

Dorothy Ripley

Unaccredited Missionary

THE principal authorities for the life and travels of Dorothy Ripley (1767-1831) are autobiographical. She wrote fully, hoping to profit by the sale of her books.

In 1810 appeared in New York a 12mo volume: *The Extraordinary Conversion and Religious Experience of Dorothy Ripley*, containing 168 pages, and an eight-page address to the Mayor and Corporation of New York, dated 7th month, 1810. A second edition followed in 1817 (copies in **D**), printed by Darton, Harvey and Co., of London. The Preface was written "On Board Ship Herald, 10th mo. 1809," and there follows an address "to the impartial reader of every denomination," dated "London, 21st of 7th mo. 1817." Later, a further record of her experiences, entitled: *The Bank of Faith and Works United*, was issued in Philadelphia, in 1819, and Whitby, England, in 1822. The second edition (copies in **D**) has a Preface dated: "Whitby, 4th 9th mo. 1822." The first volume covers the period from birth to a return from America in Eighth Month, 1803, and the second begins a few months later and leaves its author at Charlestown, South Carolina, in Third Month, 1806. The copies in use for this article were presented to **D** by the late Joseph T. Sewell, of Whitby, with some notes of his from lectures on their author.

Dorothy Ripley, daughter of William Ripley,¹ of Whitby, Yorkshire, was born "24th 4th month, 1767." She came early under strong religious influence, her father being a close friend of John Wesley. When three years old, playing on the floor, a voice sounded in her ear: "It is a sin to play; rise and pray." Her father died in 1784, aged forty-five, her mother in 1802; a brother, William, died in 1782, aged nineteen, a sister, Mary, in 1788 and another sister, Ann, in 1796. Sisters Sarah and Catherine were living in 1805.

As Dorothy grew up, she became much attracted to

Friends, using the plain language and the numbers of the months, and wearing a Quaker bonnet. She would spend several hours a day reading Barclay's *Apology*. A request for membership was made, but hearing nothing in reply for two years, she asked the reason, and could only obtain as answer: "We cannot tell." She writes:

They knew not what to think of me, for there were none in that part who had received the Lord Jesus Christ after this manner.

Friends distrusted her motive and her prudence, and they may have become aware of her proposed travels in the interests of "poor Ethiopia's children," and that she would expect a certificate if a member; for she states:

The Lord commanded me to "go ten thousand miles," to provide neither gold nor silver and leaning on no arm of flesh.

Individual Friends, however, had a personal regard for her. Although Jonathan Sanders, of Whitby, had his doubts, his son and daughter-in-law, George Sanders, a prominent Minister, and Jane, his wife, were her warm friends; also Mary Linskill² stood by her.

On the 29th of Twelfth Month, 1801, at three o'clock in the morning—a non-member and without official approval—Dorothy Ripley left home on her long journey. It was six in the evening before the carrier's cart reached Malton, "where a Quaker family, named Mennell,"³ gave her a night's lodging. In York, she met William Crotch,⁴ who was travelling in the ministry.

He enquired whither I was going. I told him I was proceeding to Washington. He said: "I have a certificate and yet have not gone to America, and art thou going without one?" My answer was: "I have not a certificate written with pen and ink, yet I believe my way will be made plain."

Joseph and Mary Awmack⁵ entertained her in York, where she met "Eliz. H."⁶

On the 4th 1st month 1802 I walked nine miles that afternoon and then rode in the waggon all night to save expence of a bed and to be ready for break of day, that I might set off on foot again.

En route for London, Dorothy had some serious talk with the wagoner, and on arrival he conducted her to Devonshire House, where she met Samuel and Mary Brady,⁷ and at the meeting heard Priscilla Hannah Gurney, "an highly favoured minister." S. and M. Brady took her to their home in St. Mary Axe, hard by.

I was with this kind family twelve nights and purposed sailing from London, but could not get a passage to America under fifty guineas Some worldly Quakers said to me: "Well, thou wilt go from here to Bristol and from thence to Liverpool and thence home to Whitby," which I answered in silence.

On the way to Bristol, D. Ripley met Sarah Kingsley⁸ in Reading, who was a daughter of Samuel Brady; at Newbury she was entertained by a tinner in one of the almshouses. At Bath, after walking up and down the city, she went to Thomas Witton's⁹ shop and said: "Art thou a Quaker?" After T. Witton had proved her by many questions, he invited her into his house. William Daverall¹⁰ offered her a bed. At meeting next morning David Sands¹¹ preached, also P. H. Gurney,¹² who invited Dorothy to her house to tea. D. Sands said to her: "I would have thee consider well what thou art about, for I have only found one old England." These two Friends sent our traveller on to Bristol to John and Margaret Waring,¹³ who proved friends to her.

I got to Bristol after ten, so I went straight to meeting, although my shoes were very wet in walking twelve miles through the mire. The Lord provided all my stores and paid twelve guineas for my passage.

On the 13th of Second Month, 1802, D. Ripley left England in the brig *Triton*, Gilbert Howland, Quaker captain. The Warings and William Lewis¹⁴ bid her farewell.

Since I have left Whitby I have travelled five hundred miles in faith, and am now surrounded with blessings, with this testimony that God will land me safe.

Arrived off Rhode Island at sunbreak on the first of Fourth Month, Thomas Robinson,¹⁵ a Friend, was told by the mate that "there was a woman on board, and he supposed that she was a public friend; which excited Sarah Robinson to send for me immediately to dine," this couple being very kind to the new arrival and at meeting placed her in the gallery between her hostess and "another minister whom I knew when on a religious visit to England." At the afternoon meeting Dorothy spoke and prayed, and later went on board again for New York, which was reached 7 iv. 1802. Here she made the acquaintance of R. and E. Bowne.¹⁶ These Friends and John Barrows gave her a letter of introduction to Ann Miffin,¹⁷ of Philadelphia.

Her companions in the stage across New Jersey were two men, one from Boston and the other from Philadelphia. During this night journey, the two men assaulted her

bent on my destruction, if possible, before the day approached. Struggling till I was weary, I overcame those two monsters of iniquity, and God gave me the victory over them, till they lay with submission and shame at my feet.

Dorothy Ripley attended the Philadelphia Y.M. 1802. Four Ministers labored with her to give up the thoughts of going to Washington to interview President Jefferson, but James Pemberton¹⁸ said to them: "Let her alone, and let her pursue her own prospect, for you will see stranger things happen soon than this—a woman going alone." Phebe Pemberton and Ann Miffin accompanied her to Darby, and gave her into the charge of John Hunt¹⁹ and his wife, who forwarded her to Chichester,

but left me in sorrow, from the opposition of S. T.,²⁰ who could not think of setting such an insignificant person forward to visit the President,

but she allowed her black man to take her in the chaise to Wilmington. Here, Samuel and William Canby²¹ befriended her, and the latter took her further, to Stanton to Thomas Stapler's and on to Charlestown to S. Hog's and Baltimore to John M'Kims,²² reaching Washington on the fourth of Fifth Month.

I had a letter of recommendation to Dr. Wm. Thornton,²³ and went to deliver it as soon as we got into the city, where I found many gay persons, with three Secretaries, spending the evening cheerfully together. J. M.²⁴, Secretary of State, had his wife present, who politely gave me an invitation to make my home with them, and General [Henry] Dearborn, Secretary of War, offered to accompany me to the President.

In the morning I went to visit the President, accompanied by General Dearborn, Dr. Thornton, and my old friend, W. Canby, who with myself were all introduced to him by the Vice-President, who conducted us to his sitting-room, where he received us with handsome conduct, and listened to my tale of woe. I said my concern was, at present, for the distressed Africans "I also wish to have thy approbation before I move one step in the business, understanding thou art a slave-holder."

The President then rose from his seat, bowing his head and replying: "You have my approbation and I wish you success, but I am afraid you will find it an arduous task to undertake." Enquiring how many slaves the President had, he informed me that some time since he had three hundred, but the number was decreased.

From Washington, William Canby and his protégée went to Snow Hill, where they were entertained by Samuel Snowdon,²⁵ and to Baltimore where James Carey²⁶ received them; and at Wilmington Dorothy left her companion and travelled alone to Philadelphia where she remained a week at the house of her dear friend Ann Mifflin.²⁷ Still travelling northward, she was a night at Margaret Morris's²⁸ in Burlington, N.J., and by way of the homes of Sarah Morris, Thomas Potter, R. and H. White and J. Shotley's²⁹

at Rahway, she arrived in New York on the 23rd of Fifth Month, 1802, to attend the Yearly Meeting.

Early next month, several Friends having entrusted Elizabeth Bowne with money for the traveller, she went by sea to Alexandria, Maryland. On the way another trial overtook her, by the conduct of a young man, afterwards referred to as C. A.,³⁰ a professed Friend.

This young man being disposed to take undue liberties with me, was sharply reproved, and hated me excessively in consequence, and could think of no other remedy to prevent him being exposed, except making me appear in the sight of others what he was in the sight of God and in my eyes, a vile person.

P. and M. Wanton entertained our distressed traveller and took her to Occoquan Mills, whence Elizabeth Ellicott³¹ accompanied her on a horse she lent her, *via* M.M. at Waterford, to Richmond, Va. Here new troubles beset.

E. E. took me to M. Jenney's³² who were full of company, and who had set forward a rogue for an honest Quaker, therefore they said they would have nothing to do with me Attending the meeting for worship, I was greatly consoled by M. Newbole's³³ testimony, which reached my condition.

Mahlon Janney relenting somewhat, D. Ripley dined at his house and there was "a sitting from five to seven, during which M. Newbole supplicated," but at night Dorothy was turned out, Sarah Janney telling her "in a harsh spirit very unlike a Christian," she could not sleep there. A stranger gave her a night's lodging.

S. J. told me since, that she asked this friend [Elizabeth Ellicott] to take me home and entertain me, and would now give me a night's lodging herself.

Passing again to the South she halted at the house of I. and A. Hirst and then at that of their parents, I. and M. Hirst, where "S. S., her daughter," was helpful. A public Friend, R. Smith, lent her a horse for the next stage.

Bardard Taylor went with me to South Fork meeting, which was very small indeed.

I was baptized into the state of every meeting, wherever I came, although I was commanded to remain silent.

W. and M. Reeder are next noted, entertaining "with a degree of hospitality," at whose house B. Taylor left her with great fear, not knowing what would become of her, but M. Reeder gave her his promise to set her to Rector Town. She reviews her journey in the words:

I have been led a long round, against the minds of many well-disposed Quakers, who fear the truth will suffer on account of my singularity, and they do not consider disobedience or wilful neglect will do more harm.

2d 7th mo Joseph Gourley took me to Fauquir Court-House, a place where Friends are entertained in the best manner, free of expence, if they are moving from a religious concern.

Friend Gourley still accompanied his charge; they over-nighted at J. and M. Sharp's, and the next day attended a meeting some miles further, after which Robert and Unice Painter³⁴ took her under their care and J. Gourley returned the forty-five miles home again.

"I heard of a young man who was willing to take me forty miles, but I felt very uneasy with it," yet all went well, and passing through Stafford and Fredericksburgh and holding several services at one of which many young Baptists were present, they reached Caroline County, and she attended the week-day meeting in borrowed clothes, her own being wet through and she having no change.

They judged very hard things of me, having such a poor appearance. J. Terrell³⁵ looked sternly at me and asked where I came from. I said, "England." He answered, "Thou art an Irish woman"; and a sister of M. T. replied, "So I think." J. T. then looked at me again, with his dark mind enveloped with sin and secret iniquity, and accosted me thus: "Thou has left thy country for no good deeds, and art a lewd

woman." "I think the same," said the relation of this man, who was an Elder, and she the clerk of the monthly meeting. He then said: "Thou art a desolate woman." I immediately affirmed that I was under the care of Providence and therefore could not be desolate. . . . Much more he said of an insulting nature. I close this melancholy day with saying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

The next morning the woman Friend came into my room, that was clerk of the meeting, who was a woman advanced in years. Her business I had no need to ask, for she like a tyrant demanded me to rise, saying I was a discredit to women and I had come there for none of my good deeds . . . I should be examined by a magistrate and be put into the work-house to be taught to work. J. T., the Elder, afterwards asked a number of questions and tried to compel me to comply with their base opinion of me so that if there had been any evil in my soul, they would have brought it to light.

But help was at hand.

A Friend, Christopher Anthony,³⁶ an aged Minister, had ridden twenty miles without breakfast, not knowing why, till he arrived, and rescued me, ordering the Terrells to send me forward, which Matthew Terrell was very glad of, because he had already agreed to take me along with his wife. My false accusers being put to shame, I arose and saluted the woman friend and said: "I forgive thee." They were sharply reprov'd by some deeply exercised minds belonging to that yearly meeting for their rash censure.

The Quarterly Meeting for Caroline County, Virginia, convened the ninth of Seventh Month, 1802, C. Anthony ministering helpfully.

Having felt sympathy with me, he proposed to Friends that they should sit with me a little, as they had done in Philadelphia, when he was present; but they said that as I was not one of them, they would

not have anything to do with me, which was quite agreeable to me for I desired no further instruction.

Clark Moorman³⁷ was the next host, who had set forty of his slaves free in one day.

At his house I record the goodness of the Lord to me, for I have beheld some proud, haughty, unfeeling women since I came into Virginia, and am ashamed that they bear the name of Quakers.

And now the last stage of the long journey Southward was reached. T. and C. Harris³⁸ took the weary traveller home with them, and the former drove her into Richmond, pointing out to her "the workshops of Solomon and Gabriel, who were the ringleaders of the blacks who determined to destroy Richmond." The first call was upon a widow, A. C.

but her door was shut against me so far that she testified vehemently if I stayed in her house she would leave it. My virtue was there abused by C. A. whom I met on my way to Alexandria.

But friends were raised up, and M. and M. Davis³⁹ welcomed her with the words: "We can receive thee the same as if thou hadst brought a certificate with thee." C. A. endeavoured to poison the minds of these Friends and also of Samuel and Sarah Parsons,⁴⁰ with a view to shut their doors to her.

He laboured to convince those friends that I was a base woman, and then entangled himself by saying that I was willing to comply with his request and that he supposed me a person of that description, which made him offer.

At the request of the beslandered woman, eight men and five women met her (her accuser declining to be present) and sat three hours together in consultation and enquiry. The following was issued as a result, and C. A. passes out of the history:

"The bearer hereof, Dorothy Ripley, having been among us several weeks, during which time some disagreeable reports had gotten out to her prejudice, in

consequence of which, and at her request, we, the undersigned, met together to make the necessary enquiry relative thereto ; which being done, we could not find that those reports ought to lessen her in the esteem of any, believing they proceeded from prejudice. And the said Dorothy is (in our opinion) an innocent, well-meaning person who claims the care and sympathy of Friends.

SAMUEL PARSONS.
 THOMAS LADD.
 GEORGE WINSTON.
 SARAH PARSONS.

“ Richmond, Virginia, 8th mo 22d. 1802.”

J. Winston sent me a few lines to trust in God and inclosed in a paper a piece of drab muslin for a gown, and one pair of silk gloves, which were gratefully received as I was in want of both.

After six weeks in Richmond, D. Ripley returned to Baltimore City, meeting again several Friends she had met on her southern trip and others, as Jacob Branson⁴¹ of Stafford, James Ladd⁴², Emma Cobb, J. Christy, Nathaniel Ellicott, Sarah Matthews, William Morgan, of Georgetown, Hannah Little, J. Schofield, M. and S. Atkinson, B. and S. Gilpin at Sandy Spring⁴³, and Samuel Snowdon at Snow Hill.

About this time, Dorothy Ripley, revealing the subjects occupying her thoughts, exclaims :

Lord, bear me up while I travail in spirit for the African race, and while I mourn for the recovery of the Jews and the restoration of the ten tribes who were led away captives by Shalmaneser, King of Assyria,

subjects not usually occupying the minds of Friends.

During Y.M. at Baltimore, x. 1802, D. Ripley was the guest of J. and C. Thornbrough. Mary Mifflin⁴⁴ invited her “ to dine with a goodly company of women Friends who were ministers. I think there were twenty of us, and some nigh four-score years old, a beautiful sight such as I had not seen before.”

Fearing the fever prevailing in the city, she returned to Snow Hill with S. Snowdon, having a free discussion on the subject of slavery with this Quaker slave-owner. Arrived again in Washington, she made her way to Hannah Little's but found the house full of "more honourable friends," so lodged near "with some tender people." Next day John Woodside, a Methodist, called and took her to his house, where she was hospitably entertained by J. and E. Woodside.

On the following Sunday she was invited to attend the Methodist meeting, but felt that her way would be closed among Friends if she went among Methodists. Having a Divine intimation, however, that if one way was closed another would open, she replied: "I think I will go with you." This was a distinct turning-point in her life. An invitation to preach at night was given and accepted, and her work in Washington City and elsewhere henceforth was largely and more freely carried forward in non-Quaker surroundings.

Aided by her Methodist friends she journeyed to Baltimore, and called on James Carey, expecting a rebuff, but this kind man welcomed her and sent for her baggage. It had been passed round that she had left the Quakers and some of them were "kind enough" to send word of this in different directions.

We cannot dwell on our author's extra-Quaker proceedings, save to say that she was introduced to many prominent people at a Methodist Conference, including two Bishops, Whatcoat and Asbury, and was soon at work among the members of this religious community and at her special concern among the African slaves.

Assisted by a donation from Martha Carey, D. Ripley went forward to Philadelphia and was kindly received by James and Phebe Pemberton. Attending Friends meetings (but not business meetings) she received much comfort from the addresses of Jesse Kersey⁴⁵ and George Dillwyn⁴⁶ and from Martha Routh⁴⁷ from England. She met also "Mary Morton⁴⁸, formerly named Robinson, from Rhode Island."

P. P. was led to deal very plainly with me, having told her that I should return to England and come back again. She advised me, if I left this country,

to settle quietly down, and not think of returning again, fearing my way would be shut up among Friends, which she warned me of. Painful hath it been to me to be thus saluted, when I must be sent on a mission of love by my God, whom I dare not refuse to obey.

Meetings were held with the Africans, to the great relief of her mind, early in May, 1803.

Of the Y.M. in New York she writes :

It was large and attended by some precious friends I rejoice that I ever met with this people, whom I often lament for, because so many live not in the pure Principle of Truth.

Dorothy Ripley left New York on the 28th of Sixth Month, 1803, accompanied to the wharf

by my sympathizing friends, R. and E. Bowne, R. Lawrence⁴⁹ and Susannah Judge⁵⁰. R. Bowne has exerted himself much in behalf of the rights of Africans.

The vessel was *Young Factor*, and "Capt. Saban Gardner took twenty guineas for my passage and victualling in the cabin." Gravesend was reached on the fifth of Eighth Month, 1803 ; and at once fresh troubles bestrew her path, when the Gravesend boat which she had boarded, and on which she "felt wretched beyond description and exceedingly sick," had landed her on shore in Billingsgate.

After avoiding some "ruffians" who offered to help her with her luggage, she escaped "this sink of iniquity," and went to a Quaker's house where she thought there was safety. Here she was the scorn of some of the servants with whom she breakfasted. S. and M. Brady again befriended her and she met David Sands again at the house of Joseph Smith.⁵¹ With help from some Friends, for her coachfare, she set out for York, 7th of Eighth Month.

When I went to M. A. [Mary Awmack] she was greatly surprised to see me and addressed me thus : "Where hast thou come from? We thought we had got fairly shut of thee when thou wast gone to America, and would have no more trouble with thee."

However, Joseph Awmack provided her with means to proceed to Whitby. The last call was on John and Mary Armitage, who, contrary to expectation, received her with the words: "We are glad to see thee, to bring tidings of thyself," but who catechised her as to her work in connection with the Methodists.

Thus, on the 14th of Eighth Month, 1803, after travelling ten thousand miles by land and sea, this unaccredited missionary reached her home. But it was not to rest for long.

I was made to understand that my things must be prepared against the latter end of twelfth month, 1804, and that a new mission must be given me to go forth twenty thousand miles.

Here ends the volume of Dorothy Ripley's *Religious Experience*, and here we must, for a while, leave her, hoping later to gather together what scattered data of her further movements we can find, as given in her *Bank of Faith and Works* and elsewhere; and also to present some thoughts on her life and mission.

NOTES

¹ William Ripley (c. 1739-1784) was a follower and companion of John Wesley (*Proceedings of Wesley Hist. Soc.* iv. 127, vi. 37). His daughter published, in Philadelphia, in 1827, some *Memoirs* of her father (not in **D**). J. H. Cunningham was the printer.

² Mary Linskill, widow, was one in whom "beauty, wisdom, riches, honour, virtue and piety all met together" (quoted in lecture by Robert T. Gaskin, of Whitby). Mr. Gaskin adds: "In twenty years Mary Linskill had known an equal number of persons received into membership amongst the Friends, but none, she said, had been ornaments to their profession." David Sands calls her "a true mother in Israel" (*Journal*, 1848, p. 78).

³ George Mennell (1761-1822) was a draper in Malton. In 1792 he married Hannah, daughter of Matthew and Lucy Hutchinson. They removed to York where they died. They had one son, George, who only lived seven months.

Information from George Henry Mennell, of York and London, 1925.

⁴ William Crotch (d. 1805) came into contact with Dorothy Ripley again on the other side of the Atlantic. There is an account of his remarkable life and sad death in vol. xv. See also vols. xvi, xvii, xix, xx.

⁵ Joseph and Mary (Collier) Awmack were worthy members of York Meeting.

⁶ This was, probably, Elizabeth Hoyland (1757-1839). She is mentioned later, by name, in the narrative. As Elizabeth Barlow, of Sheffield, she married, in 1781, John Hoyland (1752-1831), of the same town. In 1818 J. and E. Hoyland removed to Northampton. John Hoyland appears to have left Friends and to have returned later. E. Hoyland was a Minister. They both died at Northampton (ii. 137). See Testimony, ms. in D. There was another Elizabeth Hoyland (1761-1827), daughter of William and Mary Hoyland, of Sheffield, who went to America and married Thomas Walker (*Bulletin F.H.S.* vi. 93; *Journal of David Sands*, p. 179; *Memorials of New York Y.M.*, 1846).

⁷ Samuel and Mary Brady lived in St. Mary Axe, in the City of London, near to Devonshire House. They moved later to Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk.

⁸ Sarah Kingsley (c. 1769-1833) was the wife and widow of Robert Henry Kingsley, who at the time of marriage in 1801 was also a resident in St. Mary Axe. He died in 1812, aged forty-one. She died in London.

⁹ The name of Thomas Witton appears in connection with Bath. He died in 1844, aged 80, a Friend. At the death of his wife, Mary, in 1814, she was apparently a non-member (so marked N.M. in register of death).

¹⁰ In the Bristol and Somerset Burial Registers appears the name of William Deverall, millwright, of London, who died at Salford, near Bath, in 1808, aged forty-two.

¹¹ David Sands (1745-1818) was a Minister from Cornwall, State of New York. He came among Friends by conviction, and laboured abundantly in his own land and in Europe. His service was specially fruitful in New England. In 1771 he married Clementine Hallock. See his *Journal*, London, 1846; vols. vi, vii, ix, xv, xvi, xvii, xx.

D. Ripley writes that David Sands was the first Quaker Minister she ever heard. He was, on the whole, favourable to her mission. In 1804 he wrote: "Shouldst thou think it right to return to America, I shall (if living) consider it my Duty to do what I can for thee, and hope thou wilt consider me unshaken in my love and regard for thee."

¹² Priscilla Hannah Gurney (1757-1828) was a noted Minister (see vol. xx). At the time of their second meeting she was probably on a visit to Christiana, her sister, in Bath; Bath became her home later.

¹³ John Waring (-1837) was of the Alton family, and removed to Bristol in 1777. His wife was Margaret.

¹⁴ Doubtless, William Lewis (1753-1816), of Bristol, of whom a little book of *Memoirs* was printed in Bristol in 1819. "His mind becoming gradually convinced of our religious principles, he was admitted a member of our Society in the year 1798" (*Annual Monitor*, 1818, p. 18). He was a Minister about fourteen years, but did not travel far from home. Samuel Emlen (1730-1799), of Philadelphia, when on a visit to Europe, was helpful in establishing Lewis in the implications of Quakerism (Elizabeth S. Pennell, on Samuel Emlen, in *Quaker Biographies*, vol. iii. 1909).

¹⁵ Thomas Robinson and Sarah, his wife, of Newport, R.I., were great entertainers of visiting Ministers. Rebecca Jones was there in 1793 and writes that their "daughter Mary is like to become 'a crown' to John

Morton. They have passed one meeting" (*Memorials*, 1849, p. 204). In 1795 T. and S. Robinson were, apparently, living at Vergennes, in Vermont. Joshua Evans writes in his *Journal*, vi. 1795: "At Vergennes, in Vermont, I met with Thomas Robinson and his wife, kind friends who came from Rhode Island to settle here." (Comly, *Miscellany*, vol. x (1837), p. 73.)

¹⁶ These were, probably, Robert and Elizabeth Bowne, of New York, mentioned in *The Thomas Book, giving the Genealogies of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., the Thomas Family descended from him, and of some Allied Families*, by Lawrence Buckley Thomas, D.D., New York, 1896. Robert Bowne (1744/5-c. 1818) was one of the first directors of the Bank of New York and for twenty-four years vice-president of the New York Hospital (ms. note in D). "Robert was a very wealthy man and had a large house, which, as he was very hospitable, was usually full of guests. It is said that he rarely sat down to a meal without a table-ful of visitors" (W. H. S. Wood, *Friends in New York in the Nineteenth Century*, 1904).

¹⁷ Ann Mifflin (-1815) was the wife of Warner Mifflin (1745-1798), of Philadelphia, and a well-known Minister. She was a daughter of George Emlen, 3rd. (Emlen pedigree, ms. in D.)

¹⁸ James Pemberton (1723-1809) and Phebe, his third wife, were very kind to Dorothy, although she could not see it right to follow their advice. They reappear several times in the narrative.

¹⁹ John Hunt (c. 1753-1836), of Darby, Pa. In "Sarah Watson's Narrative," given in volume ii of Comly's *Friends' Miscellany*, we read: "Called at Darby and dined with John Hunt and his wife [Rachel]. Were entertained with much freedom, and I was delighted with viewing their garden, the beauty of which, like Solomon's house, exceeded the description that had been given of it" (p. 190). There is an obituary notice of John Hunt in vol. ix of the *Misc.* and references in *The Journal of John Comly* (1773-1850), pp. 313, 319, 523. He was an Elder.

²⁰ The Friend who opposed and hindered the "concern" of Dorothy Ripley is given by her with initials only, "S. T." It appears probable that Sarah Talbot was the Friend. She was the wife of John Talbot, of Chichester, Pa., and travelled as a Minister in both hemispheres. Sarah Watson writes: "Lodged at John Talbot's, in Chichester. . . . His wife had travelled, in spreading the gospel, through England, Ireland and Scotland, and entertained us with enlivening anecdotes. . . . She appears to be a mother in the Church and in the neighbourhood in which she lives" (Comly, *Misc.* ii. 191). She was in Europe from 1796 to 1800. We feel sorry for her attitude towards poor Dorothy and hope that she felt somewhat condemned when she heard of the successful visit to the President.

²¹ Samuel Canby lived at Brandywine and attended Wilmington Meeting of which he was a prominent member.

Sarah Watson, a travelling Minister of Pa., "put up at William Canby's; a family where peace seems to have built her nest, and religion united in rendering every disposition conformable to domestic harmony; and that charity, which is properly termed love, appears to preside over all their conversation" (Comly's *Miscellany*, vol. ii (1836), p. 192).

²² The McKim family, of Maryland, appears in *A Sketch of "Old Town" Meeting House, Baltimore*, 1881. John McKim left in his will a bequest of ten thousand dollars to found a free school, which was established in 1821, and money was left by his widow, Mary, for charitable purposes.

²³ Dr. William Thornton (1761-1828) was a Friend of wealth and position. "He became the friend of Washington and in 1802 he was made the first Commissioner of Patents" (Jenkins, *Tortola*, 1923, chap. x).

²⁴ This was James Madison (1751-1836), who was Secretary of State in both the administrations of President Thomas Jefferson (b. 1743, d. 1826), and became President in 1809. Madison's wife was Dorothy (Payne) Madison (1768-1849); she was a Friend and thus likely to be interested in her name-sake. See *Dorothy Payne, Quakeress*, by Ella K. Barnard, 1909; vol. vii. p. 38; *Bulletin F.H.S.* iv. 47.

The Vice-President was Aaron Burr.

²⁵ Probably Samuel Snowdon (1766-1823), who married Elizabeth Cowman in 1796, and had issue. See *The Thomas Book*, 1896, p. 516.

²⁶ James Carey (1751/2-1834) was a Quaker merchant and banker and also interested in the negro population. He married into the Ellicott family.

²⁷ Elizabeth Drinker wrote in her Journal, 12 v. 1802:

"Nancy Mifflin, with Dorothy Ripley, were here this evening. D. Ripley is lately from Great Britain, under a sense of duty to go to the city of Washington, there to set up a school to instruct young negroes in reading, writing, &c. She has been to Washington and has received encouragement from Jefferson, ye President and others. William Canby went with her; she seems inclined to unite with Friends, and that they should unite with her, tho' she is not a member" (*Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 1889, p. 371).

²⁸ Presumably, Margaret Morris (1737-1816), daughter of Richard Hill, of Maryland, and wife and widow of William Morris, to whom she was married in 1758. An article on her "Revolutionary Journal" appeared in *Bulletin F.H.S.*, vol. ix (1919), pp. 2ff. There is a portrait in *Recollections of John Jay Smith*, 1892, p. 14. See Gummere, *Friends in Burlington*, Phila., 1884, p. 58.

²⁹ That is, Joseph Shotwell (1747-1817), of Rahway. He is mentioned several times in volume ix of Comly's *Miscellany*, which prints the Journal of Robert Willis (1713-1791), who lived with Joseph Shotwell upwards of twenty years (see pp. 296, 314, 317, 335). Mary Whitall (1803-1880), in her *Memoir*, 1885, p. 18, inserts a letter from her father, John Tatum, dated 1815, in which he writes: "We lodged at Joseph Shotwell's. They are rich and have no children." Shotwell occurs also in the journals of William Reckitt and Daniel Stanton. In 1774 he married Elizabeth Greenleaf, of Philadelphia (Shotwell, *Annals of our Colonial Ancestors*, Lansing, Mich., 1895-7, p. 149).

³⁰ We cannot identify the youth, "C. A.", and perhaps it is well so. A foot-note states: "This young man, C. A., has been disowned by the Monthly Meeting of which he was a member." We do not find any mention of this among disownments in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia*, 1905. Christopher Anthony, mentioned later, had a son, Christopher, who would at this period be about twenty-six years of age. In 1812 Ann Anthony (wife of Christopher Anthony) with her infant children, James and Mary Ann, removed from Cedar Creek to South River (*ibid.* p. 123). But this "C. A." may not spell "Christopher Anthony."

³¹ Ellicott, of Maryland, was a well-known wealthy Quaker family, established near Baltimore City, since 1772, and founders of Ellicott

City (*Sketch of "Old Town" Meeting House, Baltimore, 1881, p. 12*). George and Andrew Ellicott are mentioned in Comly's *Miscellany*, vol. vii (1835), p. 295ff. and the family in *Journal of Negro History*, vol. iii, pp. 99ff, in Robert Sutcliff's *Travels, 1811, p. 106*, and *The Thomas Book, 1896, pp. 294ff*.

Nathaniel Ellicott (b. 1763), who married Elizabeth Ellicott in 1790 (*The Thomas Book, 1896, p. 296*), is probably the Friend mentioned by Dorothy a little later in her narrative.

³² Mahlon Janney and Sarah his wife lived near Fairfax, Loudoun County, Virginia. James Pemberton and other Friends, when returning from exile in Virginia in 1778, "were received with much kindness by Mahlon Janney and his valuable wife Sarah" (Comly's *Miscellany*, vol. vii (1835), p. 76). Poor Dorothy had a less pleasant experience, having suffered by following in the wake of "a rogue." In 1807 the Janney family with others moved west into Ohio (Weeks, *Southern Quakers, 1896, p. 272*).

³³ This M. Newbole was, probably, the wife of Clayton Newbold, of New Jersey. In the *Journal of William Blakey* we read: "Reached the house of our kind friends, Clayton and Mary Newbold. They appear to live in great affluence and plenty. On parting with them and their hopeful family of children, my mind felt an earnest engagement that the glory of this world might not mar the beauty of the heavenly Canaan in our view," anno 1790 (Comly, *Miscellany*, vol. iv (1833), p. 105).

³⁴ Robert and Unice Painter were visited twice. Unice attracted Dorothy because the former "had on a short striped gown and a checked apron, with a large flapped beaver hat, so that her clothes were very plain and simple." She and her husband had lived together thirty-three years on their plantation.

³⁵ The Terrell family resided in Caroline County, Virginia. Members thereof appear to have become Friends before 1730 (Weeks, *Southern Quakers, 1896, p. 101*). There is frequent mention of the name in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia, 1905*. There was a sharp division in the family respecting the *bona fides* of Dorothy Ripley. A note to the name "J. Terrell" states: "I have since learned that I. T. has been disowned by his monthly meeting."

³⁶ Christopher Anthony, of Virginia, was a well-known Minister. He shewed our traveller much kindness. He was, perhaps, the Friend of that name whose family is given in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia, 1905, pp. 24, 44*—wife Judith and her four children (she died in 1774) and wife Mary and her eight, between 1766 and 1793.

³⁷ Among portfolios of manuscripts preserved in D is a typed copy of a letter from Thomas H. Tyrell to Benjamin Seebom, written in 1848: "I promised to give thee some account of the trials and exercises my grandfather Clark Moorman, of Caroline City, Virginia, passed through before he was made willing to set his slaves free. . . . He was then a young married man with three small children, had commenced the world poor, but by his industry had got hold of considerable means, which he laid out in the purchase of slaves for his growing family . . . so concluded he could not liberate them." A committee was appointed to visit him, and it paid numerous visits without success and finally he decided not to see them again. One more attempt, however, was made; Caleb Jones and others called, took their seats and said nothing. "When dinner time came he was called in from the fields and found the Friends

awaiting him. They all sat down together, as he said with his mind braced against anything they might offer. They sat in silence about an hour, when C. Jones observed: 'Well, Friends, I reckon we had as well ride.' They said farewell without one word on the subject of their visit, to his surprise and mortification. . . . He soon became deeply exercised on the subject, and had a dream in which it clearly appeared to him that himself, with some Friends, was taken up to heaven, to the Pearl Gate, which was opened for their entrance by a little black boy; and while Friends were entering, he made several attempts to go in, but the little black boy always presented himself in the way. . . . He awoke much distressed and told his wife: 'If I live until morning I will liberate every slave I have. I am determined I wont be kept out of heaven by a little black boy.' "

³⁸ Thomas and Clotilda Harris, of Hanover County, Virginia, were useful Friends at this period. There is a list of children born to them between 1787 and 1809 in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia*, 1905, p. 10, see pp. 102, 104, 135. These may be the Friends who so kindly entertained Dorothy Ripley and forwarded her on her journey to the South.

³⁹ Perhaps, Micajah and Mary Davis, of South River M.M., the births of whose children are given in *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia*, 1905, p. 28, see also pp. 118, 135.

⁴⁰ Samuel and Sarah Parsons lived at Bellville, Goochland County, Va. They had two children according to *Our Quaker Friends—Virginia*, 1905, p. 15, born in 1783 and 1786.

⁴¹ Jacob Branson (d. 1845) and Rebecca, his wife (d. 1834) were parents of Ann Branson (1805-1891), whose *Journal* was printed in Philadelphia in 1892. Jacob Branson and family removed in 1805 from Virginia to Flushing, Belmont County, Ohio, having previously followed the emigration from Pennsylvania to the South.

⁴² James Ladd (-1806), of Virginia, travelled over many fields sowing the Gospel seed. He accompanied Barnaby Nixon (1752-1807) on several religious journeys, and Barnaby was with his "cousin James Ladd" a few days before the latter departed this life (Comly, *Misc.*, vol. xii (1839), pp. 109, 113, 130ff). John Salkeld (1672-1739), Quaker humorist, once remarked that on one of his journeys he "breakfasted with the Ladds, dined with the Lords and slept with the Hogs" (xiii. 3).

⁴³ Bernard Gilpin married, August 21, 1793, at Sandy Spring Meeting-house in Montgomery Co., Md., Sarah, third dau. of Richard and Sarah (Coale) Thomas, who d. April 29, 1805. Thus runs the record in *The Thomas Book*, 1896, p. 327.

⁴⁴ Mary Mifflin (1742-1823) was a daughter of Joshua and Mary Pusey, of London Grove, Pa. At nineteen she married Joseph Husband, who died in 1786. Later she joined in marriage with Daniel Mifflin and resided in Va. and after his death her home was, for a while, in the City of Baltimore. She died at Deer Creek.

⁴⁵ Jesse Kersey (1768-1845) was of Chester County, Pa., He was preaching in Europe in 1804 and 1805. He first appeared as a Minister in his seventeenth year. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Moses Coates. In 1814 he visited the South in the spiritual interests of the slave. "In his early years he was afflicted with a troublesome and dangerous

disease, for the relief of which he was advised to take opium. . . . This rendered his ulterior existence very uncomfortable unless sustained by opium or some other stimulant" (Testimony in *Narrative*, Phila., 1851). But, "there was a dignity and nobleness about him that commanded respect and gave evidence of an exalted aim" (*ibid.*).

⁴⁶ George Dillwyn (1738-1820) lived at Burlington, N.J., when in America. From 1784 to 1802 (with a break of two years) he made England his home, residing in Essex and other parts. His wife was Sarah, daughter of Richard and Deborah Hill. It was written of him when in London: "He appears to glide like a swan on the smooth waters of gospel purity, when his heart is heavy as lead" (*Gathered Fragments*, London, 1858—a short record of a long life).

⁴⁷ Martha Routh (1743-1817) was in America in 1794 to 1797 and was there again from 1801 to 1805.

⁴⁸ For Mary (Robinson) Morton see note on Thomas Robinson. She and her husband, John Morton, were prominent Philadelphia Friends. William Kite wrote of her in his poem "The Arm Chair":

"Of polished manners, and of graceful mien,
Lovely in life was Mary Morton seen;
Each native talent, sanctified by grace,
Was kept obedient, in its proper place.

She dug for water in a weary soil
Till bubbling life-springs recompensed her toil.

Select Miscellanies, vol. v (1851), p. 112.

Mary Morton was associated with Elizabeth Coggeshall in religious work (Comly, *Miscellany*, xii. 127; *Bulletin F.H.S.* ix. 21).

⁴⁹ The Lawrence family was a well-known Quaker family in New York. There was a Richard R. Lawrence who was a partner with R. Bowne in mercantile pursuits. See *Friends in New York in the Nineteenth Century*, by William H. S. Wood, 1904.

⁵⁰ Susanna Judge (c. 1753-1827) was the daughter of Joseph and Susanna Hatton, of Ireland. Thomas Lightfoot married Susanna Hatton; and with them to America went the daughter, Susanna, and several sons, settling at Uwchlan, Pa. In 1776, Susanna, Junr., married Hugh Judge (c. 1750-1834). In 1804 H. and S. Judge moved from New York to the State of Maryland and in 1815 to Ohio.

⁵¹ According to his *Journal* David Sands's London host was Joseph Smith; he is mentioned on pp. 88, 95, 158. This was, probably, Joseph Smith, of Broad Street, banker, who left considerable money for charitable purposes in London and in Yorkshire. He removed into Yorkshire and died at Thornton-in-Craven, in 1813. His widow, Rachel Smith, died in the following year. His house in London was a great centre for travelling Friends.

"Take heed of watching over one another with an evil eye to spy out weaknesses and to discover nakedness, but watch one over another with a pure, single eye."

WILLIAM DEWSBURY, works, p. 23 (1689).