christ—soon, my little strength may be dissolved, and if it so happen, I shall be gathered to my everlasting rest." "My dependence," he said on another occasion, "is on the Lord Jesus, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for." He died in the Tenth Month, 1772, being then in the fifty-third year of his age. The life of John Woolman presents a striking instance of self-denial and dedication of heart to the Lord. "He was a man endued with a large natural capacity"—"His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating," and "often flowed through him with great sweetness and purity, as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers towards the city of God." His abundant labours in the cause of negro emancipation have already been referred to in the chapter relating to that subject, and need not be repeated here. His journal is one of deep instruction, and has had a wide circulation among members of our religious Society.



WOOLMAN HOUSE, NEAR MOUNT HOLLY, NEW JERSEY.

The above is a representation of "Woolman Place," situated a little out of the village of Mount Holly, on the road to Springfield. The house represented was built according to the particular directions of John Woolman, in which his wife and daughter resided after his decease.

John Woolman

DANIEL STANTON.

He was born in Philadelphia in the year 1708. He was left an orphan when but a child, and in early life passed through many hardships. Under the visitations of divine love, he was early given to see the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and to seek the paths of piety and virtue. Referring to this period of life, he remarks, "Great was the goodness of the Almighty, in giving me a sense of many things appertaining to godliness in the time of this tender visitation; and I found by the Divine witness in myself, that if I would be a disciple of Christ, I must take up my cross daily to that which displeaseth God; he being greatly to be feared and obeyed, and worthy of the deepest reverence that my soul, body, and strength, could ascribe to his all-powerful name." * The first meeting of Friends that Daniel Stanton attended was to him a memorable occasion. John Estauagh was present, under whose ministry he was greatly constricted and baptized: "it was," he says "a joyful day of good tidings to my poor seeking soul." He now delighted much in retirement, and often walked alone to pour out his heart before the All-seeing eye; the language of his soul being, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me." He first spoke as a minister when about twenty years of age, and in his twenty-third year he went on a gospel mission to New England. From this period to the year of his decease in 1770, he was diligently engaged in this divine calling. He visited most of the provinces of North America, and some of them several times, and also the West India Islands, Great Britain, and Ireland. Within a short time previous to his decease he penned these concluding lines of his journal:—"In the course of my religious labours and travels a number have been reached by conviction, and several convinced of the blessed truth, as I have understood, some of whom remained serviceable among Friends, which I just mention as the Lord's blessing upon his own work; who is worthy of all praise, glory, and honour forever! I have endeavoured to serve him in fear and trembling, and frequently have been bowed under a sense of my great

* Journal of D. Stanton, p. 4.

unworthiness ; but great have been his mercy and power, extended towards me, a poor tribulated sufferer in spirit for the blessed seed's sake ; magnified be his eminent name ! He hath hitherto been my rock, fortress, and deliverer, and through his great kindness, I have a fixed hope in my mind of his salvation, through Christ Jesus, my dear Redeemer, whose glorious name let it be magnified and adored for evermore !”* He died at the house of Israel Pemberton, at Germantown, after a very short illness, in the Sixth Month, 1770, being the sixty-second year of his age.

JOHN CHURCHMAN.

He was born at Nottingham, in Chester county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1705. His parents, who were members of our religious Society, brought him up in the fear of the Lord ; and at an early age he was sensible of the touches of a Saviour's love. When only eight years old, he says, “ as I sat in a small meeting, the Lord, by the reaching of his heavenly love and goodness, overcame and tendered my heart—Oh ! the stream of love which filled my heart with solid joy at that time, and lasted for many days, is beyond all expression.” † The happy and circumspect state of mind into which he was brought, was, through unwatchfulness, lost before he was twelve years of age ; and, for a long time after, in consequence of disobedience, he passed through much sorrow. About his twentieth year it pleased the Lord again to visit his soul in a powerful manner ; “ my heart,” he writes, “ was made exceedingly tender ; I wept much, and an evidence was given me that the Lord heard my cry, and in mercy looked down on me from his holy habitation.” Continuing to follow on to know the Lord he grew in religious experience, and at the age of twenty-five was appointed to the station of an elder ; three years after which he came forth in the ministry of the gospel. In this service he travelled largely, both in his own land, and in Great Britain, Ireland, and the continent of Europe. He was an able minister of the word. “ We think,” write Friends of his Monthly Meeting, “ it may be truly said, his doctrine dropped as the dew ; being lively and edifying to the

* Journal of D. Stanton, p. 172.

† Journal of J. Churchman, p. 2.

honest-hearted, though close and searching to the careless professors." * The closing moments of this dedicated servant of the Lord were deeply instructive. "I feel," he said, "that which lives beyond death and the grave, which is now an inexpressible comfort to me." Divine refreshment and joy passed through him like a flowing stream. "I may tell you of it," he said, to those around him, "but you cannot feel it as I do." He died in the year 1775, aged nearly seventy years, and was buried at East Nottingham. He left a very interesting and instructive journal of his life, experiences, and labours.

In Churchman

SARAH MORRIS.

Sarah Morris was born in Philadelphia about the year 1703. Her parents were careful to train her up in the fear of the Lord and in an early acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures,—privileges to which she often referred in after-life, as having been blessed to herself, and to others also. "But what was far beyond all outward blessings," she remarks, "the Lord in his mercy was pleased to make very early impressions of religion on my soul, by his immediate grace and good Spirit." Having through illness been brought as on the verge of eternity, her mind was awfully impressed with the prospect. "O! then," she said, "the emptiness and vanity of all the world; the pleasures and friendships of it appeared in a clear and strong light; nothing then but the hope of an entrance into the kingdom of heaven seemed of any value, and that hope the Lord was at that time pleased in some degree to afford me." † She first spoke as a minister in the forty-first year of her age, and, increasing in divine knowledge and experience, she became an able gospel minister, being sound in doctrine, pertinent in exhortation, clear and audible in utterance, and careful to adorn the doctrine she preached by a pious exemplary life and conversation. Her gospel labours were abundant in the colonies of North America, and

* Penn. Memorials, p. 302.

† Penn. Memorials, p. 213.

extended also to Friends in Great Britain. She died in much peace in the year 1775, and her funeral was attended by many of her fellow-citizens.

JOSEPH WHITE.

Joseph White was born at the Falls in Pennsylvania, in the year 1712. He early felt the extendings of heavenly regard; and being faithful to the teachings of divine grace, he was preserved from the follies incident to youth. In the twentieth year of his age he was called to the ministry, in which service he was eminently gifted, and travelled extensively, both in America and in Europe. The latter moments of this devoted Christian were signally favoured, and he was given in no ordinary degree to have a foretaste of celestial joy. A few days before his close, which took place in 1777, he broke forth in these expressions: "The door is open; I see an innumerable company of saints, of angels, and of the spirits of just men, and long to be unembodied to be with them, but not my will, but Thy will be done, O Lord! I cannot utter, nor my tongue express, what I feel of that light, life, and love that attends me, which the world cannot give, neither can it take away. My sins are washed away by the blood of the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world; all rags and filthiness are taken away, and in room thereof love and good-will for all mankind. I am near to enter that harmony with Moses and the Lamb, where they cry holy! holy! holy! I cannot express the joy I feel. My heart (if it were possible) would break for joy. If any inquire after me, after my end, let them know all is well with me. I have never seen my end till now, and now I see it is near, and the holy angels enclose me around, waiting to receive me."

SUSANNAH LIGHTFOOT.

She was a native of Ireland, having been born at Grange in the year 1720. When she was young her father died in very low circumstances, and she was obliged to follow the humble occupation of a domestic servant. But though poor as to the things of this life, the Lord enriched her with the treasures of his heavenly kingdom, and in the seventeenth year of her age dignified her

with a gift in the ministry. In the same year she went on a religious visit to Friends in America, being, it is believed, the youngest minister in our religious Society who crossed the Atlantic on a gospel mission. In 1740, she visited England and Wales, and twenty years after proceeded on a second visit to America, in which she was engaged for about two years. In 1764, she removed with her husband Thomas Lightfoot, from Ireland, and settled within the compass of Uwchlan Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania. Before the breaking out of the American war, she had in a very awful manner to speak of an impending calamity, which would shake the foundations of the formal professors in our Society, "Having passed through the deep waters of affliction herself, her eye was not unused to drop a tear for and with others in distress, either in body or mind, and she rejoiced in comforting and doing them good. She was a living and powerful minister of the Word, careful not to break silence in meetings, until favoured with a fresh anointing from the Holy One ; whereby she was preserved clear in her openings, awful and weighty in prayer, her voice being solemn and awakening under the baptizing power of truth."* Her expressions, during a lingering illness which preceded her dissolution in 1781, were remarkably instructive and weighty, and an unclouded prospect of an entrance into the heavenly kingdom was vouchsafed to her. "One evening, after a solemn silence, she broke forth in a sweet melody, saying, 'I have had a prospect this evening, of joining the heavenly host, in singing praises to Zion's King : for which favour, my soul, and all that is sensible within me, magnifies that arm which hath been with me from my infant days, and cast up a way where there was no way, both by sea and land.' On another occasion she said, 'Oh, dearest Lord ! take me to Thyself, even into Thy heavenly kingdom ; for I long to be with Thee there.'"[†]

THOMAS ROSS

Thomas Ross was a native of Ireland. His parents, who were Episcopalians, and occupied a respectable position in life, brought

* Penn. Memorials, p. 375.

† Ibid. p. 379.

him up with much care in the principles of their religion. About the twentieth year of his age he emigrated to Pennsylvania, where he became convinced of the principles of Friends, and was received into membership by Buckingham Monthly Meeting. He soon afterwards came forth in the ministry, in which he laboured in several provinces of North America, and also in Great Britain. In 1786, whilst on a visit to England, he was taken ill at York, and died in a few days, being then in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His ministry, it is recorded, "was attended with living virtue and deep instruction; not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in godly simplicity, and with a zeal according to true knowledge." During his illness he was greatly favoured with the divine presence, his mind was remarkably filled with love to his brethren, and he was much impressed with the preciousness of true Christian unity: "O! the harmony there is in the Lord's family!" he said, "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim; nothing shall hurt or destroy in all thy holy mountain." On another occasion he said, "Dear friends, what a people should we be, did we dig deep enough; our lights would shine before men; and we should be as the salt of the earth." Shortly before his close he broke forth in these words, "O joy! joy! joy!" again, "O death! where is thy sting? O Grave! where is thy victory? the sting of death is sin: I see no cloud in my way, I die in peace with all men."*

ISAAC ZANE.

He was born in New Jersey, in 1710, and about his fourteenth year removed to Philadelphia. Though not a minister, he was much concerned for the advancement of truth, and, both by example and precept, adorned the doctrine of God his Saviour. He manifested great regard for the Indians, and endeavoured in various ways to promote their temporal and eternal interests. As one of the members of the "Friendly Association" for regaining peace with the Indians, he was particularly active. He died in 1794, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Divine support and

* Penn. Memorials, p. 20.

consolation were richly vouchsafed to this faithful servant in his dying moments, "I have seen," said he, "the arms of everlasting mercy open to receive me, and have a full assurance, that I shall be permitted to join the heavenly host, in singing hallelujah, and enabled with the seraphims to say, 'Holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.'"*

SAMUEL EMLÉN.

Samuel Emlén was born in Philadelphia in the Fourth Month, 1730. His parents who were members of our religious Society were very watchful over him, and in his tender years, endeavoured to inculcate the necessity of obedience to the restraints and convictions of the Spirit of Truth. In very early life, he experienced the attractions of heavenly love, out of the vanities of time, into the paths of peace, and communion with God. His natural endowments were considerable, and he evinced great aptitude for the acquisition of learning. He spoke several of the European languages, and was also acquainted with Latin and Greek. His apprenticeship was passed in the counting-house of James Pemberton, where he acquired a knowledge of mercantile business, in which, however, he never embarked, being possessed of a competent patrimonial estate. His mind was early devoted to the cause of Truth, and the welfare of our Zion occupied his deep consideration. The ministry of Samuel Fothergill, it appears, was much blessed to him: in after life he was much attached to this Friend, and held frequent correspondence with him. Soon after reaching manhood, he travelled as companion with Michael Lightfoot, on a religious visit to some of the southern provinces, and in 1756, with Abraham Farrington, to the meetings of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland. It was during the latter visit that he first spoke as a minister. Possessed of great powers of mind, and a peculiar readiness of expression, he became, under the baptizing power of Truth, an able and a valiant minister of Christ. In this capacity, he travelled much on the American continent, and visited his brethren in Great Britain no

* Penn. Mem. and Scattergood and his Times.

less than six times. He also visited once the island of Barbadoes, and travelled extensively in Ireland, and on the continent of Europe. On one occasion, during his gospel labours, he addressed a learned audience in Latin, and whilst in Europe his French and German were frequently called into exercise. His last visit to England was in the year 1796, and after his return home in the following year his health became much impaired. His constitution was naturally weak and infirm, and from this period he gradually declined. His mental energy, however, seemed in no way to slacken, and his labours in the work of his Divine Master, were unabated. He had, he said, the assurance, that he must shortly put off this earthly tabernacle, and he desired to be found at his post of duty, with his loins girded, and his light burning.* In the summer of 1799, he had a slight attack of paralysis. In the Twelfth Month following, whilst at his own meeting in Philadelphia, and towards the conclusion of an earnest and fervent gospel exhortation, he was taken suddenly very ill. Leaning for support on the rail of the gallery, he pathetically uttered these lines of Addison:—

“ My life, if thou preservest my life,
 Thy sacrifice shall be ;
 And death, if death should be my doom,
 Shall join my soul to thee.”

On the following day, he was sufficiently recovered to attend the meeting of ministers and elders, and the day after, his usual week-day meeting. At the latter, he was enabled, in the authority and power of the gospel, to set forth the excellency of that faith which is the saints' victory, and which overcometh the world. This was the last occasion on which he publicly advocated the cause of his Divine Master. His weakness rapidly increased, and he was subjected to much bodily suffering; but under all he was preserved in calmness and cheerfulness of mind. The consolations of that religion which, for the space of more than forty years, this devoted Friend had preached to others, were, in this trying season, his own rich experience; and in melodious

* Scattergood and his Times.

tones, he uttered forth the goodness and faithfulness of his God. "Their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." "I will cast all their sins behind my back." "Ye shall have a song, as in the night when a holy solemnity is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of the Lord." "Oh, the tears of holy joy, which flow down my cheeks! Sing praises, high praises, to my God! I feel nothing in my way. Although my conduct through life has not been in every respect as guarded as it might have been, yet the main bent of my mind has been to serve thee, O God, who art glorious in holiness and fearful in praises! I am sure I have loved godliness and hated iniquity." A few hours before his close, he said, "All I want is heaven. Lord, receive my spirit." "My pain is great. My God, grant me patience, humble, depending patience." "Call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." "Oh how precious a thing it is, to feel the Spirit itself bearing witness with our spirits, that we are his!" "Oh! this soul is an awful thing! I feel it so. You that hear me, mind, it is an awful thing to die: the invisible world, how awful!" Believing that the time of his departure was near, he desired not to be disturbed, except at his own request, "that my mind may not be diverted — that my whole mind may be centred in aspirations to the throne of Grace." At three o'clock in the morning, he enquired the hour, and then said, "The conflict will be over before five." He soon added, "Almighty Father, come quickly, if it be thy holy will, and receive my spirit." After lying for some time in great quietness, he was heard in a faint whisper to say, "I thought I was gone." "Christ Jesus, receive my spirit." He expired at half-past four in the morning, on the 30th of Twelfth Month, 1799, aged about seventy years.* No journal of this Friend, remarkable as a man and a minister, has ever been published.

Sam Emlen

* Scattergood and his Times. Memoirs of S. Fothergill, p. 266.

WILLIAM SAVERY.

He was born in Philadelphia, in 1750, and was brought up in the principles of our religious Society. His natural disposition was lively and social. In early life he associated with the votaries of folly and vanity, and, by degrees, became much estranged from the voice of the Heavenly Shepherd. Whilst he was thus turning aside from the paths of purity and peace, it pleased the Most High, through the powerful convictions of his Holy Spirit, to arrest the downward progress of his erring child. This was about the twenty-eighth year of his age, and having felt the terrors of the Lord for sin, he was enabled to enter into covenant with a covenant-keeping God. He first spoke as a minister in the year following; "and, dwelling inward with those gifts and qualifications with which he was favoured, he became an able advocate for the cause in which he had embarked; and by faithful attention thereto, his labours were blessed to the benefit of numbers, especially amongst the youth, to many of whom he was an eminent instrument of good."* He travelled much in the service of the gospel in America, and also, from 1796, to 1798, in Great Britain and Ireland, and on the continent of Europe. It pleased the Lord to remove this devoted Friend from time to eternity, in the meridian of his day. He died in 1804, at the age of fifty-four years, leaving an interesting narrative of his spiritual life and labours. With a firm and unshaken belief in the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in his propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world, and in all his glorious offices for the salvation of mankind: he was often fervently engaged in setting forth these blessed gospel doctrines, and enforcing them on his hearers; and in the solemn moments of disease and death, his reverent dependence and hope in his Saviour did not fail, but proved as an anchor to his soul. A short time before his death, under the feeling of heavenly peace and joy, he exclaimed, "Glory to God!" and continued in great

* Testimony of Friends of Philadelphia.

composure of mind, until he calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of Him who gave it. *

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Wm Savery". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

NICHOLAS WALN.

Nicholas Waln was the son of Nicholas and Mary Waln, of Fairhill, a few miles from Philadelphia, and was born in 1742. Being deprived of his father's care when about eight years of age, he was brought up with much tenderness by his affectionate mother, and placed at the school under the management of Friends, founded under the charter of William Penn. Here he not only acquired a good classical education, but, what was far more important, was brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and in a love for those principles which distinguish Friends from others of the Christian name. On leaving this establishment, and whilst but a lad, he commenced the study of the law, devoting also a part of his time to the German language. His habits, at this early period of life, were marked by great industry, and although he was naturally vivacious and witty, and fond of gaiety and merriment, he suffered nothing to interfere with his studies. In his profession he made great progress, and while yet a minor, was admitted to practice in the courts. During one term in 1763, he was employed on no less than eight cases, though not then twenty-one years of age. With a view to enlarge his knowledge of the law, he embarked for London, and entered himself there as a student in the Temple. During a year spent in London, he was much preserved from the dissipations of a great city, and it appears also to have been a time of divine visitation to his soul, in which he was enabled to enter into covenant with his God, and to resolve on a life of holy dedication. On returning to Philadelphia he followed his profession with great success, and, in addition to his city business, had an extensive and lucrative

* Journal, &c., of William Savery, p. 316.

practice in the county courts. He was now making rapid strides to wealth; yet during this time of prosperity and legal fame, he was again and again powerfully visited from on high, and called to a closer walk with God. About the twenty-ninth year of his age, and one year after his marriage, He, who is "a consuming fire," wrought so powerfully on his mind that he became entirely indisposed for business, or for seeing or conversing with persons respecting it. It was at this period, that in a youth's meeting for worship he was engaged in a very remarkable manner in supplication; which circumstance, heightened by his public reputation, deeply affected most present. The prayer seems to have alluded to his own state of mind, being nearly as follows:—

"Oh Lord God! 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, oh Lord!—it is thine! And I pray thee, oh Lord, to give me grace to enable me to continue firm in this resolution! Wherever thou leadest me, oh 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, oh 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, oh Father! that thou hast hid thy mysteries from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes and sucklings. Amen."

He now gave up his practice as a lawyer, and for several years led a very retired life. He was, however, diligent in his attendance of meetings; in which his deportment was solid and reverential. During this period, his communications as a minister were but infrequent and short, though weighty. His religious services were pretty much confined to Philadelphia, until the year 1783, when he proceeded on a gospel visit to Friends in England. In 1796, he crossed the Atlantic on a similar service

to Ireland. The character of the gift in the ministry of this extraordinary man, seems to have been different at different periods of his life. From 1780 to 1796, he was often largely engaged on doctrinal subjects, and many who were not in membership with Friends were drawn to hear him. Replete with gospel truths, and delivered in strains of persuasive eloquence and christian fervour, his ministry made a deep and lasting impression on his hearers. From about 1796, his communications were brief but weighty, and addressed more particularly to individual states. An instance of the powerful and heart-tendering character of his ministry occurred at a meeting held at Abington. With a heart overflowing with gospel love, he preached for about an hour in a striking, persuasive manner; after which, on the bended knee, he lifted up the voice of solemn prayer and praise to the Father of all our mercies. So baptizing was the season, and so great the solemnity, that when Friends in the gallery shook hands to separate, no one would rise! After a pause, Nicholas Waln rose and said, "Under the solemn covering we are favoured with, perhaps Friends had better separate." A few young men near the door, rose; but observing no one to follow them, they resumed their seats, and the meeting continued for a time in sweet and reverential silence. Richard Jordan then rose, and broke forth with the song of triumph which greeted the Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem:—"Hosannah! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;"—adding a few words on the blessedness of such seasons of divine favour. The meeting soon after broke up. But solemnity and silence still prevailed, as Friend separated from Friend. Many such descriptions of his meetings, it is said, might be given. Though thus divinely favoured and acceptable to his brethren, Nicholas Waln was remarkable for his humility. "As a great man, as a wise man, as a learned man, and as a rich man," said one who knew him well, "I know of none possessed of as much childlike humility and simplicity as Nicholas Waln."

For some years he acted as clerk to the Yearly Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings, and his services in the discipline of the church were highly appreciated. In 1812, his health became much enfeebled, but he continued to attend meetings for worship

until near his end. In the summer of 1813, his remaining strength declined rapidly. Towards the close he passed through a season of deep conflict of mind, wherein his faith in the all-sufficient help of God his Saviour was closely proved. He died in the Ninth Month, 1813, aged seventy-one years; his last words, uttered with much emphasis, being, "To die is gain."*

THOMAS SCATTERGOOD.

He was born at Burlington in New Jersey, in 1748, of parents who were members of our religious Society. His father died whilst he was young, and he was placed as an apprentice in Philadelphia: when, by following his own corrupt inclinations, he was led to deviate from the paths of true peace. He was, however, richly visited by divine grace, brought under a deep sense of his estrangement from God, and made willing to bear the yoke and cross of Christ his Saviour. For several years he was under a sense of a call to the ministry, and by not yielding to the work was brought into deep and distressing conflicts of mind. About the thirty-fourth year of his age he gave up to the requirement, by the expression, at times, of a few sentences only. But keeping faithful to his Divine Master's leadings, he grew in his gift, and became prepared for extensive service in the church. In this work he visited most of the States of North America, and was also occupied for about seven years among Friends of Great Britain and Ireland. In a testimony given forth by his Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia respecting him, his services as a minister are thus alluded to: "He was much devoted to the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness, and through the efficacy of heavenly love, was at times enabled to say, it was more to him than his necessary food; but, being sensible of his various infirmities, he was frequent in inward retirement, and hence his mind became strengthened in watchfulness against those things which interrupt the aspiration of the soul towards the Fountain of everlasting life. Being thereby made quick in the fear of the Lord, he increased in solid experience, and gradually advanced in the way and work of salvation. His example in silent waiting

* Scattergood and his Times.

in our religious meetings was instructive, and in the exercise of his gift it was evident that he had been careful to feel the putting forth of the Divine hand, being at times eminently endued with a clear discernment of the states of meetings and individuals, and, in the power of the gospel, was made instrumental to baptize many into deep contrition, through a heartfelt sense of their own state. Thus, as a scribe well instructed unto the kingdom, he brought forth out of the treasury things new and old, to the edification of the body, and to the praise of its ever adorable Head."* He died in the year 1814, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, in a peaceful assurance of an entrance into the kingdom of everlasting rest.†

T Scattergood

REBECCA JONES.

She was born in Philadelphia in the year 1739. Her father was a mariner, and died while absent from home during her childhood. "My mother," she observes, "by hard labour, keeping a school, brought us up reputably, gave us sufficient learning, and educated us in the way of the Church of England." At a very early age she had a strong inclination to attend the meetings of Friends, "though I knew not," she says, "why I went, for I liked not their way of preaching, but was always best pleased with silent meetings;" and she further remarks on reference to this period, "I loved even the sight of an honest Friend." About the sixteenth year of her age, she was brought under deep religious convictions, and opened her mind to Catherine Peyton, then on a visit to America, who was made an instrument of good to her seeking soul. She first spoke as a minister when about nineteen, and as such she travelled much in her own land, and also in Great Britain and Ireland. She died in 1817, at the age of seventy-eight years; a minister fifty-nine years. In view of the solemn prospect of her final change, she said a few hours before her close, "Not by works of righteousness which I have done, but according

* Testimony of the Northern District Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia.

† Memoirs of Thomas Scattergood.

to His mercy he saveth us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost! After having done all, we are but unprofitable servants."* Interesting memoirs of the life of this experienced and dignified minister have been recently published, and the volume, with many others of a similar kind, will well repay a serious perusal.

GEORGE DILLWYN.

George Dillwyn was born in Philadelphia in the year 1738, of parents who were members of our religious Society. In early life he appears to have had a strong inclination to the vanities of dress and youthful amusements. But his mind was often brought under the contriting humbling power of truth, and outward afflictions tended to his further refinement. About the twenty-eighth year of his age he came forth as a minister. His character and labours in this capacity are thus referred to by his Monthly Meeting:— "Endowed with a comprehensive and penetrating mind, which was sanctified by the great Head of the church, he was made eminently useful in promulgating the glad tidings of the gospel of peace on this continent; and being earnestly engaged to keep his eye single to the pointings of his Divine Master, who had called him to the work, he felt drawn to pay a religious visit to parts of Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Germany, and the south of France." This visit to Europe occupied him from the year 1784 to 1791; and in 1793, under a feeling of religious duty, he removed with his wife to reside in England, but returned to Burlington in 1802. In his private life he was a bright example; daily evincing a concern to live near the spring of divine grace; and in social intercourse with his friends, he was remarkable for the sweetness of his spirit and conversation. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-two years, his declining ones being passed in much retirement. For some months previous to his decease, he endured much bodily suffering, but through all he was sweetly and divinely supported. "I find," he said, "there is a comfort over which disease has no power." In a full persuasion that there was a mansion prepared for him in his Heavenly Father's house,

* Memorials of Rebecca Jones, p. 355.

he died in the Sixth Month, 1820. Some of the aphorisms of this dear Friend have been published, but no memoirs of his remarkable services as a minister of the gospel.

The present chapter concludes a history of the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, from its origin in 1681, down to the year 1820. That the Society of Friends, as a Christian community, was raised up in the counsels of divine wisdom, but few among us will be disposed to question. It has pleased the Most High to call them to uphold many important testimonies to the purity of Divine truth; in the faithful maintenance of which, they have become prominently distinguished among others of the Christian name. But though thus distinguished, they have had no new doctrines to teach; their principles, they conscientiously believe are, all of them, founded on the declarations of Holy Writ, as being in entire accordance with those which were preached and enforced by our Holy Redeemer and his apostles, and practised in the primitive ages of Christianity. It has not been, then, the enunciation of new views which has caused them to differ from other religious professors, but simply their dissent from those practices in the Church, which, as they conceive, originated in the apostacy, and were but partially renounced under the Reformation.

In the history of this people, many circumstances have tended, in no small degree, to disseminate their views on some important points of Christian doctrine. Thus in Great Britain and Ireland, their conscientious, firm, and passive opposition, under aggravated sufferings, to the enforcement of oaths, and to the payment of tithes, caused their testimony against these things, as anti-christian impositions, to be known throughout the land; whilst the barbarities which they endured in Puritan New England, proclaimed throughout Christendom their principles in relation to worship, and the freedom of gospel ministry. But in no country did circumstances tend so conspicuously to exhibit the Christian principles of Friends as in the province of Pennsylvania, where, whilst the government was under their control, the efficacy and excellency of the gospel principles of peace were

practically exemplified to a slowly believing and distrustful world. It was here that, by the original constitution, the inalienable rights of conscience were scrupulously respected, and protected by law ; and as a consequence, all ecclesiastical domination and priestly assumption were utterly condemned. It was here that the just rights of the aboriginal though uncivilized inhabitants of the land were, on Christian grounds, fully recognized by William Penn. Here also it was that the testimony of Friends against the enslavement of their fellow-men took root and flourished ; setting a noble example, and calling up, it is not too much to say, the anti-slavery movements of the past and the present age. Had nothing further been effected through the instrumentality of the Society of Friends, than the promulgation and faithful maintenance of these Christian views, they would suffice to show that its existence as a distinct religious community has not been in vain. To what extent our christian principles, in their practical application to man, in his corporate as well as his individual capacity, as set forth in the present volume, have influenced, and may yet influence mankind, is beyond our power to determine. Evidences, however, are not wanting to show, that already their effect has been great and beneficial ; the sense of which should incite us to greater zeal, consistency, and faithfulness.

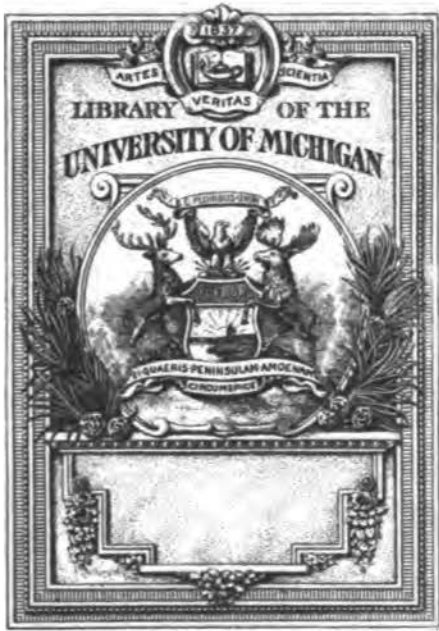
We close this volume in the language of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting : " As a religious Society, we have often had undoubted persuasion, that, in unerring wisdom, we have been raised up and called to bear testimony to the purity and excellency of the Gospel dispensation ; not for any inherent worth or righteousness in us, but that, through faithful dedication manifest in our humble walking, others may come more availingly to see the emptiness of shadows and ceremonies, and be made partakers of that substantial bread which nourisheth the soul unto eternal life. How awful then is our situation ; and how obligatory our duty ! that, loving the Lord above all, we may have light upon our path, and discern the dangers that are on the right hand, and on the left ; thus, being kept by his power through faith, we may be built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, a peculiar people."*

* Epistle to London Yearly Meeting, 1816.

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