



From the first of my convencemint no aprobacion was Euer Soght by me ; on the contrary, I very well knewe, that poplaraty never fales of haveing the blasting breath of Invay to atend itt ; the Extravagant incomioms att that tam bestowd on me therfor was awarning of the riverce as have sence falen to my share, yett my percecuters, are, all of them, and hath Ever been, Under the aplacion of freends ; with all my heart I forgeve there intencions to Ingoure me, there bad practece hurts not me in aney way, for in this worald I count upon no inheretance as serten but trebulacion only.

“ From Brestol, sense my Last to thee, I have as Respectfull a certiffecat of Removal as can be justly Desired to our freends of this quarter, who, alace ! are fewe in Number. We lost one in Kellso Last week, worthy old Samewell Robertson, hes age was Egthy fouer. I regreat the Loce of freends for the sake of Sosiatty, but not upon there acount who go so happyly, as I do beleve Daneel Bell hes gon. In and about London he wel be greatly messed ; to show hes Esteme for, and Ownaty with me, he, in hes well, Left me five Genneys, which hes Son, Jonathon, Emedetly Remeted. The Remembrance of afreend upon So Solam an ocasion, I Look upon to be worth much mor then the Legesey ittself ; if the Legesay was not worth apeney, I Esteme the gift of my desesed freend.

I Earnestly pray Good, Wise Grace Chambers may Long be preserved to her freends. Thy stat of helth is as well and better then itt was Expected to contenow being Some years ago. In favore to Soseaty, I hop Diveen Goodness Well Lenthen thy tem as Long as itt not burdensom to thy sellf. I simpathese with My Deare freend, Lida Langcaster, and wesh she may have the conclacion of Deveen pour to Suport her under her present afflecteon. Very glad I am Worthy freend Chambers is able to atend her, for both there sakes. My Love remanes with my kind freend Sengelton, Deare faney Pheleps, thy Doutyfull Daghter, and all my freends in the County of Beshopreck. Yes, my worthy, fatherly freend, I do hop to see thee once mor befor we Leve thes Stat of triele ; tel then, I am, weth simpathy, Esteme, and affection,

“ Thy much obledged freend,

“ M. DRUMMOND.”

The next letter was dated the 8th of Second Month, 1759 :—<sup>17</sup>

“Thy very acceptable favore of 3<sup>d</sup> past came in Dowe Cource of the post. Thy Silance, when to me itt happns, I do Regreat upon a dwble Account, being ththrowly perswaded want of abelety to wreet is Leckly to be the Cawse, for I can never Suspeck aney Change in thy freendshop to me, while Conchous I have no just Cawse for the want of Adowe Regard from my freends, wnlees, by the permichon of Eternelly Derecting Wisdom for my Learning, A clowd should Separat the Sight of my inosance from their Vewe. I have, my Worthy freend, great Cawse to adore that Light, which wre Sosiaty profeec to be Derected by; throw Dareck Steps of Shocking provockashon itt hath Leed me to the qwaet Rest of Standing Stel, tel the floods of invetrat Malace and Crowal invey Showld perforam the taske of my Refining. By Swch baptesums we are made humble; they teach ws Wisdom, to see, in the Light of trowth, the foley of avercion att those who ingour ws, or rather intend to jngoure ws, Since Resentment of that kind hendes Our Entering into the Stat of perfection; all Our work is within Our Owne herts, that garden well cultivated will Sent furth frowt to the prase of the Divene Condesencion which inabled ws to Laber therein.

“As to my Veset to Amereca, with freends apro-baceon, I shal beleve myself bownd in Dowty to go, but, in the cace of there Seeing it there place to Restrane my going, Contencion well never be reqwerd of One who is Cald to preach in Condwck the word of the Lord. Upon that acount my Choice is Eqwall, to go or Stay. Without proper Certefecats, itt is not my place to go, nor Shal I put freends upon saying aneything in the certefecat they give but what they thenck fitt.

“I see thou art Surpresed with Our practees of Ceeping the Dors of Meeting houses bared Or Locked in the tem of Worshep, inded I was fare from a proveing of that practece when first Our freends in this place Showd a desere to have the Compnay of non but Ourselves in meetings of Worshep, which was Long befor Orders was given to the Doreceper to Late non but Ourselves in.

<sup>17</sup> From the original in the Miller MSS.

After that order was given, I did not see itt my place to Contind, but rather condesend to what freends Made there Choice, being Stel wnder a Sence, the Dowty of another is not mine, if they were under amestack of Judgment, Divine Sight alon Could Discover that misstake to them. I have, in these Silant meetings since, Seen the hand of the Lord, and I now beleve, there Desire to injoye Solem Silance, in the presence of the Lord alon, by Exclouing the inhabetance, Who cam in great numbers to Our meetings, was of the Lord. He Reqwers my Pwbleck Servce Els wher, and will show freends, who thenck I Oght hear to Stay, his thoghts are not Lick there thoghts, nor are his uays as there uays, for as the hevans are higher than the Earth, so is the uays of the Lord beyond the Contrivence and Resonings of men. We must not atemp to make the Menets of Ayearly Meeteng book the Absolout Rowl of Athere [either ?] Pwbleck or prevat Condwuk ; they are att best External helps, and must be Our practece Only when, in the Wisdom of trouth, we thenck them fitt.

“ Thy Advce in the poscripe made me Smile ; in annsure to itt, I Leve well weth the Minesters of both Church and State ; Dispouts with nether of them is my practece, being wnder a Strong persuasion Every Soul must be acountable for itt's Oune Conduck. My Study is quaet [quiet], where the Voice of God is heard and Distengushed from that which astranges from him ; in that quaet I have Ownety weth thee and Som fewe mor whose trouly affectenate Simpathesing freend I am,  
M. DRUMMOND.”

May Drummond does not appear to have been actually “ under dealing ” until 1765, when her case was thus brought before Edinburgh Monthly Meeting (3rd of Second Month) by the Clerk, William Miller<sup>18</sup> :—

“ In the first place the queries were read, and friends cannot help observing great defficiencies in many particulars. One is at this time thought worthy of our cognicence and to be inserted here, and we think it proper

<sup>18</sup> This was the grandson of William Miller, “ the Patriarch.” He was popularly known as “ The King of the Quakers,” and a very arbitrary monarch he was.

[See THE JOURNAL; vols. i.-iii. ; *Memorials of Hope Park*.—EDS.]

to send two of the queries concerning Ministers to her ; and that she may see herself faulty and sensor'd by our Meeting of Discipline, the Clerk of our Meeting is appointed to subscribe the said Queries. The following is a copy of what we sent to M. D. as the above minute directs :—

“ I observe that thou can come to the meeting and stay away at thy pleasure, however I can acquaint thee that we have farr better meetings in thy absence than when thou art present. Thy conduct grieves me exceedingly. I believe every servant in the families where thou visits reports to their fellows that M. D. takes away bread, sugar, etc., out of their master's and mistres's houses.<sup>19</sup> What the meaning of this is I cannot comprehend exactly ; if poverty is the cause, I apprehend a better method might have been found out for reliefe. If thou had applied to me for reliefe, I would have assisted for one, but if this defection proceeds from covetousness that is worse than the other. And I have also to acquaint thee that friends in general, and myself in particular, are highly dissatisfied with what thou hath to offer in the meetings, for we sincerely believe that thou in thy present situation has nothing to say from the Lord, so that thy words are a great burden to us. Therefore I beg for the future thou may be silent in our Meetings, till thy doctrine and conduct correspond with the following Queries which were sent down from London to us<sup>20</sup>:—(3rd) Are all ministers Careful not to burthen sencible friends of y<sup>r</sup> own or other Meetings w<sup>t</sup> words void of life and power, & doe they keep sound doctrine & y<sup>e</sup> form of sound words in y<sup>r</sup> ministry, & doe non come abroad w<sup>t</sup> out y<sup>e</sup> aprobation of y<sup>r</sup> own Monthly Meeting? (5th) Are all ministers & elders carfull to walk Circumspectly & Inoffensively In y<sup>r</sup> lives & conversations y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> truth be not reproached & dishonoured by their Imprudent Conduct? This is all I have at present to lay before thee

<sup>19</sup> Probably the poor lady was suffering from kleptomania, or the reports may only have been malicious gossip.

<sup>20</sup> The five Queries “ submitted to y<sup>e</sup> considerations of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting of Ministers and Elders ” were first read in Edinburgh Yearly Meeting, 3rd mo., 1730, and were embodied in the Minutes with directions that they should be read and answered at the Monthly Meeting preceding the Yearly Meeting.

and I beg it may be received in the same love in which it is wrote, for I wish thy welfare in every respect. Signed by William Miller, dated Abbay, the 3 day of the 2 month, 1765.'”

It was hardly to be expected that this imperious missive would have the desired effect, and, indeed, next month the minutes record, “ M. D. having appear'd in words in the meeting (since the above letter was sent unto her) two several times, on the first instant of this month the Clerk of the Meeting sent her another letter, putting her in remembrance that friends could not unite with her, and therefore afresh desired she would be silent in our meetings.” This second communication seems to have had the desired effect, as, in Fifth Month, the clerk records that “ having considered the Affair of May Drummond [we] don't find it necessary to proceed any further against her at present, as she has not burdened us with her words in publick for some weeks past.”

About a year after this, however, 14 iv. 1766, “ the 2<sup>d</sup> day meeting of Ministers & Elders in London ” wrote as follows :—

“ Loving friend, William Miller.

“ The Morning Meeting of Ministers and Elders<sup>21</sup> in this city, being inform'd that May Drummond has appeared as a Minister in divers of our meetings (much to the dissatisfaction of friends), desires us to write to thee to know how she stands with your Meeting. Please to favour with an answer soon, directed for David Barclay, Junior, and will oblige thy loving friends,

“ THOMAS CORBYN, JOHN HILL.”

The following is an answer to the above :—

“ To friends of the Morning Meeting of Ministers and Elders in London.

“ Dear Friends.

“ We are sorry to hear May Drummond hath assumed to preach in your Meetings, it being quite irregular, she having no certificate from us. And as you are desirous

<sup>21</sup> The Morning Meeting had previously accepted her certificate as a Minister in unity with Edinburgh Friends in 1735, 1739, 1742 and 1746, and a certificate from the Men's Meeting in Bristol of their approval, in 1750 and 1753.

[Further correspondence between M. D. and the Morning Meeting in 1766 was printed and is in **D.**—EDS.]

to know how she stands with our Meeting, we shall now acquaint you. Most of the Friends of this Meeting being quite burdened with her preaching and praying, it appearing to them to be altogether dead, formal, and without the true spring that can only make words efficacious, they could no longer bear it, without testifying to her their sense of it; so, accordingly, the Monthly Meeting appointed their Clerk to acquaint her with their sentiments concerning her publick appearances, which was done in writing (the 3 day of the 2 month, 1765, and then recorded in the Monthly Meeting book), setting forth to her that her preaching, and some parts of her conduct, gave us great uneasiness, and that we could not at present receive her any longer as a Minister, therefore requested she might not presume to offer her words in our meetings until her doctrine and conduct shall correspond with the following Queries. . . . This Admonition she took offence at, and absented from the meeting about six months, and when she came back she sat in a seat below the Gallery; and she continued to come now and then upon the First Day in the forenoon, till she set out last for London, without troubling us with her words. So, in a few words, the sense of this Meeting is that she is not at all fitt to preach, neither can we receive her as a Minister. As she is now with you, you must judge what is necessary to be done.

“So we conclude, with the salutation of our love unto you, and remain your loving friends.

“Sign’d in and on behalf of our Monthly Meeting held at Edinburgh, the 27th day of the 4th month, 1766, read and approv’d of by the same.

WILLIAM MILLER,      WILLIAM WALLACE,  
SAMUEL LEEDS,      WILLIAM GALBREATH,  
JAMES MACPHERSON,      ROBERT MELVELL,  
JOHN SPALDING,      MILLER CHRISTY.”

This is the last time poor May Drummond’s name appears in the Scottish records, except that there is a notice of a visit in the ministry paid by her, 9 mo., 1767, to Kelso, where she seems to have stayed for a fortnight.

Two years later she was travelling for some months amongst Friends in the north of England.

The following curious letter was written by her when at Stockton-on-Tees, John Chipchase<sup>22</sup> of that town acting as her amanuensis on this occasion.

“ Stockton, 5th of 8th mo., 1769.

“ With pleasure I reflect on my acquaintance with Lord Temple, Lady Temple, and the good Lady Betty Germaine.<sup>23</sup> There is an inclination in every human breast to wish for the good of the whole community, and unnatural is the depravity of that mind that has no concern for the public welfare. Lord Temple has sufficiently proved to the world his desire of removing from the Administration every one who has not the good of the subject at heart ; and everyone who thinks coolly sees, with regret, that Ecclesiastical Authority is a part of our constitution—the present age is ready to shake off the burden, and had Opposition given their Mob for a cry ‘ the Church is in danger,’ they would have had fewer followers.

“ I have been for some months past on a visit through Northumberland, Cumberland, and the Bishopric of Durham, and observe that (by the division of Commons) there are yearly additions made to the revenues appointed for the maintenance of Ecclesiastical Authority. John Wesley’s fleecing the People as he does (by their own consent) is a sufficient demonstration that no money need be advanced by Government, for the maintenance of a hired ministry in the preaching way.

“ I beg Lord Temple will submit it to the consideration of his friends, who are friends of liberty, whether, if the Ecclesiastics who sit in parliament were made sure what they now possess should be theirs for life, they might not be brought to consent to an Act by which all their revenues, should, for ever after, be paid into the public treasury.

(Signed)

“ MAY DRUMMOND.”

<sup>22</sup> Born 1747, died 1816. For a copy of the letter I am indebted to his son, John, of Cotherstone, who died 1862 aged 72.

<sup>23</sup> “ Lord Temple ” was Richard Grenville Temple, Earl Temple, b. 1711, m. 1737, Anne, daughter of Thomas Chambers, Esq. “ Lady Betty ” was Lady Elizabeth Germaine, daughter of Charles, second Earl of Berkeley, and second wife of Sir John Germaine, bart., of Westminster, and Drayton, co. Northampton. She died 1769, the year this letter was written.



A year after the date of this letter, 1770, the writer seems again to have been travelling in the north of England, as a Friend of Whitehaven, in a letter to his fiancée, writes that he had "been all day going about with that poor creature, May Drummond."

Unlike her brother, the Provost, May Drummond was a strong Jacobite, to the no small dissatisfaction of many of her English friends; and it is said she also offended them by her fondness for speaking about "my worthy cousin, Perth" (*i.e.*, the titular Duke of Perth), and other great relatives. A contemporary picturesquely describes her as "a tall, handsome woman, who, when she moved in the streets, wore a black velvet tippet over a camblet dress, buttoned from her chin to her feet, and never raised her eyes from the ground."<sup>24</sup>

Her attire is also alluded to by an anonymous writer,<sup>25</sup> apparently not a Friend, who, addressing her, says, "Your Department . . . is humble and modest, and your apparel every way suitable to your outward Piety, whereby indeed you give a good & shining Example to some of your *degenerate sisters*, in whose Attire, and all its Symmetry, we see now adays so many Tokens of pride and vanity."

Perhaps we may note that one of her weaknesses was a nervous aversion to cats. When she visited at the house of George Miller, a younger brother of the Clerk of Edinburgh Monthly Meeting, and a partisan of hers, the children, with whom she was no favourite, used slyly to send the family cat into the room, whilst she was at tea. Then pretending great concern at its appearance, they would contrive to hunt poor pussy round and round her chair, very naughtily enjoying the poor old lady's perturbation.

WILLIAM F. MILLER.

<sup>24</sup> Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Smith's *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 50.

## NOTES.

Thomas Crowley, of Walworth, Surrey, who signs himself "a Rational Christian but no Quaker," addressed a poem to M. Drummond, in 1736, of which the following are the opening lines :—<sup>26</sup>

Dear Drummond ! run thy blest career;  
Teach us to know, and then to fear;  
The great immense supreme ;  
Do thou, replete with heavenly light,  
Explain to our deluded sight  
The high-celestial scheme.

She is also the theme of the following verses, which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for September, 1735 :—<sup>27</sup>

Hail ! happy virgin of celestial race,  
Adorn'd with wisdom, and replete with grace.  
By contemplation you ascend above,  
So fill your breast with true seraphick love :  
And when you from that sacred mount descend,  
You give us rules our morals to amend.  
Those pious maxims you your self apply,  
And make the universe your family.  
No more, O *Spain* ! thy saint *Teresa* boast ;  
There's one outshines her on the *British* coast,  
Whose soul, like hers, views one Almighty end,  
And to that centre all its motions tend.  
Too long indeed, our sex has been deny'd,  
And ridicul'd by men's malignant pride ;  
Who fearful of a just return forbore,  
And made it criminal to teach us more.  
That woman had no soul, was their pretence,  
And woman's spelling past for woman sense.  
'Till you, most generous heroine, stood forth,  
And shew'd your sex's aptitude and worth.  
Were there no more, yet you, bright maid, alone  
Might for a world of vanity atone.  
Redeem the coming age, and set us free  
From that false brand of Incapacity.

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<sup>26</sup> *Poetical Essays*; 1784; p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Vol. v. p. 556, "On the Noted and Celebrated Mrs. Drummond," by a Young Lady.

The following references to May Drummond's visits to Whitby, Yorks, have been copied from a rough account book, showing the expenses for horse-hire paid by this Meeting during 1740-49 (part) and 1750-56 (complete), and sent up, with notes thereon, by Joseph T. Sewell, of Whitby.

	s.	d.
1745, 21st of 5th.		
To Ma Druman <sup>28</sup> Hors and guide .. .. .	3	0
Ostler .. .. .		4
For giving notice of Meting .. .. .		4
1749, 3 of 11th.		
To ye man that came from Scarbrough with May Druman paid for 2 nights expens for him & Hors as per Bill ; he Cared her Back to Scarbrough .. .. .	6	0
To 2 pound of Moulded Candels <sup>29</sup> .. .. .	1	2
1750, 26 of 5th.		
To 2 Guides & thear Horses one Night that came with May Druman .. .. .	3	6
1751, 16 of 4 mo.		
To 2 Guides & thear Horses that came with May Druman from Stockton .. .. .	2	4
To a Man to care her bags <sup>30</sup> & other things to Stockton .. .. .	1	9
1751, 6 of 5 mo.		
To Guides that came with May Druman from Scarborough thear Horses Hay & Corn .. .. .	2	0
Drinking & Eating .. .. .	1	10
Osler .. .. .		2
1754, 8 mo. 26.		
Paid Timo: Watkins for the 2 Frds. horses <sup>31</sup> that came with May Drumond from Scarboro' .. .. .	1	10

In 1736, appeared a pamphlet by May Drummond, *Internal Revelation the Source of Saving Knowledge: candidly recommended in several Epistles*, London: Printed for Jonathan Nelson, in Reading, and sold by J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick-Lane. It is an octavo of twenty-seven pages. Jonathan Nelson contributes a Preface, dated "Reading, 26, 3d Month." The author's Epistles consist of one of a general character,

<sup>28</sup> She came alone, without another woman Friend as was usual.

<sup>29</sup> The "moulded Candels" point to an evening public meeting, a very unusual thing amongst Friends here.

<sup>30</sup> Of the other Friends mentioned (over 100 visits) she alone is referred to as carrying luggage.

<sup>31</sup> The dates of the later visits correspond with the dark period of Whitby Meeting (see *Journal of John Griffith*). M.D. was probably popular with the rich merchant Friends here.

dated from "Edinburgh 28th of 11th Month called January, 1732-3," addressed to those who "deny the appearance of Christ within," one to John Shaw of South Leith from Edinburgh in September of the same year, and one from Bush Hill, the 2nd of the 6th Month, 1735.<sup>32</sup>

Edinburgh the 18 of the 6 Month 1735

In a letter from Cousin John Walton I was told  
of thy lovely worthy friend James Wilson,  
with true sympathy I share there, and the Love  
of thy family in the removal of thy heavenly Ma-  
- ded Spouse, The hath been long fit to dy, and by  
bodily infirmity unfit to Live a life of Much  
Pleasure, His resignation to the Decease will  
Supported his passions, it is well for such as they  
time is short, and there is not many  
years at longest, I hope in thy and Every  
Others will be appointed, or permitted to fill up the Cup  
of thy sufferings, the knowings of Decease favours  
well to thy defence or help, to be thy Comforter  
as he is the power of peace, my sympathy and best  
- wishes is with thee, all the friends in thy Neigh-  
- bourhood with Love remember you and desire to  
be remembered by thee, who are with true affec-  
- tion Esteem and Affection thy Obliged friends  
MAY DRUMMOND

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER IN D.

<sup>32</sup> See ante, p. 56.