

# John Woolman in England

A documentary supplement

By  
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FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## FOREWORD

The following compilation was started during the Second World War when conditions in England and for correspondence with England were not favorable for such an enterprise. It has been intermittently resumed since then. The mere lapse of time has made some further materials available now. There is reason to suppose that still others will unexpectedly appear, but it has seemed worth while to put in usable form what has accumulated up to the present.

This work is not intended to replace the biographies of John Woolman by two American women—Amelia Mott Gummere and Janet Payne Whitney. Readers will continue to be indebted to them for their valuable contribution to our understanding of the remarkable person whose qualities remain an example for our time. This book is modestly intended to supplement the information about that brief period of his life which is of joint interest in America and in England. I cannot expect that where others have labored a gleaner can avoid the kind of errors to which such studies are prone.

Unfortunately Mrs Whitney's work, published in Boston in 1942 and in London in 1943, has different pagination and requires a double set of page references.

In all the libraries mentioned I have over the years received the most cordial co-operation, outlasting all changes in personnel, for which I am most grateful.

June 1966

HENRY J. CADBURY



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### PRINCIPAL SOURCES WITH ABBREVIATIONS USED

Woolman MSS, in his own hand, unless otherwise indicated.

- MS. A Folio of American Journal ending at 1770, but added to by Samuel Comfort in 1839. At Historical Society of Penna.
- MS. B Quarto MS. of same, ending at 1770. At Swarthmore College (on deposit).
- MS. C Quarto MS. of same, ending in 1747. At Swarthmore College (on deposit).<sup>1</sup>
- MS. R Fragments of the same (see pp. 37, 107). At Rutgers University.
- MS. S Text (revised?) of the Sea Journal 1772, and the only text in his hand of his Journal in England, 1772. At Swarthmore College.
- MS. T Text (unrevised?) of his Sea Journal 1772, formerly in possession of Thomas Thompson, taken to England by Thomas Shillitoe probably in 1829. Now divided at 24.v.1772, the first half at the Mount School, York, gift of Elisabeth Brockbank, the second half at Friends Library, London, the gift in 1943 of Violet Hodgkin. See *JFHS*, vol. 38 (1946), pp. 32, 43f. Cf. pp. 25 note 2, 50 note 1, 125f, below.

<sup>1</sup> Cf Gummere, p. xviii, who however has inverted the symbols B and C.

MS. Y Copy of his Journal in England, 1772, in the hand of William Tuke, formerly at Almery Garth, York, in possession of Malcolm Spence (d. 1920), his sister Ellen Spence, and now in possession of Guy Worsdell, 17 Bedford Gardens, London, W.8. It includes copies of his last Essays and the account by others of his illness and death. Cf. Gummere 288, 316, 488. See p. 26 below.

Letters written in England. See the list given, p. 4.

## MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS AND REPOSITORIES

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, Library, Fifth and Library Street, Philadelphia.

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, formerly at 140 N. 15th Street.

BEVAN-NAISH LIBRARY, since 1938 at Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, England, formerly at Dr Johnson's Passage, Birmingham.

EUSTACE STREET Friends Historical Library, 6 Eustace Street, Dublin.

FRIENDS LIBRARY, LONDON, since 1925 at Euston Road, formerly at Devonshire House (and abbreviated D).

HAVERFORD COLLEGE. Quaker Collection, Haverford, Pa.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA (HSP), 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

Cf. Guide to MS Collection, printed, 2nd ed., 1949.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1314 Locust Street, Philadelphia, formerly at Broad and Christian Streets.

PEMBERTON PAPERS, a large collection at HSP.

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pt.

## PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

*British Friend*, vols. 1-49 (1843-1891): N.S. vols. 1-22 (1892-1913).

*BFHS* (or *BFHA*). *Bulletin of Friends Historical Society* (or *Association*), vols. 1-50 (Phila. 1906-1961). Indexes after vol. 10 and for each five later vols.

Comly, *Misc. Friends' Miscellany*, edited by John and Isaac Comly, Phila., vols. 1-12 (1831-1839), 2nd ed., vols. 1-3 (1834-1845). MS. Index by Norman Penney.

*Friend* (Lond.), vols. 1- (London, 1843- ).

*Friend* (Phila.), vols. 1-128 (Philadelphia, 1827-1954).

*Friends Intelligencer*, vols. 1-112 (Philadelphia, 1844-1954).

*Friends Journal*, vols. 1- (Philadelphia, 1955- ) successor to the two preceding.

- Friends Library* edited by William and Thomas Evans, vols. 1-14 (Philadelphia, 1837-1850). Index to vols. 1-14 mimeographed by Pendle Hill (1949).
- FQ, Friends Quarterly*, vols. 1- (1947- ) successor to the following.
- FQE, Friends Quarterly Examiner*, vols. 1-80 (1867-1946). Index to vols. 1-34 (1901).
- Friends Review*, vols. 1-48 (Philadelphia, 1848-1896).
- JFHS, Journal of Friends Historical Society*, vols. 1- (London vols. 1- 1903- ). Index to vols. 1-50 in preparation.
- PMHB, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vols. 1- (1877- ). Index to vols. 1-75 (1954).
- QH, Quaker History*, vols. 51- (1962- ) succeeding *BFHA*.

BOOKS: SELECTED EDITIONS AND BIOGRAPHIES (Cf fuller bibliography in Gummere, pp. 610-630).

- Remarks on Sundry Subjects by John Woolman*, London, Mary Hinke [1773].
- Serious Considerations . . . by John Woolman*, London, Mary Hinde, 1773.
- The Works of John Woolman, Philadelphia*, Crukshank 1774 Part I.
- The Works of John Woolman*, London, Letchworth, 1775.
- The Journal of John Woolman*, Philadelphia, Chapman, 1837, Edit. by John Comly.
- The Journal of John Woolman*, Warrington, Hurst, 1840. Edit. by James Cropper.
- The Journal of John Woolman*, Boston, Osgood, 1871, with preface by J. G. Whittier.
- The Journal of John Woolman*, London, Headley, 1900, New Century Edition. Edited by Norman Penney.
- The Journal of John Woolman*, Chicago, Regnery, 1950, Edited by Janet Whitney. (Paperback, 1951, omits all after 1770).
- John Woolman, Child of Light*, New York, Vanguard Press, 1954, by Catharine O. Peare.

The following, being frequently referred to in the text, are there referred to by the abbreviations shown:

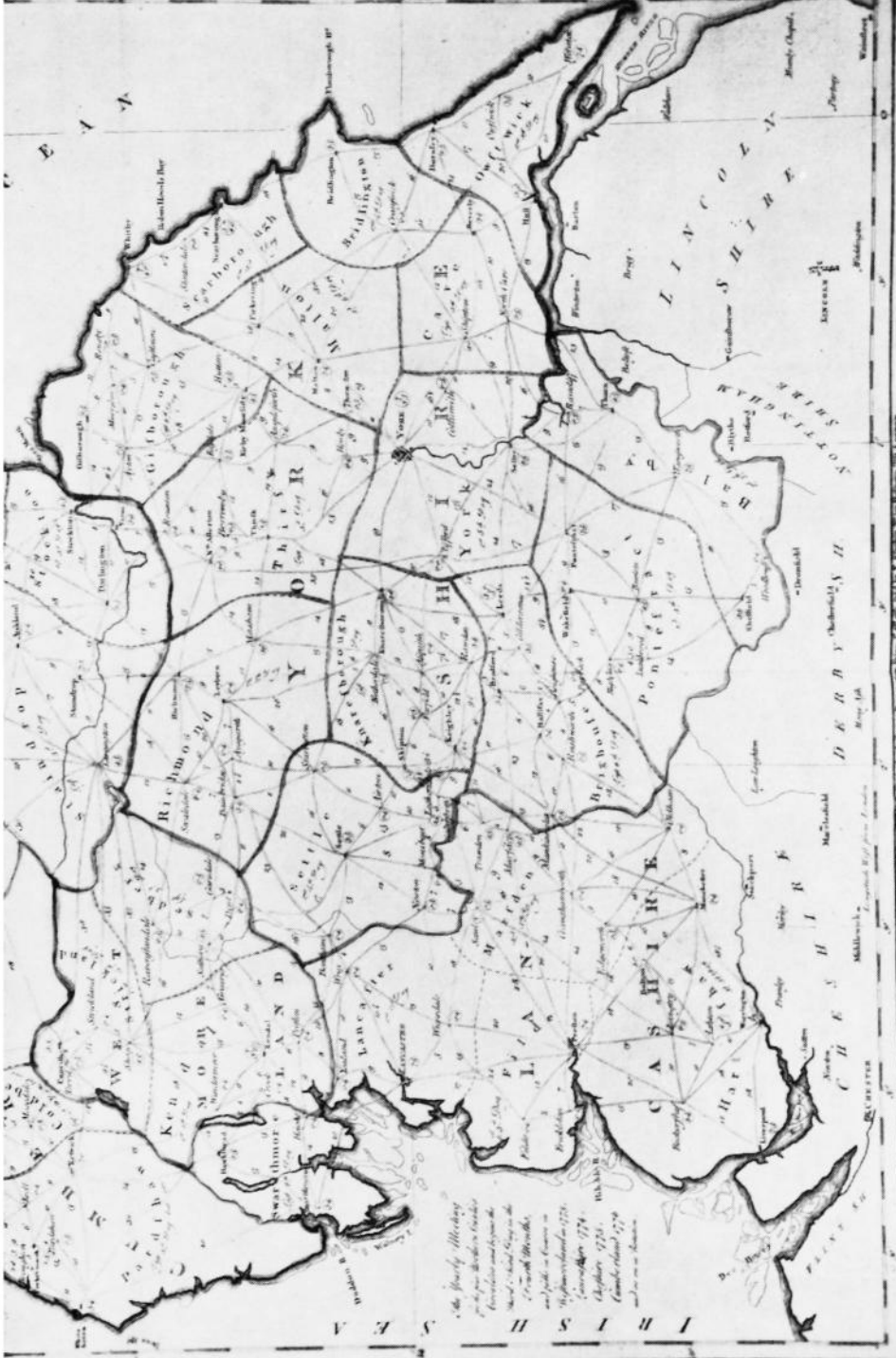
- Gummere. *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, New York, Macmillan 1922. Rancocas Edition. Edited by A. M. Gummere.
- Whitney, 1942. *John Woolman, American Quaker*, Boston, Little Brown, 1942, by Janet Whitney.
- Whitney, 1943. *John Woolman, Quaker*, London, Harrap, 1943, by Janet Whitney.

Guided thus, how passing lovely  
Is the track of Woolman's feet!  
And his brief and simple record  
How serenely sweet!

(John Greenleaf Whittier, "To ——  
with a copy of Woolman's Journal",  
originally entitled, "What the Quaker  
said to the Transcendentalist".)







FROM JAMES BACKHOUSE'S MAP OF NORTHERN QUARTERLY MEETINGS 1773

## INTRODUCTORY

THE importance for Quakerism—for its spread, survival and solidarity—of the custom of itinerating ministry is generally recognized. But its importance for historiography is also great. The journeys of “publick Friends” were recorded on paper in various ways. The official minutes of the Society, those archives which to such a remarkable degree throughout Quakerdom were carefully made and carefully preserved, record the release and return of their own members who engaged on such travels and also the presence of similar visitors from elsewhere at their meetings. Less official but remarkably abundant are the lists of public Friends visiting a given community. These lists sometimes cover many score years, and give the date of the visit and the visitor’s home community. Much more full and abundant are the autobiographical materials from the travellers themselves. Letters describing their travels are elicited by their absence from home in a way that never happens to stay-at-homes, while the Quaker journals tend to much greater fullness during periods of travel.

The availability of such materials for general history, for religious history and for biography is constantly being experienced by any student. Nearly every one of my own amateur excursions into such fields has found such items invaluable, whether it be a local study, a study of an individual or the study of a movement. The chief source for knowledge of Quakerism in Boston, Massachusetts, in the eighteenth century would be such letters and journals. An initial list of Friends in Barbados for the century of the Society’s life on that island can be made from the signatures to certificates issued there to travellers. Indeed for the seventeenth century neither that colony nor some other American colonies, e.g. Maryland, can produce today any group of letters comparable in extent to the letters written by Friends. In an article on visitors to Long Island in that same century the journals by Friends were more than half of all journals that could be used.

These materials also are noteworthy in the way they supplement and illuminate each other. The background for one traveller is clarified by the record of another visitor to the same ground, and if, as is often the case, more than one

"public friend" was circulating in the same area at the same time, their welcome encounters and their temporary fellow travelling double the biographical data for each. Except during the Revolutionary War scarcely a year passed without one Friend or more from Great Britain or Ireland travelling in America or without American visitors to the British Isles. Such visits were rarely hurried; they were frequently very comprehensive and lasted for years. Often, as in more recent years, such travellers took passage on the same ships, some of the passengers starting their concern, some completing it. On land the visitor's progress was marked by sojourn at the homes of former travellers to his own country, thus alternately reversing the relation of host and guest.

These features of Quaker history and historiography are well illustrated by John Woolman's visit to England in 1772. This brief and tragic episode, that has been so fully brought to our attention by his two able biographers, is also of so great interest that any further light upon it no matter how slight may be welcome. His own account of it is extremely sketchy. "His itinerary is not fully outlined," says Amelia Gummere, and Janet Whitney referring to the Quarterly Meeting at Hertford says "John Woolman mentions being at this Quarterly Meeting in his rapidly sketched itinerary, but with his chariness at mentioning names does not say anything about his companions."<sup>1</sup> An earlier biographer had written:

He provides us with scarcely more than the names of the towns he visited; how fascinating a travel book he would have left us if only he had kept the baldest diary of each day's doings.<sup>2</sup>

Of 122 days from his arrival in London to his death in York only 14 are mentioned in his memoranda by the date, 8 of these being the successive Sundays from July 26 to September 13, and for only few other days does his narrative give any account. Rather the observations and reflections of his sensitive mind on the social implications of what he saw and felt occupy the scanty pages. We would not willingly forego these priceless comments in order to hear from him the prosy calendar of dates and mileage. These are to be found only too often in juiceless journals. Yet further details are

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, pp. 131f; Whitney, 1942, pp. 400f; 1943, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> W. Teignmouth Shore, *John Woolman, his Life and our Times*, London, 1913, p. 254.

welcome and from various sources, including letters he wrote and a copy of a lost continuation of the journal, his biographers have been able to add some dates, places, meetings and hosts.

## SOURCES

The supplementing of this outline is possible from a variety of sources:

1. Fuller notes of his travels (p. 3).
2. Letters written during his travels (p. 3*f*).
3. Minutes of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings (p. 5).
4. Unofficial lists of visiting Friends (p. 5).
5. Journals of English Friends whose paths crossed his (p. 5*f*).
6. Journals or letters of other American Friends in England (pp. 6*ff*).
7. Letters written by Friends with whom he came in contact (p. 22).

1. It is quite possible that he had fuller notes of his travels than the summary sent to London after his death and from thence to Philadelphia as a continuation of the manuscript he had left there before he left America. For it is this that became the basis of his printed Journal for this period.<sup>1</sup> Indeed he probably based parts of his American Journal on memoranda he made during journeys there, though not preserved. A scrap of such a memorandum for the three or four days before he reached York has been strangely preserved.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately any other records of this sort from his own hand are missing.

2. There are a few letters that he wrote in England extant in originals or copies.<sup>3</sup> These are carefully dated by him

<sup>1</sup> See Gummere, p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, p. 313 note and below, pp. 106-8.

<sup>3</sup> Gummere gives nine, pp. 130-141; one more was included in the text of the Journal (*ibid.* p. 310*f* to Rachel Wilson), two others to London to John Townsend and John Eliot respectively are quoted below and are among more than twenty for his whole life extant but not known to previous biographers.

## LETTERS, NOTES, ETC., WRITTEN BY WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND

## JOHN WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND

<i>Date</i>	<i>Place or Host</i>	<i>Addressee</i>	<i>Location of Original</i>	<i>Previous Printing</i>	<i>Gummere here</i>	<i>Page ref. here</i>
6.13	London	Sarah Woolman	HSP		130	44, 71
6.13		Sophia Hume	MS. S		303	—
6.14	London	Reuben & Margaret Haines	Not known	Comly <i>Misc.</i> , i, 9	131	—
6.14	London	John Woolman, Jr.	Hav. Coll.	New Cent p. 292	131	—
6.19	Baldock	John Townsend	Spriggs MSS, FH			53, 81
7.1	Shipston (?)	John Comfort (enc. by S. Emlen to R. Haines)	Not known			18
7.31	John Haslam's	John Townsend	See below p. 54 n1		133	53f
7.31	160 mi. N. of London	Sarah Woolman	HSP	Facsim. Whitney 1942, opp. p. 418	133	89f
7.31	John Haslam's	Reuben & Margaret Haines	Not known	Comly <i>Misc.</i> , i, 9	133	89f
8.30	Grayrigg	[Rachel Wilson]	MS. S	New Cent. p. 239	310f	—
8.30	"	" P.S.	FH	<i>JFHS</i> , xxii, 18		—
9.16	Rob't. Proud's	Children of S. Comfort	Not known	Comly <i>Misc.</i> , i, 11	137	109
9.22	York	John Wilson	MS. S	New Cent p. 292	141	110
9.23	York	Reuben & Margaret Haines	HSP	<i>Friends Review</i> , xxviii, 535	141	74, 111
9.27	York	John Eliot (dictated but signed, <i>teste</i> S. Emlen)	MS. copy. Mtg for Suff., FH	<i>Friend</i> (Lond.), cxxii, 271		111
9.28	York	Dictated to T. Priestman	Formerly c/o	Facsim. New Cent.	321f	111
9.29	York	Memo for W. Tuke	J. B. Braithwaite	opp. p. 293	325	112
10.7	York	Expressions at death			143	102

and often have an indication of the place of writing or of the name of his host. They are all brief, perhaps briefer and fewer than usual, because of his known desire not to burden the animals and boys employed in carrying the English post.

3. There are minutes of Friends meetings that he attended, recording his presence. Such mention is most likely to be found when he was in a community at the time of Quarterly or Monthly Meeting, especially in the separate minutes of the meetings for ministers and elders. I have searched for these as far as possible and quoted them below. When the visitor attended only the regular First Day or Weekday local meeting for worship, official record need not be expected.

4. In many places individuals quite unofficially kept lists of public Friends who came as visitors. These cover longer or shorter periods. Those for the right year and the right places in England to mention Woolman are probably very few. A complete census of such lists is not available, though it is something to be desired. Similar lists of visitors to England in general are more numerous but of course add no detail of time or place for the persons they mention. For example, such a list of "Ministering Friends to Great Britain and Ireland from Pennsylvania, etc. 1693-1772" in the hand of William Dillwyn<sup>1</sup> ends under 1772 with mention of Sarah Morris and then John Woolman:

John Woolman from Mount Holly in West Jersey. He embarked in 5 mo. 1772 with Sam. Emlen, Junr. in the Ship Mary and Elizabeth, Captain Sparks for London, where they arrived in the 6 mo. and he died of the Small Pox in the city of York, 10 mo. 7, 1772.

5. There are the Journals of English Friends whose paths crossed Woolman's in these months. Some of these are not fully available or did not extend to this period. Thus we have accounts from Joseph Oxley (1715-1775) of Norwich<sup>2</sup> and of Elihu Robinson (1734-1800) of Eaglesfield, Cumber-

<sup>1</sup> Bevan-Naish Library, Vol. 3004, item 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Joseph's Offering to his Children or Joseph Oxley's Journal*, in John Barclay, *Select Series*, vol. 5 (1837), 197-393, tells of his crossing to England from America with Sarah Morris but ends in April 1772.

land,<sup>1</sup> both of whom were at London Yearly Meeting. But the extant diary of Abiah Darby (1716–1794) of Coalbrookdale,<sup>2</sup> who if not at Yearly Meeting was later with Woolman at Chesterfield, ends in 1769. The Diary of Claude Gay (1706–1786), the French Friend from Jersey, was destroyed in the fire at White Hart Court in 1821<sup>3</sup> and the autobiographical account of John Townsend (1725–1801) is not now to be found.<sup>4</sup> Whether they mentioned the contact of these Friends with Woolman at London in 1772 I do not know.

6. The American Friends in England at the time of Woolman's visit were several. Their journals or letters make reference to him and to his experiences.

Of the visiting Friends who were in England with Woolman and of others whom I shall quote I may first give a brief summary, indicating at the same time the sources of information about them. It will be observed that in several instances I have been able to go behind the printed sources to the original journals or letters, which in many cases seem to have been ignored or unknown for a hundred years though they are to be found not more than a dozen miles from Philadelphia. Any Quaker documents printed a century or more ago are likely to have been considerably rewritten in printing, so that manuscripts, even if only copies, are much more trustworthy and often much fuller. As an example, I may advert to what John Fothergill wrote to his brother Samuel about John Woolman at London Yearly Meeting. The letter seems to read

John Woolman is solid and weighty in his remarks. I wish he could be cured of some singularities. But his real worth outweighs the trash.

But as printed two generations later the passage was changed to read

<sup>1</sup> Elihu Robinson's MS Diary. Friends Library, London. Beside the references to Woolman quoted below (pp. 70f) it gives a detailed account of his journey to and from London by horse, the distances from London en route and an account of the speaking of others and of the business transacted in the several sessions. He has similar accounts of his journeys and attendance at London Yearly Meeting in 1762, 1765, 1768, 1776, 1780, 1785 and 1799.

<sup>2</sup> Abiah Darby, MS. Diary at Friends Library, London. Cf. *JFHS*, vol. 10 (1913), pp. 79–92.

<sup>3</sup> Beck and Ball, *The London Friends Meetings*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned by James Jenkins who intended to include it in a Memoir.



John Woolman is solid and weighty in his remarks. He has some singularities, but his real worth outweighs them.<sup>1</sup>

But in the original MS the last word is not certain. It could be "husk" with as much probability as "trash". But there has been no correction to justify what Janet Whitney says (1942, p. 396; 1943, p. 373) to the effect that Dr Fothergill himself "crossed out the word 'trash' and substituted 'husk'. . . . This is the final evidence of Woolman's complete, unconscious conquest of the most polished and brilliant Quaker of his time."

The American "public Friends" whose visits to England overlapped that of John Woolman were these: Samuel Emlen, William Hunt, Sarah Morris, and Robert Willis. William Hunt was accompanied by his nephew Thomas Thornburgh, Sarah Morris by her niece Deborah Morris.<sup>2</sup> Woolman's biographers mention two other American ministers as being in England at the time of Woolman's illness, death or burial: Thomas Ross of Wrightstown, Pennsylvania, and John Pemberton of Philadelphia. Suspecting some mistake here I have sought evidence of these Friends' presence in America. In the case of Thomas Ross the Wrightstown minutes show that he was at home in the fourth, eighth and eleventh months 1772. It is not likely that he was in York, England, on 10th mo. 7th when Woolman died or 10th mo. 9th when he was buried. For John Pemberton more complete alibis are forthcoming. On 10th mo. 6th he signed among the witnesses the certificate of the marriage in Philadelphia of Joel Lewis and Amey Hughes and two days later he endorsed over to Mildred and Roberts in London an order from correspondents in Holland addressed to him in Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter dated 6 mo. 9, 1772, at Friends Library, London (Port. 22/126), quoted in Gummere, p. 128; printed in *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Samuel Fothergill*, Liverpool 1843, p. 522; New York, 1844, p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *BFHS* vol. 5 (1913), p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Gummere p. 143. Whitney, 1942 p. 430; 1943 p. 404. Minutes of Wrightstown M.M. at Newtown, Pa., for iv. 7; viii. 4 and xi. 3, 1772. Marriage certificates of Philadelphia M.M. (E 27) at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, for x. 6. 1772; cf. ix. 22 and x. 15. Pemberton Papers, vol. 23, p. 130. Among earlier letters from John Pemberton in Philadelphia, one dated ix. 15. 1772 to Peter Yarnall is printed in *Comly Misc.*, vol 2 (1836), pp. 209-211 and in the *Friend* (Phila.), vol. 21 (1847-48), pp. 348f.

The origin of the error is obvious. Twelve years later Thomas Ross and John Pemberton from America were in England as were also Rebecca Jones and George Dillwyn. Thomas Ross died at York 2 mo. 13, 1786. Pemberton was with him during part of his last illness; the other two Friends preached at his funeral. "He was buried . . . beside his Friend and countryman, John Woolman." So Gummere, p. 570, but on p. 517: "John Pemberton was in England at the time of John Woolman's death, and ministered to him during his illness and attended his funeral." The only American Friend who was able to be with Woolman during the last days of his illness and until the funeral was John Bispham, "his neighbour and shipmate."<sup>1</sup>

William Hunt (1733-1772) of New Garden, North Carolina sailed on the *Mary and Elizabeth* for England from Chester, Pennsylvania, 5th mo. 4, 1771, exactly a year before Woolman sailed on the same vessel and arrived in London too late for Yearly Meeting that year. He visited meetings in the North of England, Scotland and Ireland. He returned to England just in time for the Yearly Meeting of 1772 and after visiting in the Eastern Counties made a brief visit to Holland. He became sick, however, and returning to England died of the small pox near Newcastle upon Tyne, 9 ix. 1772. A small homemade volume contains in some 430 small pages manuscript copies of letters he wrote and of his diary of some of his travels in the ministry. If not in his own hand, as its editor believed, it is at least very early in date. It is now at the Haverford College Library, having been placed there in 1934 on loan by George W. Hunt, his great-great-great-grandson. This same material was put in the hands of Enoch Lewis, editor of the *Friends Review*, who published a summary of the narrative and some selections from the letters and papers in that periodical beginning vol. 4 (1851), p. 273. This, together with a similar account of his son Nathan Hunt were published as *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt*, Philadelphia, 1858. The printed material is only half as extensive as the manuscript and the latter gives for his English journey and for the travels in the New England and Middle Colonies that preceded it much more detail of dates, places, meetings and persons.

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, pp. 142, 143, 318. On his identity see below, pp. 120f.

Thomas Thornburgh, Jr (1743/4-1788) of Guilford County, North Carolina, was the nephew by marriage of William Hunt, having in 1766 married Ruth Hunt, who died in 1767. His uncle sometimes called him cousin Tomma. His last name gave difficulty to English clerks and letter writers. Perhaps it should be spelled Thornborough. His father and son were also named Thomas.

He was not a "public friend" but proved a satisfactory companion for his uncle, apparently in spite of some hesitation by his home meeting. For William Hunt writing to Zacharias Dicks soon after their arrival in England and just after London Yearly Meeting of 1771, says

. . . Dear friend, I never yet dare call in question the propriety of my dear companion's coming, still being clear in my judgement that it was consistent with the divine will. The Friends at Philadelphia and likewise here in London think it very weak and disreputable for any Monthly Meeting to give so mean a certificate upon so important occasion, but as Truth hath hitherto cast up our way far beyond what I could have expected, I have a comfortable assurance that as we steadily abide faithful all may be well.

W.H.<sup>1</sup>

When the partnership was ended by the death of William Hunt at Newcastle upon Tyne on September 9, 1772 Thomas returned to Yorkshire and Lancashire and to London and thence back to America in company with Samuel Emlen.

For the sake of completeness in listing American Friends in England before Woolman's death I may mention at this point that William Hunt writing to his wife from Hull, 7th mo 28, 1772 mentions receiving a letter from her brought by Joseph Unthank.<sup>2</sup> This Friend was, like Hunt himself and Thomas Thornburgh, a member of New Garden Monthly Meeting, North Carolina, which had received him as a member on certificate from Richland Monthly Meeting, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania, in 1755, and had granted him a certificate to Scarborough Monthly Meeting, Yorkshire, in Old England on 4th month 25, 1772. The Scarborough Minutes, I learn, have no mention of receiving him nor do I have other information of his being in England, certainly not in time for Yearly Meeting in 1772. He belonged to the circle

<sup>1</sup> MS. Journal of William Hunt, p. 168 *bis*, dated London 5 of 6 mo. 1771; not in the printed correspondence.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Journal, p. 105 *bis*.

of Hunt and Thornburgh, not of Woolman. In fact he appears to have married Tomma's sister Judith in 1779.<sup>1</sup>

Sarah Morris (1703/4–1775) of Philadelphia, and a minister since about her 42nd year<sup>2</sup> was the daughter of Anthony Morris (the second). She had for some time expected to engage in religious labors in England. Her father had done so in 1715. Until her mother's death at the age of 93 in 1767 she did not feel free to leave home, but even then she hesitated. John Woolman and she were friends and they naturally sympathized with one another in this prospect as soon as each knew of the other's concern. The following letter of John Woolman to her cannot be exactly dated. It is no later than December 1770, perhaps some time earlier. It may not belong to her period of indecision about the English Journey, but since it has not been published I may reproduce it here.

Beloved sister, Sarah Morris,

As I am about going homeward, I seem'd most easy to say by this short note before I go, that I remain settled in the belief that the dear Redeemer is near thee, to help thee, though thou art under affliction and temptation.

Dear sister, I feel a tender care in my mind that thou may labour after stillness, and I trust the holy Helper will bring thee through more purified

I am thy poor brother

I send this by Marg't Haines                      John Woolman<sup>3</sup>

When Sarah Morris was determined to carry out the concern she was already in her later sixties. To other Friends more than to her own records we can trace its development. On 8 mo 20 notes Rebecca Jones: "This day our beloved Friend S. Morris laid [before the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia] her concern to visit Friends in Europe. . . .

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, I. 579 *cf.* also p. 519f. He is evidently to be distinguished from the Joseph Unthank born at Castleton in 1762, who with his son George was partner of the Quaker owners Brown, Unthank and Procter of Willington Mill on the Tyne. See Anne O. Boyce, *Records of a Quaker Family. The Richardsons of Cleveland*, 1899, pp. 272f (and alphabetic list of marriages in the edition containing Pedigree Tables).

<sup>2</sup> See Gummere, p. 562; Memoir in *Collection of Memorials of Deceased Ministers*. Phila., 1787, pp. 334f: reprinted in *Friends Library*, vol. 6 (1842), pp. 478f. A further testimony to her in the MS testimonies of Philadelphia M.M. at 302 Arch St, B27 (1756–1778), pp. 331f. Robert C. Moon, *The Morris Family of Philadelphia*, 1898, pp. 204–211.

<sup>3</sup> Copy in the hand of Rebecca Jones, folded and pinned into her hand-made almanac for 1770 in the Allinson Collection at Haverford College.

Next Fourth Day she intends for Burlington to confer with our dear Friend E. Smith who is under like concern."<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth Smith (1724–1772) was a member of a notable family of Burlington and twenty years younger than Sarah Morris. She was a close friend of Rebecca Jones of Philadelphia and of the Woolmans of Mt Holly. As Joseph Oxley records, the two women proceeded in routine fashion to secure credentials for their proposed journey. At Philadelphia Yearly Meeting on 9 mo 21, 1771 their certificates from their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings were approved. But at New Year 1772 Oxley writes to his wife in England that "Dear Elizabeth Smith continues in great bodily weakness, and more likely to die than to live."<sup>2</sup> She gave up the trip and after a painful illness of several months she died 10 mo 2nd, 1772 a few days before Woolman's death at York. One of the last letters of John Woolman before he left America was a gentle criticism to this fellow minister and friend, then ill on her death bed, about some of the furniture in her house as not "agreeable to the purity of Truth."<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile Sarah Morris had found a new companion with whom she planned to travel. Joseph Oxley of Norwich, who actually crossed with them on the same ship, writes:

All things being now got in readiness for my departure, Sarah Morris, of whom I have sundry times made mention have [i.e. having] at length yielded in obedience to what she believed to be her duty, in paying a religious visit to Friends in England and having Friends approbation, and certificate, it was thought well we should accompany one another over the great ocean. She had also a niece to accompany her, and though not in the ministry, yet was exercised in spirit for the prosperity of Truth, and having near sympathy with her aunt in her present concern, gave up to attend her in said undertaking. Her name Deborah Morris; and indeed I thought her an excellent mother raised up in our Israel.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, on the inside back cover. Full text in Allinson, *Memorials of Rebecca Jones*, but with the wrong year date supplied, viz. 1772.

<sup>2</sup> *Joseph's Offering to his Children*, being Joseph Oxley's Journal in John Barclay, Select Series, vol. 5 (1837), 197f reprinted in *Friends Library*, vol. 2 (1838), 414f. I have checked the passages with the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> Gummere, p. 121 and more completely in W. J. Allinson, *Memorials of Rebecca Jones* (1849), pp. 30f. Amelia Gummere had quoted most of it in her "Friends in Burlington", *PMHB*, vol. 8 (1882), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Oxley, *op. cit.* p. 387 corrected by original manuscript. The last words are of course a play upon her name from the description of the Biblical Deborah (Judges 5:7).

They sailed from Chester on March 3, 1772, on the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Peter Osborne, Commander, ran aground twice before leaving the Capes of Delaware, and landed at Dover on April 10.

For their further experience we are indebted to the diary of her niece and companion. No line from her own pen is known to me that would illuminate the experience she shared with John Woolman in England.

Deborah Morris (1723/4-1793) of Philadelphia was the daughter of Anthony Morris (the Third), half brother of Sarah Morris. She accompanied her aunt throughout the journey already mentioned. For further information about her see Moon, *op. cit.* pp. 280-306. Her giving up to go with her Aunt was some sacrifice. Evidently Joyce Benezet was afraid that she would "let too great anxiety to return prevail." It would not look well to do so.<sup>1</sup> Actually they arrived together in Philadelphia 19 ix. 1773 the week before Yearly Meeting, with Captain Peter Osborne and three English public Friends *en route* to service in America.<sup>2</sup>

She is the author of the fullest available account of American Quaker travels in England at that time, a small notebook of about 200 pages beginning with their embarkation at Chester, Pennsylvania on 3. iii. 1772, and ending, apparently merely because the book was filled, abruptly on 1st mo. 2, 1773. The entries are each dated and they account for nearly every day, and give beside the places, meetings, distances, and hosts of their travels, many details about persons and sights. Nathan Kite, the anonymous author of "Biographical Sketches" in the *Philadelphia Friend*, used this *in extenso* for his account of Sarah Morris (thirteen instalments beginning at vol. 36 (1862), p. 75). His death left the sketch and the whole series incomplete. For thirty years the whereabouts of this manuscript was unknown although George Vaux, as one connected by family with Deborah Morris, made efforts to find it, until finally in 1894 an anonymous book was presented to Friends Library, Philadelphia, by Joseph Walton and was identified by George Vaux as the missing volume.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Joyce Benezet in the hand of Anthony Benezet, dated Philadelphia 16. x. 1772 addressed to aunt and niece care of Thomas Corbyn, London (Original at Haverford College).

<sup>2</sup> Manuscript Memoranda of Jane (Bonsall) Clark, of Philadelphia, 1772-1788 at 302 Arch street, Philadelphia.

He published the remainder in three instalments in the *Friend* beginning at vol. 67 (1894), p. 370. It is now at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia. The original text in a somewhat crude style, sometimes hard to read, is quoted below and differs from that printed by Nathan Kite who paraphrased and polished it into sentences and made some omissions. Neither the printed form nor the original seems to have been known to Woolman's biographers. Like some other sources here used it came to my notice too late unfortunately for me to call it to the attention of Janet Whitney for use even in her English edition.

John Bispham like Samuel Emlen, came on the same ship with John Woolman. He was from Mt Holly. Mrs Gummere describes him as "a consistent Friend, and a minister much respected at home and abroad" (p. 557). If this means a "public Friend" I do not find corroboration. He is not mentioned in the records of the Yearly Meeting or in any of our other sources in that capacity. But he evidently remained in England for a time. On June 22 Dr Parke "went by invitation with Capt. Sparks and John Bispham to dine with D. Mildred" in London. At the time of Woolman's illness at York he was sent for and reached Woolman two days before the end.<sup>1</sup> I shall discuss his identity later. In any case I know of nothing he wrote about these experiences.

Samuel Emlen (1730-1799) of Philadelphia, whose name is often given a "Jun.," and often spelled by English Friends "Emlin" was I think the only other public Friend among those Friends who were passengers with Woolman on the ship *Mary and Elizabeth*, James Sparks master, which sailed from Chester, Pennsylvania, on 5th mo. 1, 1772. For his English visit in 1772, which was one of several to that country, the author of the "Memoirs and Letters of Samuel Emlen" in Comly, *Misc.*, vol 12 (1839), p. 165 gives no information not derived from Woolman's *Journal* adding, "Of the remainder of this visit we have no account." As already mentioned he returned to America in the autumn of 1772 in company with Thomas Thornburgh. Thomas Parke's diary indicates that the ship *Sampson* was bound for New York and that English Friends said farewell to "Sammy and Tommy" on November 9 at London, on November 10

<sup>1</sup> William Tuke's letter to Reuben Haines, Gummere, p. 318 previously printed in Comly, *Misc.*, vol. 8 (1836), pp. 232-239.

at Gravesend, and on November 11 on board. Mildred and Roberts wrote to the Pembertons in Philadelphia from London, 14th of 11 mo. "Our friends Samuel Emlen and Thomas Thornburgh embarked on board the ship *Sampson* for New York, last fourth day." In the same letter they indicate that information about the deaths of Woolman and Hunt had been sent before.<sup>1</sup>

It must be partly accident that no letters of Samuel Emlen from England on this visit were quoted, as far as I know.<sup>2</sup> From both an earlier and later visits to England several of his letters are in print.<sup>3</sup> He was as literate as any of the American Friends I have listed. From other Americans in England we can trace his movements. Thomas Parke saw him often from the day he arrived in London on June 5 until Parke joined with a score of other Friends in seeing him off for America on November 10. He was in London, staying with John Eliot at Bartholomew Close much of this time, including Yearly Meeting until June 15 when he hurried to Warrington to attend the funeral of Samuel Fothergill. He was not with Woolman at the Quarterly Meetings that followed except at Shipston in Worcestershire (but without his certificate) nor was he with the Morrises at Norwich Yearly Meeting at that time, as was expected.<sup>4</sup> But he did join William Hunt and others in a brief visit to Holland leaving Hull July 28 and returning to Harwich and so back to London by September 4. He planned to go later that month to Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting where he would have rejoined the Morrises and John Woolman, and he did start out for York with John Eliot on September 18 "but Sammy was so unwell with a diarrhoea they thought it most prudent to return after the first day's journey". His health according to Thomas Parke writing October 14 was so precarious that he could not be quite easy to stay in England this winter. A week later at meeting the speaking was "in apprehension of Samuel Emlen being soon removed from this world". Plainly these gloomy expectations were not fulfilled. He returned safely to America about New Year. We read that he and

<sup>1</sup> Pemberton Papers, vol. 23, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> For lost letters see *BFHS*, vol. 5, 59, and below pp. 15-18.

<sup>3</sup> 1756-8 in *Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill*; 1792-94, and 1796-7 in Comly, *Misc.*, vol. 12, pp. 170-189.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of T. Parke to Owen Biddle, London, July 10, at Swarthmore College.



Thomas Thornburgh reached Philadelphia from New York on 8.i. 1773, and that on 24.x. his wife presented him with a fine daughter.<sup>1</sup> He lived on until the end of 1799 having visited England again in 1784, 1792-4, 1796.<sup>2</sup>

Samuel Emlen was an eminent minister and a very attractive person. He had been trained in the counting house of James Pemberton in Philadelphia, but either could not or needed not earn a living. He was proficient in several languages and had a remarkable insight into character and situations. The fullest account of him is that of Nathan Kite in "Thomas Scattergood and His Times"<sup>3</sup> and is a convincing portrait.

There has come to light at the very close of my labor a source previously unknown to me and I think unknown to earlier biographers of either Woolman or Emlen. It is a carefully prepared bound scrap book—at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—entitled Letters of Samuel Emlen during his Religious Mission to Europe with those of his wife and other Correspondents (1772-1791).<sup>4</sup>

It was collected and arranged in 1875 by Philip Syng Physick Conner of Octoraro, Maryland, the son of Commodore Daniel Conner, U.S.N., and of Susan Dillwyn Physick. Her mother, Elizabeth Emlen, the wife of Dr. Philip Syng Physick, was the daughter of our Samuel Emlen, Junr, and his wife Sarah *née* Mott (the latter also sometimes called Junr). The scrap book contains an unusual portrait of Samuel, a picture of his house on the south side of Arch (Mulberry) Street, Philadelphia, which was being built for him during his absence in 1772, and two brief biographical notices of him. But, most important, it has numerous letters, mostly from him to his wife in 1772, but some later and some to or from other correspondents. The former series begins

<sup>1</sup> MS. Memoranda of Jane (Bonsall) Clark of Philadelphia, at 302 Arch St. Cf Letter of John Pemberton to Joseph Row, 10 mo. 28, 1773 (in collection mentioned below, p. 51, note 2), "Samuel Emlen's wife was delivered of a fine daughter last First day".

<sup>2</sup> See Comly *Misc.*, vol. 12, pp. 162-194. He had been in England also in 1756-1758 and in 1764. Hence his visit in 1772 was not the first of seven as in *Biographical Catalogue of London Friends Institute* cited in *JFHS* vol. 15 (1918), p. 11 but the third of perhaps six. Cf *JFHS*, vol. 20 (1923), p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Friend* (Phila.), vol. 21 (1847-48), pp. 93, 103f, 109f, 118, reprinted with omissions and additions in *Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes*, Philadelphia (1871), pp. 46-66.

<sup>4</sup> Shelf number Am 0623, the "gift of Mrs W. H. Noble, Jr. June 1, 1950". The donor is a further descendant of the line mentioned in the text.

the day before he left the Delaware off Newcastle and continues until the day he left London on his return. There are twenty-one in all (pp. 19-57).

Evidently other letters were written which are not preserved. They did not constitute a day by day report. They were written when prompt conveyance to America seemed probable. There are both repetitions and omissions. For example they do not refer at all fully to London Yearly Meeting or to the experience of Samuel Emlen and his companions in Holland, though again one is dated on the eve of his leaving England and one just at his return. He mentions the illness and death of William Hunt, but only the illness of John Woolman. According to a letter of Sarah Emlen (Philadelphia, 11 mo 4) Margaret Haines had given her to read that morning "a letter from T. Thornberry [*sic*] which gave an account of the death of our two valuable countrymen". Fully half of them make reference to Woolman, either with direct or indirect information and they refer frequently to others of their fellow passengers to England and to the other American public Friends in England. The quotations reveal Emlen's sensitivity to the welfare of the persons mentioned, and are a most welcome addition to the information assembled from other sources. Though he was ten years younger than Woolman he had had earlier experience of travel to and in England. All of this dovetails into the information collected below. Instead of distributing these references by Samuel Emlen in the chronological narrative, it seems best to present them here in a successive block with the minimum of context.<sup>1</sup>

1. Seventh day Morning 5 mo. 2. On board the  
Mary and Elizabeth off Newcastle.

... We are in much harmony among ourselves, mutual kindness prevails and I am hopeful that we in the cabin especially shall continue in those dispositions during our confinement together. John Woolman is as free and open as I at any time remember him. He has been several times in my stateroom and inclines to make it a receptacle for some of his matters which are not proper to be in the steerage loose.

Margaret Haines I suppose was kindly careful for him and he is much better provided with necessaries than thou may perhaps expect . . .

<sup>1</sup> For other extracts from this correspondence see my article, "Sailing to England with John Woolman" in *QH* vol. 55 (1966) pp. 88-103.

2. Ship Mary and Elizabeth, First day morning  
5 mo. 3. 1772.

... John Woolman just now tells me that he is pretty well, his mind feels easy, and that he is quite contented with his lodging. He was just now in my stateroom in which most of his clothes and sea store are. It is a receptacle for them, and I think far more proper than the steerage, he having access thither frequent, or when he inclines. He is much more free and conversable than some expected and expressed himself glad in having me so near him.

3. London, Seventh day 6th of 6 month 1772.

... My arriving here last evening . . . my safety hither after near five weeks abode in the ship, with a civil captain. . . .

Our Friend Woolman came frequently into the cabin and gangway at bottom of cabin stairs, where was a box or case on which he used to sit and spend much time either reading or sowing (?). He kept I think much within his usual restrictions on board, though not so confined as to be unwilling to partake of some parts of our stores. We had meetings publicly every first day except that on 3rd of last month, the day of our leaving the land or Capes, in which I trust the testimony of Truth was at least preserved from suffering.

My kind love to our Cousin Elizabeth Hatkinson. Her son John [Bispham] I think is fatter than when he embarked. My acquaintance with him increased my esteem for him. I invited him to be with me at J. Eliot's but he is not come to town, not inclining to leave J. Woolman and J. Tilladams in the ship when cousin [Sarah] Logan and I did . . . James Reynolds, Sally [Logan], and I came ashore in a boat at Dover . . .

4. Warwick, Great Britain, 30th of 6th month  
1772.

I saw a Friend just now who was yesterday at meeting with John Woolman at Banbury in Oxfordshire. [I] believe he is pretty well, though not strong in bodily might. He is apprehensive of taking the small pox and lives abstemiously to a great degree, I fear to the hurt or weakening of his health at times unnecessarily . . . P.S. 7 mo 2nd. I came with W[illiam] P[hillips] and his beloved C[atherine Payton] to Shipston; met with our valuable Friend and countryman John Woolman there. We attended Worcester-shire Quarterly Meeting in that town, and leaving yester evening.

London, 2d of 7th month, 1772.

5. . . . I parted yesterday with John Woolman and C. Payton at Shipston about 84 miles hence after close of Worcestershire Quarterly Meeting. J.W. has been poorly with a very troublesome cough; thinks himself now somewhat better. His conduct generally in meekness, simplicity and acceptance among Friends, though I believe his singularity in white garb gets sometimes into

his way with those who do not know him worthy. We both were glad in meeting each other two days ago at Shipston.

P.S. 7th of 7 mo. 1772.

John Woolman seemed pretty well, except a cough which was mending, at Worcestershire Quarterly Meeting at Shipston on 1st and 2 instant. His Gospel labor carries an evidence of its valuable original. He is acceptable to the judicious and I hope will be useful. Our union with each other is much strengthened with increasing acquaintance.

6. London 17 7 mo. 1772 sixth day.

S. and D. Morris I suppose are well as usual in Norfolk. J. Bispham in Lancashire hopefully well. J. Woolman in the North.

7. London 18 7 mo 1772

. . . Am uncertain where John Woolman now is, but probably in Cheshire or Lancashire.

8. In the Packet off Harwich, Second day eve  
10th of 8 mo.

P.S. 11th of 8 mo. [Ipswich] . . . I learn since coming here that John Woolman with Sarah and D. Morris were at Sheffield in Yorkshire on first day the 2nd instant.

9. Norwich, 14 of 8 mo. 1772

. . . Writing is a difficulty to me so that I have not wrote to anybody in Pennsylvania since I saw it, except to thine own dear self, a few times to thine honoured father, and once a few lines to R. Haines and wife in which I covered a little letter John Woolman gave me in Worcestershire for conveyance to his son in law at Mount Holly . . .

10. London 5 of 9 mo 1772 7th day

. . . John Eliot had yesterday a letter informing of William Hunt ill with the small pox at Newcastle. It is thought he is likely to have a considerable load, but not that I hear concluded dangerous. . . .

As I enclose thee a letter I received today from William Dilworth [of Lancaster] thou wilt esteem it prudent to be wholly silent about unacceptance of worthy John Woolman's white dress. To some it is unpleasing, but wisdom and authority are with him in his Gospel labors, and that strongly obviates with me the difficulty of singularity in superficial appearance.

11. London, 15 of 9 mo. 1772

. . . Worthy John Woolman is also helped, and though some object to the singularity of his dress, yet the wisdom and authority that accompany his ministry convince of the excellence of the original, and make much way to the minds of many. I think he lives much in the spirit of meekness and Gospel simplicity, and at some places there has been much flocking to meetings with him. He will probably be at Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting.

12. Bartholomew Clo[se, London]<sup>1</sup>

I have not heard since last writing thee how my valued fellow servant John Woolman is in the small pox at York, but as the prospect of his recovery was hopeful 28th of last month when Thos. Thornburg wrote John Eliot the account and we have since no further intelligence of him, I am willing to believe that appearances continue favorable. I wrote to York last night to make enquiry in the matter.

13. London 4th of 11th month 1772 Fourth day

I expect to embark ere this month expires in the ship Sampson, Capt. Henry Cooper bound to New York. T. Thornburg comes with me . . . The Sampson is almost a new ship, having made only three passages . . . But as worthy John Woolman said in our violent passage from America he had been contemplating that which is more worthy to be depended on than the skill of the mariners or the firmness of the ship: on that is my reverent Trust . . .

Worthy John Woolman has left a little Journ[al] and two or three little pieces on different subjects wrote since he came from [Jer]sey. He recommended them by a few lines he had wrote for him and signed—perhaps the last time he signed his own name—to the care of John Eliot for transcribing and to be, I apprehend, then sent to Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia.

Robert Willis (1713–1791) was a minister of Rahway, New Jersey. He arrived in England near the end of 1770 and begins his diary: “Having bought an agreeable horse I set out from London 22nd of 12th month 1770.” He records the date, the place, the meeting attended and his hosts for nearly every day while in England, Scotland and Ireland. He returned to America in 9th month 1774 but his diary continues until 1789. The original MS in a large quarto volume was purchased by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1934. In 1837 a condensation into a single 48 page issue of Comly, *Misc.*, vol. 9, No. 7, 1837 was printed. This is used by Gummere, p. 572 (who wrongly says he went to England in the summer of 1771) but the original does not seem to have been consulted since Comly. There is no mention of him in some of the contemporary references to American Friends at London Yearly Meeting in 1772, though he was present then as well as in 1771 and 1774. The London Yearly Meeting of 1773 occurred

<sup>1</sup> Date torn off, but by reference to Lancaster Quarterly Meeting (“S. and D. Morris I expect are this day at Lancaster Quarterly Meeting. They travel with their own post chaise of horses having a driver whom they hire”) to be dated the day Woolman died, 10 mo. 7.

during his fifteen months in Ireland. His name is omitted also by Janet Whitney.

Quite a different American Quaker visitor in England while Woolman was there was Thomas Parke, M.B. (1749-1835). His surviving diaries<sup>1</sup> covering most of his stay in Great Britain, including especially his attendance in London at the time of Yearly Meeting 1772, give a much more vivid and varied account than the sources already mentioned. He was a medical student, already in 1770 graduated from the Medical School of Philadelphia, and in May, 1771 went abroad for further study, partly in Edinburgh during the winter of 1771-2 and partly in London at St Thomas's Hospital. He had his membership transferred from Bradford Monthly Meeting in Chester County in 1766 to Philadelphia with subsequent transfers thence to Gracechurch Street Meeting in London and to Edinburgh. He was in close touch at London and Edinburgh with Friends, and when he was coming back to London in early June he met a group of country Friends at Dunstable on their way to Yearly Meeting. He stayed at the home of James Freeman at No. 39 Gracechurch Street, where he had lived ten weeks the preceding summer. Freeman's wife was niece of Dr John Fothergill. Next day after the local week day meeting swollen by many visitors, he met at dinner at his lodging Sally and Debby Morris, William Hunt and Thomas Thornburgh. Samuel Emlen came in later with Dr Logan's widow. "He informed me John Woolman, another Public Friend came with him. They all together make a greater number of American Public Friends in London than has been known at once."

In spite of attending meetings and much sociability at Friends' homes young Parke had time for other interests, even during the week of Yearly Meeting. There were several doctors of his acquaintance in town and young Americans and others to meet at the Coffee House. With parties of fellow Quakers he went on both Friday (after meeting for worship at the Savoy) and on Saturday (before the last business meet-

<sup>1</sup> Three notebooks covering the period from May 25, 1771 to Nov. 26, 1772 are preserved in Pemberton Papers, vol. 57, pp. 93, 98. See the full articles by Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "Thomas Parke, M.B., Physician and Friend", *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, vol. 6 (1949), pp. 569-595 and "Thomas Parke's Student Life in England and Scotland, 1771-1773". *PMHB*, vol. 75 (1951), pp. 237-259.

ing) "to B[enjamin] West's to see a painting of William Penn as treating with the Indians in America, a most noble piece". West had just completed his now famous picture and was on hand to explain it to his fellow Quaker visitors.<sup>1</sup> Parke notes how hot it was in London that week.

Parke's few later references to Woolman will be noted in due place. He does not seem to record in his diary receiving news of Woolman's death. Samuel Emlen, who except for a trip to Holland did not go so far, or so long from London, is often mentioned by him. He was a most welcome adviser to young Parke. When he decided for reasons of health to go back to America, Parke accompanied him to Gravesend and with a score of other Friends said goodbye to him there and to Thomas Thornburgh who went with him to New York. Parke himself, with his friend Robert Barclay, sailed for Philadelphia three months later in the *Pennsylvania Packet* arriving in early May.<sup>2</sup> This was the beginning of a long and useful career of private medical practice and public service in the city.

Aside from these American associates of Woolman in England I have used other sources, mostly the older printed and presumably edited materials as follows: "Joshua Evans' Journal" from a transcribed and abridged MS made in 1804 by George Churchman, in *Friends' Miscellany*, x (1837), pp. 1-212<sup>3</sup>; *A Journal of the Life, Travels and Labours in the Work of the Ministry of John Griffith*, London, 1779 (Phila. 1780; York, 1830); *Memorials of Rebecca Jones*, compiled by William J. Allinson, Phila., n.d. (2nd edit. Phila., 1849; London, n.d.). With more confidence in the accuracy of quotation I have used such modern books as Eliot Howard, *The Eliot Papers*, 2 vols., 1893, 1894, and John Somervell, *Isaac and Rachel Wilson, Quakers of Kendal, 1714-1785*,

<sup>1</sup> For an extended study of this painting and its later history and influence see Ellen S. Brinton in *BFHA*, vol. 30 (1941), pp. 99-189. It was dated 1771, and was finished in three weeks time according to Horace Walpole. It was on exhibition at the Royal Academy at some time in 1772 (*ibid.* p. 101). In a list of West's paintings for each year given in the *European Magazine and London Review* for Sept. 1794, pp. 163f, William Penn's Treaty with the Americans is the first of five pieces named for 1772, but this need not mean the first painted.

<sup>2</sup> Or on 30 April 1773, according to a memorandum of an agreement between Peter Osborne and a group of German immigrants on board, printed in *PMHB*, vol. 13 (1893), pp. 485f.

<sup>3</sup> For lately discovered original MS see *BFHA*, vol. 28 (1939) pp. 30-36.

London, 1924. But I have also had recourse to MSS in other cases, as for John Hunt of Moorestown I have data from the original journal owned by T. Matlack Stackhouse of Moorestown rather than rely on the selection in *Friends Miscellany*. For Joseph Oxley whose autobiography and letters were published by John Barclay, Select Series, vol. 5 (1837), pp. 197-392, and later elsewhere under the title *Joseph's Offering to his Children*, the original (?) in MS has also been accessible to me in a large calf bound folio volume at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

7. Letters written by Friends with whom Woolman had come in contact or who had report of his movements are another source of information. Their existence or whereabouts cannot be predicted. But when discovered they often include beside dates and places for his itinerary especially welcome impressions that he made upon the writer. These with the supplementary information from other sources will be included at length below.

\*       \*       \*       \*

It would of course be possible to fill in from still other sources the limited data. Other Quaker Journalists often gave more information of their travels, including regularly distances between points, the names of hosts, and often brief description of towns, estates or notable scenery, or even associations with early Quakerism. John Woolman gives no distances and mentions by name no English Friends except those who had travelled in America and would be known to his correspondents or American readers. Less than the most sober of his fellow Americans does he refer to scenery or objects of interest. Even the scenes that were connected with Fox or Penn or early Friends which could have been noted, as known to him from his readings of Sewel's *History* (which he knew and owned) or as called to his attention by local Friends, are passed over.

For us today there is considerable printed material of almost the same date, but I resist any temptation to supply the local color which the Journal lacks. I may mention, to show the contrast, three such contemporary printed items.

a. Perhaps the most instructive is James Backhouse's



map of the Northern Counties (1773) made especially for his fellow Quakers. It marks the Friends meetings, gives the roads and the mileage between them and indicates the boundaries of the monthly and quarterly meetings and the times at which they were held and even the week day of the mid-week meeting. A section of this map forms the frontispiece.

b. *The Complete English Traveller*, by Nathaniel Spencer, Esq. (a pseudonym for Robert Sanders), London, 1773. This huge tome of about 700 pages, two columns and small print, covers every county and most towns from Land's End to the Shetland Islands. For each place it includes a description, historical events and important persons of the past and usually ends by indicating the weekly market day (like Backhouse), the dates of the yearly fairs, and the number of miles from London. The last feature is found on the later Quaker map by Joseph Pease, Jr (1825). We may compare a single such instance in one of Woolman's letters where he tells his wife he is writing "about 160 miles northward from London". We know from other letters of the same date that he was "at John Haslam's on the edge of Yorkshire", who lived at Handsworth Woodhouse. Woolman's distance fits in with those given by Spencer or Pease.

c. Arthur Young, *A Six Month's Tour Through the North of England*, 4 vols., London 1770. Like companion works by the same author for other parts of England, this includes accounts of notable residences, of museums and art galleries, or ingenious machinery, but particularly local information about the costs of land, of farming supplies, of food, and of wages of laborers. At first sight this resembles the rare section of statistical data given in Woolman's *English Journal* but the difference is characteristic. Young writes from the viewpoint of the owner and producer and employer, Woolman from that of the wage earner and consumer and employee. See his two paragraphs on costs with the marginal comment: "Oh, may the wealthy consider the poor", and on prices, ending: "May those who have plenty lay these things to heart."<sup>1</sup>

It is not my intention to comment in detail on this and other passages in Woolman's *English Journal* which deal with his numerous concerns. Like the essays written at Sea and in England they show the centers of his thought. They

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, p. 305f.

do not contribute to a knowledge of his itinerary and actions. I doubt whether they belong particularly where they are found in the narrative.

They include his remarks on stage coaches and those on the involvement of English Friends in the slave trade<sup>1</sup> which follow the paragraphs on prices and wages. The latter subject is continued after his entry at Preston Patrick,<sup>2</sup> and after another entry at George Crosfield's (near Preston Patrick) he rehearses a dream in which oppression of miners and their blasphemy is connected with his scruple about using silver table utensils. The next insertion is a letter to Rachel Wilson, in which the free Gospel Ministry is contrasted with the oppression the poor suffer by having to support the clergy. After the final dated entry when he hears of Hunt's death follows his brief testimony to Hunt and a passage on his aesthetic and moral objection to the use of dyes. The editors not only supplied the end of the former, but omitted the ending of the latter. The compositor of the Cruikshank edition shows by the catchword "Near" at the end of signature Q that he had this sequel, but he makes a new beginning with signature R by printing a really separate piece on Woolman's experience in England with his own ministry. The Last Essays written at sea and in England are really no more independent, though longer than are the paragraphs above mentioned included within his narrative of his English journey. They have indeed much in common. Both sets reflect the same concerns, nearly all ultimately associated with human covetousness and the consequent injury to others. But the last essays were printed in England under the title *Remarks on Sundry Subjects* by Mary Hinde in 1773 before the Journal was printed in America.

While he was in England, as in America, Woolman was sensitive to the welfare of the oppressed and spoke about it, but the pattern of his religious journey was the typical pattern of a "public Friend." Its focus was upon the members of the Society of Friends, their homes, and especially upon their meetings. Of course, he communicated to them his own

<sup>1</sup> This section was most of it omitted in the early Dublin editions. The "factories" in which Friends were employed in loading slave ships were not factories in the modern sense but trading ports.

<sup>2</sup> This was largely omitted in the American, English and Dublin editions prior to Comly's edition of 1837.

social concern, but he made little contact with non-Friends, or with the underprivileged who were the ultimate object of his social conscience. They are not likely to have attended the Friends meetings which he did, though those for worship were open to the public. One can hardly endorse the statement of the modern writer.<sup>1</sup> "Woolman died of the small pox at York, England, while laboring among the poor."

For Woolman's English experience we have his own Journal. There is only one copy of it in his own hand, MS S.<sup>2</sup> That is now to be found in some twenty-two pages stitched to the account of his voyage (at Swarthmore College). In his letter to John Eliot written from York, 27th 9 mo. 1772<sup>3</sup> he suggested that Eliot copy this piece over and send either the original or the copy to John Pemberton in Philadelphia. No copy in Eliot's hand is known.<sup>4</sup> The copy made at the end of the folio MS of Woolman's Journal at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was made, I believe, from this single manuscript by Samuel Comfort in 3rd month 1839. It is in any case in Comfort's hand and signed and dated as above in the colophon.

This solitary autograph account of his time in England is described with great care by Amelia Gummere, and illustrated by photographs of four of its pages.<sup>5</sup> Yet one who has not seen and handled the little collection of leaves can have no idea of how unsatisfactory it is as a basis for this important section of Woolman's career. Beside many larger additions in different hands there are both small cancellations and additions made by other hands than his, and sundry marginal and other irrelevant notes in Woolman's hand. Several but not all of the

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Pomfret, *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 20 (1936), p. 517. The same article emphasizes the relatively privileged situation of Woolman himself, economically and socially.

<sup>2</sup> This is in contrast to the earlier piece telling of the voyage, for which we have two holographic versions, one at Swarthmore College (MS S) and another and earlier one with substantial variants (MS T) which apparently was brought from America by Thomas Shillitoe in 1829 and presented to Thomas Thompson, from whom the first part came to Elisabeth Brockbank and is now at the Mount School, York, the last part came to Violet Holdsworth through her great grandfather Luke Howard and is now at Friends Library, London. See *JFHS*, vol. 38 (1946), pp. 32, 43f.

<sup>3</sup> London Meeting for Sufferings, MS. Minutes for 13, i. 1775, pp. 138f printed in the *Friend* (Lond.), vol. 122 (1964), p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> The letter of John Eliot to John Pemberton transmitting either the copy or the original is extant, Pemberton Papers, vol. 24, p. 98, dated London 21. i. 1773 and printed in the *Friend* (Lond.), vol. 122 (1964), p. 531.

<sup>5</sup> p. 287f, the plates between pp. 288 and 289.

problems caused by this situation are mentioned in the following pages.<sup>1</sup> Yet it has been from this source that the printed accounts since 1774 have been directly or indirectly derived. Their smoothness conceals from the unsuspecting reader the uncertainties of the original. Sundry corrections derived from it were made by John Comly in his edition of 1837 and by Amelia Gummere in her text and notes in 1922. It is not exactly reproduced either by her or by Janet Whitney.

Closer to it than any printed edition, early or modern, is the text of the York MS (MS Y), pp. 53-73. That sometimes agrees with corrections made in the holograph parts of MS S. For example, it omits "here I dreamed of mother" at Preston Patrick and soon after it omits two paragraphs that had all been crossed through, as do all the earliest printed editions. But MS Y often gives the first writing when either Woolman or some one else had changed or omitted it. Thus in the last phrase under 17 of 7 mo. it follows the original writing "in the labour I have went through" instead of the alternative "gone through" of the correctors and printed editions. It retains and writes correctly a whole sentence about the stage coaches: "These coaches running chief part of the night do often run over foot people in the dark", and shortly before that it follows the MS S before it was corrected "and many poor children learn not to read". These phenomena confirm the inference that MS Y represents the oldest extant effort to use MS S.

It may well have been taken from the holograph of John Woolman by William Tuke or Thomas Priestman before that was sent to London. It is in a clear hand and contains a minimum of variations from the original. It includes, like that, the report of his own earlier dream, the letter to John Wilson, and the memorandum of the dream of another American Friend, the last two in that order. Its chief omission is the two first paragraphs given in Gummere, p. 308, which were omitted in all printed editions before that of Comly and were crossed through in MS S.

The American first edition 1774 is nearer to these MSS than are most others. Its omissions are marked in square brackets in Gummere, p. 309, 312-13. In particular the first

<sup>1</sup> See for example pages 87, 105.

English edition in using the American edition made substantial omissions of Woolman's observations on English life—viz. of costs of living for the poor, on the stage coaches and post boys, and on the filth and smells in towns and villages. It also omits John's account of his dream in America.<sup>1</sup>

Woolman also left an account of his plans for the Journey and for the actual voyage which between Chester, Pennsylvania May 1 and London June 8 lasted 39 days. But long before he left America he had no entry in the Journals that have come down to us. There are references to his plan for going to the West Indies and to his ultimate abandonment of that plan, though he had obtained certificates from the monthly, quarterly and general spring meetings. This had occurred late in 1769 or early 1770.

Even this chapter was omitted in some editions of Woolman's Journal, e.g. *Everyman's*. But there were two years more, entirely unrecorded before he left for England. I can add here some previously unrecorded data. Not from Woolman himself but from the minutes of Burlington Monthly Meeting we can learn something of his concerns during this period. One was a plan to travel as far southwest as Carolina. This was proposed by him at the same monthly meeting at which he reported his abandonment of the earlier plan:

Our Friend John Woolman now informed the meeting that after making some preparation to proceed on this visit [to the West Indies] lately proposed by him to this meeting he found his mind most easy to defer it for the present and of late had found a concern on his mind to travel on a religious visit as far southwest as Carolina.<sup>2</sup>

The meeting agreed to this and appointed two Friends to prepare an essay of a certificate. They were continued for two months and at the third:

Our Friend John Woolman now informed the Meeting that he felt his mind resigned in relation to the visit southwestward and knew not whether anything further would be required, and believed he might have peace in staying at home.<sup>3</sup>

As far as travels under concern in the ministry are concerned this expectation was fulfilled until he went to England, with only one small exception in the year 1771. For the same

<sup>1</sup> For the drastic editing of this edition see *Friend* (Lond.), vol. 122 (1964), pp. 269–271.

<sup>2</sup> MS Minutes Burlington Monthly Meeting, 1757–1770, p. 336, 2 mo. 4 1770.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 mo. 2 1770, p. 341.

monthly meeting indicates a journey to some Monthly Meetings in Eastern Pennsylvania lasting less than two months. At sessions held at Burlington on May 6 and July 1 respectively the following minutes are entered:

Our Friend John Woolman acquainted this meeting that he found drawings on his mind to visit some Monthly Meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania not far distant hence, which this meeting concurs with and the clerk is directed to make out a copy of this minute on the occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Our Friend John Woolman returned the minute of the meeting held in Fifth Month last.<sup>2</sup>

### PREPARATIONS FOR JOURNEY

Of the course of events leading to Woolman's plans to travel from the Delaware River region to Great Britain I have little to add to the extant biographies. The English minutes mention "a certificate issued to him by the Monthly Meeting of Burlington in New Jersey, endorsed by the Quarterly Meeting of the same province [*sic*] and likewise another from the General spring meeting of Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia dated the 21st of 3rd Month 1772."<sup>3</sup>

I have checked the official minutes of these three meetings, and since they repeat without substantial difference what is given elsewhere I have not copied them out here in full.

A circumstance connected with Woolman's certificate for travel in England is first reported second-hand many years later,<sup>4</sup> but is very much in character.

His conscientious feelings were so strong that when he was about to receive a certificate of unity with his visit to England, he felt that he could not have the signatures upon it of any who held slaves, it being then the practice to have many signers. And without giving offence, the matter was arranged to his satisfaction. This the writer heard many years ago from an aged Friend, who knew him well personally.

It may be recalled that when Woolman was the signer, not the recipient, of such a certificate for Sarah Morris's prospective travelling companion, Elizabeth Smith, he felt

<sup>1</sup> MS. Minutes Burlington Monthly Meeting, 1770-1781, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Gummere, p. 132, *cf.* 127.

<sup>4</sup> "W" in *Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 22 (1865), p. 84.

some scruples about doing so because of the lack of simplicity of some of the furniture in her house, as he did not hesitate to tell her, in writing to her afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

An unofficial reference to the prospective visit of American Friends to England occurs in a letter dated Philadelphia 1st mo. 1, 1772 written to his wife by Joseph Oxley of Norwich who was himself concluding a long period of travel (a year and nine months) in the ministry in America. He wrote:

Samuel Emlen, at our last monthly meeting at Philadelphia, laid before the meeting a concern he had on his mind to pay a religious visit to Friends in some parts of Great Britain; also another Friend, John Woolman, a wise sensible man having a good gift in the ministry and well approved of, has a concern of the like kind more particularly to Yorkshire. I suppose the latter will hardly leave the continent till the summer.<sup>2</sup>

It will be recalled that when Woolman left home his family consisted of his wife, Sarah, his daughter Mary and her husband John Comfort.<sup>3</sup> For these he made provision in his will, or rather what we should call a deed of trust, leaving his property in the hands of John Comfort's father.<sup>4</sup> It will be remembered that a grandchild was expected and was born on June 20. This gives especial interest to the letter he wrote the expectant parents on April 28<sup>5</sup> and another letter of

<sup>1</sup> See Gummere, p. 121, and in full in Allinson, *Memorials of Rebecca Jones*, p. 30f and above, p. 11 n3. The actual certificate of Burlington Monthly Meeting for Elizabeth Smith is extant at HSP, the gift in 1930 of Amelia Gummere. There are ninety-four autograph signatures, including, beside John Woolman, nearly all the local Friends mentioned in this essay and William Hunt and Thomas Thornburgh of North Carolina.

<sup>2</sup> *Joseph's Offering to his Children, being Joseph Oxley's Journal*, John Barclay, A Select Series, vol. 5, 1837, p. 384; *Friends Library*, Philadelphia, 1837, ii. 473f. Oxley himself sailed home in March on the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Peter Osborne, commander together with the two Philadelphians, Sarah and Deborah Morris, who were beginning a similar visit in England.

<sup>3</sup> Writing from London after the close of Yearly Meeting there he mentions the tender concern he had often felt for these three, "and even for Betsy." Who is this Betsy? See letter in Gummere, p. 130. A son, named William, born to John and Sarah Woolman in 1734, lived only a few weeks. Charlotte Fell Smith in *D.N.B.*, s.v. John Woolman, in 1900, wrote erroneously that he left a son John and other children. His son-in-law was a John, John Comfort.

<sup>4</sup> Gummere, pp. 120, 604. See also the memorandum authorizing his son-in-law to collect money due him "in a neighborly way and apply it to the use of my wife and his wife and the rest of our family." *Ibid.*, p. 119. The date, 4 mo. 1772, may be noted. But who are the rest of our family?

<sup>5</sup> Gummere, p. 122, prints the letter but gives the interval as six weeks, not as it was, nearly eight.

the same date, not heretofore published, to his neighbor Caleb Carr. The latter is as follows:

Beloved friend—My wife and I have sometimes been talking about a small cart with springs—I now desire that thou may take an opportunity to confer with John Comfort about it, and also with my wife, and then when the form and manner thereof is agreed on I desire that thou may employ thy son Job to make it, and tell my brother Asher to credit thee for it, on thy bill which I put in his hand—thy loving friend John Woolman<sup>1</sup>

da mo

28:4:1772

At one point in Woolman's last days in America we have a slightly variant account. It is of interest as indicating a sensitiveness and uncertainty about his travel plans, comparable to an occasion two and a half years earlier. In December 1769 he stayed two days in town, went over amongst Friends on the Jersey shore until the sailing of the ship for Barbados settled the matter. "So I went home and felt like a sojourner with my family." In April 1772 he agreed for a passage in the ship, stayed over night with Josiah White, and next day went home "where I tarried two nights and then early in the morning, I parted with my family [MS T, took leave of my family] under a sense of the humbling hand of God upon me, and going to Philad<sup>a</sup>, etc."<sup>11</sup>

The alternate account is among some anecdotes of John Cox (1754?-1847), born at Moorestown, but schooled at Mt Holly and later resident near Burlington. He wrote this about 1845-1846.

John Woolman's widow used to come and spend several days at a time with us, and delighted to talk of Johnny as she frequently called him. When he was about to embark for Europe he went to Philadelphia to look at the ship to see whether he would feel easy to embark in her. He finally felt satisfied to engage his passage in the stearage *conditionally*—and if he felt easy after reaching home would come again to the City in time for the sailing of the vessel. He went to bed as usual in Mount Holly—and in the morning when his wife awaked she missed him, and supposing he was making ready to depart went downstairs, but finding him gone she went into the road in

<sup>1</sup> From a photostat at the John Woolman Memorial, Mt Holly, N. J. Original in possession of Herman Y. Carr, Somerville, New Jersey.



search of him, and ascertained from one of the neighbours that he had seen him about daylight with a bundle under his arm going on foot towards Philadelphia. His wife never saw him afterwards, for he embarked on shipboard and ended his valuable life while on religious service in England.

These anecdotes were published from the MS a hundred years later,<sup>1</sup> but they were plainly used without identification of their source much earlier in a series of articles in *Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 26 (1869-1870) entitled "Sketches of Friends" etc. The series had been published in a weekly newspaper with limited circulation and were reprinted from the author's revised copy.<sup>2</sup>

The account was criticized when thus published, ostensibly because it was felt to conflict with that in the Journal, but actually I think because it seemed "an unceremonious departure" for John Woolman. The editor assures us that the author informed him that it is "on the authority of a well-known and prominent Friend [John Cox] now deceased to whom John Woolman's wife related it", and he adds "we may accept his wife's version of it on the authority given because we can readily imagine a painfully sensitive man such as John Woolman is represented to have been, *might* so act under such trying circumstances".<sup>3</sup>

Another matter that occupied John Woolman's attention while still uncertain about his sailing plans was an Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends. Dated Mount Holly, New Jersey, 4th month 1772, its submission to the committee of Friends in Philadelphia for revision and approval for publication was on his mind to his last day in America. This can be shown by comparing his own account of getting off and some letters addressed to Israel Pemberton. One is

<sup>1</sup> *JFHS*, vol. 38 (1946), pp. 49f. The MS is in the Dillwyn Parrish Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> p. 664. The author was Samuel Parrish, who signs his name in MS at the end of the series as included in his Scrapbooks, vol. II at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Cf. J. Smith *Catalogue, Supplement*, 1893, p. 262. Parrish also identified in MS the earlier printing as in the *New Jersey Enterprize* published at Burlington. The account of Woolman is on pp. 737-742.

<sup>3</sup> p. 792. Janet Whitney apparently knew the story somehow (cf. 1942, p. 418n, 439; 1943, p. 393n, 424) and explains similarly that he would not wake his wife "even with a kiss to the mutual anguish of another parting". (1942, pp. 379f; 1943, pp. 357f.)

dated 15 of 4 mo. 1772 probably at Mt Holly. He has not committed himself to sail for London, as his mind has "been more particularly drawn towards the Northern parts of England."<sup>1</sup> Another is undated (except for Seventh Day morning) but it mentions his intention of seeing Joseph White soon. This he did five or six days before he actually sailed on May 1.<sup>2</sup> But he asks those in Philadelphia "who are careful to look over writings proposed to be printed to amend what may be imperfect . . . and afterward let me see the proposed alterations." "Though I know not how it may be as to sailing in this vessel I am in care to endeavour to be in readiness soon."<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps it was the corrected text approved by him which is referred to in a third letter to Israel Pemberton sent more than a fortnight after John Woolman had sailed, written by William Horne, his last host in America, dated "Darby the 16th of 5th mo. '72".<sup>4</sup> It begins:

Esteemed Friend, Israel Pemberton. The enclosed was given me by J. Woolman with a desire I should give it to thee by my own hand, which I intended and came to town the next Fourth day, but found it out of my power to comply with his request by thy being at Germantown. I then thought I might have another opportunity soon after but have had none since, etc.

As their Minutes show, the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia proceeded without delay to read (May 21), re-read, and transcribe the piece and arranged to have two thousand copies printed. In August "the clerk informed the meeting that the Epistle wrote by our Friend John Woolman is printed and part of them distributed."<sup>5</sup> It is unlikely that any of the printed copies of this epistle sent to London reached England before John Woolman's death. John Pemberton, writing October 16 to Joseph Row, says that copies had been sent to D. Mildred in London.

The preceding months also had engaged Woolman in writing. Only a month before the date of the Epistle he

<sup>1</sup> Pemberton Papers, vol. 23, p. 114. Cf. Gummere, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> See his Journal—"next day home, where I tarried two nights . . . two nights in Philadelphia—next day to Darby monthly meeting lodged one night at Darby with William Horne." The MS. minutes of Darby monthly meeting confirm the date 4 mo. 30th, 1772 (at Swarthmore College).

<sup>3</sup> Pemberton Papers, vol. 23, p. 117. Cf. Gummere, p. 119f.

<sup>4</sup> Pemberton Papers, vol. 23, p. 138. Gummere, p. 122 n.2, thinks the enclosure was a letter.

<sup>5</sup> MS. Minutes for June, July and August 1772.

inscribes on 3 mo. 1772 the Introduction to what he called "Conversations on the True Harmony of Mankind and how it may be Promoted." This was copied in the back of MS A of the Journal. It was not printed, however, until 1831 by John Comly, in the *Friends Miscellany*, vol. 1, pp. 337ff, and in 1837 in his edition of the Journal.

Prior to this and with confusingly similar title John Woolman wrote *Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind and how it is to be maintained*. This was submitted to the Meeting for Sufferings, and approved, advertised with a notice drafted by Woolman himself, and published in 1770.<sup>1</sup>

Besides arranging for those he left behind when he went to England and for his unpublished writings, John Woolman must have made some arrangements for himself before he sailed. These would include inquiring about a ship, deciding whether or not to take it, and finally arranging for a passage. Most Friends travelling liked to go to the ship in advance, not so much to inspect it, as to feel out with a kind of second sight whether it would be right to go in it. Woolman's Journal of his voyage gives some indication of these hesitations and decisions. In fact, there is a similar example three years earlier when he contemplated going to Barbados, and this also is reported in his Journal. But this earlier though unfulfilled venture is documented by a series of five letters which call attention to other problems. For example, travellers by ship in those days had to bring aboard their own bedding and food. Though written in 1769 and not in 1772 these letters seem worth quoting here, and three in the series seem not to have been printed heretofore. They are addressed to the Philadelphia Quaker brothers—all friends of Woolman—Israel, James and John Pemberton.

1. Beloved Friend:

As I spoke to thee concerning sending intelligence of vessels sailing, I seem free to inform thee that I feel easie at this time without hearing on that subject, and I am desirous to give thee no unnecessary care.

Amidst some difficulties I am comforted in this that I feel love to the Brethren, and amongst others toward thee.

4 da 4 mo 1769

John Woolman<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These three were printed in the reverse (i.e. chronological) order in Gummere, pp. 438-458, 459-473, 473-487.

<sup>2</sup> [Addressed] for Israel Pemberton in Philada. Pemberton Papers, vol. 21, p. 1.

## 2. Belov'd Friend

My exercise in regard to being resign'd to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies continue [*sic*]. I expect this week to get [if all is well] three Barrels of Bread baked in our Town, and have thought of sending it first opportunity to thy care if thou art free to take the trouble of storing it. I thought best to get it done at home, that I may see to the doing it in a way to my mind.

I remain thy loving fr'd  
Mount Holly 16 da: 10 mo: 69                      John Woolman

I know nothing against going out pretty soon, if way open.<sup>1</sup>

## 3. Beloved Friend, I now rec'd thine, and in answer may say if thou knowest of a Vessel any time soon intended for Barbados and from some knowledge of the circumstances may think it likely to be somewhat agreeable for me it would be acceptable to be informed of it.

I remain thy loving fr'd, John Woolman<sup>2</sup>  
22nd 10 mo 69

4. 11 da: 11 mo: 1769  
Belov'd Fr'd,

I received last evening a letter from my brother Uriah wrote at the request of James Pemberton informing me that James hath a vessel in port which he expects may sail for Barbados the latter end of this month or beginning of next.

I know not but that I may look toward this Vessel for a passage but am desirous to inform thee of this my information, as thou expresst a brotherly care for me respecting a passage.

I remain thy Loving frd, John Woolman<sup>3</sup>

## 5. Belov'd Fr'd. I yesterday saw a Mattrass, and have this morning agreed for some coarse wool, and expect to make one at home. I feel gratefulness toward thee for thy kind offer, but believe to make one may be best for me.

17 da: 11 mo: 69 Thy loving fr'd John Woolman<sup>4</sup>

Not all Friends travelling in the ministry would be as sensitive as John Woolman. Though he says in his journal for 1769 merely that he had "provided a sea store and bed and things fitting for a voyage," the letters quoted suggest that

<sup>1</sup> [Addressed] For Israel Pemberton. Society Collection at H.S.P., the gift in 1930 of Amelia M. Gummere.

<sup>2</sup> No address. At Haverford College, the gift in 1948 of Edward Woolman, who received it in 1932 from Helen L. Parrish, who found it in the papers of her aunt Mrs Wharton.

<sup>3</sup> [Addressed] For John Pemberton in Philada. Pemberton Papers, vol. 21, p. 85, printed in Gummere, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> [Addressed] For Israel Pemberton at Philada. Pemberton Papers, vol. 21, p. 87, printed in Gummere, p. 110.

he had scruples about a borrowed mattress and bread baked not under his direction. Was he afraid the mattress might have slave grown cotton, and that other bread might represent the fruits of oppression? We do not know. Perhaps as an ex-tailor he preferred to sew his own mattress, but in spite of Charolotte Fell Smith<sup>1</sup> we do not know that he was a baker, but only that the master, for whom he kept accounts and tended shop in Mount Holly, had been a baker.

Nor do we know the identity of James Pemberton's ship for Barbados. I suspect it was the Brig't *Rachel*, Leeson Simmons, Master, owned by James Pemberton of Philadelphia and Peter Reeve, which by December 7, 1769 had cleared the port of Philadelphia, and having unloaded and reloaded, left Barbados January 18, 1770.<sup>2</sup>

These letters run parallel to the dated entries in Woolman's *Journal* which refer to his inner debate about his duty to pay a visit to the West Indies (Barbados) and the arguments for and against it. The earliest entry is 11 vi. 1769 (later than the first of the five letters), the last a writing of some length dated the 25 xi. (that is later than the fifth letter) which he showed at Philadelphia to one of the owners of a vessel likely to sail from Philadelphia to Barbados whom he had previously spoken to about it in Burlington and also to the other owner. A few days remained before they expected the vessel to sail, and he was still uncertain, remaining two days in Philadelphia and then amongst Friends on the Jersey shore and tarried till the morning on which they had appointed to sail, and then went home. In other words his indecision was finally resolved for him and he did not make the journey. But so obscure is the *Journal* in this chapter that the earliest standard history of American Quakerism could quite misrepresent the facts and state simply that "in 1769 he [John Woolman] went on a gospel mission to the West Indies Islands, and four years later to Friends in England, where he was taken ill and died . . . being then in the fifty third year of his age."<sup>3</sup>

In 1772 all these questions recurred. We know from the

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, above p. 29 note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *PMHB*, vol. 28 (1904), p. 100; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 2137 (Dec. 7, 1769); Pemberton Papers, vol. 21, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America*, Vol. 2, 1854, pp. 392f. The last two numbers are each one year too high as the year was 1772 and his age 51.

Minute Books that he secured the consent of Monthly and Quarterly Meeting and of the Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders and certificates to that effect in advance of both prospective journeys. His Journal names the later ship, the *Mary and Elizabeth*, and its master, James Sparks, and the owner or (in the variant MS) one of the owners, the Quaker John Head of the City of Philadelphia, and in one manuscript it names some of the passengers (not necessarily all) and even the name of one of the five lads in the steerage with him. Two of them had been brought up among Friends and one of them was still a member, apparently a great nephew and namesake of the famous "James Nailor mentioned in Sewel's history" (c 1618-1660). Even without naming them he said "I often felt a tenderness of heart towards these poor lads, and at times look at them as though they were my children according to the flesh." Was John Woolman thinking of his son William who died in infancy in 1754, and who would have been nearly eighteen if he had lived? He mentions the dunghill fowls on the deck, which the passengers had taken along for food, and much later his own bed that was left on board when he reached London. Was he using one made in 1769? and even the bread baked at that time?

Of Woolman's inward preparation for this visit to England some features are documented and others can with all probability be assumed. Any Quaker minister who like Woolman had for years engaged in itinerant preaching on his own side of the Atlantic could not escape wondering whether a call to such labor overseas might not some time come to him. It had come to many Americans so to travel abroad, as it had brought to the American colonies many public Friends from the British Isles. Ever since Woolman himself became a minister at the age of twenty-two<sup>1</sup> most of each of these groups had been personally known to him. The call came to Woolman decisively much later. It matured slowly. He acted upon it only when he could say that he had long contemplated the prospect.

Some indication of how long this anticipation had been in or beneath his consciousness is perhaps given in a dated dream. Though once intended as part of his Journal, the

<sup>1</sup> Not quite the "twenty three" of Gummere, p. 19.

passage does not occur in the manuscripts of the Journal nor in any printed edition until the latest. It was first published in 1941 from a manuscript in Woolman's handwriting in the Rutgers University Library.<sup>1</sup> The content of the dream is of great interest—a visit made to the dictator of a neighboring country when preparations for war were being made. Here, however, I call attention to the date of the dream, and the description of the dreamer's own situation as imagined in the dream. It begins:

26 day, 7 mo. 1764. At night I dreamed I was abroad on a religious visit beyond the sea, and had been out upward of two months, etc.

Woolman had often before 1764 been "abroad" on a religious visit, that is away from home, but not "beyond the sea."

A second dream about service overseas, of less certain date but of more definite destination was reported by Woolman to the watchers at his deathbed at York.<sup>2</sup> He said that

He had long had a view of visiting this nation, and some time before he came had a dream, in which he saw himself in the northern parts of it; and that the spring of the gospel was opened in him, much as in the beginning of Friends such as George Fox and William Dewsbury; and he saw the different states of the people as clear as he had ever seen flowers in a garden; but in his going on, he was suddenly stopt, though he could not see for what end; but looked towards home and thereupon fell into a flood of tears which waked him.

The fulfilment of both parts of this dream is reported in some words he wrote "concerning the ministry" while "on this visit to England."<sup>3</sup>

More remote and unconscious preparation for visiting Friends in England was Woolman's knowledge, probably from his reading, about early Quakerism there. In the dream last mentioned he referred to "the beginning of Friends such as George Fox and William Dewsbury." Two of the books which Woolman owned and lent to others in Mount Holly were the works of Dewsbury and the works of Howgill; another was Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, in which the life

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, vol. 5 (1941), pp. 60f. Cf. Whitney 1942, pp. 324f; 1943, pp. 307f. Also in her text of the *Journal*, 1950, pp. 140f, misdated the 27th 7 mo. in all three cases.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, pp. 321f, corrected by an early MS. copy mentioned below, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Gummere, pp. 313f.

of Fox and the sufferings of early Friends collectively were fully recorded.<sup>1</sup>

Woolman's essays written in England quoted several early Quaker writings, showing that he remembered or had refreshed his memory of passages in George Fox, John Gratton and Gilbert Latey, including an episode in which the last named made a comment to King James II that remained in the King's memory years later.<sup>2</sup>

In his letter to Rachel Wilson written in late August 1772 he recalled the conflicts of the faithful under persecution and the subsequent achievement in England of an opportunity for Friends to enjoy the free and pure gospel ministry uninterrupted by outward laws.<sup>3</sup> And later, when speaking at York Quarterly Meeting, about the need to appeal to authorities on behalf of the slaves, Woolman harked back to the experience of early Friends in appealing for and securing from government some relief for their own sufferings.<sup>4</sup>

Woolman's brief time in England may perhaps be best discussed by dividing it into four main parts, giving in italics his own slender record of each and then quoting such information relevant to it as can be obtained from the supplementary sources. The four parts are:

- I. At London Yearly Meeting, June 8 to 15.
- II. At Quarterly Meetings, June 15 to July 1.
- III. Travels to and in the Northern Counties, July 1 to September 13.
- IV. York: Quarterly Meeting, Illness and Death, September 13 to October 7.

<sup>1</sup> *BFHA*, vol. 31 (1942), pp. 72-81. Dewsbury's *Works* is cited also in his writing of the year 1770 "Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind." See Gummere, p. 455. It was by Sewel's reference to James Nayler that he identified a great nephew (?) of the same name on board the ship *Mary and Elizabeth*.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, pp. 506f. The episode is in the *Life* of Gilbert Latey, 1707, pp. 121-123. In MS. S he had noted all these passages and one from Humphrey Smith in another of these essays (Gummere, p. 497) and I think one or two more not actually used, e.g. Thomas Thompson's *Journal*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Gummere, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> See below pp. 116, 117. For references to early Quaker sufferings in his *American Journal* see Gummere, p. 206 (1757).



## I. AT LONDON YEARLY MEETING

June 8 to 15

The attendance at London Yearly Meeting was a formidable undertaking. For Public Friends, if men, there were not only the seven business sessions but also the four sessions of ministers and elders. The women Friends had only two business sessions. All this was in addition to a week-long series of meetings for worship in several different locations, open to all members and also to visitors.

The agenda for 1772, if there had been one printed,<sup>1</sup> would have run something like this.

### Seventh Day, Sixth Month 6

3 p.m.      Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders  
                  Answers by counties to special queries

### Second Day, Sixth Month 8

9 a.m.      Adjourned Meeting of Ministers and Elders

4 p.m.      First Business Session  
                  Calling of representatives by counties; choice of a clerk. Appointment of Committees on Appeals, on Auditing Accounts, on Revising Minutes. Presentation of incoming epistles; appointment of committees to draft replies.

### Third Day, Sixth Month 9

10 a.m.     Business Session  
                  Report of Auditing Committee. Miscellaneous matters from Meeting for Sufferings. Reports by counties on sufferings, on Public Friends deceased, and on convincements. Answers to the Queries.

4 p.m.      Business Session  
                  Morning business continued.

### Fourth Day, Sixth Month 10

4 p.m.      Business Session  
                  Proposal for better keeping of records. The manner of choosing correspondents. The need for better quarters for the Yearly Meeting.

<sup>1</sup> The printing of a list of meetings to be held in Yearly Meeting week was ordered at a later Yearly Meeting. See MS. Minutes of Morning Meeting, vol. 6, p. 214.

## Fifth Day, Sixth Month 11

9 a.m. Meeting of Ministers and Elders

4 p.m. Business Session

Reading minutes of Meeting for Sufferings.  
Reading minute of Ministers and Elders, which  
is directed to be sent to the several counties  
and places.

## Sixth Day, Sixth Month 12

4 p.m. Business Session

Consideration of an Appeal. Consideration of  
drafts of epistles to be sent. Report of com-  
mittee on improved keeping of records.

## Seventh Day, Sixth Month 13

11 a.m. Business Session

Consideration of General Epistle. Adjourn-  
ment.

## Second Day, Sixth Month 15

9 a.m. Final Session of Meeting of Ministers and Elders

## WOMEN'S YEARLY MEETING (AT DEVONSHIRE HOUSE)

Second Day afternoon, Sixth Month 8

Fifth Day morning, Sixth Month 11

MEETINGS FOR WORSHIP<sup>1</sup>

First Days, Sixth Month 7 and 14

## In London

Devonshire House	AM (JW) and PM (WH, JW, TT, TP)
Gracechurch Street	AM (SM and SE) and PM
Horslydown	AM (RW) and PM
The Park	AM and PM (RW, SM)
The Peel	AM and PM
Ratcliff	(Repairing)
Savoy	PM (SE)
Wapping	AM and PM
Westminster	AM (WH, TT)

## Country Meetings (morning only except as noted)

Croydon

Plaistow

AM and evening at 5

Barking

Tottenham

<sup>1</sup> I have added in brackets initials of American Friends who attended on the 14th. SE—Samuel Emlen, WH—William Hunt, SM—Sarah Morris, TP—Thomas Parke, TT—Thomas Thornburgh, RW—Robert Willis, JW—John Woolman.

Deptford AM and PM  
 Wandsworth  
 Kingston  
 Esher  
 Winchmore Hill  
 Longford  
 Waltham Abbey

## Weekdays

Third day, 6 mo. 9 10 a.m.  
 Devonshire House (SM)

Third day, 6 mo. 9 3 p.m.  
 Horslydown (SM)

Fourth day, 6 mo. 10 10 a.m.  
 Devonshire House  
 Gracechurch Street (SM)  
 Park (WH, TT, RW, TP)

Fourth day, 6 mo 10 Afternoon  
 Wapping (JW)  
 Savoy (SM)

Fifth day, 6 mo. 11 6 p.m.  
 Devonshire House (TP)  
 Park

Sixth Day, 6 mo. 12 Morning  
 Devonshire House (SM)  
 Horslydown  
 Savoy (TP)

Sixth Day, 6 mo. 12 Afternoon 3 p.m.  
 Peel (SM)  
 Wapping

It will be seen that during the week the afternoon meetings for worship and those on third day morning conflicted with the Business Meeting. The Public Friends who volunteered for these were mostly women. How the American visitors distributed themselves among the meetings for worship can be learned from the records of the Second Day Morning's Meeting. I have indicated their initials to the above agenda for the second First day (Sixth Month 14) and for the preceding week. Deborah Morris accompanied her Aunt but was not a public Friend. Her diary confirms the assignments, and the times of the two sessions of Women's Yearly Meeting. It was only later, after repeated nudging by Friends from America, that the Women's Yearly Meeting assumed much importance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *London Yearly Meeting during 250 Years, 1919*, pp. 108-114. Elihu Robinson reports that in 1772 William Hunt urged the establishment of a Women's Yearly Meeting.

The information of the above agenda for the seven sessions of the business meeting attended by men only can be found in over a hundred folio pages in the neatly written minutes.<sup>1</sup>

For the most part the Quarterly Meetings comprised, as a hundred years earlier, each a single county. Cumberland and the Isle of Man were accounted one. Representatives and answers to Queries were expected from all of these and from Scotland and Ireland, making forty geographical units which had appointed 140 representatives whose names were given. But others than representatives attended and were appointed on committees. In fact all the five men from America except John Woolman were named on one or other of the small committees appointed to draft the special replies to the epistles received, and all except Woolman were included among the 39 men appointed to draw up the general epistle, "or any eight of them." I do not know that the omission is significant. In his own Yearly Meeting Woolman had shown proficiency in drafting epistles.

This fact is to be borne in mind in connection with one feature of the general epistle—its paragraph on slavery. This has been called "a minute against holding negroes in bondage," or "the first public utterance of London Yearly Meeting against slavery."<sup>2</sup> It has been assumed that John Woolman was partly responsible for this. This deserves some caution. It was not a "minute" though adopted with no less care as being in the Annual Epistle. That epistle having just referred to the epistles received introduces the subject:

It likewise appears that the practice of holding Negroes in oppressive and unnatural bondage hath been so successfully discouraged by Friends in some of the colonies as to be considerably lessened.

<sup>1</sup> At Friends Library, London, YM MS. Minutes, vol. 14 (1770-1773), pp. 265-386. Microfilm at Haverford College. This reconstructed agenda rests not only on the official minutes but also on the diaries of Elihu Robinson and Thomas Parke, though for the four sessions of Ministers and Elders the latter was not present and the separate minutes of that body are not very full.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere 127. Whitney 1942, p. 398; 1943, p. 374. Cf. B. Canter, editor, *The Quaker Bedside Book*, 1952, p. 200: "In England Friends made their first protest against the [slave] trade in 1772." Whitney repeats the statement, 1942, p. 411; 1943, p. 386: "The first public pronouncement of the Society of Friends in England against slavery was that made by the London Yearly Meeting during his visit and under his influence."

It is possible to read now all the epistles that were received and read at this Yearly Meeting, and, as the word "appears" suggests, the paragraph is based upon them rather than on new oral information or concern at London. Of the seven epistles from the colonies (New York, New England, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina), New York, Virginia and Maryland specifically refer to the meetings' interest in this subject.<sup>1</sup> The separate epistles sent this year to each of these three also mention their reference to the subject.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact this was not the first public utterance against slavery in a London Yearly Meeting Epistle. It occurs also in the Epistles of 1758 and 1763. In 1772 and afterwards it was in almost every Epistle.<sup>3</sup>

The passage on slavery in the London Yearly Meeting Epistle of 1758, if not known to some of Woolman's modern biographers,<sup>4</sup> was almost certainly known to Woolman himself and long before he came to England. When the Epistle was adopted the Yearly Meeting ordered seven thousand copies printed. As usual some were sent to America. The paragraph in it on slavery was included on page 8 in the 1759 and

<sup>1</sup> London Yearly Meeting, MS. Epistles Received, Vol. 4 (1758-1777), pp. 287, 295, 301.

<sup>2</sup> London Yearly Meeting, MS. Epistles Sent Vol. 4 (1756-1772), pp. 401f, 406, 411.

<sup>3</sup> See the convenient index in the Baltimore, 1806 edition of *A Collection of the Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London—from 1675 to 1805*, 1806, s.v. Negroes, and Slave-trade. These earlier utterances must be remembered in a generation that has forgotten largely the distinction made between the slave trade and slavery. Perhaps this is best expressed as follows: "London Yearly Meeting, which had often protested against the slave trade, passed in Woolman's presence its first Minute against the holding of Negroes in bondage." (R. Hingston Fox, *Dr John Fothergill and his friends*, 1919, p. 222.)

<sup>4</sup> Like Gummere and Whitney, as above, and Reginald Reynolds, *Wisdom of John Woolman*, 1948, p. 38, "for the first time." Catherine Peare, *op. cit.*, p. 235, and Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, 1950, p. 60, know better. As they point out, London Yearly Meeting as early as 1727 had forbidden "the importation of Negroes from their native country and relations." *The Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London* was first printed in 1783, but I have seen manuscript copies to be dated soon after 1737 or 1761 or 1769. The minute of 1727 is regularly quoted, but not the fact that it was answering questions set by Friends in America in 1703 and 1715. So also, as the years pass on, are included the passages from the printed epistles of 1758, 1763 and 1772 and the minute of 1761. All five of these are quoted by T. Clarkson, *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade*, Philadelphia, 1808, pp. 93-96.

1760 editions of [Anthony Benezet's] pamphlet, *Observations on the Enslaving, Importing and Purchasing of Negroes*, printed in Germantown by Christopher Sower. Also at New England Yearly Meeting in 1760 it was included in the revision of the Discipline adopted at that time.<sup>1</sup> John Woolman was present at that Yearly Meeting that year.

Woolman arrived in London on Monday, June 8, and "went straightway to the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders which had been gathered (he says), I suppose, about half an hour."<sup>2</sup> He wrote his wife that he "went strait from the water side into the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders after it was settled in the morning."

A dramatic account of Woolman's entry into the deliberations at London—about half an hour late on Second day morning—is found in Whittier's edition of the Journal which he says was vouched for by William J. Allinson, Editor of the *Friends Review*. This is repeated by Mrs Gummere and by Mrs Whitney with some elaboration. But earlier than any of these three and the source of the first of them as similar wording shows, is an article in the *Friends Review* before Allinson was its editor. That account is said to be based on "the verbal tradition of the late Rebecca Jones" (1739-1818). She was intimate with both Woolman and with Allinson, who, as son of her adopted daughter Bernice Chattin, compiled the *Memorials* of her. Woolman never returned to America but Rebecca Jones was in England from 1784 to 1788 and may have learned of this episode from some present in 1772, including the Americans who did return. The first and oldest printed version of this episode has not been reprinted for a hundred years and may be worth giving here.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Society of Friends*, etc. [by Nathan Kite], Philadelphia, 1843, p. 43, whence J. G. Whittier repeats the fact in his Introduction to Woolman's Journal.

<sup>2</sup> According to the agenda it began at 9. Though Janet Whitney in her text of the Journal, p. 186, says the Swarthmore MS. is being followed she writes "about (I suppose) half an hour", not as above. In her biography she writes, with Gummere p. 304 "gathered (I suppose) half an hour."

<sup>3</sup> *Friends Review*, vol. 18, No. 35, 4 mo. 29, 1865, pp. 554f, reprinted in *The Friend* (London) N.S. vol. 5, No. 56, 8 mo. 1, 1865, p. 178, and in *Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 22, No. 37, 11 mo. 18, 1865, p. 581 and the *British Friend*, vol. 24, No. 1, 1866, p. 15. It was, however, reprinted with "visit" instead of "service" in the title in the *Western Friend*, vol. 9, No. 3 (1888), pp. 20f.

## JOHN WOOLMAN'S FIRST SERVICE IN ENGLAND

John Woolman, in his Journal, has this note:

"On the 8th of Sixth mo., 1772, we landed at London, and I went straightway to the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, which had been gathered, I suppose, about half an hour. In this meeting my mind was humbly contrite."

It will be remembered that this circumspect Christian, owing to some delicate scruples, had crossed the ocean as a steerage passenger. About noon on the Fourth-day previous to his landing, a pilot boat from Dover furnished opportunity, of which some availed themselves, of landing and of reaching London promptly; "but," says he, "I felt easy in staying in the ship."

This simple disciple, arriving late in the meeting, unannounced, and very peculiar in his appearance, was likely, at first sight, to be regarded as some itinerant enthusiast. His certificate was presented and read, when some one remarked, that perhaps the dedication of the Friend might be accepted, and he might feel himself easy to return to his native land. John Woolman entered into the closet of his heart, there to seek, in meekness of wisdom, instruction from his safe Counsellor. No feeling of resentment prevailed; but, conscious that the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, he was humbled and deeply affected by the want of the unity of the brethren, and his tears flowed freely. In the constraining love of Christ, and in love for his church and people, he had, at costly sacrifice, taken his life in his hands, and left behind him his home and its endearments. That love still gushed out to the people of England, yet, for the moment, it seemed as though it must be pent within his heart. He rose with meekness, and stated that he did not feel any release from his prospect, but he could not travel in Truth's service without the unity of his Friends, and that, while this was withheld, he should not be easy to be at any cost to them; that he was acquainted with the trades of a tailor and a shoemaker, and that he hoped while the impediment continued to be felt, Friends would be kindly willing to employ him in such business as he was capable of, that he might not be chargeable to any.

A season of silence ensued, during which tears flowed freely from many eyes. After a time, in the pure openings

of truth, John Woolman spoke a few words in the ministry, in which capacity his voice had not, till that moment, been heard in Great Britain. The Church was favored with true discernment. The spirit of his blessed Master bore witness to his gift. All obstruction was removed, and the flow of unity (first expressed by the Friend who had before spoken his doubts) became "a river to swim in," and John Woolman owned by the brethren, passed on to his labor, in all humility realizing that, as an instrument and messenger and servant of servants, he had nothing wherein to glory; that the work was not his own; that the ability to perform it was not of himself; and reverently thankful to his Lord, who had given him a place in the love of his friends, which was so acceptable to his tender spirit.

The above incident, given from memory and derived from the verbal tradition of the late Rebecca Jones, has probably not been previously committed to writing.

This account need not be distrusted even if we do not know its exact origin. As his wording shows, Whittier's account was based on it without mentioning his source.<sup>1</sup> Amelia Gummere once attributed Whittier's version to a New Jersey Friend who obtained the actual facts from an English Friend who could verify. Later she mentions William J. Allinson and Rebecca Jones,<sup>2</sup> though the latter was not an English Friend.

Furthermore the procedure described is quite in character, not only for John Woolman but also for Friends collectively at the period. It is an attractive story and has become a favorite among Friends since. But I must call attention to some reasons for questioning it.

John Woolman is represented as saying that he "was acquainted with the trades of a tailor and a shoemaker." Whittier says "a mechanical trade," Elfrida Foulds, *The Story of Quakerism*, p. 159, says he was "an experienced craftsman." That he had been a tailor is known from his own Jour-

<sup>1</sup> Whittier's account, a long footnote in his editions of the Journal, was reprinted in *FI*, vol. 46 (1889), p. 770. To Whittier's version later writers are indebted, for many have been attracted by the story, for example Muriel Kent, *Hibbert Journal*, vol. 26 (1927-1928), p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> In R. M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (1911), p. 399; Gummere, *Journal of John Woolman* (1922), p. 127 n.



nal, and that he continued one, even after he gave up shop-keeping, but nothing in his published writings or in modern bibliography adds shoemaking. On the other hand, charges in his account books for making, soling and repairing shoes are against him and in favor of shoemaker neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

Less drastic accounts of the reaction of English Friends to Woolman's appearance at London had been published earlier than 1865. One of them appeared in 1848. Nathan Kite writing anonymously in his serial "Thomas Scattergood and his Times", *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 21 (1847-48), p. 333, referring to efforts of English Friends to have Woolman dress as Friends there usually did instead of in undyed garments, attributes to Woolman himself the proposal to return to America. He says:

Finding his way somewhat closed, he meekly intimated that if Friends were uneasy with him he would return home. He then stated that as there was no immediate opportunity of sailing, and he did not wish to be burdensome he would be willing to follow his trade as a tailor for his support whilst he remained, and would be glad if Friends would furnish him work. His meekness made a favourable impression on all, and those who were dissatisfied with his dress were not willing to take the responsibility of preventing the fulfilment of his Gospel mission. They withdrew all objection, or as he himself says in a letter to his cousins Reuben and Margaret Haines, "Way opens for my visit among Friends."

Still earlier is a reference in an undated letter regarding the objection of some American Friends to Joshua Evans' beard. The writer is John Hunt (1740-1824) of Moorestown, a cousin of John Woolman. Since it refers to Joshua Evans' concern then under discussion to visit Friends in New England, a concern for which his Monthly Meeting released him in 1794, "after thirteen or fourteen years struggle," its date is much closer to 1772 than the account just quoted.

I have been informed that George Fox, in his early appearance was a spectacle of wonder to the world, and particularly his outward appearance, and that of his wearing leather. I likewise have been informed that when John Woolman landed in England many Friends were much straitened with his appearance and were ready to conclude such a man could not be of service

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Conrow (1757), Richard Perry (1768), etc. From this narrative comes perhaps the mistaken idea (*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 6 (1889), p. 60) that Woolman, wishing to preach to Friends throughout the colonies, first "learned the trade of a tailor as best adapted to supporting him in the itinerant life he had resolved to lead."

amongst them. But he having opportunity to exercise his gift, it made way for him to pass, and so he got along.<sup>1</sup>

How Woolman "got along," but in spite of his singular appearance, will show itself in our record of the next four months and the comments made upon him. But that the problem he presented was not forgotten in England, as it was not forgotten by John Hunt in New Jersey, is shown by a comment made by Joseph King of Newcastle (brother to the host of William Hunt there) in a letter about the Northern Yearly Meeting held in 1777 at Kirkby Stephen. He refers to a young minister there from Cumberland, named Jonathan Williamson.

He was "dressed in a very singular manner, I apprehend somewhat like John Woolman. He was at Keswick last year clothed in the same way. Some Friends I believe spoke to him about it, but I suppose he apprehends it his duty to appear in that singular way, and as a Friend remarked, it required a good deal of ballast to carry so much sail properly."<sup>2</sup>

Since the letter mentions among the other public Friends present Esther Tuke, Jane Crosfield and Isaac Wilson, any prejudice against Jonathan because of similarity of costume to John Woolman was not likely to be unanimous.

The scruples that led Joshua Evans and John Woolman arose independently with other individuals and groups in America. Joseph Nichols, the founder of the Nicholites, about the same period, took to a very plain costume, principally undyed clothes. The men all wore white hats, mostly of wool, in the natural color. Nor did the Nicholites approve of mixing colours that were even natural, such as white and black wool together, nor black wool and cotton. Later as their strictness

<sup>1</sup> Comly, *Misc.*, vol. 1 (1831), p. 251, 2nd edit. (1834), p. 310, cf. pp. 304, 306. Comly himself (*ibid.*, p. 10, 2nd edit., p. 11) reports that Friends in London had suggested that Woolman's singularities would close his way for religious service and "had an interview with him on the subject; after hearing them patiently (correcting 'partially'), he said he believed he had better go as he was." Cf. "The beard a bar to the ministry," *JFHS*, vol. 19, 1922, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *JFHS*, vol. 21, 1924, p. 61. The editor p. 65 says of him "particulars are lacking." I think he must be Jonathan *Wilkinson* of Cockermouth, whose wife was companion to Hannah Harris when she visited America. This companion is usually referred to as Elizabeth Wilkinson, and their visit was in 1762. She had died in 1771. Her husband is mentioned in connection with this visit by travelling Friends who lodged in their home, as by Joseph Oxley before she died (1837 ed., p. 285) and of course by Americans afterward like William Hunt (*MS. Journal*, p. 167) and Deborah Morris (October 10 and 18, 1772). Her *MS Journal* (at Haverford College) names Woolman as one of her guides from Mt Holly on 8 mo. 23, 1762.

relaxed, they moved into dyed garments.<sup>1</sup> About contemporary also were the so-called New Lights that Joseph Oxley refers to at Lee, Massachusetts, and Epping, New Hampshire, in September 1771. "Some of these endeavours to outdo Friends in plainness of dress, the women not wearing any border to their caps, nor do they put their hair under their caps, nor allow themselves to wear any cloth that is dyed. The men also with white clothing from head to foot."<sup>2</sup> In England there was Joseph Rule (c1695-c1770). Priority or influence is hard to predicate even between neighbors like Evans and Woolman. Cf. F. B. Tolles, *Friends Intelligencer*, vol. 100 (1943), pp. 378f.

The minutes of this session of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders indicate no hesitation. Following record of presentation of certificates for Samuel Emlen of Philadelphia, and Elizabeth Robinson from Richmond Monthly Meeting in Yorkshire we read:

A Certificate from the Monthly Meeting of Burlington for [sic] New Jersey in America, dated 6th 1st mo last on behalf of our Friend John Woolman, backed [sic] at the Quarterly Meeting held at the same place 24th 2nd mo last, also a certificate from the Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 3rd mo last on behalf of our said Friend addressed to Friends in Yorkshire or elsewhere in Great Britain, Ireland or Holland, were read importing said meetings' unity with our said Friend as a Minister and under his present concern.<sup>3</sup>

Also Elihu Robinson, who describes this Monday morning session in his diary, gives no hint of any disturbing features. He does not mention any participation by or about John Woolman. Sarah Morris, Elizabeth Robinson, Claude Gay and worthy Isaac Sharples are mentioned as speaking, and he concludes, "All seemed to be connected in a beautiful harmony and the meeting conducted with a becoming solemnity".

While John Woolman was in London he lodged with John Townsend (1725-1801), pewterer, of No. 47 Prescot

<sup>1</sup> Comly, Misc., vol. 4 (1833), pp. 256, 249, 251. Cf. Kenneth Carroll, *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites*, 1962. He, however, attributes this to Woolman's influence at his visit in 1766, *op. cit.*, pp. 22f, following an earlier essay cited there in note 7.

<sup>2</sup> Barclay, Select Series, vol. 5 (1837), pp. 364f; *Friends Library*, vol. 2, p. 467.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders vol. 2 (1767-1773), p. 247, for 8th of 6 mo. 1772.

Street, Goodman's Fields. He declined to go out to other Friends' houses, because he had not had the small pox. This information is derived from a letter from John Townsend to [Sarah] Woolman dated London 11 mo. 9, 1772 and printed without date by Mrs Gummere, p. 149f (cf. Whitney 1942, 469f; 1943, p. 415f) from "the original at Devonshire House." There is now no evidence of a copy of the letter at Friends House, London, but Swarthmore College has a form of the letter which is in John Townsend's handwriting and has the date, which incidentally is the last day before Emlen left London. There is a copy of this at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The relevant sentences read:

He lodged at my house when in London. His company and self-denying example were truly profitable to me and family. . . . He divers times told me that he had not had the small pox and desired I would tell Friends that was the reason why he did not go to their houses. But if he was spared to return again to this city he believed he should have liberty to visit them. He frequently said he was resigned to the will of Providence. He was not afraid of the disorder, and if he catch'd it in going to meetings and in the way of his duty he should have no cause to reflect upon himself. He left a few things at my house which we have now forwarded by our dear Friends Samuel Emlin and Thomas Thornborough.

By this policy John Woolman had time, while in London, to recopy and revise his account of his voyage.<sup>1</sup> He also escaped much of the kind of social visiting that his fellow Americans had.

The kind of opportunity that awaited Woolman if he had returned to London and gone about freely is suggested by the "list of families of Friends in Devonshire House Quarter visited by Jane Crosfield and Alice Rigge from the Monthly meeting of Kendal in Westmorland. They were accompanied at times by our Friend Sarah Morris of Philadelphia." They began the visit the 16 of 12 mo. [1772] and finished it the 15th of 1 mo. 1773. The totals were 128 families, or 532 persons. They were attended by Joseph Row and Daniel Mildred.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See his letter from York 27 ix. 1772, published in the *Friend* (Lond.) vol. 122 (1964), p. 271. Both copies of Woolman's *Journal* of his voyage are extant. Just as MS. S was endorsed by him for Sophia Hume, so MS T has the note: "I John Woolman desire John Townsend to keep this paper for me. — John Woolman."

<sup>2</sup> Port. 30/64, Friends Library, London.

Deborah Morris with her Aunt Sarah Morris had arrived in London on April 11, nearly two months before John Woolman did, and stayed (except for a trip to Bristol and a few days in the country) until the close of Yearly Meeting at the house of Thomas Corbyn, "who with his wife were like parents, and his son and two daughters were very kind."<sup>1</sup> On the 29th the Morrises "drank tea at John Townsend's. His wife is like one of our own plain Friends, a kind good woman, though young" (p. 82). On May 12 they dined at John Townsend's. Deborah mentions Samuel Emlen's arrival at Yearly Meeting on June 5 "with a packet of letters from home." She adds "John Woolman came also, but he staid aboard till the vessel got up" to London. There is no further reference to him by her during the Yearly Meeting, unless he was included in her entry of June 12 "drank tea with Debby Townsend and divers Friends." They evidently did not attend the same meetings for worship, nor did John Woolman visit at the Corbyns' as the other American Friends had done the evening before he arrived (p. 101).

On June 12 Thomas Parke, having attended the business meeting in the afternoon and Devonshire House meeting for worship, notes that he "went from thence home with Polly Townsend to sup with a young woman from Norwich, found a large company of Friends there, also among the rest John Woolman from America . . . Polly seems quite as lively as ever."

The arrangement for John Townsend to be Woolman's host in London was not impromptu or ill considered. This becomes clear from a letter now available from John Pemberton at Philadelphia to Joseph Row of London.<sup>2</sup> With other letters from the same to the same it shows how across the Atlantic these two correspondents kept each other informed of the movements of public Friends. With his scruples Woolman might have been embarrassed and an embarrassment to some London Friends. Pemberton's explanatory letter shows sensitivity and tact. Though it went with the same ship as Woolman, the writer knew that Woolman planned to remain on the ship to London while the letter would be delivered a day or two earlier in time to be considered. We know

<sup>1</sup> The *Friend* (Philada.), vol. 36 (1862-63), p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Friends Library, London (MS. vol. 163). Photostat copy at HSP.

that Samuel Emlen who went by coach from Dover reached London three days before Woolman and delivered letters to sundry Friends.<sup>1</sup> This interval permitted Joseph Row and John Townsend to discuss plans.

Philadelphia 4 mo. 28, 1772

This goes per Capt. Sparks with whom our dear Friends John Woolman and Samuel Emlen embarks. Thou knows the latter who is grown a sound good minister and [I] hope will have acceptable service. The first is a truly upright man but walks in a straiter path than some other good folks are led, or do travel in. He is a good minister, a sensible man, and though he may appear singular, yet from a close knowledge of him he will be found to be a man of a sweet, clean spirit and preserved from harsh censure of those who do not see (?) and conform as he does. It will be safest for Friends with you to leave him much to his own feelings, and to walk and steer in that path which proves most easy to him, without using much arguments or persuasion. He will do nothing knowingly against the Truth, and has had long experience in the Truth. He is much beloved and respected among us, and I doubt not will on close acquaintance be so to the truly religious with you.

I have recommended him to thy house or John Townsend's. You live as I apprehend in the simplicity and plainness that will prove most easy to him, though I know there are other good Friends whose hearts and houses have been, and I doubt not still are, open to such messengers, and who hospitably entertain strangers. If it does not suit thy family tell my friend John Townsend what I have done and settle the matter between you. I expect he may remain on board the vessel until she gets to London. However [I] hope thou'lt learn in season to meet him. Little will content him, and the poorer the fare the more acceptable.

My dear love to our dear Friends, Sarah and Deb. Morris, in which my wife joins—also in the same to thee and thine and enquiring Friends. I am very affectionately

Thy loving friend, John Pemberton

My dear love to my friend T. Corbyn, and tell him I request his notice of our beloved Friends, but especially him who is a stranger to you, but hope will not remain so. My dear love to William Hunt and Co. and Robert Willis, to S. Fothergill and such others I know that maybe at your approaching solemn feast.

[Addressed] Joseph Row in Duke Street, Spital Fields, London

Joseph Row's reply, reporting on London Yearly Meeting and other matters is not extant. Evidently it mentioned the

<sup>1</sup> T. Parke's Diary for June 5.

reactions in London to John Woolman. For John Pemberton, replying to Joseph Row from Philadelphia 10 mo. 16, 1772 (more than a week after Woolman's death) recurs to the same defence:

If our dear friend, J.W. is singular and walks in a manner no doubt in a cross to nature, yet how many are there whose demeanor, etc. is opposite to the simplicity of the Gospel, and perhaps his appearance may excite thoughts in some such, though not immediately known to others, yet may prove profitable, and as I believe our dear Friend is mercifully preserved from a censorious spirit, so I wish that a disposition of harshly judging him may be watched and guarded against, he being a man of integrity of heart, though perhaps he may at times misapprehend and take less liberty than Truth might allow. I love him and desire his preservation.<sup>1</sup>

John Townsend continued to be responsible for forwarding correspondence between John Woolman and his family at home, though he was reminded not to do so unless it was urgent. This was no doubt due to Woolman's scruple about abetting in any way the cruelty to boys and horses which he felt was inherent in patronizing the letter-carrying post coaches. Only occasionally could he depend on private messenger or conveyance. All this comes out in two letters he sent to John Townsend after leaving his hospitable roof.

Beloved friend John Townsend

If any letter comes to thy hand directed to me, I desire thou may open it in private, and show it to no one, and if thou believe it [to] be of a nature greatly requiring haste then send it by the post, else keep it till other opportunity of conveyance.

Thy loving friend, John Woolman

I am now at Baldock near as well as when I left London. 19 da 6 mo 1772 Joseph Roe is desired to give this to John Townsend.<sup>2</sup>

Beloved Friend,

31 7 mo 1772

I am now at John Haslams in the edge of Yorkshire midling well in health—Sarah Morris and her companion were midling well (here) yesterday. If thou wil keep the within letter till thou hath

<sup>1</sup> Friends Library, London, MS. vol. 163/4. Photostat at HSP.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph on a narrow strip of paper, condensed here into continuous lines, Spriggs MSS 66 at Friends Library, London. See *JFHS*, vol. 29 (1932), p. 50.

convenient opportunity to send it, it will be acceptable to me. I feel contented as to hearing from the family I left in America. With true love to thee and thy wife and children. I remain thy frd John Woolman

[Addressed] For John Townsend, pewterer in Prescot Street, Goodmansfield, London.<sup>1</sup>

Two other letters of the same date as the second letter are extant intended for America, one to his wife and one to his cousins Reuben and Margaret Haines. Perhaps they were both forwarded to John Townsend, though Woolman refers to only one "within letter." In the second of them he says bluntly "I send no letters by post here nor do I want any sent to me by post."<sup>2</sup> And a month later in writing from Grayrigg to Rachel Wilson of Kendal then absent from home he adds this postscript:

I commit this letter to the hands of our ancient Friend at Grayrigg meeting at whose house I write, with desire for him not to send it to thee but keep it laid by till he hath opportunity to give it to thee. I have sent no letter by post in England, and if thou feels a concern to write to me and art easy to wait an opportunity of conveyance some other way than post or flying coaches I believe it would be most acceptable. J.W.—flying coaches I mean those coaches which run so fast as oft to oppress the horses.<sup>3</sup>

This reference to coaches, flying coaches as alternative to the post needs some comment. In his journal also he wrote in a long and somewhat confused passage of his objection to stage coaches with their speed (upward of 100 miles in twenty-four hours—a phrase repeated), their damage to the horses, and to pedestrians at night. He probably differentiated them from the postboys who rode long stages in winter nights. He had heard of these posts in America, though he does not say how, while of the damage to the horses of the stage coaches and to the post boys his knowledge came from Friends in "several places" in England. He accordingly

<sup>1</sup> According to Gummere, p. 132 n. 3, "the original was in Friends Library, London", i.e., before 1922. But E. H. W. Meyerstein of Magdalen College, Oxford, acquired what looks like the original in the hand of John Woolman, which he says was loosely stuck in a copy of Woolman's Journal (Dublin, 1749) owned in 1813 by Jacob Bright and bought at Oxford on April 19, 1943 (Letter E.H.W.M. to H.J.C., Oxford, 20.x.1946). The present whereabouts not known.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, pp. 133f.

<sup>3</sup> This postscript was first published in *JFHS*, vol. 22 (1925), p. 18. The letter without the postscript was copied by Woolman himself in the MS. Journal and printed.



avoided as far as possible sending or receiving letters by post, and declined opportunities offered to ride in the stages.

To judge from such histories as I have consulted,<sup>1</sup> the mail since 1720 was carried in mail bags by post boys who rode on horseback supposedly at the average speed of five miles an hour, but in 1784 the Post Office adopted generally the faster and safer method of horse-drawn stages with mail and passengers. Woolman's references may imply a transition period and include both. Or did the stages also use as out-riders mounted post boys?

James Jenkins (c 1753-1831) in his manuscript *Recollections*, 555ff, says he planned to compile a sketch of the life of John Townsend to be prefixed to his own account of his travels. Both of these were apparently extant when an anonymous writer in 1874 contributed an article on Townsend for the *British Friend*,<sup>2</sup> for that refers to a contemporary MS and an autobiographical account. Their present whereabouts are unknown. Whether either referred to Woolman's brief sojourn at Prescott Street, we do not know. We do know that in 1785 to 1787 John Townsend spent about two years and two months in America between Georgia and Prince Edward Island, and when in the Philadelphia area "chiefly visited the widows and the fatherless," including "the widow Woolman." In view of the criticism which Woolman's dress raised among English Friends it is worth noting that in spite of Townsend's plainness of dress his wearing of a red-spotted handkerchief was felt by many well concerned, weighty Friends in America greatly to lessen his influence. This concern was communicated to him by the same John Hunt of Evesham who was notably tolerant of Woolman's singularity and of Joshua Evans' beard.<sup>3</sup>

Later letters of Woolman suggest that he had had contact in London with other Friends. He not only wrote to

<sup>1</sup> H. Robinson, *The British Post Office*, Princeton, 1948; W. T. Jackman, *The Development of Transportation in Modern England*, 2nd ed., 1962.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 32, pp. 316-318. Cf. Theodore Compton, *Recollections of Spitalfields* (1894), pp. 23-33.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 47, and Compton, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31. Hunt quotes Jacob Lindley in 1785 as very critical of Friends wearing carved silver buckles and red spotted handkerchiefs (Comly, *Misc.*, vol. 10 (1837), pp. 237f). Hunt's letter to John Townsend on the subject, dated 25 3 mo. 1786, is extant in Friends Library, London (Port. 42/41).

John Townsend and sent messages to his wife and children.<sup>1</sup> He wrote also to John Eliot and refers there and elsewhere to his having left his notes on the voyage with Sophia Hume. Both of these were well-known Friends.

John Eliot (1735-1813) the third of that name was a merchant and lived in Bartholomew Close. Of a considerable amount of letters and papers from him a selection was published in 1893 by his great grandson Eliot Howard.<sup>2</sup> He was a conscientious Friend. According to James Jenkins<sup>3</sup> he was noted for his liberal entertainment of American visitors. His wife after 1762, Mary Weston, was the daughter of the Mary Weston who had travelled in America in the ministry in 1750-52.<sup>4</sup> None of the papers quoted refer to Yearly Meeting in 1772 or to John Woolman's presence. But in his careful private ledger in a page of "Account of Plate" he notes on 6 mo. 2 1772 (a week before John Woolman arrived). "By Profit and Loss for some silver spoons distrained at Hayes for Steep[lehouse] Rates £200."<sup>5</sup>

In 1772 they had three children under three. Another entry shows that they shared John Woolman's objection to inoculation. A member of their household had the small pox, but recovered, and they congratulated themselves that they "had not fallen in with the prevailing practice of inoculation."<sup>6</sup>

For the impression John Eliot had of John Woolman we have the letter written in his beautiful hand to John Pemberton in Philadelphia when he forwarded the "notes by way of journal" which Woolman made in England.

I believe the uprightness of this man's life had a great reach upon many, and his book is likely to have a good number of readers, who I think cannot but be profited by a view of so many great and weighty truths, which if happily made the experience of professors of Christianity and of those amongst us more generally,

<sup>1</sup> 31. 7 mo 1772 printed in Gummere, p. 133. One of the latter, Polly, was mentioned by Thomas Parke as a lively piece of whom he saw something.

<sup>2</sup> *The Eliot Papers*. No. 1 (1893). Privately printed by John Bellows, Gloucester.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Records and Recollections, p. 932.

<sup>4</sup> Extracts from her letters and Journals, *Eliot Papers*, No. 2 (1894), pp. 93-111.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* I, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* I, p. 94.

would work a great alteration in the state of things in the world and make the wilderness as Eden.<sup>1</sup>

Sophia Hume (1701-1774) was born in South Carolina. Her maternal grandparents were the well-known Friends of the first generation, William Bayly and Mary Fisher. She was brought up in accordance with her father's mind who was not a Friend, but she became one in middle life and an esteemed minister residing in London.<sup>2</sup> She returned to Charleston in 1748 and 1768 and could have met Woolman as she probably travelled more than once via Philadelphia. In fact, the diary of John Smith, in spite of its preoccupation with his fiancée, Hannah Logan, tells quite a little of Sophia Hume in 1748 in Philadelphia. He heard of her arrival on April 30 (from Charleston, S.C.) and on August 24 with others he escorted her to her ship at Chester bound for London. She stayed in these weeks at the home of Israel Pemberton, Jr, who with the diarist and others were involved in revising an essay she had written as *An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of South Carolina*. With the approval of Friends of the Yearly Meeting, this was printed by Benjamin Franklin. On at least May 11 John Woolman was in Philadelphia, spent the evening with John Smith and lodged at his city house.<sup>3</sup> I am not so sure that Woolman was one of those revising for the press Sophia Hume's manuscript.<sup>4</sup> She was present at London Yearly Meeting, and as has been said, John Woolman left with her a copy of his account of the voyage.

She is credited as the author of an anonymous pamphlet, *Remarks on the Practice of Inoculation for Small Pox, among which are interspersed sundry hints necessary to be considered by Christians in general, particularly addressed to some persons who have undergone that operation*.<sup>5</sup> The author does not identify

<sup>1</sup> Pemberton Papers, vol. 24, No. 98, dated London 21st 1 mo. 1773, with a postscript 16th of 2 mo. More of the letter was published in *The Friend* (Lond.) vol. 122 (1964), p. 531.

<sup>2</sup> See *Piety Promoted*, Eighth Part. No further biography of her seems to be extant. Her lodgings in her later years were at Miller Christy's in the passage leading to White Hart Court (James Jenkins, *FQE*, vol. 36 (1902), p. 338).

<sup>3</sup> *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, ed. by A. C. Myers, 1904, pp. 205-247.

<sup>4</sup> Cf Gummere, pp. xii, 589.

<sup>5</sup> London, 1766, 35 pages: The Second Edition, London, Printed in the year 1767, 12 mo., 47 pages. The copy at Swarthmore College of the first edition is endorsed in an early hand "Sophia Hume on the Small Pox." The copy of the second edition in the Bevan-Naish Library at Woodbrooke, Selly Oak (2303-2) is endorsed on the title page "by Sophia Hume," but I have not found printed evidence of her authorship.

himself or herself as a Friend, though quoting in two foot-notes William Penn's *No Cross No Crown*. Reference is made to the author's personal experience "in my youth when I languished under a great degree of infection from the small pox in what is styled the natural way." Whether John Woolman associated more freely in London with persons thus immune I do not know. He would have agreed with the general contents of the *Remarks*.

There happens to be extant a reference to Woolman in the postscript to a letter of Sophia Hume written in London the 7th of 7th month 1772. She had heard Samuel Emlen speak at a meeting for Ministers and Elders "yesterday." He had been with Woolman in such a meeting at Shipston on Stour the week before but it was more than three weeks since Woolman himself had left London.

In her letter she begins by expressing her agreement with her correspondent in a concern for the suppression of the slave trade. She refers to the reference to that subject in the Yearly Meeting Epistle. Yearly Meetings kindle our zeal once a year and then we "return to the practice of minding our own things, worldly things, and not the things of another," etc. The postscript reads:

My love is to every member who loves the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. I have great unity with John Woolman; though thou perhaps will hear few besides has, though they commend and say, If he has this faith to himself, they can be quite easy with him; but desire to be excused if he is proposed as an example.<sup>1</sup>

The Fothergills were one Quaker family in England that John Woolman knew about. John Fothergill (1676-1744) of Carr End, Wensleydale, Yorkshire had visited America in 1736-8 and twice before. In 1721 when he was at Mt Holly, Woolman was not two years old, but he was sixteen when early in 1737 John Fothergill, according to his journal, attended meetings of Friends at John Estaugh's near Haddonfield, "a meeting at Rancocas (Cuchocas) worthy of remembrance . . . a great meeting near Mount Holly . . . Burlington Monthly Meeting," etc.<sup>2</sup> Among less than thirty

<sup>1</sup> *The Friend* (Philadelphia), vol. 35, p. 194 (2 mo. 22, 1862) "The original letter is in the hands of the transcriber, and though bearing date nearly a century ago it is believed has never before been published. He has not been able to ascertain with certainty to whom it was addressed."

<sup>2</sup> *An Account of the Life and Travels of John Fothergill*, London (1753), pp. 134, 268f.

books known to have been owned (and lent) by John Woolman<sup>1</sup> one was Fothergill's Journal, presumably *An Account of the Life and Travels in the Work of the Ministry of John Fothergill*, either the London edition of 1753 or the Philadelphia edition of 1754 issued the same year and by the same printer as Woolman's *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, Part I*.

One of his sons, the youngest, Samuel Fothergill (1715–1772) of Warrington, Lancashire, also travelled in the ministry. He was in America for a year and three-quarters in 1754–1756. Early in the last year he was at several meetings in or near Burlington, including Mt Holly, and must have met John Woolman then or on one of his earlier visits to Philadelphia. He was especially intimate with Samuel Emlen, Junior, who crossed to England with Woolman with the special intention of seeing Samuel Fothergill, who, however, was ill at home instead of attending Yearly Meeting at London and died before it was quite over. Elihu Robinson saw Samuel Emlen at Coventry on June 18, "going down to the funeral of Samuel Fothergill to be interred tomorrow afternoon being the 19th of 6 mo."

John Fothergill, M.D. (1712–1780), another son of the above John Fothergill, was perhaps the most eminent Friend in London at the time. He lived a bachelor with his sister Ann at Harpur Street off Red Lion Square and had a large and profitable medical practice. That he formed an impression of Woolman we have already noted. But Woolman would hardly have become acquainted with him. He need not be identified as the member of the Select Meeting who snubbed Woolman and then apologized, as related by William Allinson. We do not even know that Fothergill was present at this session. Janet Whitney makes the identification,<sup>2</sup> and introduces into this context one of the later descriptions of Woolman's costume which we shall be quoting in their due places hereafter,<sup>3</sup> to justify the reaction. Elfrida Vipont Foulds did

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *BFHA*, vol. 31 (1942), 72ff. One of John Fothergill's Journals was charged in Woolman's Account Book to Lot Ridgway the 11th of 12 mo. 1754, for 4 shillings.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney, 1942, pp. 394, 396; 1943, pp. 371, 373. She is evidently followed in this identification by George DeCou, *The Historic Rancocas*, 1949, p. 166, but not by Catherine O. Peare, *John Woolman, Child of Light*, 1954, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 96f (the one quoted by Janet Whitney) and 95 and 102.

not make the identification in her *Story of Quakerism*, 1954, 2nd ed., 1960, though she narrated the episode in detail. In her *A Faith to Live By*, Philadelphia, 1962, pp. 120–22, reprinted under the title *Quakerism, a Faith to Live By*, London, [1965], pp. 118–20, she repeats the episode and does identify as Dr John Fothergill the English Friend who first expressed the suggestion of Woolman's returning home and then retracted it. Whether this was independently of Janet Whitney's biography, which she consulted, does not now appear, nor what authority either used. As we have seen (pp. 6f) the next day after the meeting John Fothergill wrote to his brother and mentioned both the "singularities" and the "real worth" of John Woolman. Has this letter of his, published in 1843, and the story of the public rebuff and retraction, first published in 1865 without identification of the person who made them, led in 1942 and since to the view that the person was John Fothergill?

It may be appropriate therefore to quote here, by way of contrast, a description of Dr John Fothergill himself. He might have appeared as strange to John Woolman, as both of them would seem alien to us today. In some ways, to a simple minded soul like Woolman, it might seem, if a sartorial proverb may be permitted, to put the shoe on the other foot. Fothergill's nephew wrote of him:

He usually wore a large low three-cornered hat; a white medical wig, with rows of small curls descending one under another from near the crown to his shoulders; a coat, waistcoat and breeches of nearly white superfine cloth, the coat without any collar, large cuffs, and two of the buttons buttoned over his breast; the waistcoat with long flaps; the ends of his cravat were buttoned within his waistcoat; the stockings he wore were silk and the colour of his clothes; his buckles were small. His coach was dark green, with wheels of the same colour; the horses were tall black ones with very short docked tails after the old manner. His coachman was exceedingly lusty; he weighed at least sixteen stone [224 pounds]; his livery was a plain cocked hat, a white wig, a light drab coat, with a velvet collar the same colour and bright haycock buttons. My uncle left him £50 per annum.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Fothergill in addition to his usual manifold concerns was this week under the weight of the final illness at Warrington of his younger brother Samuel Fothergill, who in fact

<sup>1</sup> From MS. *Records of John Fothergill*, of York (1793), quoted in turn by J. H. Tuke, *Sketch*, p. 68, and by R. Hingston Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends* (1919), p. 385.

died the day the Yearly Meeting terminated (June 15).<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Dr Fothergill was still overshadowed with the long drawn out controversy with Dr Samuel Leeds. In this painful episode, when the Quaker arbitrators decided against Fothergill and awarded his opponent £500 damages, Fothergill learned that in spite of a final judgement in his favor in the Court of King's Bench in May 1772 many Friends were ill disposed towards him.<sup>2</sup> Unlike Woolman and Sophia Hume he was medically convinced of the value of inoculation for small pox and had played some part in arranging for Dr Thomas Dimsdale of Hertford, formerly a Friend and later a Baron, to accept the invitation of the Empress Catharine II to come to Russia in 1768-9 and inoculate herself and others.<sup>3</sup> But Dr John Fothergill was in full sympathy with Woolman's orthodoxly Quaker views against slavery and the slave trade and against war.

On August 29, 1772 Dr Fothergill wrote a long twelve-page letter, the first for many months, to John (?) Pember-ton in Philadelphia. He summarizes at first his uncomfortable situation with Dr Leeds and the hostility of many English Friends. The latter part of the letter deals with the growing tension between England and the Americans. Between these is a sentence—and it must be understood in contrast to this context—in which he gives his mature reflection on the Yearly Meeting in London ten weeks before: "I know not the time when we experienced so sensibly the benefit of our brethren's company from America at a Yearly Meeting, as was perceptible at our last. Alas! we are grievously stript in this kingdom; their weighty, prudent conduct, while it kept down the contrary, aided the better mind most evidently."<sup>4</sup> John Woolman is included in these "brethren" from America.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the overseas visitors at Yearly Meeting went next day to Warrington by coach—which unfortunately was overturned "without any great hurt" to them, as Robert Willis himself relates, and attended the funeral.

<sup>2</sup> For a documented account see, R. Hingston Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and his Friends*, 1919, Chapter VIII. Thomas Parke met Dr. Leeds—as he did John Woolman—at Townsends on June 11th. He found him "quite gracious, rather courted my company, inviting me to come and see him but I shall not go." He notes at Quarterly meetings in July and October and even November 9 at the Two Weeks Meeting that deliberations were continuing on the appeals of Dr Leeds.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Chapter IX.

<sup>4</sup> Pember-ton Papers, vol. 23, pp. 163-165.

We may compare the words of London Meeting for Sufferings to their opposite number in Philadelphia, written 10 mo 2, 1772: "Of the transactions of our last Yearly Meeting the printed and written epistles will have informed you. Divers among us esteem it a memorable season and have reason to think the company of several Friends from America added much to its solemnity."

Two English Friends had, after about a year in America, come to England with Woolman. Of the two holograph manuscripts of the voyage by John Woolman one (MS S) mentioned five of his shipmates other than Samuel Emlen as follows:

7 day 5 mo. have had rough weather mostly since I came on board; and the passengers James Reynolds, John Till Adams, Sarah Logan and her hired maid, and John Bispham all sea sick more or less at times, from which sickness through the tender mercies of my heavenly Father, I have been preserved, my afflictions now being of another kind.<sup>1</sup>

Now John Till-Adams (1748-1786) was a Quaker physician and had been in America about a year. His certificate from Alton Monthly Meeting, Hampshire, is extant, dated 15th 4th mo. 1771, and speaks of him "as late of Bristol." Philadelphia Monthly Meeting issued a certificate to Bristol for him in 4th mo. 1772 as to one who "not long since came among us recommended by your certificate."

Similarly Sarah Logan and her husband William had been received in Philadelphia by certificate dated Devonshire House, London, 5 mo. 8, 1771 and she was returned to the same meeting by certificate a year later. She was the daughter of Henry Portsmouth of London and had made a hasty marriage with William Logan, of Philadelphia, a medical student at Edinburgh. He died in Philadelphia in January, 1772 at the age of twenty-five, and his widow was returning with a maid but without their infant son. She had come to London by coach from Dover with Samuel Emlen on June 5 and proceeded to her brother's at once "being much fatigued and very poorly after her voyage." So Dr Parke informs us,

<sup>1</sup> Contrast MS T: "7 day 5 mo have had rough weather mostly since I came on board; and the passengers mostly sea sick more or less except me who as yet have not felt sick." My impression is that this is the earlier version.



though he got acquainted with her only on November 10 when they were both saying good-bye to Samuel Emlen. Dr Parke also saw Dr John Till-Adams in London during the summer, but it is not likely that Woolman saw either him or Sarah Logan during his busy week in London. Of the others named, John Bispham's identity is discussed below;<sup>1</sup> James Reynolds is not identified. That he was a brother-in-law of the John Bispham who married Margaret the daughter of Patrick Reynolds<sup>2</sup> is not at all probable, since Patrick Reynolds in his will dated 1757 names only one son, Thomas.<sup>3</sup>

If Woolman's contacts with Friends in London were limited, still more was that the case with other persons, though with some of them he had common interests. Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) of Philadelphia had been in England much of the time since 1764. But there had been many opportunities for the two men to meet and know each other in the Delaware Valley. The correspondence extant of each fails to mention the other. In Woolman's Smaller Account Book is (folio 224) a notation of a misprint in a counterfeited ten shilling bill dated 1746 with the words: "See Franklin's Gazette 25 da 12 mo 1756." Actually one of Woolman's books, *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes, etc. Part II* was printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall in 1762, and paid for directly or indirectly by Woolman himself. Both earlier and later Franklin showed a sympathy with the Quaker attitude to slavery, having printed, though without including his imprint, books by Ralph Sandiford (1729) and Benjamin Lay (1737)<sup>4</sup> which were at the time too radical for official Quakerism itself. Yet we have no evidence that Woolman and Franklin ever met or corresponded either in Philadelphia or at Franklin Park, the residence of young

<sup>1</sup> pp. 122-4.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, p. 125, less surely, pp. 561f; Whitney, with more assurance, 1942, p. 387; 1943, p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> N. J. Archives, First Series, vol. 32, 1924, p. 266. I have given reasons elsewhere (*QH*, vol. 55 (1966), pp. 95f, 100f) to identify Woolman's shipmate with a Philadelphian James Reynolds, carver and gilder, who returned with the *Mary and Elizabeth* in July with goods he had bought in England.

<sup>4</sup> See T. E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, 1950, pp. 39, 43, 46, 70.

William Franklin near Rancocas, New Jersey.<sup>1</sup> It is no more likely that they met in England, though physically quite possible. Franklin was in London the week that Woolman was. In fact another assiduous American Quaker attender of Yearly Meeting called on him at his lodgings on Craven Street off the Strand. Thomas Parke records on "June 11 Fifth (day): went this morning to see Dr Franklin—found him much engaged—he gave me some silk that O.B. (Owen Biddle, Parke's brother-in-law) sent me from Philadelphia. I left [it] at one Bales a silk merchant for sale as I could not get so small a quantity (?) wove." Like Woolman Franklin travelled to the north sometime after the middle of June, but on July 14 he wrote to his wife Deborah from London:

I am just returned from a journey of near a month . . . I spent some days at Preston, visited several friends in Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire and Staffordshire. Rachel Wilson sent her love to you and our children as did our remaining relations at Birmingham where I likewise stayed several days.

Thus Franklin visited several areas visited by Woolman but returned to London before Woolman arrived at them. The last sentence quoted has the most tantalizing reference. Rachel Wilson of Kendal, wife of Isaac Wilson, had travelled in America in 1768–1769 and thus had met Deborah Franklin and the children in Philadelphia where she stayed between trips to the North, South or West. She was at Mt Holly to meeting, September 18, 1769.<sup>2</sup> Woolman was in her home August 29, 1772 but she was absent at that time.

As for Birmingham, though Woolman was there before going to the northern counties and Franklin after in returning to London, they did not quite overlap. Franklin arrived there on July 7 and stayed several days. Woolman was there on July 17 when Franklin was already back in London. The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gummere, p. 17, who suggests grounds for lack of "sympathy between the practical scientist and the Quaker idealist." Incidentally Franklin had published in London in 1760 *Some Account of the Success of Inoculation for the Small Pox in England and America*. See the charming essay of contrast by Paul H. Douglas, "Two Eighteenth Century Philadelphians: Benjamin Franklin and John Woolman," *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, LIV, 1952, pp. 131–138.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Journal of the Religious Visit of Rachel Wilson to Friends in America. MS. copy at Haverford College. She was at Philadelphia Yearly Meeting the same month and is said to have spoken publicly to John Woolman about his concern for the West Indies. *BFHS*, vol. 8 (1917), p. 33.

Birmingham relations were doubtless related to Deborah Read Franklin through her mother Sarah White and included various Whites, Norths, Cashes, etc. some of whom as Friends may well have seen and heard John Woolman.<sup>1</sup> Franklin had been in Birmingham as early as 1758 and found then some distant cousins and relations of his wife, and had toured the midland counties early in 1771. Certainly more important even than his relatives were a small but remarkable group of men who met there, called the Lunar Society. There were fourteen of them notable in science, medicine and literature. "By the end of 1772 Franklin had met every member of the Lunar Society" with two possible exceptions.<sup>2</sup>

Later that summer Franklin was again writing to America from London. A letter book of letters that he wrote on August 22 has turned up,<sup>3</sup> which has eleven, some previously known, including letters to Anthony Benezet, John Bartram, Samuel Rhoads and to other Friends. One of them again mentions his being "lately in Birmingham." But again none of them refers to John Woolman.

For completeness I mention three promising non-Quaker Philadelphians who were in London at least later that summer, though it is not likely that they had any contact with Woolman. On July 11 Parke writes that he took a packet of letters to the Coffee House to go in Capt. Osborne's ship [*The Pennsylvania Packet*] but missed seeing the passengers especially the three that he knew, Billy White, J. Rush and Benezet. The first was the future Bishop William White (1748-1836) who had been in England taking orders, the second was the future Judge, Jacob Rush (1747-1820), brother of Benjamin Rush, the third was John Benezet (1749-1781). The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for September 23rd gives the full name, in listing their arrival. He became an active whig, and commissioner of claims in the Revolution. He was grandson and namesake of John Stephen Benezet, son of Daniel Benezet, and a nephew of Anthony Benezet,

<sup>1</sup> There is extant precisely for 1772 a list of families of Friends in Birmingham visited by Sampson Lloyd, Catherine Payton and other Public Friends who took time as Woolman did not for this kind of service. See C. D. Sturge, *Our Old Families*, a manuscript in the Bevan-Naish Library, No. 4040.

<sup>2</sup> See Robert E. Schofield, *The Lunar Society of Birmingham*, 1963, pp. 25, 113, 114.

<sup>3</sup> The American Philosophical Society acquired it in 1937.

who calls him "cousin," and reports his loss at sea while travelling to Europe in 1781 in the ship *Shillely*.<sup>1</sup>

Another Philadelphian was James Sparks, the ship captain with whom Woolman had crossed. At least he may be so described, though he was born and died in England. He married his three wives in Philadelphia and had children by each christened there, all under the aegis of Christ Church, of which he was for sometime vestryman. As early as May 5, 1767 he was listed as Captain of the *Mary and Elizabeth*, one of the largest of the ships registered at Philadelphia, being 180 tons.<sup>2</sup> His third marriage occurred on November 19, 1772 after his next return voyage to Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup>

Among the British non-Friends in London that shared Woolman's antislavery attitude mention will be made of only two. One is Granville Sharp (1735-1813). The most notable achievement in his career was obtaining a decision in the Court of King's Bench which settled that no Negro could be held a slave in England. The case was of a slave James Somerset, escaped, recaptured by his master and then rescued. The decision was handed down by Lord Mansfield on June 22, 1772 a week after Woolman left London. He may never have heard of this epoch-making decision, or of Sharp whose indefatigable efforts had finally forced the issue. But in Philadelphia his friend Anthony Benezet had already received and just reprinted in part an earlier anti-slavery pamphlet<sup>4</sup> of Granville Sharp's, and began a correspondence which continued while Benezet lived. The first letter from Benezet is said to have reached Sharp the very day of the decision. Sharp's reply<sup>5</sup> dated August 21, 1772 at the Old Jewry, London, reports the judgement given in the Somerset case, indicates that at Benezet's advice he has made the

<sup>1</sup> G. S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, p. 357. Cf. Samuel Small, Jr, *Genealogical Records of George Small and Daniel Benezet . . .* 1905.

<sup>2</sup> *PMHB*, vol. 27 (1903), p. 494.

<sup>3</sup> *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. 9 (1926), p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *A Representation of the Injustice and Dangerous Tendency of Admitting the Least Claim of Private Property in Men*, London, 1769. *An Extract from a Representation of the Injustice*, etc. Philadelphia, 1771. See G. S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, 1937, 87 and *passim*. The first letter is on p. 290. A copy made by Sharp is in a book of "letters received" now at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Brookes, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-420.

acquaintance of Franklin and tells of his intention now to write the arguments on slavery based on scripture.

In the course of a long reply, not heretofore published I believe,<sup>1</sup> Benezet says in connection with the last proposal:—“As thou mentions thy thoughts on the inconsistency of the Gospel with Slavery I herewith send thee two tracts wrote on that head sometime past by a truly pious man (John Woolman) now on a religious visit in some parts of Great Britain.” The date of the letter is Philadelphia 8th 11 mo. Nov. 1772. Woolman had died at York a month before but his Friend Benezet had not heard the news.<sup>2</sup> Thus through the correspondence of energetic Benezet in Philadelphia efforts were made to bring together such allies as Franklin and Sharp and Woolman. Amelia Gummere referring to Benezet’s letter to Granville Sharp written when Woolman was *en route* to England adds “There is no mention in the *Journal* of either, that Woolman and Sharp ever met: but this great trial [Somerset case] was concluded as Woolman reached England, and one can hardly imagine his not seeking out Sharp.”<sup>3</sup> But to me this seems unlikely in the light of what we know of Woolman’s single week in London, but no more unlikely than Sharp’s own views quoted in the same context, viz. the extraordinary effect of the joint efforts of himself and the Quakers in America against slavery in producing the

<sup>1</sup> Sharp, MS. Letterbrook, as above.

<sup>2</sup> It would be interesting to collect evidence of the arrival in America of the news of Woolman’s death. Geo. Mason, writing from Kennett, Chester County, Pennsylvania on December 17, 1772 to Sarah and Deborah Morris, speaks of “having yesterday received an account of our dear brother John Woolman’s release” and having “bedewed his precious memory with calm gentle tears” (Letter at Library Company of Philadelphia). John Hunt of Moorestown, New Jersey had “news of the death of my dear cousins, William Hunt and John Woolman,” on December 6th, by a letter of Thomas Thornburgh, Comly, *Misc.* vol. 10, p. 223. Cf. *Proceedings of New Jersey Historical Society*, vol. 52 (1934), p. 187. He had heard of Hunt’s illness only four days earlier. William Dillwyn of Burlington had left home on October 23, 1772 for Charleston, South Carolina, but was able there on December 20th to write to Eleazar Hunt at Bush Creek [i.e. Bush River] by the hand of a neighbor of Eleazar whom he met at Charleston Friends Meeting of “the death of his mother [*read* brother] and John Woolman in England.” Dillwyn’s diary in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 36 (1935), p. 95. Under date of 12 mo 24, 1772 the manuscript Memoranda of Jane (Bonsall) Clark of Philadelphia (at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia) says: “We have had some time past an account of the decease of our esteemed Friends William Hunt from Carolina and John Woolman of New Jersey.”

<sup>3</sup> *BFHA*, vol. 18 (1929), p. 58.

establishment of episcopacy in America, in the consecration a few years later as first Anglican bishop of William White of Philadelphia.

Another notable Englishman who later became a strong anti-slavery advocate and correspondent of Anthony Benezet was John Wesley. On February 12, 1772 he read the Quaker's *Some Historical Account of Guinea*, and in 1774 borrowed freely from it in his *Thoughts on Slavery*. He sent a copy of the latter to Benezet who in turn republished it in America the same year with additions. Their correspondence continued until Benezet's death a decade later. But Woolman, though he had "no straitness regarding sects" could not have met the founder of Methodism, as Wesley's *Journal* of his own movements in 1772 makes clear. In May he came out of Scotland into Yorkshire, visiting York June 26 and Sheffield on July 14, several weeks before Woolman reached those places, and then he moved over into Wales.<sup>1</sup>

Biographers have collected various accounts of the impression made by Woolman at Yearly Meeting which need not be repeated here.<sup>2</sup> None of them actually indicate what he said or that he mentioned the slave trade or slavery, as do the accounts of his speaking later at Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting.

An echo of John Woolman's presence at London Yearly Meeting and of a minor point he made is to be found months later in a letter of Morris Birkbeck, dated Settle 10 mo 28, 1772.<sup>3</sup> It is addressed to his "friend and cousin" Richard

<sup>1</sup> The two men are bracketed in a slender volume by Joseph Fort Newton, *Wesley and Woolman: An Appraisal and Comparison*, 1914, but there is no hint of contact.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, p. 128. Cf. Whitney, 1942 p. 397; 1943, p. 373. But there should be the following corrections to the references and other data based on Pemberton Papers, vol. 23: p. 139 (not 164 as G. or 123 as W.): James Pemberton to David Barclay, Phila. 5 mo 16; p. 164: David Barclay to James Pemberton, London 1 July (answer acknowledging above, but dealing not with Woolman but with the Leeds-Fothergill controversy); p. 165 (not 163 as G. or 174 as W.): Daniel Mildred (not Mildred and Roberts as W.) to John (not J.) Pemberton, London, 1. 7 mo. Read at end of quotation "which will make its Own (not 'its' as G. or 'his' as W.) way, wherever it (not 'he' as G. and W.) goes"; p. 172 Daniel Mildred to John Pemberton, London, 15 7 mo. (no reference to Woolman, but speaks of Emlen as at Bristol); p. 174: Mildred and Roberts (add "to John Pemberton") London, 16 7 mo; p. 177: (original, not in George Vaux Letter Book as G.) John Kendall to John Pemberton, Colchester, 7 mo. 18 (not 15 as G.)

<sup>3</sup> Friends Library, London. Portfolio 5/33.

Shackleton at Ballitore, Ireland, and is to be compared with a letter cited elsewhere (pp. 101*f*), from Sarah Hall, whom Birkbeck married in 1776, to Deborah Shackleton (Richard's daughter), written six days earlier, and telling of Woolman's death, and of his visit to Lancaster some weeks before. After describing his journey to Holland with Samuel Emlen, William Hunt and Thomas Thornburgh, and the deaths of William Hunt and of his own father, William Birkbeck (on September 15), which he had witnessed, Morris Birkbeck continues:

But I have yet to mention the decease of another valuable Friend, John Woolman from New Jersey. He was taken ill and died of the small-pox at York, or to use his own words, *departed this life*. This he deemed more expressive or better adapted to the nature of the change, it being only a removal or passing of the soul which can never *die*, from the state of probation to an abiding place for ever. I remember his making the distinction in the Yearly Meeting.

He seemed to have a path to walk in almost peculiar to himself and was singular in his conduct and conversation, as well as dress, amongst men, but his judgment was clear and just, his sentiments good and his doctrine sound. He advanced nothing that he could not maintain with propriety of argument founded on scripture and Christian principles. I will transcribe a short sketch of his character as it appear'd in one of our News-papers—the author unknown. . . .<sup>1</sup>

He had travelled little in this nation save in our county (Yorkshire) where his chief concern seemed to lay (sic) and to Friends of which his certificate was more particularly addressed. . . .

Out of seven Friends from America in the service of Truth all in this nation at the time of the Yearly Meeting in London, six of them publick, two are taken away by the small pox, viz. Wm. Hunt and John Woolman, two are very ancient Robert Willis and Sarah Morris, she but weakly, and Samuel Emlen in a poor state of health.

The minutes of London Yearly Meeting for 1772 show that Morris Birkbeck was one of the seven representatives to it from Yorkshire and that he was appointed on the committee to suggest the manner and form of keeping local records. Probably he was not yet back from Holland when Woolman visited his home meeting at Settle on August 16 though on September 27 he entertained Sarah and Deborah Morris at

<sup>1</sup> Here follows the obituary as published in the Leeds *Mercury* and often since, though unlike other Quaker quoters Birkbeck keeps the *Mr* John Woolman. See p. 132.

tea with others. Beside at London Yearly Meeting he and Woolman could have met at Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting.

I have noted above the original text of John Fothergill's reference to Woolman in writing to his brother the day after the American arrived. He had formed a quick impression of him and of the Yearly Meeting as a whole. He writes in the same letter:

The affairs of the meeting go on well. The Americans help us much. [Then follows his reference to Woolman] . . . Joshua Strangman is our clerk. He does his business pretty well and better I think than most of the Midland clerks, of late.<sup>1</sup>

The editor of this letter in *Memoirs* of Samuel Fothergill adds after the Clerk's name "of Leek." The passage is explained by the fact that London Yearly Meeting since 1753 had for purposes of choosing a clerk in rotation each year divided the country into five areas of which the Midland Counties including Staffordshire were one and every fifth year one of their representatives was chosen clerk. Dr John Fothergill belonged to another area and was chosen clerk himself in 1749, 1764 and 1779. So he was in a position to know the duties of the office. Why Mrs Whitney identifies him as the Friend who first spoke against and then in favor of John Woolman's concern to visit England I do not know. She gives as the clerk of the Yearly Meeting proper for 1772 William Fry of London but a William Fry had been clerk in 1771 (as in 1761 and 1766) and he was not from London but from Bristol. The clerk of the preceding year presided only until the new clerk was chosen in the first business session.

Woolman's participation in the Yearly Meeting is noted more than once in the diary of Elihu Robinson (1734-1800), a representative appointed from his county of Cumberland.

Fifth day [June 11] Our Friend John Woolman from Jersey made some pertinent remarks in this meeting [of Ministers and Elders] as in many others, and though the singularity of his appearance might in some meetings draw the attention of the youth and even cause a change of countenance in some, yet the simplicity, solidity and clearness of many of his remarks made all these vanish as mists at the sun's rising. He made several beautiful remarks in this meeting with respect to the benefit of true silence, and how incense ascended on the opening of the seventh seal, and there was silence in heaven for the space of half an hour, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Original at Friends Library, London (Port. 22/126), dated London 9, vi. 1772. Cf pp. 6-9 above.



First day of the week [June 14] At 10 the meeting for worship of Devonshire House appeared J. Woolman from America, in a lively testimony, observing divine love was yet able to cleanse from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, which must in degree be witnessed before we could experience an union with the divine nature, for God did not unite with any contrary to his nature, —Christ with Belial, nor the temple of God with idols, desiring all might endeavour after that purity of heart so necessarily connected with our happiness.<sup>1</sup>

Woolman's attendance at the Meeting for Worship in the same house the same day in the afternoon is reported in Thomas Parke's diary:

[June] 14 First Day. At three went to Devonshire House. It was a very large meeting and very hot. John Woolman and Jonah Thompson preached, and the latter appeared in supplication—to general satisfaction, I believe.

Elihu Robinson reports from the same meeting only an instructive testimony by George Boone, and adds, "it did not appear to me such a lively meeting as some others, but suppose the root of the matter might be in myself".

Several of the visitors and of the members spoke of the large size of the Yearly Meeting. In the official minutes is recorded a request made to Friends of London to provide if possible in the future a more suitable meeting house for worship and for transaction of business more commodiously.

Yet in all that throng John Woolman was not a total stranger. Beside the Americans all of whom he had known in his own country there were Irish and English Friends both men and women who had travelled in the ministry in America and had met him at Mt Holly, Philadelphia or elsewhere.

Of course, we do not know the names of more than a small proportion of the Friends attending London Yearly Meeting this year. Of about 140 official representatives only three or four had been in America. Perhaps 50 other English Friends' names appear on the minutes for the year. These were all men, as the women held a much less significant separate Yearly Meeting and their names do not appear on the minutes. When at this time John Woolman wrote to his wife he mentioned the five other Americans by name and added "Several Friends remember [their] kind love to thee."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gummere, p. 129 here corrected and edited. Whitney, 1942, p. 396; 1943, p. 373 quotes the first of these passages, but with some variants. The original diary is preserved at Friends Library, London.

<sup>2</sup> London 13. vi, Gummere, p. 130.

These old contacts were increased by John Woolman's further travels and many of the persons named became his hosts in their own homes to the north of London. He could have written to his wife as after similar travels *before* Yearly Meeting William Hunt did to his wife in North Carolina of "having been with many valuable Friends . . . many of whom thou knows, to wit, John Storer, Robert Proud, Joshua Dixon, Thomas Gawthrop, Jane Crosfield, Hannah Harris, Elizabeth Wilkinson and Rachel Wilson, who mostly desired to be kindly remembered to thee."<sup>1</sup>

Of Friends from the Northern Counties that were already known to Woolman something will be said later. I may mention one or two from elsewhere that were at London Yearly Meeting. John Griffith of Chelmsford mentions his being there in 1772, at the very end of his printed Journal.<sup>2</sup> He says his wife and Sarah and Deborah Morris were there with him. But neither here nor elsewhere does he mention John Woolman. Twenty-five years before, they had both been at New York Yearly Meeting in Long Island, and then Woolman but not Griffith names the other visitors.<sup>3</sup> They must have met often at other times, since for many years Griffith lived at Darby, Pennsylvania and as a recommended minister since 1734 he and Woolman would have met at both Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and at its Select Meeting. He emigrated from Wales to America in 1726 and back to England in 1751. His travels in the ministry brought him frequently to the Burlington County meetings both earlier and during his visit to America in 1765 to 1766, viz., 5 mo. 1765, 10 mo. 1765, and 11 mo. 1766.

How much John Woolman saw of Friends outside of meeting I do not know. The records of other visitors, for example Deborah Morris, suggest an endless round of hospitality which she and her Aunt received, dining out at mid-day and evening. But she does not mention Woolman in London as a fellow guest, though the Morrises did see something of their other fellow Americans in such circumstances. Probably we should not attribute to Woolman much sight-seeing in

<sup>1</sup> Cumberland I. viii. 1771, *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt*, Philadelphia, 1858, p. 142. Except Joshua Dixon in 1754 all these Friends had been in America in the sixties.

<sup>2</sup> *A Journal of the Life Travels and Labours in the Work of the Ministry of John Griffith*, London 1779, p. 426, and later editions.

<sup>3</sup> Griffith, p. 60, Woolman (in Gummere), p. 170.

London either, though Deborah Morris in her diary shows that she was observant of notable objects or buildings. On the 10th she mentions the many strangers at Gracechurch Street Meeting "among the rest was Catherine Macaulay, a famous historian."<sup>1</sup> On Saturday afternoon she "went to see the Tower, etc." And other younger attenders from America, and indeed from England, used the opportunity to see the sights. We have already noted evidence in the case of Thomas Parke.

Even more familiar to Woolman than the persons present would have been the procedure and contents of the sessions. These, as we have learned them from the Minutes, closely resembled the contemporary procedures of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting which Woolman had attended over the years. Indeed throughout Quakerism the pattern into which London Yearly Meeting had fallen was the pattern of all Yearly Meetings. And variation over succeeding decades was as slight as between locality and locality. Yet John Woolman was not the kind of person to be lulled into insensitivity by the familiarity of external procedures. We have every reason to believe that in his thoughts in meeting and in such utterance as he gave, his spirit was alert and his heart stirred. His retrospect of the period uses repeatedly the words "contrite" and "contrition," but they are very characteristic of his mood at other times. When he used it as he did of the first meeting at which he is said to have received a rebuff, it very likely does not confirm the story. He summarizes the whole week as follows:

*In these meetings I often felt a living concern for the establishment of Friends in the pure life of Truth, and my heart was enlarged in the meeting of Ministers, meeting of business, and in several meetings for public worship, and I felt my mind united in true love to the faithful labourers now gathered from the several parts of this Yearly Meeting.*

Before John Woolman left London, beside copying his Sea Journal and giving it to Sophia Hume, he had the foresight to make two other arrangements, though he mentions them only later and hence does not exactly date them.

<sup>1</sup> On Catharine Macaulay see *D.N.B.* and an article by Lucy M. Donnelly in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, vol. 6 (1949), pp. 173-207. Elihu Robinson referring to the same meeting says, "The famous C. M. Cauley there".

1. He "cautioned Friends . . . in the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders at London not to send letters to [him] on any common occasion by post." This was presumably done publicly and at the last of the three meetings of that body on June 15, since he missed entirely the one on the 6th, and arrived late to the one on the 8th where he presented his certificates. He had "heard in America the way of these posts" and had similarly cautioned the corresponding meeting of Friends in Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup>

In fact by staying on the ship to London instead of taking coach with Samuel Emlen and others from Dover, he had adhered to this scruple against coaches, though he does not give this as his reason. But why else did he allow himself to arrive late, contrary to another scruple?

2. He was already at his destination at York Quarterly Meeting when on September 23 he wrote to his Philadelphia representatives, his cousins Reuben and Margaret Haines, what he had done some three months before in London: "I left my bed and some things on board the ship I came in, directing the people to convey them to you if they arrive safe at Philadelphia."<sup>2</sup> Probably the *Mary and Elizabeth* though it stayed longer in London than Woolman did—Captain Sparks was still there on June 29 (see below p. 120) had already reached Philadelphia when Woolman wrote. By September 19 it was advertised as to sail again for London "with all convenient speed."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal, in discussing his scruple on the subject, after the entry for 16 of August. Gummere, p. 306; Whitney 1942, p. 407; 1943, p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> See Gummere, p. 141, original at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, formerly owned by A. M. Gummere and published in *Friends Review*, vol. 28 (1875), p. 535.

<sup>3</sup> Advertisement in *Pennsylvania Journal* reproduced in Gummere, opposite p. 123.

## II. QUARTERLY MEETINGS IN THE MIDLANDS

June 15 to July 1

*15th day 6th mo. Left London and went to a Quarterly Meeting in Hertford.*

*1st day 7th mo. Have been at Quarterly Meetings at Sherrington, at Northampton at Banbury and at Shipton, and had sundry meetings between.*

With these two paragraphs we get all the information the Journal gives us of Woolman's doings for more than two weeks. The substance of the period was the rapid attendance in turn of the Quarterly Meetings in five counties.

The Testimony of Friends of Yorkshire nine months later refers to these by the more official names of the Counties since the locations often rotated. It also indicates that he attended local meetings in between. It says:

After attending [London Yearly] Meeting [he] travelled northward visiting the Quarterly Meetings of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Worcestershire and divers particular meetings in his way.<sup>1</sup>

Now a Friend travelling in the Ministry was normally noticed at a Quarterly Meeting, at least at the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders which usually preceded it. The same would be true of a Monthly Meeting, but "particular meetings" whether on Sunday or midweek kept no record. It is not surprising that his name is not mentioned.

For this reason we must discount Mrs Gummere's remark that "his visits have been recorded in singularly few of the meetings which he attended."<sup>2</sup> She assumed that the omission was deliberate because of the objection felt by some Friends to his "singularity," especially in dress.

Even more emphatic are the words of Reginald Hine about Hitchin Meeting. He says:<sup>3</sup>

It might have been thought that the visit of John Woolman in the sixth month of 1772 would have stirred them into animation but they do not even record his name upon their minutes.

And he continues in a footnote:

<sup>1</sup> The full testimony is usually printed in editions of the Journal.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *A Mirror for the Society of Friends*, by Reginald L. Hine, 1929, p. 96 *History of Hitchin*, ii, 1929, p. 96.

Here, as elsewhere, the first impression was unfavourable. His undyed homespun clothes, his grey white beaver hat, his generally dishevelled appearance created such misgivings that it was thought best to leave his visit unrecorded. It was only after his death, four months later, that they found they had entertained an angel unawares. There was almost indecent haste to exalt the memory of this Minister whom whilst living they had hardly deigned to notice. As quickly as possible Hitchin Meeting procured copies of his Tracts concerning the Ministry to distribute amongst its members.

This contrast is probably quite unjustified. We have no evidence that Woolman attended Baldock, Royston & Hitchin Monthly Meeting. Only in that case would its minutes record his presence. And as for the Extracts from his Journal in Manuscript concerning the ministry it was the central meetings in London which decided promptly to print these in quantity for distribution throughout the Counties.<sup>1</sup> Presumably Baldock, Royston & Hitchin Monthly Meeting responded to this opportunity without any sense of contrast to their previous behaviour.

Probably Woolman was at Hitchin on the 17th or 18th. William Hunt was with him at Hertford on the 16th and at Baldock on the 19th and William Hunt's manuscript Journal says: "When it [London Yearly Meeting] was over we set out for the Quarterly and Yearly Meeting at Haverd [*sic*]; thence to Hitchen and Baldwick."<sup>2</sup> Indeed Hunt's language sounds as if the three places made a continuous yearly meeting. Robert Willis who was at them the same time the year before says: "After Yearly Meeting I got my horse at Tottenham and was there at the Quarterly Meeting at Hartford, Hitchen and Baldock. . . . These meetings are held in course and are called Yearly Meetings at this season of the year."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. Minutes Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders vol. 2 (1767-1773), p. 295; MS. Minutes of Morning Meeting vol. 6 (1762-1783), pp. 191-193.

<sup>2</sup> p. 181; not in the printed Memoirs.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Journal of Robert Willis 1770-1789, p. 31. In 1754 it was agreed that thereafter the Quarterly Meeting for the summer quarter should be held at Hertford on the third day in the week next after the Yearly Meeting at London and begin at the 10th hour, and that the Yearly Meeting should begin at the 11th hour the next day, in concurrence with which the Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Baldock and Royston agreed that the Yearly Meeting at Baldock should be on the sixth day of the same week at the 11th hour. (Letter to Friends of the Quarterly Meeting of Huntingdonshire, dated Ware, 5 mo. 6, 1754, at Cambridgeshire Record Office, reference R.59.25.18.3). In 1761 Hitchin M.M. and Baldock & Royston M.M. were united under the style of Baldock, Royston & Hitchin M.M.

Thomas Parke makes a comment like the last phrase. He too was at the meeting in Hertford in 1772 having left London after Yearly Meeting for a visit at Dr Dimsdale's in Hertford where after riding to Dunmow and Stortford he arrived on June 17 not till "near 10 o'clock, the morning was so very hot. . . . At 11 we went to meeting (it being their Yearly Meeting) which I found very crowded and large. William Hunt, T. Thornburgh and J. Woolman was there, but none of the three except the latter appeared." In other words, only Woolman of the three visitors participated vocally.

Janet Whitney quotes the Journal as reading "1st da: 6 mo left London and went on 17th to a Quarterly Meeting at Hertford" (*Journal of John Woolman*, 1950, p. 187). She gave the same date in her biography 1942, 400f; 1943, 377, adding "with his chariness at mentioning names [he] does not say anything about his companions. He does, however, risk a rare date, and with his usual inaccuracy in such details, he is wrong. He says it was the seventeenth. But the Minute Book cannot err."

No manuscript of the Journal agrees with Janet Whitney's text nor does any earlier printed edition that I have seen. They read "15 da 6 mo left London and went to a Quarterly Meeting at Hertford." My impression is that John Woolman left London on the 15th and that Quarterly Meeting was held on both the 16th and 17th with meetings for business and for ministers and elders and for worship occurring successively. Thomas Parke, as quoted above, dates the meeting for worship on the morning of 17th, while the official minute is for the 16th. Hence, in spite of Janet Whitney, John Woolman and the minute book are not in contradiction.

By reference to the Minute books of these Quarterly Meetings we can at least determine the date and confirm the place of meeting in June 1772 and discover to what extent John Woolman's presence is noted.

#### HERTFORDSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING

A Quarterly Meeting held at Hertford 6 mo 16th, 1772. Our Friends John Woolmer [*sic*], William Hunt and Thomas Thornburgh [*sic*] from America being likewise present in the course of their religious visits to this Island, their company and labour of love was likewise greatly to our comfort and satisfaction.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ref. Q 187. County Record Office, County Hall, Hertford, Herts. Also printed *JFHS*, vol. 36 (1939), p. 58.

The spelling of his name is to be noted. The same misspelling occurs later in a letter from Sheffield from a young woman there.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the Hertfordshire clerk had a chance to see the right spelling on the certificate. Perhaps we can assume that in 1772 the name Woolmer was more familiar in England than Woolman. Only the former occurs in the indexes of Joseph Besse's *Collection of Sufferings* before 1689, containing about 14,000 Quaker names, and that too at Hertford (John Woolmer in 1660, I, p. 242). In the recent telephone directory of London (S to Z, January 1963) there is one name under Woolman to fourteen under Woolmer.

#### BUCKINGHAMSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING

At a meeting held at Sherrington 24 of 6 mo. 1772. Jos. Woster (Upperside) reports that the Friends appointed to attend the service of the Yearly Meeting were all present. The affairs brought before it conducted in brotherly love and condescension. Jos. Steevens and Robt. Eeles also attended the meeting of ministers and elders and delivered our answers to said meeting's queries. He likewise adds the meeting was satisfactory during the several sittings thereof.

Here John Woolman's presence at Sherrington is not noted. In the minute book of the Buckinghamshire Quarterly Meeting for Ministers and Elders no minutes are recorded between 7 of 4 mo. 1772 and 6 of 4 mo 1773, following their local custom of making minutes only once a year when the queries addressed to Ministers and Elders were answered.<sup>2</sup>

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING was held at Northampton the 25th 6 mo 1772. But the minutes have no reference to John Woolman. The Quarterly meeting for Ministers and Elders met not before but the day after the Quarterly Meeting, at least in this Quarter in this county. Its minutes include this record for 26th 6 mo 1772.

At this meeting we was favour'd with the Acceptable Company and Service of our Friend John Woolman who produced a certificate dated 6th 1 Mo 1772 from their Monthly Meeting at Burlington in New Jersey which was much to our satisfaction as also from the Quarterly Meeting and the Spring Meeting of

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from E. H. Milligan, 23 March 1964. Both MS. Minute Books at Friends Library, London.



Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey dated the 21st 3 Mo 1772.<sup>1</sup>

#### OXFORDSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING

Met at Banbury . . . this 30th day of the 6th Month 1772 . . . We were favoured with the company of our Friend John Woolman from America who produced a certificate from the Monthly Meeting of Burlington in New Jersey endorsed by the Quarterly Meeting of the same province, and likewise another from the General Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia dated the 21st of the 3rd month 1772 which certificates as well as his visit to us were very acceptable.<sup>2</sup>

There is also reference under the same date in the Minutes of the Women's Quarterly Meeting. John Woolman had evidently secured permission, as was occasionally done when separate sessions of men and women were held concurrently, to leave the Quarterly Meeting and visit that of the women, where he spoke under concern.

30th 6 mo 1772. . . . We have had a very comfortable visit from our Friend John Woolman from America, whose tender advice and exhortation to Friends in general and the youth in particular will, we earnestly hope, remain sealed upon the minds of all present.<sup>3</sup>

WORCESTERSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING. This meeting rotated in location. In 1772 it met on 1st of 1st month at Worcester, 1st of 4th month at Worcester, 1st of 7th month at Shipston, and 7th of 10th month at Stourbridge.<sup>4</sup> The Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders met at 6 o'clock the preceding evening.

Through the courtesy of Mr R. H. Sargeant, County Archivist, I can quote through photostats the following entries from each set of the Worcestershire minutes:

Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders held in Shipston the 30th of the 6th month 1772. In this Meeting we were favoured

<sup>1</sup> MS. Minute Books, Northants Quarterly Meeting, 1761-1796, and of Northants Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders 1759-1827, at Northamptonshire County Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> Berkshire County Record Office, Reading. Ref. 2 A 2/2.

<sup>3</sup> Berkshire County Record Office, Reading. Both the above were quoted in Gummere, p. 132, on the basis of a letter from William C. Braithwaite.

<sup>4</sup> See Minutes of Worcestershire Quarterly Meeting sent to Shipston 1760-1790 in Bevan-Naish Library, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, No. 2759. Unfortunately these omit the minutes of sessions held *at* Shipston.

with the company of our Friend John Woolman from America, who produced a Certificate from a Monthly Meeting of Friends held at Burlington in New Jersey the 6th of 1st month 1772, which was read here, and sets forth their near unity with him as a Minister and in his present concern in making a religious visit to these parts, which Certificate was indorsed by a Quarterly Meeting held in the same place the 24th of 2d month 1772 expressive of their concurrence therein. Said Friend produced a Certificate from the Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia by adjournments from the 21 of 3d month to the 24th of the same inclusive 1772 expressing their near unity with and tender regard for said Friend. All which is very acceptable to us, as was the visit of our Friend Saml Emlin (who attended this meeting) but having left his certificates in London, brought from Philadelphia, they could not be read here.<sup>1</sup>

Quarter Meeting at Shipston. 1st of 7th mo 1772. . . . In this meeting we were favoured with the Company of our Friend Saml Emlin from Philadelphia, who having left his Certificates in London they could not be read here. But the following certificates were read here produced by our Friend, Jno. Woolman from America who also attended this meeting, vizt [there follows a list almost identical with the above] all of which and their visits is very acceptable to us.<sup>2</sup>

Other indications of Woolman's whereabouts in this period are few. The Quarterly Meetings it should be remembered included usually more than one session—select meeting, meeting for worship, and business meeting and thus extended over more than one day. Time should be allowed for travel between them, especially since Woolman was on foot, or as he says "without a horse." Part of a similar itinerary is outlined by Ruth Follows, travelling with her son but hardly on foot at the age of seventy eight in 1793.

Went to Warwick on third day, was at their week day meeting on fourth and at Eddington meeting on sixth day, at Shipston meeting on first day, and to Banbury that evening; was at three meetings on second day and the Quarterly Meeting on third; went same day to Buckingham, was at meeting in the evening and at Quarterly Meeting on sixth day; thence to Wellington [sic] that evening, etc.<sup>3</sup>

The Quarterly Meetings were not held at the weekend. John Woolman almost certainly attended a Friends Meeting

<sup>1</sup> Worcestershire Record Office, Shire Hall, Worcestershire, Ref. 898. 2B A 1303/11. Catharine Payton from Chadwick meeting is included among representatives present.

<sup>2</sup> Worcestershire Record Office (as above) Ref. 898.2 B.A. 1303/3.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Stansfield, *Memoirs of Ruth Follows*, 1829, p. 113, reprinted in *Friends Library*, iv, 1840, p. 58.

each of the two First-days in this period, but he does not say where, though for the next two months he almost regularly indicates where he was on this day of the week. They fell on Sixth Month 21st (between Hertford and Sherrington) and 28th (between Northampton and Banbury).

The additional bits of information we have of this period are these. On the 19th he is at Baldock for we find him writing under that date line to his host of the previous week at London, John Townsend.<sup>1</sup> His letter was dispatched by the hand of Joseph Roe (Row) who was returning to London.

At Baldock he was still in Hertfordshire and I think here, as at Quarterly Meeting three days before, William Hunt was with him. It was on this day that the cousins John Woolman and William Hunt parted for the last time, the former turning west as his itinerary indicates, while William Hunt, as Deborah Morris tells us, was at Colchester for Quarterly Meeting 22nd to 24th, *en route* to Ipswich and to Norfolk Quarterly Meeting at Norwich and later to Holland. William Hunt himself, writing from Colchester, apparently on the 21st, to Uriah Woolman, the brother of John, said:

... We parted with dear cousin John [Woolman] two days since. He was then as well as usual. He has great and acceptable service here. The singularity of his appearance is not only strange but very exercising to many valuable Friends, who have had several opportunities of conference with him. Some are still dissatisfied; others are willing to leave it. The purity of his ministry gains universal approbation. I hope he stands on that Foundation which will bear him through all. He is now gone towards Yorkshire; and we are bending for Norwich, in company with Deborah and Sarah Morris.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spriggs MSS. No. 66, in MS. vol. 166, at Friends Library, London. Cf. *JFHS*, vol. 29 (1932), p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Comly, *Misc.*, i, 1831, p. 190 (2nd edit. 1834, p. 399) Cf. Gummere, p. 132. In *Friends Review*, vol. 4 (1851), p. 434 and the *Memoir*, p. 88, are minor variations including the date Colchester 6 mo 25, but that is certainly not right.

### III. TRAVELS TO AND IN THE NORTHERN COUNTIES

July 1 to September 13

The prior references to Woolman's concern point clearly to his interest in the Northern areas, especially Yorkshire. If the American minutes refer sometimes more generally to Europe or England or Holland or Ireland, they do not obscure the more localized objective. Why the concern focused on this area we do not know, and perhaps Woolman did not know.

We have already noted that Woolman had met in America various English Friends travelling as Public Friends in the ministry. Many of them had visited meetings in Woolman's area and nearly all had attended in Philadelphia one of the semi-annual meetings of ministers and elders, where their minutes of travel from their home meetings had been presented. The extant records of this body give their names and credentials. Indeed for a decade or more the minutes of that meeting are entered, I believe, in the hand of John Woolman himself.<sup>1</sup>

In many districts of Quakerism unofficial lists of visiting public Friends were privately kept. An example of such a list for the Philadelphia area<sup>2</sup> and limited to those from England or Ireland would coincide with the data in that book. The North Counties names include, with the dates of their American visits:

1742	John Haslam	Handsworth Woodhouse, Yorks	d. 1773
1750	Jonah Thompson	b. Cumberland, later Dorset	d. 1780
1754	Joshua Dixon	Raby, Durham	d. 1784

<sup>1</sup> MS. Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia. Book 2 (1734/5-1773). See pages 354-430, 438-447. The Minutes of Burlington Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, are also for many years in Woolman's hand, including the signed reflection entered by him in 1767 (see below pp. 135f). But this meeting did not record the visiting public Friends.

<sup>2</sup> See Isaac Sharpless in Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911, pp. 540-543. I think this goes back to such a list owned by Robert Proud the historian. Another list annotated is in *JFHS*, vol. 10 (1913), pp. 117-132.

1760	Jane Crosfield	Preston Richard, Westmorland	d. 1784
1760	George Mason	Castleton, Yorks migrated to America in 1767	
1761	Robert Proud	Thirsk, Yorks	d. 1793
1761	John Stephenson	Stockton on Tees, Co. Durham	d. 1797
1761	Hannah Harris	Pardshaw Hall, Cumberland	d. 1786
1761	Elizabeth Wilkinson	Cockermouth, Cumberland	d. 1771
1761	Alice Hall	Cumberland	d. 1762 (in Phila.)
1766	Thomas Gawthrop	Gatebeck, Westmorland (3rd time)	d. 1780
1768	Rachel Wilson	Kendal, Westmorland	d. 1775

Naturally the homes of these Friends as far as they were still living would be stepping stones on Woolman's journey. Indeed the few hosts mentioned in the sparse narrative of the Journal or in his sparser letters from England are precisely among those named above. My unconfirmed memory is that I have seen a list of English Friends in Woolman's handwriting perhaps written in advance as a memorandum of persons to visit if possible. If his life had not terminated unexpectedly he might well have visited more of them.

1. To judge from other Friends travelling in the Ministry not only a list of persons to be seen or of persons actually visited was a common form of memorandum. Some of these travellers like Woolman's Philadelphia friend Rebecca Jones, who visited England in 1784-8, left a very detailed record of meetings attended, homes visited, and distances between in the form of a diary.<sup>1</sup>

In the papers of Amelia M. Gummere at Haverford I find a single name noted on a piece of paper in Woolman's hand: "Dan'l Weston 172 Wapin London". This refers to the husband of the Mary Weston<sup>2</sup> who had travelled in America in 1750-1752 who lived in Wapping. Her maiden name was Pace, but her husband died in 1755. She had remarried about 1765 to Jeremiah Waring, but died herself in 1766. As other American visitors to London in 1772 noted, her daughter Mary was living there having married in 1762 John Eliot. I do not therefore think this small notation was intended for use in 1772.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Diary at Haverford College Library, Allinson Collection.

<sup>2</sup> See Eliot Papers, II, 1894, pp. 79ff, especially 113, 117.

2. Another useful tool was a map. One could be bought, as was done by Thomas Parke when he rode by horseback from Edinburgh to attend London Yearly Meeting in 1772. Home-made maps were often supplied to travelling Public Friends, even when unlike Woolman they were generally attended by local Quaker guides or companions. Especially convenient for our present purpose is the map of the Northern Counties published by James Backhouse of Darlington in 1773<sup>1</sup> a year too late for Woolman to have used. This indicated the location of Friends Meetings, the weekday of the individual meeting, the date of the monthly meetings, the date and place of quarterly meetings, the boundaries of both the latter, the roads and the distance in miles between neighboring meetings. Still later, beginning in 1790, was issued a small annual booklet *The Pocket Calendar and Useful Remembrancer for the Year . . .* London, W. Darton and Co. This was continued under other titles.<sup>2</sup>

3. Beside a map and a list of persons with addresses a visitor like Woolman who wished to keep any kind of record needed some kind of calendar, otherwise it would be very hard to relate the days of the week to those of the month. Pocket almanacs were cheap and convenient whether for Friends with their numbered names for weekdays, or for non-Friends. If any date was to be made in a journal it would indicate, beside the name or number of the month, both the day of the week and the day of the month. After I had outlined in continuous lines for the present study such a double column for the successive days of the relevant months I discovered that John Woolman had also done so.<sup>3</sup> On the margin of two of the pages of the little hand-made notebook used for his English tour are such lists. I suppose I had previously assumed that these figures were just meaningless doodling. I will give the beginning and the ending of each.

<sup>1</sup> Printed on heavy paper, also known as printed on silk. See *Archaeologia* (Publications of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne), 4th series, vol. 39, pp. 345-350. Cf. *JFHS*, vol. 50 (1962), p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends Books* (1867), vol. 2, 372ff. A copy for 1791 given to Rebecca Jones by Christiana Hustler is in the Haverford College Library. The map used by her in 1785 showing the meeting houses in Great Britain came into the custody of Friends Historical Association.

<sup>3</sup> I also discovered that the calendar of the year I was writing (1964) was the same as that for 1772.

In the first example week days precede month days, in the second vice versa.

7.16	1-5
1.17	2-6
2.18	3-7
3.19	4-1
and so on to	and so on to
5.10	29-5
6.11	30-6
7.12	31-7

The second of these is marked "10 mo." He had prepared a calendar for the whole month, so that as he entered in his diary either the day of the month or of the week he could supply the other. But he made no entries and died on the 7th of the month. The other list ends correctly for the 9 mo., e.g. the 12th was a Saturday, but by accident he repeated the 30th of the preceding month, and this made an error of one day back to the beginning. It should be 1.16, 2.17, etc.<sup>1</sup>

4. A fourth tool important for a travelling Friend, especially for one like Woolman who on his journeys not only spoke in meeting but also wrote religious essays—was a Bible. We have from this period of Quakerism little evidence whether travellers carried such a book with them or relied on casual use of one at the homes of their hosts. Woolman was travelling on foot, not on horseback or in a private or hired chaise like other Americans, still less in the post carriages. It would not be surprising if he had not always access to a concordance or even to a Testament or a Bible.

This problem is suggested—like the preceding—by a more careful look at the holograph little journals at Swarthmore. That of the sea voyage includes between the entries for 28 of 5th month and 31 of 5th month a little essay on love—of God and Christ, of neighbor, or of money. Several passages of scripture are quoted or echoed here, and once in the just preceding paragraph; but the reference is left to be supplied by a query or by notations leaving a space for the numbers. In Gummere's edition the blanks are ignored and we get, often misunderstood I think, as meaning chapter 5, the following:

<sup>1</sup> A photograph is given in Gummere, opposite p. 288.

ye Chapt. & Verse	
Isaiah ch.	v.
Chapt. & Verse?	
Chap.	V.
c.	v.
chap.	v.

In the MS there is one quotation identified, Numbers xix. 13, and later printed editions have supplied references elsewhere more or less correctly. But without consulting other MSS this one is sufficient to show that at times Woolman was not in a position easily to fill in the references. I do not think we may assume that these pieces were written just at the time indicated by the narrative or that the whole section of the journal was uniformly edited.<sup>1</sup>

John Woolman's next and last memoranda in his Journal run as follows:—

*17 day 7 mo. Was this day at Birmingham. Have been at Coventry, at Warwick and have been at meetings in Oxfordshire and sundry places.*

*26 day 7 mo. Have continued traveling northward, visiting meetings, was this day at Nottingham, which in the forenoon especially was through divine love a heart-tendering season. Next day had a meeting in a Friends' house with Friends' children and some Friends.*

*2 day 8 mo. 1st of week was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town. Have been at sundry meetings last week.*

*9 day 8 mo. 1st of week was at Rushworth.*

*16 day 8 mo. 1st of the week at Settle.*

*23 day 8 mo. Was this day at Preston Patrick . . . and had a comfortable meeting.*

*26 day 8 mo. Being now at George Crosfield's in Westmorland . . . I rested a few days in body and mind with our*

<sup>1</sup> In this connection one would like to know the occasion for the piece of parchment in Woolman's writing giving Rom. vi. 13, now at Friends Library, London. Reproduced from a photograph in *The New Century Edition*, 1900, opposite p. 97. It is endorsed by Morris Birkbeck with his familiar monogram: "This was in John Woolman's Pocket Book in 1772 and taken out of it by permission by M.B."



*Friend Jane Crosfield<sup>1</sup> who was once in America. Was on Sixth day of the week at Kendal in Westmorland and at Greyrigg meeting the 30 day 8 mo. and first of the week.*

*6 day 9 mo. 1st of week. Was this day at Counterside, a large meeting house and very full.*

*13 day 9 mo. Was this day at Richmond,<sup>2</sup> a small meeting, but the townspeople coming in the house was crowded.*

*At this place I heard that my kinsman William Hunt from Carolina who was on a religious visit to Friends in England departed this life the 9 day 9 mo 1772 at Newcastle of the small pox.*

*He appeared in publick testimony when he was a youth. His ministry was in the pure love and life of Truth and his conduct in general agreeable thereto. He travelled much in the work of the Gospel in America, and I remember to have heard [him] say in publick testimony in America that he had sought to the Lord for his. . . .*

The above two paragraphs in MS S are in the hand of John Woolman. Evidently a continuation was lost for the abrupt ending is at the last line of the last page of a fold of pages in the MS S. These lines have been crossed through. Elsewhere in another hand is found the variant form usually printed and copied in W. Hunt's MS p. 256 *bis*, beginning "When I was at Richmond I heard that my kinsman William Hunt from North Carolina . . ." and ending "I once heard him say in public testimony that his concern was in that visit to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself, which words joined with his example, was a means of stirring up the pure mind in me." But the first words of this later version show erasure and substitution. They were first written "I being now in Yorkshire," then "at this place," and finally "when I was at Richmond I heard," etc.

<sup>1</sup> These references to the Crosfields are quoted from Woolman's printed Journal in the *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Samuel Fothergill* written by their grandson George Crosfield, 1843 and later editions, but regularly misdated as 7th month.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs Whitney writes, with what authority I know not, Leyburn in her biography, 1942, p. 419; 1934, p. 393, and in her text of the Journal, p. 196. It is nine miles S.W. of Richmond. See below, p. 105.

These sentences are all the relevant itinerary given by Woolman himself. He covers July by mentioning three towns in Warwickshire and one in Nottinghamshire, and refers to sundry unnamed meetings in between.

His date for Birmingham is a Friday, July 17, and he implies that he had been before that at Coventry and at Warwick, though that would not be the geographical order between Shipston and Birmingham. His whereabouts for First days July 5, 12 and 19 are not given. He mentions also having been at meetings in Oxfordshire. He had been at Oxfordshire Quarterly Meeting at Banbury on June 30. But there were a dozen first day meetings in that county. Monthly Meetings in July 1772 were held at Hook-norton on Monday the 6th and at Witney, on Monday the 13th. In neither case do the minutes record his presence, though a month earlier Witney M.M. held at Charlbury on June 1 records the presence of Robert Willis of East Jersey.<sup>1</sup> For August he gives his whereabouts for each of its five Sundays and for September the first two Sundays. Except for Preston Patrick, Kendal and Grayrigg in Westmorland he was now in the Yorkshire to which his intention had been specially directed. For supplements during and after this ten-week period we must look elsewhere. Some information is available.

For Woolman's visit at Birmingham, light comes not as expected from a local Friend but from one who was passing through—in a letter of William Forster (1747–1824) of Tottenham to his cousin William Birkbeck, Jr, in Settle. The letter is dated 7th month 1772 but without the day of the month, yet in the narrative the days of the month can now be inserted after the days of the week.

This will advise of my getting well home to London by the Birmingham fly on 3rd day night [July 21], to Tottenham next morning [22] . . .

John Woolman left Birmingham the day I got in (7th day) [18]. He was at their meeting the day before [17] where he appeared some time and to much satisfaction, principally cautioning Friends against being too much engaged in worldly affairs, which was not only a sensible hurt to themselves but to their children. He was 1st day [19] at a meeting about 6 miles

<sup>1</sup> Information from the County Archivists of Oxfordshire (for Banbury M.M.) and Berkshire (for Witney M.M.).

off and intended taking meetings in his way to your county. I hear Saml [Emlen] purposes accompanying Wm Hunt, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The same William Forster continued to mention John Woolman in his later correspondence from Tottenham.

To his cousin Rebecca Haydock (an American) he wrote on 8 mo 16, after mentioning other public Friends from America visiting Holland, William Hunt, Thomas Thornburgh and Samuel Emlen:

The remarkable appearance of your countryman John Woolman who is now with Sarah Morris and her neice in Yorkshire, attracts the notice of many. His steady uniform deportment, his meekness and unaffected humility, his solidity, no less in conversation than in his ministry, which is instructing and edifying, creates much esteem and well corresponds with his appearance. I think your ministers in general far exceed ours though we are favoured with several eminent ones, among whom is a Friend now at our house of whom I suppose thou hast heard, Sophia Hume, a native of South Carolina, as plain in her dress for a woman as J. Woolman for a man since her convincement, etc.<sup>2</sup>

And again after Woolman's death in writing to another cousin in America, Rebecca Garrigues, he refers to it, and like others notes the coincidence of the place:

His loss is universally lamented, as few men equal him in an uniform exemplary life and conversation. It was remarkable his being taken ill in the city where he had the greatest desire to visit and just after the conclusion of the Quarter meeting where he was particularly favoured.<sup>3</sup>

Two places are mentioned in letters that Woolman wrote (*Cf* p. 4). One was the home of John Haslam "on the edge of Yorkshire" further described as "about 160 miles northward from London." Three letters written there on 31 7 mo,

<sup>1</sup> Copies of letters of William Forster, 1772-1774 (MS. vol. 77, p. 1, Friends Library, London; given in 1922 by Mrs Vere O'Brien of Ennis, Co. Clare, Ireland). Unfortunately the meeting about 6 miles off cannot be identified. First-day meetings were probably held the 3rd first-day in this month at Polesworth as in 1801. But no meeting as close as six miles to Birmingham can be identified. The meeting there was on Bull Street. A second weekday meeting was unusual, but was early adopted at Birmingham because of "the many travelling Friends who come hither on the fifth day of the week and by appointment have meetings on the sixth". The hours were set in 1703 at ten and two respectively. The sixth-day meeting was quite small in 1754 but evidently was continued through 1772, though it was discontinued by 1801.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37, 3rd month 18, 1773.

are extant. The place is more accurately described as Handsworth Woodhouse. Woolman writing to America calls Haslam (1690-1773) "our ancient Friend" and says "his memory is much impaired by the palsy" and "he appears to be in a meek quiet state." He had been in America thirty years before, travelling with a minute from Warmsworth [i.e. Balby] Monthly Meeting, Yorkshire,<sup>1</sup> and on account of ill health had stayed sometime near Woolman's home, with Elizabeth (Haddon) Estaugh of Haddonfield while her husband was away on a visit to the West Indies. Edmund Peckover (1695/6-1767) of Norfolk who was also travelling on religious concern at the time wrote that "J. Haslam is here but in a poor state of health" and the two had not travelled together. "It would not have suited either of us. He is naturally of a heavy, dull temper and disposition, &c. and Friends were pleased at the first we were easy to go apart."<sup>2</sup>

The other place, in the postscript to a letter to Rachel Wilson a month later, is at Grayrigg and exactly agrees in day and place with the Journal which places him at Grayrigg meeting on the 30th of August. He does not name the "ancient Friend" there at whose house he stayed.

We are particularly fortunate in having in the diary of Deborah Morris one parallel record that runs with slight intermittency from Sunday, July 26, at Nottingham to Wednesday, August 5 at High Flatts where they parted to meet seven weeks later on September 22 at Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting at York. He did not always stay with the same hosts as Sarah and Deborah Morris and did not travel with them usually. He probably walked, though once Debby mentioned as exceptional that he "was prevailed upon to ride with us," the nine miles from Oxton to Mansfield. Because of this long parallelism and because of the striking contrast of the style it seems best to quote Deborah Morris rather fully.

After London Yearly Meeting and visits to Quarterly and other meetings in the Eastern Counties Deborah Morris and her Aunt also turned toward the Midlands. On Saturday, July 25

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting for 24 7 mo. 1742.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of E. Peckover, Dec. 1742/3 quoted in *JFHS*, vol. 4 (1907), p. 20. Cf. Gummere, p. 564. Cf. also *JFHS*, vol. 1 (1904), p. 96.

she records the thirty-three mile journey from Spalding to Nottingham where they arrived

about six o'clock and was kindly received by our Friend John Leaver and wife, both Public [Friends]. The last four miles it rained hard. They were remarkably tender of us.

First day [July 26] went to meeting and there we gladly met our good Friend John Woolman, who was much favoured in testimony and my aunt in supplication. A good meeting of about 130 Friends. In the afternoon curiosity brought more than the house (which was not small) could hold. They were solidly quieted when my aunt and J. Woolman were particularly led to them. A favoured meeting indeed.

We went with him to John Storer's, spent the evening and fixed on six o'clock the next evening to meet all the Friends of the town by themselves.

I infer that John Woolman was lodging at John Storer's. This Nottingham Friend had visited America in 1760. Mary Leaver, the hostess of the Morrises at Nottingham, returned their visit by coming to America the next year, 1773.

In her diary for the next day Deborah Morris tells of an interruptive visitor at home and describes at some length, in quite recognizable terms, the Nottingham Castle and its history and the situation and the then population of the town. She continues:

At six o'clock went to the appointed meeting with J. Woolman where was about fifty people, all called Friends, which was a favoured time.

3rd day 28 [July] went to Oxen,<sup>1</sup> [Oxton] nine miles, with several Friends. This was a village and an appointed meeting. The house near full, though few Friends. John [Woolman] and aunt both appeared [in testimony or supplication] and ended to satisfaction. Dined at the poor Friend's, from whence J. Woolman was prevailed on to ride with us to Mansfield. We parted with our loving Friends, and the tender kind folks of the place thanked us and wished us a good journey.

<sup>1</sup> They had passed through "Oxen" the previous Saturday, "a pretty village," but though there were "a few Friends here and a meeting house" they "had not stopped for want of knowing who and where to find them."

We got to Mansfield by seven (9 miles) and was kindly received by William Marriott and wife.

4th day 29 [July] [After a brief description of Mansfield] Here are but a few Friends, and people of the town not fond of coming to meeting. The few that did sat solid and some were affected with the Truth delivered especially by aunt, who was so clear and powerfully led that day I could but admire at it. Considering the number which was but 18 and mostly the unthinking sort, but observing one young woman much affected I thought worth while coming if only for her sake. Our trouble in getting to the meeting was uncommon. We were a sight to the people who flocked to stare at us.

Dined at our lodgings and about three set off for Chesterfield (11 miles) and was kindly received by William Storr and his wife, though they knew nothing of us; but Friends are Friends if they keep their places. The wife is a valuable woman and treated us like her children.

5th day 30 [July] We went to their weekday meeting which was larger than the other, both of Friends and the better sort of others—a good house and near full. Abiah Darby was here and at the forepart of the meeting appeared in prayer. J. Woolman spoke most of the rest of the time. He was deep in his gift, and but few there could understand him. Poor aunt sat under her exercise, I thought. If he had stood up after her he would have been of more service. If she should return there again I should not wonder. Her omission was not wilful, and it pleased her gracious Master to admit her in mercy to draw near in humble supplication, to the affecting of many; and she came away from the meeting easier than I expected. It was a good meeting on the whole.

After dinner set off to Handsworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire a small village to visit our good Friend John Haslam (14 miles). Spent the evening with him agreeably in a loving innocent childlike state, and though a great defect in memory, yet retained the best and most valuable sense. I thought he seemed out of the reach of the tempter.

6th day 31 [July] went to that meeting [Woodhouse or Warmsworth?] a smallish house. Very few Friends but full of some sort. They were still. Aunt had a pretty instructing time and J. Woolman close work. Twelve

public Friends once belonged to this meeting and now not one, as the above Friend is past attending. After dinner took our last leave of him and went to John Barnard (his wife is R[achel] Wilson's sister, Hannah) at Upper Thorpe in Yorkshire (5 miles). This is a pretty family of children. Two daughters Polly and Debby solid lasses.<sup>1</sup>

7th day and first of the 8th month. A sweet sitting in the family.

First day and 2nd [of August] went to meeting at Sheffield eleven miles from the Friend [John Barnard], a large town and pretty large house. More Friends than at many other places, but I thought was chiefly filled with other[s]. Aunt had a large open time here, John Woolman also. Dined at John Barlow. He has two pretty daughters. At three went to meeting which was much crowded and many went away and stood out of doors. John was very large and lively but too deep for the greatest part. Aunt much favoured in prayer, and after her John stood up again and spoke more affectingly to the youth. Wherever we go there is such thronging there is not time but when in bed for retirement.

Here, I think, the American women and John Woolman went their separate ways for a couple of days, but there are fuller echoes of his visit at Sheffield in other sources which may be inserted at this point, and an account of him at High Flatts where Deborah Morris again introduces him into her narrative.

There has turned up in the Bevan-Naish Library at Woodbrooke<sup>2</sup> a letter about the presence of these American Friends at Sheffield. It was written the following week by Tabitha Hoyland (1750-1809) who later married Benjamin Middleton of Wellingborough and addressed to Sarah Tuke (1756-1790) who later married Robert Grubb of Clonmel,

<sup>1</sup> John Woolman wrote three letters on this date from John Haslam's (see Gummere, p. 133f) and says "Sarah Morris and her companion were middling well here yesterday." He apparently did not go to John Barnard's as they did. He is mentioned as at meeting with them two days later. This Hannah Barnard is not to be confused with the noted American Friend of that name. Her children included besides "Polly" and "Debby," later Deborah Darby (1754-1810), Rachel Fowler, and Robert Barnard.

<sup>2</sup> No. 2453 Letters from various Friends 1657-1871, Item 7. This was published in *Friends Journal*, vol. 10 (1964), p. 81.

Ireland. It was William Tuke her father who later welcomed the American visitors at York, and her stepmother Esther Tuke and she nursed John Woolman in his final illness. Both Tabitha and Sally later became notable public Friends, but at this time they were about twenty-two and sixteen respectively. The letter is dated Sheffield 8th mo 9th 1772 and addressed "William Tuke, Castlegate York. For Sally Tuke" and postmarked SHEFFIELD. It will be noticed that John Woolman's name is spelled again "Woolmer".<sup>1</sup> William Fairbank (1730-1801) was a prominent Friend of Sheffield, who frequently with his wife Mary, the daughter of Josiah Foster and Jane Birkbeck, entertained visitors. The more private opportunity held at his home may imply that Woolman was staying there. The text of the letter is obscure in two places, being torn by the seal. The body of it reads as follows:

My dear Sally,

. . . Our very valuable Friends John Woolmer and Sarah Morris were at this meeting yesterday was a week, which was exceedingly crowded, part through curiosity to see John's particular dress, and part I hope from a better motive, whom I apprehend went away well satisfied with what they heard from the man whose uncouth appearance will be likely to prejudice many. But he is certainly a very deep minister that searches things quite to the bottom, greatly exercised in a life of self-denial and humility. Therefore must the will of the creature be more subdued and the better fitted to receive the mystery of the kingdom, which I believe through much obedience are largely opened. And I can't but think Providence hath some wise end in what seems difficult to reconcile with man's wisdom. Perhaps it may be intended as a means to wean many from the things which outwardly adorn the body, and likewise other luxuries and delicacys, too much prevailing amongst those in exalted stations as to this world's enjoyments, besides the testimony he apprehends it a duty to bear against the iniquitous trading in Negroes that so deeply affected his mind as to make his tears both as meat and drink for many days.

I was favored with being present at an opportunity at W. Fairbank's where he opened his reasons for several things and gave very [comfortable?] advice to the youth of whom there was several present. May it be properly impressed upon each mind.

Sarah Morris is a great minister and a surprising woman of her years. I think she is about seventy, endowed with a strong natural capacity, her doctrine sound, delivery quite unaffected, and speaks with great propriety. I expect they will hardly reach

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 78.



York before Quarterly Meeting, and then 'tis much if you get the women Friends, as I hear Rachel Wilson is expected to meet them there, but John Woolmer being remarkable for consulting the free[dom of?] his own. I have more to tell thee than my paper will allow, therefore must be short. . . . T.H.

The writer of this letter attributes the crowding of this meeting at Sheffield partly to the curiosity to see John Woolman's particular dress. Evidently that was known of by report before it was seen, and its influence in drawing attenders was natural. Joshua Evans (1731-1798), a friend and neighbor of John Woolman in West Jersey, who not only shared John's scruple about undyed clothes but wore a beard, testified later.<sup>1</sup>

The wearing of my beard, I believe, hath been of great use in the cause I am engaged to promote ; for I apprehend thousands have come to meetings where I have been, that otherwise I should not have seen ; many being induced, in great measure, to come on account of my singular appearance. And yet many of these have been among the most tendering seasons. At this place, a number of gay people were observed to weep, and some who had never been known to come to a Friends' meeting before, were seen to shed tears.

The next account of this occasion though exactly dated was evidently written after Woolman's death, perhaps much after. The writer, however, though unknown seems to speak as an eyewitness. The copy was made in a book of extracts made by a Friend, Mary Andrews, and dated 1812.<sup>2</sup>

8 mo. 2nd 1772

John Woolman a publick friend from America, was at Sheffield on a religious visit, he was remarkable for the singularity of his dress. His shoes were of uncurried leather, tied with leather strings, his stockings of white yarn, his coat, waistcoat, and breeches of a strong kind of cloth undyed, the natural colour of the wool, the buttons of wood with brass shanks; his shirt of cotton unbleached, about 14d. pr yard, fastened at the neck with three large buttons of the same stuff, without either cravat or handkerchief about his neck; his hat a very good one was white, his countenance grave, sensible and expressive; in conversation rather reserved (except with a few individuals) being

<sup>1</sup> Joshua Evans's Journal, Comly *Misc.*, vol. 10, p. 175, the occasion was at Stanton's in Virginia in 1797. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 204f (1798, Chester and Providence, Pennsylvania) printed from the original in *BFHA*, vol. 28 (1939), pp. 34f.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Andrews' MS. Book of Extracts at Friends Library, London, where it was acquired about February 1944. Another copy is to be found in the same library, Catchpool MSS., vol. 1, unnumbered page after index and colophon of 1797.

at all times more ready to hear than to offer the sacrifice of fools. Though many might think him whimsical from the odd appearance he made—he was a man of great understanding, and had very good natural abilities; of a mild and benevolent disposition, as might be easily discovered by the natural unaffected simplicity of his manners, which never failed of procuring respect, from all who were acquainted with him.

He said the cause why he appeared so, was that he believe[d] it to be his duty, to bear a testimony not in words only, but to be a sign to the people, to testify against the pride and extravagancy of those days, which greatly abounded with superfluities.

He avoided the company of the rich and great, and would visit the habitations of the poor (who were well esteemed) with pleasure; he loved to see the honest simplicity of those who lived in remote parts of the world, and who were not over-anxious after riches, etc. His diet was plain, chiefly consisting of bread, milk or butter and he was truly a valuable, good man, a friend and well wisher to mankind universally, of whom it might be said, "an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile". He was taken ill of the small pox at York 9th mo. 27th 1772, and departed this life in full assurance of eternal happiness.

The reference to Woolman's countenance as "grave, sensible [i.e. sensitive] and expressive" is particularly welcome as nowhere do we have a trustworthy portrait of him. The last word is used of him again in a letter of William Forster (1747–1824) of Tottenham written in 1775 who in referring to the model made in wax by Patience Wright of her father says "a long white beard adorns his face which is very expressive and not unlike John Woolman's".<sup>1</sup>

From Sheffield, High Flatts is, according to James Backhouse's map, fourteen miles distant and holds its weekday meeting on Wednesday. To this meeting, though Woolman himself does not record it, he came on Wednesday August 5. The following narrative is preserved from a local Friend, whose name is unknown and even the whereabouts of the original.

Friends Travelling in the Ministry  
High Flatts MM 1772

John Woolman, New Jersey

John Woolman appears to me to be a man of very deep experience in the things of God, and coming up in obedience to the

<sup>1</sup> *JFHS*, vol. 20 (1923), p. 96. This is one of the passages which has been understood (wrongly, I think) to imply that Woolman wore a beard. See my essay "Did Woolman Wear a Beard?" in *QH*, vol. 54 (1965), pp. 111–114. It would not commend beards to later Friends that of the early generation we know of three renegades who had them—James Nayler, John Perrot and Charles Bayly.

Light of Christ was led out of all superfluity in meat, drink and apparel, being a pattern of remarkable plainness, humility, and self denial. His dress as follows:

A white hat; a coarse raw linen shirt, without anything about the neck; his coat, waistcoat and breeches of white coarse woolen cloth with wool buttens on; his coat without cuffs; white yarn stockings and shoes of uncured leather with bands instead of buckles, so that he was all white.<sup>1</sup>

Here Woolman met again with Sarah and Deborah Morris. So we resume Deborah's diary:

2nd day and 3rd [of August] spent at our lodgings [with John and Hannah Barnard at Uppertorpe]. Many Friends in the afternoon came to see us, and we had a remarkable sitting. Some of the youth I hope will ever remember it.

3rd day and 4th [of August] spent this morning in agreeable and edifying conversation, and after dinner took leave of this agreeable family to go to the part called High Flatts 20 miles. The Friend of the house, John Barnard, his daughters Mary and Debby, and Debby Birkbeck with John Aldan and Joseph Hedley, Isaac Radcliff went with us. Were kindly received by Joshua Marsden. His wife resembles Sally Yarnall and made our short stay there very agreeable.

4th day and 5th [of August] went to their meeting which was large for a country meeting. Here we met J. Woolman who had a fine time, my Aunt also, though short. Dined at Edward Dickinson[']s close by the meeting house, and after dinner John [Woolman] and Aunt had a seasonable and uniting time with the young folk and a few others. A solemn parting time indeed. He then went to Huddersfield and we to Hollingthorp.

There is a further echo in writing of these meetings at Sheffield and High Flatts, but in verse. Debby Morris as usual remarked on the daughters of her hosts. At Uppertorpe was a pretty family of children, two daughters, "Polly

<sup>1</sup> From one of some documents in the possession formerly of William Taylor of Rochdale Meeting, copied some time before by Herbert Pickles and sent by him from Jordans to John L. Nickalls in 1940. The copy has in the margin "4.5.8. M 4." Could this be derived from the date 4th day, 5 of 8 Month? The last paragraph, supplied to her by Herbert Pickles, was quoted by Mrs Whitney in 1942 (p. 394f; 1943, p. 370). Both paragraphs were printed in *JFHS*, vol. 25 (1928), pp. 85f, as "from the minutes of Pontefract M.M. 1772."

and Debby [Barnard], solid lasses." It was Debby who interested her most because "four Debby's sat on one side of the table undesigned for dinner, the first time I have ever met with so many at once." Three days later the Friend of the House, John Barnard, his daughters Mary and Debby, and several others went along with the American visitors towards High Flatts. John Woolman was there also and at meeting. The adults attending both places were impressed with his message to young people. Whether John Woolman like Debby Morris noticed Mary (Polly) Barnard or not, she noticed him. Soon after he died some weeks later, as the third noteworthy Quaker minister deceased since London Yearly Meeting, she composed some lines "To the memory of the late Samuel Fothergill, William Hunt and John Woolman, eminent ministers amongst the people called Quakers." It is dated, at least in the *Annual Monitor*, No. 3, for 1815, "25th of 10th month 1772" and described as "written by M. Barnard a young woman of Uppertorpe near Sheffield." It was not only separately printed as a broadside, but reprinted, and became a favorite piece to write into copy or common place books.<sup>1</sup>

Each of the three men is praised for a different quality, as Fothergill for his eloquence and Hunt for his patient sympathy in silence.<sup>2</sup> Of John Woolman she writes:

And thou, Oh! WOOLMAN, venerable seer,  
 Art highly worthy of this plaintive lay:  
 In thee th' astonish'd gazing world admir'd,  
 What this degenerate age can rarely boast,  
 A faithful follower of a suffering Lord.  
 'Twas thine the painful thorny path to tread;  
 'Twas thine to bear a Saviour's dying cross;

<sup>1</sup> In 1836 Comly *Misc.*, vol. 9, 94-96, prints the poem, and Hunt's *Memoir*, pp. 156-158, prints the "Lines," but without indicating the writer's name or the day and month of writing. For other poetical tributes to John Woolman, two of them in 1772, see *BFHA*, vol. 43 (1954), pp. 100f. Cf. below, p. 132n.

<sup>2</sup> Wm. Hunt often mentions his sitting silent in local meetings. When at Sheffield he says of their large meeting: "Many of the Methodists coming, we were led to instruct them by silence that the Gospel Ministry is not of man, nor by the will of man" (MS. Journal, p. 163). This is quoted without name of place in *Memoir*, p. 75. Joseph Row of London writing 8. viii, 1771, already noted Hunt's frequent silence in meetings (Pemberton Papers, vol. 23, p. 22). Cf. *Memoir*, p. 92. Hunt was silent for the first five meetings in Amsterdam. Cf. Thomas Priestman quoted in Gummere, p. 519.

Redeem'd from earth and earth's perplexing cares;  
 Redeem'd from lawful, and unlawful self.  
 Thy mind was tutor'd, fitted and prepared,  
 T'enjoy the highest privilege of man,  
 A near communion with eternal good,  
 A fellowship celestial while below,  
 The certain earnest of immortal bliss,  
 The only wish to hear, and heard, t'obey  
 The sacred mandate, the supreme decrees,  
 Of HIM who calls to purity and peace.

Woolman's Journal from now on gives us his whereabouts for the next six Sundays and then lapses into silence. These points in his itinerary are easily followed on a map: Rushworth — Settle — Preston Patrick — Grayrigg — Counterside (Countersett) — Richmond. The direct distances between vary in mileage, perhaps about 38, 28, 12, 27 and 20 miles respectively. These were very modest weekly amounts even for Woolman's slow progress. He tells us that he rested a few days [at Preston Richard] in Westmorland at George and Jane Crosfield's home. But otherwise he probably went less directly in order to stop at other meetings. The map of 1773 shows that the area was unusually thick in Friends meetings. Woolman tells us that he did not appoint meetings as frequently as earlier.<sup>1</sup> But there were weekday meetings, mostly on Thursdays but in some places on Wednesdays or Fridays. The Backhouse map gives for each Quaker center the weekday of market day and of the weekday Friends meeting. The two never coincide.

The area was chiefly in the West Riding of Yorkshire—and, after all, Yorkshire was Woolman's main destination. His journal and letters mention it when he reached its borders at John Haslam's or when he was in it at Richmond. He twice notes also that he was in Westmorland, at George Crosfield's and at Kendal. George and Jane Crosfield lived at Low Park near End Moor in Heversham Parish in Preston Richard, not at Preston Patrick, though that was their meeting. Their home and farm remained in the family until

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, p. 314 and in other editions, in his essay concerning the ministry: "Of late, I have felt a stop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly but in part; and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quick one after another as I have heretofore." He writes to the same effect from York to his cousins. See Gummere, p. 141.

1825<sup>1</sup> and is one of two houses still standing at the location. With Alмеры Garth at York it shares the distinction of being an identifiable extant place of Woolman's residence in England.

Woolman had met Jane Crosfield during her travels in America. On 12 mo. 1760 he wrote to her in the evening after some Friends meetings that they had both attended at Rancocas and Mount Holly, New Jersey, meetings which she also mentions in her itinerary under the same date.<sup>2</sup>

The place names provide not only a tantalizing abundance but also a somewhat confusing variety of nomenclature.<sup>3</sup> The meeting, the town, and the residence of the traveller's host were often differently named. This is shown in the fuller and more typical journals of other Quaker visitors of the period whether from America, like Debby Morris who traversed this area a few weeks later, and Rebecca Jones in 1784-8, or from England itself.

We should like to know to which additional places or meetings Woolman went between Sundays. He himself names one at Kendal on Sixth Day, August 28. At Kendal weekday meetings were held regularly on Friday. Another but undated attendance was at Lancaster weekday meeting, according to the letter to be quoted below. Weekday meetings there were held on Thursday. Lancaster, being in the northern part of Lancashire, can easily be taken *en route* from the West Riding of Yorkshire to Westmorland. The most probable date is therefore Thursday August 20 between Sunday the 16th at Settle and Sunday the 23rd at Preston Patrick.

The evidence is the following letter written from Lancaster two weeks after John Woolman's death. The writer is Sarah Hall. Not much is known of her. I think she lived at Skipton in Yorkshire not at Lancaster, where William Dilworth (1716-1789) lived, with whom I presume John Woolman had dinner. He was Clerk of London Yearly Meet-

<sup>1</sup> See A. E. Musson, *Enterprise in Soap and Chemical*, 1965, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Manuscripts in possession of George B. Crosfield. She lodged with Asher Woolman the night before and at Josiah White's the night following. See *JFHS*, vol. 3 (1906), p. 31; Gummere, pp. 70f.

<sup>3</sup> For Yorkshire Quakerism in general in the seventeenth century see N. Penney, *First Publishers of Truth*, 1907, pp. 286-320 and the bibliography in the note on p. 320. The map for 1669 in J. W. Rowntree's *Essays and Addresses*, 1905, p. 434, has little in common with James Backhouse's map for 1773 and still less with modern Quaker maps or Books of Meetings.

ing in 1753 and again in 1773. She calls him and Molly Bradford and Morris Birkbeck of Settle all cousins. The last (1734-1816)<sup>1</sup> was a somewhat notable person, at the time a widower. The next years he was in America including North Carolina and Nantucket. After his return he married in 1776 the writer of this letter. His first wife, from 1762-1764 was also from Lancaster, Hannah Bradford.

The recipient of the letter was Deborah Shackleton, a member of the notable Irish Quaker family. This accounts for the fact that the letter was discovered by the modern Irish Quaker historian Isabel Grubb, who supplied it for publication to the Friends Historical Association in America, and noted the special interest that Irish Friends had in William Hunt. Though the letter refers to his death and to that of Woolman, it seems best to repeat it *in extenso* here for its reference to Woolman at Lancaster.

From Lancaster 10 mo 22nd 1772

. . . Cousin Morris Birkbeck . . . and Thomas Thornburgh attended this Quarterly Meeting.<sup>2</sup> Thomas looks thin, very thin, but was as cheerful, or more so than I expected. I was a good deal affected when I first saw him. The remembrance of his worthy uncle, the affectionate manner of our parting, and his last words which I hope never to forget all rushed upon me at once. . . . They spent two nights with us and then returned to Settle. Thomas then thought of spending the winter there, or the greatest part of it. We have heard since that John Griffith has wrote and advised him to return to America pretty soon. Samuel Emlin thinks of leaving England in a few weeks. 'Tis not unlikely but they may go together if Thomas incline to follow Friend Griffith's advice. How he will do I can't tell. I expect to hear shortly.

Doubtless you have heard of John Woolman's decease. He was at the last Quarterly Meeting at York, attended all the meetings but the last. A few days after he was seized with the small pox. He was quite resigned, and said if

<sup>1</sup> See *JFHS*, vol. 8 (1911), pp. 9-15. It was his son and namesake (1764-1825) who settled permanently in America, in Illinois.

<sup>2</sup> According to James Backhouse, 1773, Lancashire Quarterly Meeting is usually held at Lancaster the first Fourth Day in 10th Month. In 1772 that was October 7, the day Woolman died, and a fortnight before the date of this letter. Cf pp. 19n, 131.

he had it in his choice to live or die he knew not which to chuse. He gave directions concerning his funeral. A few hours before his departure he called for pen and ink though he could not see, yet he wrote the following: "I believe it is in the wisdom of Christ that I am here—whether life or death I know not." Yorkshire was particularly mentioned in his certificate—no other county. Is it not remarkable, as he has laid down his life there? He was at this weekday meeting. He left the town that afternoon. After dinner Cousin Molly Bradford and I went to Cousin Dilworth's to see him. We had not sat long before he appeared beautifully indeed and very encouragingly. Glad we were that we went.

He chose to walk. He was very particular in his dress. He wore a coarse cloth like flannel, no cuffs to his coat, a drab hat, a coarse unbleached shirt, no stock or neckcloth, white woolen stockings, shoes uncurried, the native color, tied with the same. He drank no foreign liquors or tea. He did not choose to drink out of silver or make use of silver spoons. Herb tea sometimes he drank, sweetened with honey. Sugar he never chose. He was indeed a striking pattern of temperance and humility.<sup>1</sup>

It may be noticed that Sarah Hall refers to Woolman's hat as drab whereas the other descriptions quoted above (pp. 95, 97) call it white. Either drab is to be understood as only a few shades off white or the description is erroneous. The hat he wore in America (perhaps the same) was remembered by John Cox of Oxmead near Burlington (1754?–1847) as a white hat<sup>2</sup> but Woolman himself in his Journal described his

<sup>1</sup> *BFHA*, vol. 24 (1935), pp. 100f. Cf. p. 99. Elisabeth Brockbank in her presidential address in *JFHS*, vol. 36 (1939), pp. 15f., on Quakerism in the Lancaster District refers to John Woolman's presence in 1772 at "the weekday meeting in Lancaster, going on towards York the same afternoon." The context implies that her information came from local minute books, but it was derived, I suspect, from the above letter which had been published recently. The original of this letter is in the Friends Historical Library, Eustace Street, Dublin, in the Fennell Collection, Box III, 4b, having been presented by Selina Fennell. Her grandmother was Mary Leadbeater, born Shackleton, who was a cousin of Sarah Hall. Isabel Grubb herself quoted the letter in *Children of light*, ed. H. H. Brinton, 1938, pp. 301–302. Also W. Dilworth had written of Woolman's white dress: see p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *JFHS*, vol. 38 (1946), p. 50. The document is dated 1845–1846. Joseph Sturge in his *Visit to the United States in 1841* (1842) refers to John Cox as telling him orally or in writing some reminiscences of John Woolman (pp. 6f. 61f.).



decision to get "a hat the natural colour of the fur." It is a later hand that has written over his own writing in MS B "white hats being used by some."<sup>1</sup>

This single accidental reference by Sarah Hall to John Woolman's attendance at a meeting in Lancaster is a welcome addition to the sparse itinerary of his journal. It is also a welcome confirmation of the statement of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting that Woolman had "visited many meetings in the West side of this County, also some in Lancashire and Westmoreland." We knew of his being at least at Kendal and Grayrigg in Westmorland, and of course in many places in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but for Lancashire no single evidence had been forthcoming. Thus the Quarterly Meeting Testimony and Sarah Hall's letter about Lancaster are mutual corroboration.

A negative conjecture may be made about one of the meetings on Woolman's route. It is likely that he did *not* attend meeting at Skipton, though it lies between Rushworth and Settle. A manuscript list of public Friends who visited Skipton extending down to 1825,<sup>2</sup> does not include his name, though it dates the visit there of other American travellers

11 mo. 10, 1771 Robert Willis, East Jersey

12 mo. 12, 1771 William Hunt and Thos. Thornbury from New Garden Meeting in North Carolina

8 mo. 23, 1772 Sarah and Deborah Morris from Philadelphia

Each of these entries coincides, so far as the materials permit, with the MS. journals. Willis gives few dates for the month but says "next day" or gives the day of the week. On this basis he is shown to have been at Skipton the days or nights of November 10 and 11. Hunt doesn't give in his Journal more than one date in all his travels in Great Britain and Ireland. He does speak of visiting Yorkshire "throughout, being at upwards of 70 meetings." He dates a letter to Zechariah Dicks from Knaresborough 12 mo. 2, 1771.<sup>3</sup> About the same time Robert Willis speaks of meeting Hunt and Thornburg at Thornton, lodging together at Thomas Wilson's and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gummere, p. 247n., Edwin H. Cady, *John Woolman*, 1965, p. 117n. *Friends Journal*, vol. 11 (1965), p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> At Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

<sup>3</sup> MS Journal, pp. 171, 169 bis.

parting next day (Saturday 12 mo 7) "when they went to Settle and I returned to Marsden." As for the Morrises, Deborah's diary<sup>1</sup> confirms exactly the date of the Skipton "guest book." A document so conspicuously accurate as this in what it includes can probably be trusted in omitting all reference to John Woolman at Skipton.

<sup>1</sup> *Friend* (Phila.), vol. 36 (1862-63), p. 162.

#### IV. YORK: QUARTERLY MEETING, ILLNESS AND DEATH

September 13—October 7

The last entry in Woolman's English Journal left little distance of time or place before Quarterly Meeting at York. The date was 13th of 9th month, a Sunday. Quarterly Meeting was due to begin Tuesday afternoon, the 22nd.

The place is not uniformly named in the printed editions. The MS. S and MS. Y both read "Richmond," and that is what is read in the first editions in both America and England. It is naturally the reading in Comly's text in 1837 and Gummere's text in 1922 for they both depended on MS. S. But Janet Whitney who professes to follow it reads "Leyburn." This is a very old alternative reading in the printed editions of Dublin in 1776, 1778 and 1794. This is their only substantial variant from the Philadelphia edition. It occurs in English editions in 1833 and particularly in the edition at Warrington, edited by James Cropper and published by Hurst in 1840. This occurrence is important, for upon this edition Whittier based his edition with his introduction in 1871, which has been given wide circulation in later editions.

This alternative reading is hard to explain, especially for editors like Cropper and Mrs Whitney who profess to be following the manuscript evidence. A conjecture may be ventured. Careful examination of the passage in MS. S reveals a fact not otherwise reported (or noticed?) that the name Richmond is in darker ink. In the original writing therefore the name of the place was omitted, leaving a blank. My suggestion is that somehow while the blank was not yet filled, copyists supplied alternative names.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps some early copy of Woolman's manuscript will explain the substitution, or did it derive at least in England in 1833 or 1840 from a printed Dublin copy?

Geographically the choice, Leyburn or Richmond, makes

<sup>1</sup> New Testament students will recognize the parallel to the problem of the destination of "Ephesians." Our oldest manuscripts have no place name in its first verse. Ultimately in most manuscripts the words "in Ephesus" were included. But Marcion a very early user of the epistle apparently understood "in Laodicea"

little difference. They were both Quaker centers and according to the map only nine miles apart, and what is more important, both the same distance—26 miles—from Thirsk, Leyburn via Masham, and Richmond via Northallerton. This in turn left 23 more miles to York. So we may say that at this final entry Woolman had some fifty miles to go, and nine days to do it in.

He places here and now the receipt of the report of the death from small pox on September 9 at Newcastle of his cousin and fellow American visitor to England, William Hunt.<sup>1</sup> One wonders whether this news had any bearing on the cessation of his record at this juncture. I think not, though the news was tragic and shattering. After paying tribute to his kinsman's character and service he continues or concludes with one of those brief essays based on observations in England and his consequent concern. This passage is on the effects of the process of dyeing in increasing or hiding unwholesome dirt.

As a matter of fact we have unexpected evidence not in the manuscripts or early printed editions that Woolman continued the memoranda a little farther—a kind of memoranda on which we may suppose the early formal manuscript of the Journal was based. The earlier record of his life in America gives suggestion that he had rougher and fuller memoranda which he edited. Presumably these were, when copied and edited, destroyed. He tells us in the opening sentence of the Journal that he did not begin making a formal

<sup>1</sup> Debby Morris in her diary says she heard of Hunt's death the same day as Woolman did, viz. 13 ix, at Robert Proud's at Carlton. In London, according to Dr Parke's diary for 12. ix, letters with this news "were received this day from some Friends at Newcastle." A copy of a full account from Hunt's host, James King, to William Rathbone of Liverpool, dated Newcastle 15 ix. 1772 is preserved in the Pemberton Papers, vol. 24, p. 24. In Ireland Samuel Neale wrote from Glanmere 24 ix. to Israel Pemberton that he had heard of it (Pemberton Papers, vol. 24, p. 30). And Robert Willis at Cork, Ireland, notes in his MS. Diary, 21 ix. that his host William Fennell had just received a letter with account of the death of William Hunt at Newcastle, and comments upon the tragedy. But neither he nor Debby Morris mentions news of the death of John Woolman a month later. Letters of Richard Shackleton (Kendall, *Letters on Religious Subjects*, I, No. 80) and of his daughter Margaret (Grubb Coll. SGB 1/5 A.R., Eustace St, Dublin) the latter addressed to Elizabeth Pim, though without date were both written just after the Quarterly Meeting at Carlow held (according to Robert Willis diary) on 9 and 10, x. They refer to news of William Hunt's death as fairly recent to them.

journal until in the 36th year of his age,<sup>1</sup> and under date of May 14, 1757 he refers to reading over the notes he made as he travelled and deciding to preserve them.<sup>2</sup> While there are parallel versions extant of his American Journal, their variants are much less drastic than those for the two versions of his voyage to England, for which unfortunately no collation has yet been made.

The fragment I now refer to survived somehow, perhaps just because unlike all the rough notes for earlier days it had not been thus written over in the continuous style of the Journal. It will be noticed that it mentions several hosts<sup>3</sup> unprecedented in the formal version of his English visit. It reads as follows:

*17th day of 9th mo was at Thirsk. Many of the townspeople coming in, the house was much crowded, amongst whom my heart was enlarged and the gospel love flowed forth toward them.*

*On the 20th came from Wm. Martin's to Huby. Attended the Meeting there, went to John Johnson's to din[n]er, after which came to James Hersay's (or Hessey's) at Towthorp near York and to York the 21st; attended the Select meeting*

<sup>1</sup> That would be in 1755, but Janet Whitney in her appendix on Woolman's Writings 1942, XXVI, p. 478, 1943, XII, p. 419 gives the entry: "1772 The Journal (begun in 1765)."

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, p. 194. Cf. p. 189 "And as I copy this . . . I may add," etc. Among the Woolman manuscripts in the Rutgers University Library is a variant account of a journey "to the Western Shore of Maryland in April 1767. It is interesting chiefly because it constitutes a third manuscript of this passage and re-emphasizes Woolman's care in preparing the record of his religious life and labors." So wrote Robert E. Spiller in the *Journal of the Rutgers University Library*, V, 1941, p. 60. Unfortunately no collation of this variant has been made which might indicate whether it is "transcribed" from the Journal or a prior draft of it.

<sup>3</sup> The Friends named are not conspicuous in Quaker annals, nor even among the hosts named by other travellers. Since Woolman mentioned them I summarize information about each, kindly secured for me from the Digests of Births, Marriages and Burials at Friends House Library.

William Martin (1701-1792), son of John and Elizabeth Martin, lived at Thornton on the Hill, where all his eight children had been born. There was a Friends Meeting at Thornton as well as meetings at Thirsk and at Huby.

John Johnson (1721-1803), son of Thomas and Rachel Johnson, lived at Sutton in the Forest, near Huby, Yorks, where his five children were born, and where he died, being buried at Huby.

James Hessay (c. 1727-1808), husbandman, lived and died at Towthorpe, Haxby, near York.

*next day, the Quarterly Meeting for Worship and discipline, except the last.*<sup>1</sup>

There is no reason to doubt the genuineness and accuracy of this autobiographical fragment. It resumes the itinerary with Thirsk on Thursday when we know the weekday meeting was held there. What was said of the meeting on the preceding Sunday, "the town's people coming in, the house was crowded," is repeated almost verbatim on Thursday. It was followed by Huby on Sunday. These were the usual stops for Quaker travellers coming to York from the West. In 1775 Ruth Follows (1719-1809) gives her own route as:

Northallerton a poor place where a small meeting is held [probably Friday]; . . . on First Day were at Thirsk meeting where we had the company of Robert Proud . . . on the 15th we were at Huby and had a meeting with a few . . . William Tuke from York met us and with him we went to his house.<sup>2</sup>

The Quarterly Meeting at York was probably larger than some other Quarterly Meetings at this period, and had a more prolonged schedule. In September 1772 it would have run as follows:

22nd	Third day	Afternoon	Select Meeting
23rd	Fourth day	Morning	Meeting for worship
		Afternoon	Meeting for business
24th	Fifth day	Morning	Meeting for business
		Afternoon	Meeting for worship
			Adjourned Select Meeting

The memorandum by Woolman was therefore written after the last of these meetings for he notes his absence from it.

From the period covered by this precious fragment and a day or more before and after we have the testimony also of a few of Woolman's own letters or memoranda. As usual they are exactly dated—on the 16th, 22nd, 23rd, 27th, 28th and 29th respectively—and signed.

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, p. 313n., from a note on the fly leaf of a copy of the Dublin, 1776 edition of the *Journal* at Woolman Memorial in Mount Holly, N.J. (corrected by the original). The writer, apparently the former owner, Mary Awmack, explains: "As I have the following Memorandum in John Woolman's own hand writing, tho't it not improper to insert it here as it is left out in the following *Journal*." According to the *Annual Monitor* for the years involved Mary Awmack of York died at the age of 76 in 1824, the widow of Joseph Awmack who died at the age of 75 in 1816.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Ruth Follows*, 1829, pp. 86f., *Friends Library*, vol. 4 (1840), p. 46.

1. To the children of Stephen Comfort of Bucks County he writes:

I am now, this 16th day of 9 month, 1772, at Robert Proud's in Yorkshire, so well as to continue travelling, though but slowly. Yesterday, as I was walking over a plain on my way to this place, I felt a degree of Divine love attend my mind, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Proud (1718/9–1793), a husbandman, was the son of Isaac and Ann Proud and had a wife named Hannah to whom four children were born between 1754 and 1760. He lived at Carlton, *alias* Carlton Miniott, two miles west of Thirsk, or "Thirst" as William Hunt calls it. He died at Sowerby, also near Thirsk.<sup>2</sup> He had travelled in the ministry in Ireland in 1756 and in America in 1761 and 62.<sup>3</sup> He therefore is mentioned by name by American Friends travelling in the ministry in Yorkshire, including William Hunt and Robert Willis, as well as John Woolman and Debby Morris. Compare also Ruth Follows above. He is easily confused with another Robert Proud.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of Mrs Gummere (pp. 137, 549) and the imaginative picture of Janet Whitney (1942, pp. 419f; 1943, pp. 394f), I think the Robert Proud of Thirsk was resident there at this time and to be distinguished from his namesake and relative, Robert Proud (1728–1813), who migrated to America in 1758 and became a teacher at the public school in Philadelphia, later called the William Penn Charter School and the author of the *History of Pennsylvania*. This man had relatives in Yorkshire at Thirsk and elsewhere. But he himself did not return to Yorkshire even for a visit, certainly not in 1772. Though he was not teaching after 1770, he was in America, partly in trade with a brother John from England, and partly working on his *History*. Four days before

<sup>1</sup> From Comly *Misc.*, Vol. 1, p. 11 (Second edit. p. 9f.). Cf. Gummere, p. 137. The letter ends with the notable sentence: "I cannot form a concern, but when a concern cometh, I endeavour to be obedient."

<sup>2</sup> Information from Digests of Births, Marriages and Burials, at Friends Library, London.

<sup>3</sup> See *JFHS*, vol. 10 (1913), pp. 259 and 120.

<sup>4</sup> As was done in *FQE*, vol. 51 (1917), p. 20. The two are clearly distinguished in a MS. list of Friends in the ministry visiting Newport, Rhode Island which under 6th mo 1762 mentions in succession "Robert Proud, England. Robert Proud, Penna."

Woolman's death he changed lodgings in Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup> Deborah Morris refers to William Proud at Hull "the brother to our Philadelphia Robert," and a few days later<sup>2</sup> at Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting to the other Robert Proud who was present.

2. To John Wilson, of Kendal, at whose house he had been recently, Woolman wrote, making no reference to his own circumstances but dating his letter "York 22 da 9 mo 1772."<sup>3</sup>

John Wilson (1748-1801) was the son of Isaac and Rachel Wilson of Kendal, and after a seven year apprenticeship to his own father (1763-1770) as "shearman dyer" was engaged in that business. Knowing as we do Woolman's objection to dyed garments we can understand more explicitly when he writes: "When I was at your house, I believe I had a sense of the pride of people being gratified in some of the business thou followest, and I feel a concern in pure love to endeavour to inform thee of it." It was probably three weeks since Woolman had been at Kendal and this gentle and belated caution, analogous to some of his own scruples when a tailor, is so indefinite that some of Woolman's biographers have missed the point, not knowing that the Wilson business was precisely the dressing with shears and dyeing of wool, while the biographer of the Wilsons,<sup>4</sup> from whom we learn this fact, has in like manner failed to connect it with the well known feature of Woolman's scruples against dyed cloth.

Shearman dyers were one of the most characteristic and one of the largest trades in Kendal. They bought and trimmed and dyed the coarse wool woven in the area and this Kendal product was known widely in England ("Kendal green" in Shakespeare), and later exported to America.<sup>5</sup> Before writing

<sup>1</sup> See his autobiography in *PMHB*, vol. 13 (1889), pp. 430-440, especially p. 434, and a MS. note by him in a copy of J. F. Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, p. 346 (at HSP). He was the son of William and Ann Proud of Low Foxton near Yarm who removed when he was about five or six years of age southward to a farm called Wood End near two or three miles north of Thirsk. He studied and taught under David Hall at Skipton in Yorkshire before removing to London and later to Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> *Friend* (Phila.), vol. 36 (1862-63), p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Copy in his hand in back of Journal MS. S.

<sup>4</sup> John Somervell, *Isaac and Rachel Wilson, Quakers of Kendal 1714-1785*, 1924. See pp. 22f., 41ff., 101f. Woolman's letter is quoted on pp. 140f.

<sup>5</sup> See Richard S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland*, 1894, pp. 165ff., who gives the figures for 1770 of "Kendal cottons" exported to America from Liverpool alone as between 3,000 and 4,000 pieces (p. 166).



YORK: QUARTERLY MEETING, ILLNESS AND DEATH III

to John Wilson, Woolman had recorded in his Journal, perhaps in part thinking of Kendal, "In these journeys I have been where much cloth hath been dyed and sundry times (have) walked over ground where much of their dye stuffs have drained away."<sup>1</sup>

3. The next day he wrote to his cousins Reuben and Margaret Haines at Philadelphia, beginning:

Beloved Cousins:— I am now at York at a Quarterly Meeting, 23rd day 9 month [17]72, so well in health as to continue travelling. I appoint a few meetings, but not so fast as I did some time ago. I feel quiet in my mind believing it is the Lord's will that I should for a time be in this part of the world, etc.<sup>2</sup>

4. On 27th, 9 mo 1772 he wrote from York to John Eliot in London, referring not to his present circumstances, but to three of his manuscripts, viz. (1) notes written at sea, and left at London with Sophia Hume, (2) journal since he had been in England, (3) a small treatise written in England directed to the people called Quakers in England, consisting of three Chapters, first on loving the Lord with all our heart and our neighbours as ourselves, secondly on a sailor's life, thirdly on silent worship, and giving directions for forwarding the first two manuscripts to John Pemberton in Philadelphia, and the third to the Meeting for Sufferings in London.<sup>3</sup>

5. On the 28th of 9th month he dictated to Thomas Priestman, who wrote it out to be added to the Journal, a reminiscence of two conversations with a Friend in America including one on a dream or vision the Friend had had of the state of those who promote the slave trade. It begins:

*28. 9 mo. Being now at the house of my Friend Thomas Priestman in the City of York, so weak in body that I know not how my sickness may end, I am concerned to leave in*

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Original at Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the gift in 1930 of Amelia M. Gummere. Cf. Gummere, p. 141. Janet Whitney, 1942, Appendix XIX, p. 464; 1943, Appendix VI, p. 411, calls it the last letter written by Woolman.

<sup>3</sup> Copy of letter entered in the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings for 9 mo. 8, 1775. See partial text in *Friend* (Lond.), vol. 122 (1964), p. 271.

*writing a Case the remembrance whereof hath often affected me.*<sup>1</sup>

6. Finally there is extant a memorandum giving instructions to W[illiam] T[uke] about his burial and its expenses signed "John Woolman" (in a somewhat shaky hand) and dated "York, 29th of 9th month, 1772."<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \* \*

For other information about Woolman at this period we turn to the reports by others. So far as I know, no contemporary minutes of this Quarterly Meeting have been quoted heretofore. Mrs Gummere quotes a minute from its next session in December, with the footnote: "Until a comparatively recent date the local meeting at York did not place upon record the presence of travelling ministers, possibly because such visits were so numerous. This is the only record of the presence of John Woolman at the meeting held three months before."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, p. 321, who notes that the signature has been crossed off. The case is that of "an honest hearted Friend in America who departed this life a little less than a year ago." He had reported a dream to John Woolman "some months before his departure," and summoned him in his last illness and told him "some matters in particular regard to the gain of oppression," only a few hours before he died.

Woolman as usual does not name the Friend, and his biographers do not attempt to identify him. But I think the entry fits Peter Harvey, who died 10 mo. 9, 1771, eleven days less than a year before Woolman's memorandum. John Woolman was his cousin and drafted the testimony to him, later published, in which he says "I was twice with him in his last sickness," etc. Gummere pp. 521f.

John Hunt's Journal for 10 mo 11 says. "Went to burial of Uncle Peter Harvey. Cousin John Woolman was there and spoke exceeding notably." *Comly Misc.*, vol. 10 (1837), p. 221. *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, vol. 52 (1934), p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly in the possession of J. Bevan Braithwaite, now of F. Arthur B. Braithwaite. Photographic copy in *John Woolman's Journal*, New Century Edition, opposite page 293. Cf. Gummere, p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> p. 325. Though she does not mention her authority I think she was led astray by Fielden Thorp, who could have known better, having access to the York records. He lived in York, having been superintendent of Bootham School there from 1865 to 1875. Writing in *FQE*, vol. 26 (1892) on "Friends in York and its Neighborhood in the Olden Time", he had said. "The custom of recording on the minutes the presence of travelling ministers appears to be of comparatively recent date. Probably in the early days such visits were rather the rule than the exception. The only indication of John Woolman's presence in York is that at the Quarterly Meeting after his death a Committee was appointed to prepare a Testimony concerning him, the Minute incidentally mentioning that he had been at the previous Quarterly Meeting" (p. 177).

We, however, have been led not to expect such references either at local meetings or at the regular Quarterly Meeting sessions and are not surprised at the omission. But the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders often recorded visitors when the regular Quarterly Meeting did not. This was true at York in 1772. George Baker writing in 1906 had said, "On the ordinary Minutes of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting there appears to be no record of the presence of this now 'historic' stranger at the sittings of the Quarterly Meeting (though at the Select Meeting of Ministers and Elders his attendance was minuted)".<sup>1</sup>

Through the kindness of Wilfrid Allott who transcribed them for me, these minutes are herewith presented in print:

At our Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders held 22-9-1772, our Friend John Woolman being present produced a certificate from the Monthly Meeting of Friends held in Burlington, New Jersey the 6th day of the 1st mo. 1772, addressed to the Quarterly Meeting and Monthly Meetings of Yorkshire or elsewhere in Great Britain, Ireland and Holland indorsed by Friends at a Quarterly Meeting held at Burlington in West New Jersey the 26th day of 2nd mo. 1772. . . . Also one from the Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey by Adjournments from the 21st of 3d month to the 24th day of the same inclusive 1772, shewing their unity with him, etc.

And our Friend Sarah Morris also being present produced a Certificate from a Monthly Meeting held in Philadelphia the 26th of the 7th mo 1771: To Friends in Great Britain, indorsed by the Quarterly Meeting held in Philadelphia the 5th of the 8th mo. 1771. Also one from the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders held at Philadelphia for the Province of Pennsylvania and New Jersey from the 21st of 9th mo. 1771 to the 26th of the same inclusive. To Friends and Brethren in Great Britain and elsewhere, of their unity with her, etc.

And likewise one from a Monthly Meeting held at Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania the 6th of the 2nd mo. 1772 to Friends and Brethren at their Two Weeks Meeting in London or elsewhere in Great Britain of their approbation of her niece Deborah Morris accompanying her aunt in this visit, which certificate and also the company of our said Friends is acceptable. . . . This meeting adjourns to the close of the Meeting for Worship on Fifth Day.

As I guessed from a reference in Debby Morris's diary,

<sup>1</sup> *Unhistoric Acts: Some Records of Early Friends in North-East Yorkshire*, London, n.d. (Foreword, May 1906), p. 69.

John Woolman's presence had reason to be noted also in the minutes of Women Friends. Their Minute Book reads:

At our Quarterly Meeting held at York the 23rd and 24th of 9th mo. 1772 we have been favored in this meeting with a visit from and the company of our worthy and greatly esteemed Friends Jno. Woolman and Sarah Morris from America, whose Labours of Love in the Life of Truth have made an impression on the Minds of a Remnant that we trust will never be erased.

The reference to Deborah Morris in the minute of the Select Meeting suggests that her diary may be appealed to again. It does not disappoint us. She and her Aunt had been travelling assiduously since they parted from Woolman at High Flatts on August 6th. On Sunday, September 20 they had been at meeting in Hull and at an appointed meeting at Beverley in the afternoon. They approached York from the East while Woolman was coming from the West. They arrived, all three of them, on the following day and as guests of the same hosts, William and Esther Tuke. It will be recalled that a letter some weeks before from Sheffield to young Sally Tuke raised the question whether either the two women or John Woolman would reach there in time.<sup>1</sup> We know that John did. Now Debby tells her story:

Second day, 21st [September] set off to York. Our kind friend J. Dickason,<sup>2</sup> went with us as far as Market-Weighton, 10 miles, where we dined and he left us to the other kind Friends who see us safely to York, where William [Tuke] and his kind wife received us like parents. Third day [the 22nd] our friend John Stevens, Robert Proud, and Mary Moore came, whom we were glad to see. In the afternoon we went to the select meeting which was a satisfactory one. Ann Mercy Bell appeared, and others.

Fourth day, 23d, went to meeting at nine in the morning. John Woolman and others appeared to satisfaction. It was held for worship. In the afternoon was held one for business. Aunt, at this, when the queries were gone through in a heavy deathly manner, stood up, and after a silent pause, in a lively manner expressed what raised life amongst us,

<sup>1</sup> Above pp. 94 *f*.

<sup>2</sup> Previously a Joseph Dickason and a John Dickason of Beverley have been mentioned, perhaps the John Dickinson of Beverley who later married Mary Barnard of Uppertorpe. See above, p. 98.

and we parted with more satisfaction than was expected, which many rejoiced at.

Fifth day, 24th, I staid at home to write, it being a meeting for business. I chose to leave that rather than the other. Friends came home rejoicing that my Aunt was set at liberty therein to her comfort, and J. Woolman likewise visited them.

In the afternoon it was for worship, which was large and Aunt much favoured there also, which set her at liberty, and she then could conclude to leave the city, which is the largest, and most regular streets and building, though Hull is a good town. Their river exceeds Hull's and the steeple houses exceed any in England by account, though I saw them not.

Sixth day 25th. Many Friends came to take leave of us and a solemn parting it was. Aunt appeared sweetly in prayer. About a dozen of us set off, and in the evening got to a small town called Otley, where we all lodged at an inn. We found R[achel] Wilson, son John and daughter Rachel, who came on purpose to accompany us to Settle, and then to Kendal. Our good friend T[homas] Corbyn, was also in company, and Thomas Hull, of Uxbridge.<sup>1</sup>

Debby Morris makes no special mention of their meeting Woolman at York or of leaving him there. Perhaps she expected him to continue travelling, as he himself expected. But Woolman did not join the general exodus of visitors. Debby's diary continues several weeks longer, long after Woolman had died, but never mentions receiving news of his death.

To what Debby tells us of Woolman's vocal participation we can add little. She heard him speak in the meeting for worship on Wednesday morning, but missed, due to her own absence, his visit to the women's separate business meeting on Thursday morning.

Thomas Priestman in his diary says that John Woolman "attended the Quarterly Meeting here to good satisfaction." In the margin he gives his text (used I suppose in one of the sessions): "Every plant that's not of my Heavenly Father's planting shall be plucked up by the roots."<sup>2</sup> He adds in his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Friend* (Phila), vol. 36, pp. 270, 370.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to Matthew 15:13.

diary the kind of comment on Woolman's outward and inner features that we have found from others:

His appearance was singular, apprehending it his duty to wear undyed clothes, and in his diet was very abstemious, eating no sugar nor anything that came thro' the hands of the Negro slaves, he having suffer'd abundance on this account which his writings will set forth. He was a man of deep judgment on natural things, and a very upright heavenly minded man. His dwelling seemed very near the Fountain.<sup>1</sup>

Two sources refer to Woolman's remarks at the last meeting he attended. Their agreement is partly due to the fact that the writers of the first were included in the committee that drafted the second. A letter signed by William Tuke to Woolman's cousin Reuben Haines, but based on a record in which Thomas Priestman had collaborated, includes the following:

Our Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders was held in the evening of 3d day, and the sittings of the Quarterly meeting for business and meetings for worship on 4th and 5th days, all which he was enabled to attend, except the parting meeting for worship. . . . He appeared in the ministry at our Quarterly Meeting greatly to the comfort and satisfaction of Friends, the spring of the Gospel flowing through him with great purity and sweetness.

His last testimony was in a meeting for discipline on the subject of the slave trade, remarking that as Friends had been solicitous for, and had obtained relief from many of their sufferings, so he recommended this oppressed part of the creation to their notice, that they may, in an individual capacity, as way may open, remonstrate their hardships and sufferings to those in authority, especially the legislative power in this kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

The testimony of Friends in Yorkshire in Third Month 1773, after mentioning Woolman's attendance at their Quarterly Meeting six months before, states that he "was enabled to attend all the sittings of that meeting except the last. . . . The Spring of the Gospel Ministry often flowed through him with great purity and sweetness as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers towards the city of God." The testimony then adverts to his concern in America about slavery in America, and adds

though in this journey to England he was far removed from the outward sight of their sufferings yet his deep exercise of mind

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Journal of John Woolman*, New Century Edition, 1900, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Dated York, 26th 10th mo. 1772. Comly, *Misc.*, vol. 8 (1836), pp. 230f.

remained. . . . His testimony in the last meeting he attended was on this subject, wherein he remarked that as we as a Society when under outward sufferings had often found it our concern to lay them before those in authority, and thereby in the Lord's time had obtained relief; so he recommended this oppressed part of creation to our notice, that we may, as way may open, represent their sufferings in an individual if not in a society capacity to those in authority.<sup>1</sup>

Of the more intimate private experience of Woolman at York I find little additional information. He was housed at his own request at a more quiet place than the usual haven of visiting Friends to York, the home of William Tuke (1732-1822) and Esther Tuke (*née* Maud, 1727-1794), at Castlegate. This was the house called Almerly Garth, the home of Thomas Priestman (1736-1812) and Sarah, *née* Proctor (1736-1796). It was referred to in the Testimony of Burlington Monthly Meeting, as in the suburbs of York. As the house is still standing its character and situation have been commented on by all visitors who have loved Woolman.

Apparently Woolman returned here after the next to the last session of Quarterly Meeting. He was already ill and never left the house, and scarcely the room or the bed. Both the Tukes and Priestmans shared responsibility for him, the wives Esther and Sarah,<sup>2</sup> and to some extent the husbands and an older child or two. Record was kept by the two husbands in collaboration, but mainly in the hand of William Tuke. Thomas Priestman also kept a diary which is extant. Esther Tuke wrote a letter in detail to Samuel Emlen in London on the 14th of 10th mo. and more briefly

<sup>1</sup> Prepared by William Tuke and Thomas Priestman and three others, signed by these and thirty-four more men Friends. Printed in editions of Woolman's Journal from the first. As printed in Gummere, p. 328, an important sentence near the end has been obscured by the accidental omission of the words bracketed below: ". . . cautioning such as are experienced therein against contenting themselves with acting up to the standard [of others but to be careful to make the standard] of Truth manifested to them the measure of their obedience."

<sup>2</sup> It is assumed by Janet Whitney, followed by Elfrida Vipont (Foulds) *The Story of Quakerism*, 1954, 2nd ed. 1960, p. 160, that Sarah Priestman did not share the risk because she was a young nursing mother. That description might not be true when Woolman came to the Priestman home on 22.ix.1772 since her previous child was born 9.vi.1771 and her next 21.ii.1773. And David Sands writing of his visit in 1795 to the families at York, "particularly Thomas Priestman, at whose house, in the year 1772, died John Woolman," continues "His wife was yet living. She attended our worthy friend in his last illness, and expressed her great nearness to him." (*Journal of . . . David Sands*, London, 1848, p. 77). She died in 1796.

to another correspondent of unknown name and with no known date. William Tuke wrote a brief note to John Eliot in London a week before, on the 7th (the day Woolman died), and a long letter to Reuben Haines in Philadelphia on the 26th.<sup>1</sup> There could not have been any more sensitive or appreciative attendance or reporting of his final days.

Two of the older Tuke children, step children of Esther, are slightly involved. Henry (1755–1814), the eldest son of William Tuke<sup>2</sup> and of his first wife, was sent to meet John Woolman as he approached the city and their home. He was then about seventeen and a half, having been born 1 mo 24, 1755. He grew up to be a notable Quaker author. It is said in a biography of his son that Henry Tuke often after spoke of this walk with John Woolman, "of the indescribable sweetness of his company, and the pleasure with which he remembered it."<sup>3</sup>

The source of this statement is a biography of Henry Tuke's earlier life compiled by his son, Samuel Tuke (1784–1857) and printed, not published, in a rare work: *Family Portraiture: Memoirs of Samuel Tuke*.<sup>4</sup> The sketch was written by Samuel Tuke to his grandson, Henry Tuke

<sup>1</sup> All of the letters are printed in Gummere, 143, 145–148, 148–9, 317–325.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney, 1942, p. 424; 1943, p. 397, wrongly says "the second son", and twice in the succeeding pages speaks of William Tuke as Henry's older brother. This error may be due to Gummere, p. 567, who calls William Tuke, Jr. (1758–1835) the eldest son of William Tuke, though she correctly gives Henry's birth as in 1755 and his age in 1772 as seventeen (pp. 565f.). The order—Henry, Sarah, William—is given not only in the York meeting in registers, but also in a playful letter written to Richard Shackleton in Ireland by young Sarah Tuke herself (copies in the Allinson Collection at Haverford College and in the Grubb Collection at Eustace Street; printed less correctly in the *Memoirs of Samuel Tuke*, 1860, I, 56). In the same passage Janet Whitney (1942, p. 425; 1943, p. 399) says the Priestmans had at the time "several young children, the oldest of whom was seven", Rachel, born 1765. That is correct. There were four living; another had died in 1771. But their marriage was in 1764, not as in Gummere, p. 567, on 9.x.1766. In the same context Mrs Gummere says, "He was thirty five and his wife younger, when Woolman came to them." But he was nearly thirty-six, born 5.viii.[Oct.]1736, and his wife only two months younger, born 5.x.[Dec.] 1736. This part of her note is taken almost verbatim from a letter she received from Ellen Spence, dated York, March 20, 1919 (in Gummere Collection at Haverford College).

<sup>3</sup> Charles Tylor, *Samuel Tuke, his Life, Work and Thoughts*, London 1900, pp. 16f., cited without reference in Gummere, p. 138n.

<sup>4</sup> London 1860, printed for the use of the family only. 2 vols. According to Joseph Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii. 831, only 26 copies were printed.



Mennell. I may quote in full the relevant passage in preference to the more derivative ones.

I must, whilst thus talking freely with thee of the past—on which as an old man I confess I love to dwell—go a little more out of my direct course, to mention a circumstance which about this period deeply affected for good both my father and his sister. That truly lowly and self-denying disciple of Jesus, John Woolman, came to York in the course of his religious labours, in the year 1772. He travelled entirely on foot, and my father, then in his eighteenth year<sup>1</sup> was sent to be his guide and companion from his last stopping place into the city. I have frequently heard him speak of the indescribable sweetness of this walk, and of the satisfaction which he felt in the remembrance of it. Friends travelling in the ministry at that time usually resorted to my grandfather's house; but J. Woolman chose the hospitality of a Friend who lived a little out of the city in the "clean country."

After some very acceptable service at the Quarterly Meeting at York, the good man was seized with the small pox, and died after a short illness. My father's sister of whom I have spoken had the privilege of being one of those who waited upon him during his distressing illness, and it appears she sat up with him at least one night. [Samuel Tuke here reports three expressions of Woolman addressed to young Sally or heard by her, as given in the printed Journal. He then continues]

It is not surprising that intercourse with such a man, and under such circumstances, should have made a great impression upon a mind already drawn to the love of truth and holiness, and lead to and strengthen that decision of religious character of which we have spoken, and which she afterwards so remarkably evinced. John Woolman's visit to York made a great impression on my father's mind also. It tended, I believe, greatly to deepen his religious feelings, and led him to feel a deeper interest in the subject of slavery, as well as to think more closely on several other matters which so much impressed the

<sup>1</sup> This is correct. See above, p. 118. Contrast Gummere, p. 138, "a youth of eighteen" and Whitney, 1942, p. 423, 1943, p. 397, "eighteen years old."

tender and self-sacrificing mind of this extraordinary man.<sup>1</sup>

Sarah Tuke (1756–1790), who had heard in August about John Woolman's projected visit to York Quarterly Meeting from her friend and cousin (?) Tabitha Hoyland of Sheffield<sup>2</sup> was sixteen.<sup>3</sup> She shared with her father and step-mother the care of the patient at the Priestmans'. It is to her that he is said to have remarked, "My Child? thou seemest very kind to me, a poor creature; the Lord will reward thee for it." She, like her brother, became a notable Friend<sup>4</sup> as a minister though she died before she was thirty-five. By marrying Robert Grubb of Ireland in 1782 then in York, and returning with him a little later, she became one of the three Sarah Grubbs of Clonmel.<sup>5</sup>

The accounts from the older Tukes mention three visitors to the sick room during the last days. There were two apothecaries, one of them not a Friend, whose diagnosis both of the disease and of the character of the patient is indicated by Esther Tuke.<sup>6</sup> He also attended the funeral, and "could scarce forbear giving testimony concerning him to the audience, but forbore knowing it would be an intrusion upon us." She naïvely adds, "Indeed, a Methodist preacher did, in a few words at the graveside, with which divers of us were well satisfied, tho' not prudent to tell him so."

The other visitor was John Bispham of Mt Holly, who had crossed with Woolman to England in May but whose whereabouts thereafter are to us unknown, except that on June 29 Dr Parke in London says that Daniel Mildred had invited himself, John Bispham and Captain Sparks, to dine with him. The other three were connected with the *Mary and Elizabeth*, —Mildred as part owner along with his partner John Roberts of London and with John Head of Philadelphia,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 20f. The date of writing was about 1851, see vol. 2, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 94f.

<sup>3</sup> So Whitney, but Gummere, p. 142, wrongly says "about eighteen at the time."

<sup>4</sup> *Some Account of the Life and Religious Labours of Sarah Grubb* was evidently a popular if not very informative biography, first published in Dublin in 1792 and often reprinted, including such unusual American imprints as Trenton, New Jersey, 1795, and Wilmington, Delaware, 1795. It was edited by Lindley Murray as was the memoir or works of Henry Tuke.

<sup>5</sup> On all three see *JFHS*, vol. 16 (1919), pp. 95f.

<sup>6</sup> Gummere, p. 147.

James Sparks as master, and John Bispham as a recent passenger. Two days later the same three were guests at dinner of John Roberts, and in addition Captain Peter Osborne of the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

William Tuke reports that Woolman "in the beginning of his illness expressed a desire to see his neighbour and shipmate, John Bispham, and an opportunity offering of sending him word, to his and our satisfaction he came about two days before his decease, and stayed till after the Funeral." John Woolman seems to have expected Bispham might be returning home "this fall."<sup>1</sup>

When the clothes of John Woolman were offered in payment for the simple coffin and for the wool, required by law in burials, and money was preferred, John Bispham gave the money and ordered the clothes sent to America. The shoes, however, were accepted by the grave digger for his expenses.

This information about John Bispham's presence at York is derived from the letter of William Tuke to Reuben Haines dated York, 10 mo. 26, 1772 as printed in Comly *Misc.*, vol. 8, pp. 230-239 and in Gummere, pp. 317-325. But manuscript copies, one at Swarthmore College and one which came to Haverford College in 1945 from Mrs Edward Wanton Smith contains sundry small variations from the two printed versions, which are not quite identical with each other. Before the final sentence quoted about the gravedigger, they add one full sentence referring to the clothes, as follows:

They have been hung in the air a considerable time lest they should retain the infection, and are intended to be sent in a box with some leather from Thomas Priestman for Benjamin Mason and John Bispham.

That the clothing was actually sent as expected we do not know. The omission of this sentence from later copies of the letter may indicate that it was not. Amelia Gummere referring to a MS. (MS. S) of Woolman's Journal says: "This manuscript was brought by Samuel Emlen . . . to whose care William Tuke consigned it (along with Woolman's clothing and other small possessions) from York to John Woolman's wife."<sup>2</sup> But I do not know that this was true either of the MS. or of the clothing. Esther Tuke, writing apparently to

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, pp. 318, 148.

<sup>2</sup> p. xiii.

Samuel Emlen in London, refers not to the Journal MS. but to a copy of Woolman's dying expressions, in which the deceased and the survivors among Friends put great stock in those days, and for these expects to use John Bispham if he returns this fall to Philadelphia. What Emlen and Thornburgh brought back were the "few things" that Woolman had left at the house of John Townsend in London.<sup>1</sup>

As for the text of the sea Journal and the English Journal these were apparently forwarded either in Woolman's own hand or in a copy via John Eliot of London to John Pemberton in Philadelphia. This is shown by letters from Woolman to Eliot and from Eliot to Pemberton, the latter after Emlen's return, which have lately become available.<sup>2</sup>

Like earlier biographers I had assumed that the John Bispham in England with Woolman, "his neighbour and shipmate," was John Bispham, Sr. (1734-1791). He was married to Margaret, daughter of Patrick Reynolds, of Mt Holly, and they had ten or eleven children.<sup>3</sup> Amelia Gummere says that he was "a minister much respected at home and abroad." If she means by this a recommended minister among Friends, I find no confirmation in the records of local ministers and elders. His name is occasionally bracketed with Woolman's in secular local affairs. That it was he who was summoned with his wife and other neighbors in Mt Holly to Woolman's sick bed in Mt Holly is probable as is the suggestion that he or his son John was one of the addressees to whom Woolman's clothes were to be shipped in a box of leather from York. But that he crossed with Woolman in May and reached him in York before he died in October seems now to me improbable. The question requires some longer discussion, as the name John Bispham—like Robert Proud discussed above—was not unique.

There were in the period several branches of the Bispham family in South Jersey<sup>4</sup> all descended from the brothers

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, pp. 148, 150. At p. 144 she distinguishes the MSS sent to London to Samuel Emlen and the few possessions which had been left at John Townsend's. What happened to his "clothing which was too peculiar to be acceptable to the gravedigger" she does not say.

<sup>2</sup> *Friend* (Lond.), vol. 122 (1964), pp. 271, 531.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. in full Gummere, pp. 557f. and Whitney, 1942, p. 387, 1943, p. 364.

<sup>4</sup> See *Memoranda concerning the Family of Bispham in Great Britain and the United States*, compiled and edited by William Bispham of New York. Privately printed, 1890.

Benjamin (1702-1763) and Joshua (1706-1795?) sons of Joseph (1678-?1750) who was the only son of a John. This early John was, like a brother Daniel, a Quaker, and is often mentioned in Besse's *Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers*, 1753. He was a preacher also. The frequency of the name John in later Bisphams, if it needs any explanation, may be due to him.

Benjamin Bispham (1702-1763) and his wife Sarah Backhouse (?-1752) came to America in 1734 and settled in Mt Holly. They brought a two-month-old son John Bispham (1734-1791) with them. Two other sons Joseph (1729-1753) and Thomas (1732-1771) also settled in the area. These two also had sons named John, but John (1759-1814), son of John, and John (1762-?), son of Thomas, were both too young to have played the role of shipmate to John Woolman in 1772. Not so with John (1752-1812), son of Joseph. Though only twenty he may well have made the journey rather than his uncle John at thirty-eight. The meeting records enable us to recover his career and to cite evidence to that effect.<sup>1</sup>

He was born April 23, 1752 the first and only child of Joseph Bispham and Elizabeth Hinchman. His father died in 1753<sup>2</sup> and his mother married in 1755 John Hatkinson by whom she had six children between 1756 and 1767.

In 1763 he was declared a ward under the guardianship of John Hatkinson and Elizabeth his wife.<sup>3</sup> In January 1769 a certificate for John Bispham Junr, apprentice with Richard Parker in Philadelphia, was sent by Burlington Monthly Meeting to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. Richard Parker was a member of that meeting, a son-in-law of Jeremiah Warder. An impression of his business in which I suppose young Bispham was apprenticed may be obtained from a long advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* No. 2126

<sup>1</sup> Beside the original MS. minutes see W. W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, II and *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, XIII and XIV, using the indexes.

<sup>2</sup> William Bispham, *op. cit.*, repeatedly gives the date of death for Joseph Bispham as 1762. But the will of Joseph Bispham, saddler, of Bridgetown, Burlington Co., New Jersey, was dated July 18, 1753 and proved August 8, 1753. It refers to his wife Elizabeth, his brother-in-law John Hinchman, his uncle Joshua Bispham and his infant son. It thus fixes his death within a month when the infant was not yet sixteen months old. *New Jersey Archives*, vol. 32 (1924), p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *New Jersey Archives*, vol. 33, 1928, p. 44 where, however, he is called the son of Benjamin.

(Sept. 21, 1769) of some two hundred kinds of goods "imported and to be sold for cash by Richard Parker. In Third Street the fifth door below Market." Richard Parker died January 9, 1772.

Philadelphia Monthly Meeting granted Bispham at his request a certificate to Friends in Bristol, or Hardshaw Monthly Meeting in Lancashire or any other Monthly Meeting in Great Britain for "a voyage thither on account of business and a visit to his relatives which he undertakes with the consent of his mother and Friends." The date was 27 March 1772, a little over a month before the *Mary and Elizabeth* sailed with John Woolman. Lancaster Monthly Meeting received this certificate early in September and issued one for him two months later to Burlington Monthly Meeting in West New Jersey, which it accepted 1 February, 1773. Half way between these two meetings at Lancaster was the time of Woolman's death and burial at York. It was almost certainly this twenty year old John Bispham who was present there—Woolman's closest link with home.<sup>1</sup>

Though modern visitors have reported on the present appearance of the house and room where Woolman died, we are indebted to Silvanus Thompson (1818–1881) the son of the Quaker antiquary, Thomas Thompson (1775–1861) of Liverpool, for our earliest descriptions. Writing to his father from York Feb. 25, 1842, he said:

Last first day evening I took tea with David Priestman. It was at his father's house that John Woolman died, and I had much wished to see the spot. D. P. does not live in the same house but next door; still he retains this room, having blocked up one of the doors which belonged to the house his father occupied, and retains an entrance by a back stair case. I am sorry to say it is used as "a lumber and apple room" at present.

Having given as many hints as I decently could without directly asking, he enquired if I should like to see the room. I caught at it and we went with a lantern. The entrance is from the lane by the door marked in the accompanying sketch. When John Woolman came to York he enquired for a Friend who lived out of the City, as he did not like the bustle and noise; and as David Priestman's father's was such a place he went there. He asked if he might choose a room and fixed on this as being very quiet and retired—there being no thoroughfare at the back of the house except a foot path. It is just such a room as one might expect

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article "Who Paid for Woolman's Coffin?" in *Friends Journal*, vol. 10 (1964), pp. 494f.

him to have chosen—whitewashed and without cornice or ornament of any kind—the chimney piece of oak plainly moulded—and the firegrate of the very simplest construction, being merely the front bar and the bottom, let into brick wall. At the time of his death there were two beds in the room—one if not both with undyed hangings.<sup>1</sup>

The manuscript of this letter from which I quote adds the following:

*Note.* 6 mo 1875. The entrance to this room from the lane is now blocked up, and internal communication opened with what was in 1842 David Priestman's house, but which is now occupied by Jane Riccalton. The room has been "modernized" and is now a bedroom. S. Thompson.

A letter by the same writer but thirty years after the first is found now in another collection by coincidence in the same library building.<sup>2</sup> In part it reads as follows:

43 Union Terrace, York  
2 mo 21, 1873

Esteemed Friend,  
John G. Whittier

. . . It was a century ago on the 7th of Tenth Month last, since John Woolman expired at the house of Thomas Priestman within a few hundred yards of my house where I am now writing. I was well acquainted with T.P.'s son, our valued friend, David Priestman, who occupied the same house until his death rather more than 20 years ago. The room in which J.W. died was exactly in keeping with his character—plain, comfortable, whitewashed walls—with a fire place rather singularly placed in one corner—and one latticed window with very small panes. In the hands of the present occupant it has, I understand, been modernized. The large arm chair in which it is said Jno. Woolman died is now in the possession of our dear Friend, John Ford of this city, for many years the Superintendent of Friends Quarterly Meeting School here.

I have, in a large collection of MSS relating to Friends, chiefly collected by my father, the late Thomas Thompson of Liverpool, a portion of the *original* Journal of John Woolman, containing

<sup>1</sup> From a copy made by Silvanus Thompson himself, and sent I suppose to John G. Whittier, now inserted in a presentation copy of his edition of Woolman's Journal, autographed, "Amesbury 2 mo 15, 1875", now at Harvard University in the rare books collected by Harry E. Widener. Other insertions in this book include the sketch referred to, and the "tracing of a page of John Woolman's original Journal in the possession of Silvanus Thompson, York. 29 6 mo. 187[-]", quoted with permission from the Harry Elkins Widener Collection in the Harvard College Library. A copy of this letter was available to Mrs Gummere in the Gibson MSS 2/171, at Friends Library, London and is quoted by her in part, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> John Greenleaf Whittier correspondence collected by his biographer S. T. Pickard and now in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

the account of his voyage across the Atlantic and his remarks on the hardship of a Seaman's life. It was brought from America by Thomas Shillitoe and by him presented to my Father. . . .

Silvanus Thompson

From the time of his illness and death Yorkshire Friends felt a certain possessiveness towards John Woolman. He had given them occasion for this by the expression of his concern in America, if we may trust the reference specifically to Yorkshire quoted from the certificates that Friends meetings in Burlington and Philadelphia had supplied the traveller. He hesitated to take shipping to London, as his mind had "been more particularly drawn towards the Northern parts of England."<sup>1</sup> In his Journal he mentions Westmorland in connection with the home of George Crosfield, and with Kendal, and Yorkshire of the place where he heard of William Hunt's death (though the reading is uncertain). Letters to America are identified from the homes of former visitors to America as from "John Haslam's on the edge of Yorkshire" (31 July) or "about 160 miles northward from London" or "Robert Proud's in Yorkshire," and finally from "York at Quarterly Meeting."

Sarah Hall thought it remarkable that "Yorkshire was particularly mentioned in his certificate—no other county" and "that he laid down his life there." She also quotes his last words "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ: I know not as to life or death." Of course, these words had come from his bedside watchers at York who include them in almost the same terms in their notes taken at various times and also quite significantly they tell us that he said that some time before he came to this nation he had a dream in which he saw himself in the Northern parts of it. To them as to Woolman himself there was scarcely anything more significant than dreams. They also report that at another time he said, "My draught seemed strongest to the North and I mentioned in my own Monthly Meeting that attending the Quarterly Meeting at York, and being there looked like home to me."<sup>2</sup> No wonder that the Quarterly Meeting testi-

<sup>1</sup> Letter of 15 of 4 mo 1772 quoted above, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> With similar local pride Elfrida Vipont (Foulds), *The Story of Quakerism*, 1954, 2nd ed. 1960, p. 159, says. "At last he approached the North-West to which he had so long felt drawn," meaning "Settle within sight of Pendle Hill," Lancaster, Preston Patrick and Kendal, all of them far from York if not from parts of Yorkshire.



mony forwarded a few months afterwards to London Yearly Meeting described Woolman "as having been under a religious engagement for some time to visit Friends in this nation, and more especially us in the Northern parts." The poignancy of the loss was of course all the greater because they recognized as they said in the same testimony that the Lord "hath greatly stripped the Church by removing of late divers faithful Ministers and Elders."<sup>1</sup> One of the women at his bedside explained to Woolman himself that she mourned to see so many faithful servants removed at so low a time.<sup>2</sup>

Something of the same local pride and ownership of John Woolman's memory came to curious expression a few years later when the central meetings in London authorized the publication there of the Journal as already issued in Philadelphia, but with substantial changes and omissions. Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting sent a written protest. Its members were satisfied with the fuller and more original content of the Journal. Only after the London authorities rebuked them in no uncertain tones, did the Quarterly Meeting submit and withdraw the objection.<sup>3</sup>

The following brief announcement of Woolman's death adds nothing to our other information unless it be the hour of the funeral. But since it has not been published it may well be inserted here.

Dear Brother, I have now to inform thee that yesterday morning a little past 6 o'clock our valuable Friend John Woolman drew his last breath. After a time of deep suffering he lay still and quiet for about half an hour as though asleep and then passed away without sigh or groan. We think to inter him to morrow about 2 o'clock. If any of you have inclination and time to get [*sic*] shall be pleased with your company.

I am thy affectionate brother  
Thos Priestman

York 8th of 10th mo. 1772

[Addressed] John Priestman, Junr at Thornton near Pickering  
Postmarked YORK<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Gummere, 322, 326, 329.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 323. This was the reason also for Mary Barnard's poem. See above, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> I have described this episode with fuller quotation in an article in the *Friend* (Lond.), vol. 122 (1964), pp. 269ff.

<sup>4</sup> At Friends Library, London, Port. 42/38 (acquired in 1942).

John Woolman's funeral is referred to by William Tuke in the following brief words: "[He was] interred in Friends burying ground here; the 9th of the same [tenth month], after a large and solid meeting held on the occasion in our great meeting house."<sup>1</sup> Friends Burial Ground at York had long been on Kirk-Lane opposite the Church of St Mary Bishop Hill the Elder. In 1818 William Hargrove describes it so, and as surrounded by a wall and with some trees of venerable appearance. "When Mr Drake wrote (Francis Drake, *Eboracum*, 1736) there were also a few tombs and inscriptions but there is now nothing of the kind, plain mounds of earth, being its only marks of a cemetery."<sup>2</sup> If in 1772 John Woolman's grave was marked with an inscription, that also was removed before 1818.<sup>3</sup> But later the present stone was supplied, which cautiously states "Near this Stone Rest the Remains of John Woolman," etc. The age on the stone, "51 years," is strictly accurate, as he died twelve days before his fifty-second birthday.

The stone for Woolman goes back at least to 1888 since in that year it is quoted by J. Latchmore in its present text. The location was also already then known as Bishophill. But this writer made a curious mistake about Woolman's itinerary for he says he "arrived in London, attended the Yearly Meeting and other meetings in Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York and Westmoreland and retraced his steps to York."<sup>4</sup>

This double mention of York is probably due to confusion with Yorks., for Woolman had been elsewhere in Yorkshire before he went to Westmorland and then on to the city of York. The traditional summary at the head of Chapter XII of his *Journal* would account for the repetition. It reads in part, "proceeding towards Yorkshire, visiting . . . in the counties of Nottingham, York and Westmoreland and thence again into Yorkshire and to the city of York."

From Quaker records we learn some of the vicissitudes of

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Reuben Haines, York, 26. x. 1772, Comly, *Misc.*, vol. 8 (1836), p. 230; cf. Gummere, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> William Hargrove, *History of York*, 1818, ii. 161. For many decades before 1851 gravestones were frowned upon by Friends.

<sup>3</sup> The letter of Silvanus Thompson from York in 1842 quoted above says: "D. Priestman has no idea whereabouts in the burial ground here he was buried, and no Friend seems to know whom I have asked."

<sup>4</sup> J. Latchmore, "The Grave of John Woolman," *FQE*, vol. 22 (1888), p. 439, reprinted in *Friend* (Phila.), vol. 62 (1889), p. 186.

the property. Less than a month after Woolman's interment a minute (I. xi. 1772) reads "As the pasturing of the ground occasions the graves to be much trodden down it is now ordered that Martha Jerryman confines those to whom she lets it from pasturing, and that it shall always be mown." But in 1774 it was let for sheep. Later references mention destruction and replacement of trees, repair of the wall, etc. In 1818 a correct plan had been made and the next year the walls were marked (to correspond to lines in the plan). Yet in September 1789 Samuel Smith of Philadelphia speaks<sup>1</sup> of "going to see the graves of our worthy Friends Thomas Ross and John Woolman," as though they could be identified, perhaps by his companions Lindley Murray (at whose house Ross had died in 1786) and William Tuke. These two graves were side by side. In 1855 the ground was closed for burials by the government and apparently about 1858 fourteen or fifteen of the present stones were set up to mark the graves of some Friends of historical importance. A new stone for William Tuke was erected in October 1964.<sup>2</sup>

A strange reference to Woolman's grave is found in the essay on "Coleridge and Opium Eating" by Thomas De Quincey. He ends a passage in which he opposes Coleridge's recommendation of Woolman's *Journal* by saying "But again we beg pardon, and entreat the earth of Virginia to lie light upon the remains of John Woolman, for he was an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile."<sup>3</sup> If De Quincey thought Woolman was buried in America, and in Virginia, the explanation is clear from the context. He had never been persuaded to read the *Journal*!

William Tuke mentions the funeral in the great meeting house. A small house had been built in Far Water Lane, York in 1673 and a larger one added in 1718 intended mainly for the use of Quarterly Meeting, seating 800 to 1,000. Here

<sup>1</sup> Comly, *Misc.*, vol. 9 (1837), p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> An up-to-date record of this and many other properties was printed in 1964 for the Meeting, *Quaker Meeting Houses, Burial Grounds . . . of York Monthly Meeting*.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Thomas S. Kepler, *The Journal of John Woolman*, 1954 Introduction, p. xx. See De Quincey's *Collected Writings*, ed. by David Masson, vol. 5 (1897), p. 197.

An edition of the *Journal of John Woolman* (*Macmillan's Pocket American and English Classics*, New York, 1903) says in the introduction that John Woolman died in the city of *New York*.

Friends met for the funeral, as they had met there for Quarterly Meeting two weeks before. This house has since been replaced by the present building dating back to 1818,<sup>1</sup> but with some adjustments made after Clifford Street was put through in 1879.

The news of Woolman's illness and death was reported in England sporadically and late, as was that of his cousin William Hunt a month before. Thomas Thornburgh had sent word from York to John Eliot that the disease was small pox, and on the day of the death William Tuke wrote to the same London Friend of its fatal termination.

The letter of William Tuke has been printed<sup>2</sup> but not Thomas Thornburgh's of which an extract is preserved with a copy of that.

It is as follows.

Extract of a Letter from Thos. Thornburgh late Wm Hunt's companion from America to John Eliot dated York 28. 9 Mo. 1772.

Our dear Friend John Woolman was taken unwell before the [Quarterly] Meeting was quite over with a feverish complaint which he said he was subject to at this time of the year but in a few days it appeared to be the small pox, but we have great hopes of his recovery as he is likely to have them favourably, and the perfect serenity and sweetness of his mind is truly comfortable. He says he don't know he has a will in it either to live or die.<sup>3</sup>

The following is part of a business letter to Mildred and Roberts in London by Isaac Wilson of Kendal:

Our Friends Sarah and Deb. Morris from Philadelphia were at our Quarterly Meeting last week, and my spouse is gone down with them to Lancaster to attend theirs. We expect them back tonight and I purpose accompanying them into Cumberland tomorrow or next day. Sarah bears the fatigue of travel and other exercises as well as one can expect for her years. She is indeed a valuable woman. Hannah Harris proposes attending them pretty much through their county, and my wife has thoughts too of doing the same through the county of Durham, after which they purpose bending their course Southward as the winter will be approaching.

John Woolman is now 'laying' at York in the small pox, as I presume you will have heard, but the accounts we have heard since he was seized with the disorder are not unfavorable,

<sup>1</sup> Hargrove, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, p. 143, from Reynolds MS., p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> Friends Library, London, Port. 15/4. Cf above, p. 19 item 12.

though uncertain how it may turn with him, for they are a sore disorder and much stirring here away and many die of them who take 'em in the natural way, but that of Inoculation gains ground, having been performed on some hundreds with great success.<sup>1</sup>

The date of the letter is given as 17 x. 1772 but that is evidently an error for the 7th or 8th, as is shown by the official dates of the two Quarterly Meetings, and by Deborah Morris' diary who says they were at that at Kendal on the 2nd, that at Lancaster on the 7th, returning the next day with Rachel Wilson and starting for Cockermouth (in Cumberland) with Isaac Wilson on the 9th. Though Isaac Wilson's latest news was not unfavorable, by the time he wrote this letter to London John Woolman had just died.

Word of Woolman's death was promptly sent to London by other correspondents. Esther Tuke writing to Samuel Emlen there on the 14th apologizes for doing so because "it may seem rather a repetition, as several accounts have been sent to London, yet as no one was more with him, nor had greater opportunity to observe the state of his mind, a few hints concerning him with a copy of some expressions dropped at sundry times, I believe will not be unacceptable."<sup>2</sup> Who had written these accounts we do not know, except for her husband, a copy of whose letter to John Eliot in London written the day Woolman died has been preserved.<sup>3</sup> It is strange that Dr Thomas Parke, who was in London and in touch with Samuel Emlen, who was staying at John Eliot's does not, as we have already observed, mention the news in his diary.<sup>4</sup> The news reached Mary Barnard of Sheffield sometime previous to her lines written to his memory on the 25th of the month.<sup>5</sup> And at least two other poetical tributes to Woolman were written before the end of the year, though not more exactly dated than 1772. One was by

<sup>1</sup> *Isaac and Rachel Wilson, Quakers of Kendal, 1714-1785*, by John Somervell, 1924, pp. 118f, from one of the rough copies preserved by the writer.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, p. 145. Whitney, 1942, p. 464; 1943, pp. 411f.

<sup>3</sup> Gummere, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 21. For receipt of the news elsewhere see above p. 67, note. Janet Whitney gives "a letter re Woolman's death from Nancy Young to Polly Farmer," 1942, pp. 468f, 1943, pp. 414f. But I have been unable to locate the original, which would show perhaps the date and place and address and whether it really refers to news of Woolman's death or Hunt's.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 98.

Thomas May of Henley and, like Mary Barnard's, printed as a broadside. The other is signed by A.S. and was written at Halifax.<sup>1</sup>

Even those who had never known John Woolman noted news of his decease. William Rathbone of Liverpool (1726–1789) was the host to most American visitors including in 1771–1772 Robert Willis, William Hunt and Thomas Thornburgh, and Sarah Morris. So we learn from a memorandum of Public Friends who attended Liverpool Meeting on religious service, written by his twenty-year-old daughter Sarah. She writes:

About a month or 6 weeks after the departure of dear W.H. we received the intelligence of Jno Woolman's who was then engaged in the same important concern & from the same quarter of the globe. He was carried off by the small pox. We had never been favor'd with a visit from this valuable Friend. He was remarkably singular in his dress & aliment in which he believed he was in his duty having a peculiar testimony to bear against anything that was obtained in an unwarrantable or unchristian manner.<sup>2</sup>

One newspaper obituary has been long known and several times republished.<sup>3</sup> It is from the Leeds *Mercury* for October 13, 1772 and could refer to his death as occurring on "Wednesday last": It reads:

*Died, on Wednesday last, at York, of the small pox, Mr. John Woolman, of New Jersey, in North America, an eminent preacher amongst the people called Quakers. His life exhibited a very singular, and striking example of humility and self-denial adorned with an amiable sweetness of disposition, and affectionate good will to mankind universally. His feelings for the bondage and oppression of the poor enslaved negroes were so exquisite that he conscientiously refused every accommodation, both in diet and apparel, which was produced by*

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas E. Drake, in *BFHA*, 43 (1954), pp. 100f, where the latter is reprinted. It was copied in Catchpool MSS., vol. 2, p. 218, and attributed to "the apothecary who attended him".

<sup>2</sup> "Public Friends at Liverpool", pp. 19, 20, in Benson MSS photostat collection, Friends Library, London. Cf. Elizabeth Shackleton of Ballitore who refers to the death of "another dear Friend whom we had not the pleasure of seeing here" (*JFHS*, vol. 20 (1923), p. 46, but the date 1778 must be an error for 1772 as the context suggests).

<sup>3</sup> Comly, *Misc.*, vol. 1 (1831), p. 194, 2nd edit. (1834), p. 404; *Friend* (Lond.), vol. 3 (1845), p. 12, Gummere, p. 144. Another early MS. copy in Catchpool MSS. vol. 1 (compiled by 1797), no. 83, p. 134. I have not located either a printed clipping of this obituary, nor a file of the *Mercury* containing this issue.

their labour. He was upon a religious visit to his friends in this nation, and has left a wife and family in America.

A week later on October 20, 1772 much briefer notice occurs in the *Leeds Intelligencer* (forerunner of the present *Yorkshire Post*):

John Woolman, one of a people called Quakers, from North America, who being upon a religious visit to his Friends, died of the small-pox at York, on the 7th instant.

Of York newspapers<sup>1</sup> the *York Herald and General Advertiser* was first published 2 January 1790, the *York Herald*, December 18, 1772. Therefore at York only the *York Courant* founded in 1728 could have had a notice. But there is none, at least in the issues for October 13, 20 or 27.

In America *The Pennsylvania Gazette* apparently had no obituary.<sup>2</sup> The *Mount Holly Mirror* began publication only in 1818.

#### CONCLUSION

Such then are some of the supplementary bits of information available for the four months in 1772 that Woolman lived in England. In contrast to his own limited Journal they supply sometimes the names of his hosts, the company of other American public Friends, the hour of the meeting attended, and information as to meetings in which he took vocal part.

Woolman had interspersed in his diary various local observations on the poverty and suffering of some classes of persons in England or the disadvantages of dyeing clothes instead of keeping them clean, the preferability of "the clean pure country air" to the scents of the cities and the evil effects on people's minds, and included reminiscences from experiences in America. He had connected some of these with society in general and some with the Society of Friends.

<sup>1</sup> Wm. Hargrove, *History and Description of York*, York, 1818, ii, 272, 261, 411.

<sup>2</sup> See the list in *PMHB*, x, 1886, 334ff. Nor is any listed in *Extracts from American Newspapers Relating to New Jersey*, vol. 9, 1772-1773. (W. Nelson, *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, vol. 28, 1916.)

These have not been copied out above in quoting from his Journal. But they reinforce the impression it gives, even in its more autobiographical record, of the sensitivity of Woolman's mind as he travelled in the towns and countryside of England and among the meetings and homes of his fellow Quakers there.

The supplements here collected give a more objective than subjective picture of Woolman. Not what he thought or said is as conspicuous in them as the impression that he made on others. They help us answer questions that must have occurred to every modern reader of the whole Journal: Why did Woolman with his scruples and idiosyncrasies not seem to contemporaries excessively morbid and hopelessly naïve? The contemporary writers who speak of him with appreciation recognize that to others his singularities were offensive, his conscientiousness an unintended rebuke.

This study was undertaken merely as an experiment, to see how far a limited section of one Friend's life—John Woolman in England—could be illuminated beyond his own brief report. The results have been meagre, but perhaps not so meagre as was to be expected. Quakerism in the period which includes 1772 was better documented both in England and in America than some other contemporary movements, and there was continuing contact between the two across the Atlantic, though it was destined soon to be temporarily interrupted in the years of the American Revolution. This study confirms the impression otherwise gained both of the distinctive culture and of the solidarity of the Transatlantic Quaker community.<sup>1</sup>

The inquiry has involved a fresh excursion into the records of the period. It was a time of little or no Quaker periodical literature, and of much less use of the printed word than we are accustomed to today. Communication was slow and precarious, especially across the ocean. There was on land, beside the post, much carrying of notes by hand.

<sup>1</sup> See F. B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*, 1960 and his briefer essays "The Transatlantic Quaker Community in the Seventeenth Century" in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 14 (1951), pp. 239-258, *The Atlantic Community of the Early Friends* (JFHS, Supplement 24), 1952. Cf. Thomas E. Drake, *Patterns of Influence in Anglo-American Quakerism*, (JFHS Supplement 28), 1958. Henry J. Cadbury, "Colonial Quaker Antecedents to British Abolition of Slavery," *FQE*, vol. 67 (1933), pp. 260-275, "Intercolonial Solidarity of American Quakerism," *PMHB*, vol. 60 (1936), pp. 362-374.



Family connections were abundant in the almost closed Quaker fellowship and they added intimacy and the sharing of ideas and ideals.

Since the days of John Greenleaf Whittier, an ardent admirer, John Woolman has seemed to many the flowering of this eighteenth century Quaker culture. Any excursion into the story of his life renews and refreshes our understanding of that Quaker community. His extreme scrupulosity, and his consequent "singularity"—to use a term applied to him by fellow Quakers—was not typical, though a logical result of the group's attitudes. His deep concern for the welfare of others than Friends—slaves in America, sailors at sea, post boys and farm laborers and city dwellers in England—was not unusual among Friends, though seemingly inconsistent with their individual introspectiveness and their sectarian concentration.

In thus dipping in a fragmentary way into the records of that summer of 1772 and presenting the items actually relevant to my main objective, I have found it a pleasure to feel also the context. The letters reveal something both of the conventions and of the real interests of a day unlike our own. Even the manuscript Quaker minute books—that documentary marvel of three centuries of Quaker history—in spite of their routine and repetition, supply the modern reader with undertones between the lines. Sometimes John Woolman himself looked back at the history they recorded and found their lessons for the present and the future. One of these books used in this study, that for Burlington Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, includes a personal note, much more personal than is common for the clerk or scribe of a Meeting. It was observed long ago by others and was quoted in the testimony to him adopted by the Monthly Meeting in Burlington about two years after his death.<sup>1</sup>

In the minutes of the Meeting for Ministers and Elders for this quarter, more than five years before his death there was written in his handwriting, like the rest, a list of the living

<sup>1</sup> Also less accurately in *Christian Faith and Practice*, London Yearly Meeting, 1960, Chapter I. The names were printed by Amelia M. Gummere in R. M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 1911, p. 409. About a decade earlier John Woolman had entered but without comment in his Ledger B near the front 48 "Friends names of Mount Holly Meeting."

members, sixty in all, entitled "The names of Ministers and Elders belonging to Burlington and Chesterfield Monthly Meetings" and the following signed subscription:

*The 22 day 2 month 1767. This list was entered in this book and persons above named are I believe now living.*

*As looking over the minutes, made by persons who have put off this [originally "the"] Body, hath sometimes revived in me a thought how ages pass away! So this list may probably revive a like thought in some when I and the rest of the persons above named are centered in an other state of Being—The "Lord" who was the guide of my Youth, hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto. He hath healed me of wounds! He hath helped me out of grievous Entanglements! He remains to be the strength of my life, to whom I desire to devote myself in Time, and in Eternity.*

*John Woolman*

## INDEX

This index is selective. It does not, for example, include names of persons mentioned in the text only as relatives of a principal figure. Nor, in general, are the names of editors or biographers of Woolman included if reference to them is so frequent as to make an index entry unwieldy. Dates of birth and death are given where this is likely to facilitate reference. A descriptive epithet is generally preferred for those closely associated with Woolman (JW) or Sarah and Deborah Morris (S & DM) whether as hosts, travelling companions or otherwise.

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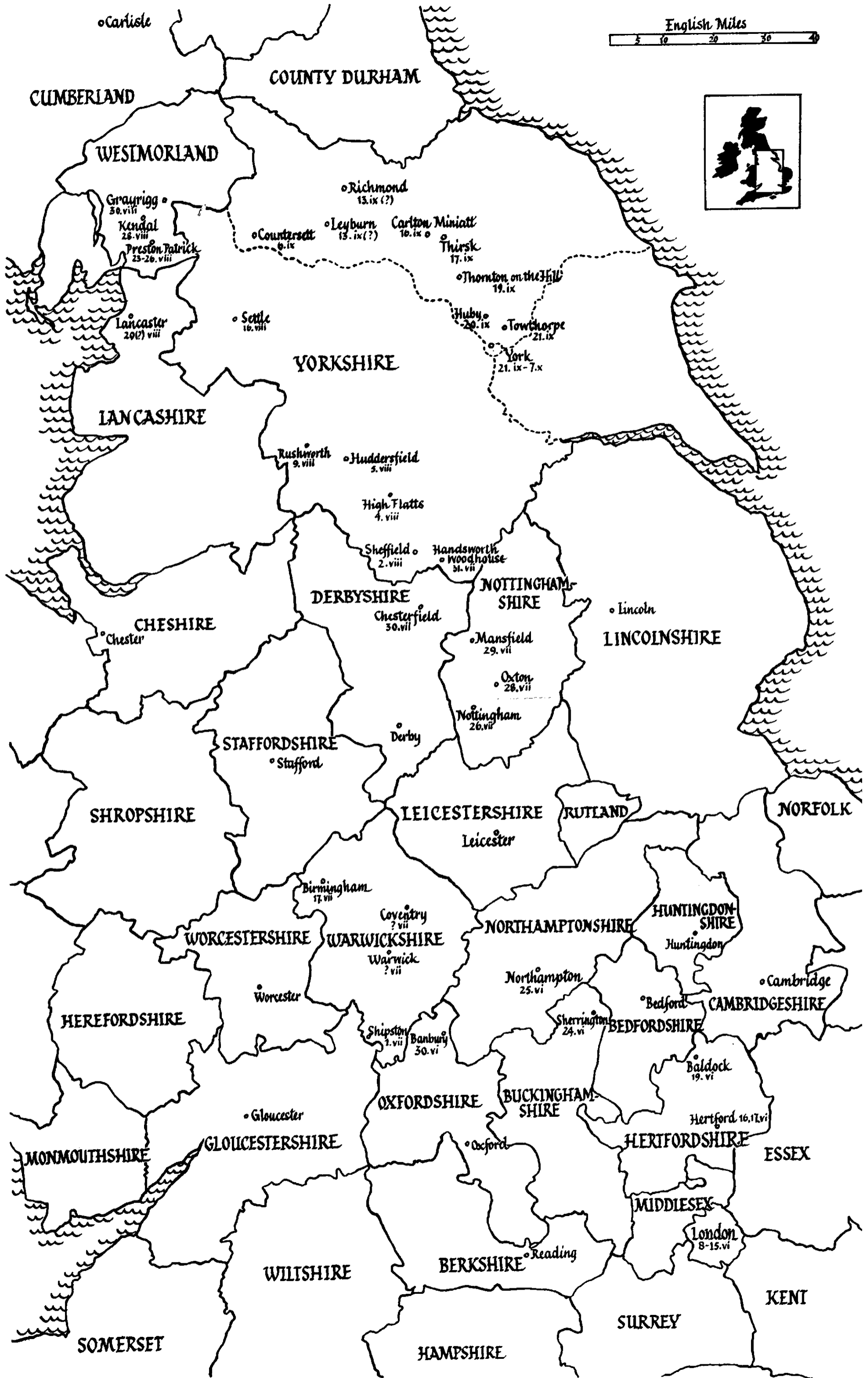
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MAP SHOWING PLACES (WITH DATES) KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN VISITED BY WOOLMAN