

*John Farmer's First American Journey,  
1711-1714*

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**A**N IMPORTANT and perhaps distinctive feature of the Quaker movement was the extensive practice of travel between meetings. Ministers in good standing travelled under concern to visit their brethren in the most distant places. Almost any time throughout the colonial period several English Quaker preachers were to be found in America circulating among the communities where Friends had settled or giving the Quaker message beyond to places where it had not been heard.

This practice not only extended and consolidated the Quaker movement. It assisted the tendency to uniformity of practice. The travellers were broadened in their own horizon and they brought fresh light and new interests to those they visited since they could report not only on affairs in England but also in the other scenes of their extensive travels. Politically they not only drew the colonies together but tended to counteract the tendency to separation from the mother country.

Probably most of these travellers kept journals. Some were published shortly after the author's death such as that of Thomas Chalkley's by Franklin and Hall in Philadelphia in 1749, of Thomas Story at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1747, and of Benjamin Holme, Samuel Bownas, John Richardson at London within the next decade—to mention a few from the early Eighteenth Century. Others, like the one here presented, have waited until recent times for publication, for

example those of Isaac Hadwen and William Baldwin and Edmund Peckover.<sup>1</sup>

These narratives must have had a strong influence upon the later generations of Friends who read them. In some cases where the travellers gave, as does Farmer, their reports of the Indians, they contributed through a wider reading public to the conception in literature of "the noble savage." Today they have value for a knowledge of colonial conditions. There are several parts of the British Empire for whose local history at such periods the fullest sources of information are the letters and journals of itinerating "public Friends."

John Farmer was born in 1667 near Taunton, in Somersetshire, and joined the Friends in 1685. His trade at home was that of a woolcomber. About 1699 he married a widow, Mary Fulbig, whose maiden name was Wyatt, who survived him, dying in 1740. She also was a minister among Friends and they both travelled as ministers, together or separately. For example, he was in Ireland twice before the first American journey related below.

Of this earlier period he left written record.<sup>2</sup> His later life is less well recorded. But he was in America soon again. The Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting for Ministers in 3rd month (May) 1715 mentions his return. In contrast to the certificates of approval which his earlier account so profusely mentions, the minutes in New England and Pennsylvania in 1717-20 express disapproval of him. He evidently issued papers without the meetings' consent. Some of these at least were criticisms of the practice of slavery.

<sup>1</sup> See respectively *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, vol. 15, pp. 29 ff; *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, vol. 15, pp. 27 ff and *ibid.* vol. 1, pp. 95 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On John Farmer see *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, vol. 22, pp. 72, 75 and vol. 23, pp. 61 ff. On his anti-slavery activities see *The Friend* (Philadelphia), vol. 28, pp. 316 ff and the unpublished theses by Theodore K. Noss, *The Awakening of the Quaker Movement against Negro Slavery in Colonial Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (University of Chicago, 1934) and Thomas E. Drake, *Northern Quakers and Slavery* (Yale University, 1933, to be published).

This distinction places him on the roll of the earliest anti-slavery agitators.

Posthumous fame on this account was no solace to him during this second American residence. He is said to have remained on this side of the Atlantic until his death. When this occurred is not known except that it was by 1725.

At the time of the journey to America here recorded, John Farmer's home was at Stansted in Essex. The account before us, preserved in the Meeting House at Saffron Walden among the records of Thaxted Monthly Meeting, has been transmitted to the present editor in microfilm copy. It occupies fifteen quarto pages written in a clear contemporary hand. That it is his own hand is proved by his signature to another document available to me. It was written continuously and was therefore composed after the journey was completed, but the explicit reference to dates implies that he consulted notes he had kept or at least the certificates which he mentions. In a few cases the minutes of Friends' meetings—though many of them are not accessible in wartime—can be used to confirm or supplement the chronology. In printing divisions into paragraphs have been added, handwriting abbreviations have been resolved, the use of "u" and "v" has been standardized and underlining ignored. Otherwise it is a literatim copy.

The 1: 9th month 1711 at gravesend i went on board the Thomas of London Benja[*min*] Jerrum Master. Who was kind to mee & let mee have meetings on board in our passage to Maryland. Where wee safly arived in the begining of 1st month 1712. Where i was kindly received by Richard Johns senir<sup>3</sup> & by him assisted in Christ service & also was assisted by severall other friends in Maryland. Where I had severall meetings on the western shore amongst friends & others.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Johns, Senior (1645-1717) was born at Bristol, England. He migrated to Maryland and lived at the Clifts, where he was visited by George Fox and converted to Quakerism. For many years he was clerk of the Yearly Meeting, and one of its most influential members. Monthly meeting was held in his house for more than thirty years. Its minutes for the 14th of 1st month, 1711-12 and for 5th of 4th month, 1713, mention the presence of John Farmer. For Richard Johns see *The Friend*, vol. 33, p. 412.

From hence i went to virginia & vissited friends meetings which is 18 in al there. Who have manifested their unity with my conversation & Testimony by 3 Cirtificates from 3 monthly meetings with 61 friends names to it. Som friends here have lately suffered 10 days Imprisonment for refusing to help make a Garrison or som other fortification raised to help people to fight their Enemys.

From hence i went to north carrolina & had meetings amongst Friends & others. Here is 4 meeting houses yet but 2 meetings. Here i was cridittably informed that a friend differed with his bretheren of a monthly meeting in Pensilvania & from thence removed himself & his Family & som Estate heither. & would not settle amongst ffriends here who desiered his company: but settled above 20 miles of amongst very Wicked People for the sake of very good & cheep Land which they & hee forceably took from Indians: whereas hee might have bought his land of Indians for an Iron pottage Pot but would not. These Indians haveing been much wronged by English French & pallitins did at last come sudenly upon them & kiled & took prisoners as i was told 170 of them & plundered & burnt their houses. Amongst the rest the said friend was kiled as he lay sick in his bedd & his wife & 2 young children wer[e] caried away captive & Induered much hardship.<sup>4</sup> But upon a peace made with the Indians they were delivered & returned to Pensilvani[a] From carrolina i returned to virginia & Maryland & had meetings amo[ngst] friends & others: & was at a yearly meeting at West river on the western shore in maryland. Who manifested their unity with my conversation & Testimony by a cirtificate with 24 friends names to It.

Now it began to bee a sickly time with mee & others which hindered mee 4 weeks in maryland, but when my Ague & feavor was abated I went on in Christ service preaching his Gosple in Pensilvania & the Jersys new york Rode Island Nantucket Island & other parts of new Engla[nd] to the East part thereof caled Dover. Where at a Quarterly meeting friends shewed their unity with my conversation & testimony by a cirtificate with 42 friends names to It. I had a pritty many meetings amongst friends & others hereaway: notwithstanding the danger wee were in by reason of the Indian warrs: which had long been disstructive to this part of new England. Blessed bee the Lord who saved us from harm by the Indians as hee had don before by his faithfull people here away For I have been cridittably Informed that som friends hereaway

<sup>4</sup> This massacre occurred in Bath County, North Carolina, on Sept. 22, 1711, and was followed by the "Tuscarora War." The emigrants from the Palatinate on the Rhine had arrived via England the previous year.

from severall years (in obedience to Christ) have refused to make uce of Garrisons & carnall weapons for their defence against Indians: & have Instead thereof made uce of faith in god & prayer to God: & hee hath saved them from beeing destroyed by Indians. Who oftimes destroyed their neighbors. Who somtim[es] Indeavored to defend themselves in Garrisons & with carnall weapons. And also the Indians destroyed som friends who did incline to the uce of a Garrison or a carnall weapon for defen[ce] perticulorly 1 man whome his neighbors perswaded to carry a gun to frighten the Indians which hee carried But the Indians seeing him with a gun shot him deadly: & they afterwards said that it was his carrying of a gun that caused them to kill him which otherwise they would not have don. And also a woman friend & hur daughter & daughters husband did dwell together in a house Exposed to the Incurtions of the Indians: Where the Lord had preserved them from destruction. The said daughter belived in God & prayed to him & refused to remove to or nere a Garrison for defence. But hur husband strove to have hur & hur mother & children to goe with him to or nere a Garison for defence & the said Woman friend the mother yelded to hur soninlaw in the thing to put an end to the strife between him & his wife. Which nevertheless continewed between them about It: for although the said husand & mother did so far prevail against the said wife & daughter as to git hur along with them to or nere a Garison (wherein they acted contrary to their princeple) yet throw the said woman frind the mothers beeing killed by Indians a fue days after their said removeall the said strife was so increased that the husband at last yelded to his wife's desier of leaveing the Garison & returning to their house where the Lord hath saved them from distruction by Indians whose wars with new England held severall years after. There was 1 man caled a Quaker kiled by Indians nere the same time & place whare the said woman friend was kiled. But hee had been disowned by friends for his Evill doing before hee went to a garison for defence against Indians which did not save his life.<sup>5</sup> Here in & nere Dover Hampton Sallisbury & Amesbury doth dwell a pritty many witnesses of This Truth (viz). Faith & prayer in the name of the Lord (which is a strong tower) is the best weapons & Garison. For they beeing found in it have been several years saved by the Lord from distruction by

<sup>5</sup> This episode of the Friends and Indians was evidently rehearsed to other visitors. The preserved couple were Henry and Mary Dow. An account by the latter to her children was written out and still exists in manuscript copies. It is included in Thomas Chalkley's printed Journal under date of 1704 but is not in the original MS. of it. Thomas Story relates the experience in connection with a visit in 1703-4 to Henry Dow's near Salisbury.

Indians tho they were oftimes very nere them & destroyed som of their neighbors who made uce of carnall weapons & Garisons as aforesaid. Blessed bee the Lord for his goodnes to those that trust in him with all their Harts & do not lean to their own understandings nor to any other besides the Lord for defence & teaching & all other good things. & so in all their waise by waiting upon & obeying him they acknowledg him as their Lord of heaven & Earth in & over them & hee is the director of their path in & by his heavenly wisdom.

So after I was clere of those parts i returned to boston & other parts of new England vissinging new friends meetings throughout all new England (where there is about 15 meetings) & Rode Island government (where is about 8 meeting & where I was nere death by a fall from a horse) in winter 1712 & I had a cirtificate from friends at a Quarterly meeting in Rode Island with 36 friends names to it wherein they declare their unity with my Conversation & Testimony. Here dwelleth John Wanton<sup>6</sup> who was a collonel But hee hath forsaken carnall wars & is becom a preacher amongst us. From hence I sailed nere 200 mile to long Island & had a pritty many meetings amongst friends & others & had was at their Quarterly meeting to which belongeth above 9 meetings whare they gave mee a Cirtificate with 40 frinds names to It by which they declare their unity with my conversation & testimony. From hence i went to East Jersey where is 3 meetings & friends Inceace & I went to west Jersey where is about 11 meeting & also an Inceace of friends. I went to pensilvania where is about 31 friends meetings & also an Inceace of friends. I vissited nere all these meetings & then went to maryland. Whare is 16 meetings of friends.

While i was here in maryland i was cridditably informed that our friend Thomas Everden<sup>7</sup> of kent in old England did belive that God was

<sup>6</sup> John Wanton (1672-1742) was the fifth son of that Edward Wanton who was the first of the family to come to America, where he lived first at Boston and then as a ship builder at Scituate. He is said to have been converted to Quakerism by witnessing the execution of the Quakers in Boston in 1659-61. He was twice married and had five children. His son John was a merchant at Newport. Various stories are told of his participation in military and naval exploits prior to 1712 when "he laid aside all warlike aspirations and embraced the faith of the Quakers, after which he travelled much as a religious teacher." In 1706 he is styled "captain" and two years later "colonel." He was a successful merchant and was noted also for his intellectual attainments. Besides other public offices he held that of deputy governor 1721, 1729-34, and governor 1735-42, the latter an office held before him by his brother, 1732-3, and by his nephews Gideon, 1745-7, and Joseph, 1769-78. See John Russell Bartlett, "History of the Wanton Family, of Newport, Rhode Island," (*Rhode Island Historical Tracts* No. 3), Providence, 1878, pp. 22-60.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Evernden (or Everden), of Canterbury, is said to have been converted to

Anger[ed] with him for puting on lace on shoos which hee made for peopl[e] But yet hee for worldly gaine's sake continewed to do it in a trobled Conscience. In which condishon hee fel sick & lay in a tranc[e] severall days as dead only his body continewed warme which hinde[r]ed his buriel. At last he revived & recovered his health & tol[d] som friends what hee see whilest hee was in his trance. Which is to this Purpose (viz [hee came before Christ to Judgment where hee see many people before him: Who did cry for mercy but coul[d] have none. Amongst them stood severall Priests against whome the Lords Anger was greater then it was against other people. At last this Thomas Everden was caled to Judgment & then his sins came to his remembrance & hee also beged & cryed for mercy. Then one was sent to him with a drum & hee was bid go back & beat an allarum to the world. So hee took it & Indeavored to beat on it but could not. at which sorrow seased him to see that hee could do nothing for the Lord.] After this sickness hee refused to put Lace on shoos yet his customers still Employed him to make shoos & Employed others to put on the Lace. This Thomas Everden became an Eminent minister of Christ & lived & dyed in maryland.

I was at the western shore yearly meeting here in maryland the 24 3th month 1713 where som differances (which had don som hurt there) was Ended. Afterwards I staid som time in maryland & wrought with my hands at woolcombing as paul did at tent making While i was here i received fresh orders from Christ to have meetin[gs] amongst Indians in order to their convershon to Christ & to go to virginia & pensilvaina &

Quakerism by Isaac Penington. Another account assigns him to Dover and gives a different version of his conversion. He is mentioned in the records of Quaker sufferers in Kent in 1660 and 1670. He appears in the minutes of Friends' Meetings in Maryland as early as 1681 and 1684. There was a Thomas Evernden the younger in Kent after the elder's migration. He was a trusted correspondent of George Fox and an important member of Annemessex meeting, the oldest Friends' meeting on the Eastern Shore. In 1692 he was elected by his neighbors to the Assembly but because he refused as a Quaker to take the oath of office he was dismissed. He removed to Dorchester County, Maryland, where he died in 1710. His will shows that he left children and grandchildren and also property in Kent, England, and in Philadelphia. Even the printed sources for this information are scattered but include *The Friend*, vol. 28, pp. 109, 117; *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, vol. 35, p. 87; Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1753) vol. 1, pp. 292, 294, 296, vol. 2, p. 388; Norman Penney, *First Publishers of Truth* (London, 1907), pp. 143 ff; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 25, p. 406; William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, 1935), p. 367; Henry J. Cadbury, *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (Philadelphia, 1939), 10, 8G; Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935) see index, *s.v.* Evernden.

On the Quaker concern for simplicity of dress as applied to tailors and shoemakers see Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and Industry before 1800* (London, 1930), pp. 93-101.

the west Indies in his service. And afterwards to vissent north America againe. And therefore I went to virginia Esternshore & back to maryland & there had a good meeting among Indians to their & friends satisfaction. When a friend proposed it to some of the Cheif Indians they were glad of it & marveled that no such thing had been before offered to them. They told their people of it & sent 40 miles for an Interpreter an Indian king: who came too Late. But another Indian Interpreter came timely to the meeting: Where a pritty many friends & about 30 Indians was with mee. After a time of silence i was moved to stand up & declare a sentence & then stay till the Interpreter had spoaken It in Indian. Which hee did by the help of Christ who helped mee to speak to the Indians. After this maner hee Interpreted the Testimony & prayer to which the Indians severall times gave their aprobatation in their way by a sound. After meeting i bid them speak if they had any thing to say to us. Whereupon the Indian priest said that they had not heard so much of such things before. Also hee complained that the Divell was too strong for them. I answered him by the Interpreter after this maner (viz) The things that I had told them wee had in wrighting from our forefathers & the good spirit of God & of his son Jesus Christ helped us to believe It & to speak it to Indians. And if Indians will love this good spirit above all things & pray for it continewaly then It will help them to belive these things. Then in Answer to his complaint that the Divel is too strong for them I said. That the divell had been in time past too strong for us also. But now through our waiting for & loveing of this good spirit above all things wee are by the said good spirit Inabled to overcom the Divel. And this good spirit will help Indians to overcom the Divel too If they will wait for & lov[e] this good spirit above all things. They seemed to be pleased with this Discourse. And the priest & the Interprete[r] & other Indians went a mile with us to an Evening meeting at a friend George Truit's<sup>8</sup> house in mulberry Grov[e] nere poakamoak River on the Estern

<sup>8</sup> George Truit (Trewett, Drewett), Senior, and meetings at his house at Mulberry Grove are mentioned also later by Isaac Hadwen (1718) and earlier by Thomas Chalkley (1698) and Thomas Story (1699 or 1702-5). In 1704 "the house of George Trewetts upon Pocomoke" was approved and recorded by the Somerset County court as a place for Quaker meetings and in his will in 1720 it was devised to the meeting for use until a new meeting house was built. According to Samuel Bownas there was no meeting house there in 1728. The meeting was earlier called Bogerternorton, later Mulberry Grove, but no minutes from it are extant. Chalkley mentions meeting Indians at an Indian town near George Truit's, identified as "the town of the Askiminiconson Indians, which was on the north side of Pocomoke River . . . nearly opposite the town of Snow Hill." See Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), pp. 106-9, with notes. Esther Palmer, another Friend, who visited there in 1705 (*Journal of Friends Historical Society*, vol. 6, pp. 135 f.) spells it "Asckemenykonsan."



shore in maryland the 25 of 6 month 1713. In the latter end of this good meeting the Interperter spak[e] over in Indian som of what I spake in the meeting. After this meeting came the Indian king who was sent for to Interprit. Hee spake very good English. Hee said that hee was sory that hee came too late. & desiered mee to tell him what I said to the Indians. And hee Invited mee to com to his toun[e] & have a meeting amongst his people. Whereupon I told him som of what I said in the meeting as the Lord brought i[t] to my remembrance. But I told him that I could not now com to his toune. Therefore I desiered him to tell his people What I said to him. But hee said that hee had given them som such advice but they would not act accordin[g] to It.

From hence i went to Pensilvania & was at a yearly meeting held at pheladelphia about the 24 7th month 1713 for pensilvania & the 2 Jersyes. Where I acquainted the meeting of ministers with my Intentions to have meetings amongst Indians; also afterwards to vissit som west Indiens Islands. Which Intention this meeting aproved of & gave mee a Cirtificate with 21 friends names to it. Wherein they declare their unity with my conversation & testimony. After this meeting Was Ended I was assisted by Friends in my have[ing] 3 meetings amongst Indians in pensilvania. Which the Indians there also were well pleased with. I had a Sweed at one place & 2 french men at a nother place & 1 french man at a nother place for Interpreters amongst Indians for mee. I declared to the Indians That God made heaven Earth & sea & all good things in them. And that wee owned Indians to bee our brothers because God made all men & women good & hee then was the father of all men & women. But afterwards the Divel tempted women & men ; they yelded to his Temptations & so became bad. For which God was Angery & prepared fier to put men & women in after they were dead. But altho hee did so yet hee so loved men & women that he sent his son caled Jesus Christ in to the world to save men & women from this fier by helping them to overcom the Divell & Joyn to the good spirit & thereby bee made good & by forgiveing them their sins if they would belive in him & obay him But If not then hee would not save them from the fier But they must bee in It for ever. The son of God came into the world & was borne of a woman that never lay with man. And hee became man & overcom the Divel & cast him out of men & women. & cuered the sick & raised the dead & teached men & women to overcome the Divel; & to belive in him the son of God & obay him that hee might save them from the fier & give them all good with him in heaven after death. After

these things som bad men killed Jesus Christ the son of God & hee was buried. But God his father Raised him from death to life the third day. And afterward Jesus Christ assended up into heaven to God his father & prayed to him to send his good spirit to men & women to comfort the Good people & to Reprove the bad people to help all to overcome the Divel & his works & to belive in God & in his son Jesus Christ & in his good spirit & obey him that hee may save them from the fier & give them all good with him in heaven after death. And God for his son Jesus Christ sake hath sent his Good spirit to men & women Indians as well as others. And the good spirit teacheth the same that Jesus Christ did teach upon Earth before hee assended up to his father in heaven whe[re] he Ever liveth to pray for men & women. This good spiri[t] teacheth & moveth men & women to hate the Divel & all his Works & to love & belive in God & his son Jesus Christ & his good spirit above all things. This good spirit teacheth & moveth men & women to love one a nother & forgive one a nother & to doe to others as they would have others do unto them. & to speak truth to one a nother & to all. & men to love their wives & women to love their Husbands. This good spirit teacheth all good things. And all those India[ns] & white people & others who do wait for & love this good spirit & his teachings above all things are made good men & women by this good spirit: & if they live & dy so so then after death they must arise & assend to God & his son Jesus Christ & his Good spirit who will Judg them to bee with him & Injoy all good forever. This good spir[it] helpeth people to believe these things. And also to believe that all those men & women who do yeld to the Divell & so are made bad by him & will not forsake the Divell & his works when the good spirit doth move them to it: But do live & dy bad people: then after death they must arise & assend to God & his son Jesus Christ & his good spirit: who will Judg them to bee tormented in fier with the Divel for ever. The Divel tempteth & moveth som Indians & som white people to drink too much Rum & other strong Drink & to hate & fight & kill one a nother & men to beat their wives & wives their husbands & to lye & to steall & to believe in & worship the sun & other creatures & to forgit God & his son Jesus Christ & his good spirit. The Divell tempted & moved som white people to cheat Indians in their tradeing with them: & the Divel tempteth & moveth som Indians to do harme to white People. Thus the Divell seeketh to make white people & Indians bad that they may goe with him into fier after death & remain In it forever. Wherefore as you are our brothers I advise you to hate & resist the Divel

alwaise & love the good spirit of God & his son Jesus Christ & wait for him alwaise. In so doing hee will help you to overcom the Divil & his works as hee hath don for som of us who in our meetings & at other times do love this good spirit of God & his son Jesus Christ & wait for him above all things. These words or others. To this Efect I spake to the Indians & I prayed to God for them in Every meeting. The Indians seemed to bee pleased with these meetings & with what they heard in them.

One of these meetings was held in an Indian kings palice at Corystogo about 60 miles back in the woods about west from phyladelphia nere the great River susquehana on the 18 of 8th month 1713 at or nere the place where our friend Thomas Chakly<sup>9</sup> had a meeting amongst these Indians severall years before. At the End of our meeting here a friend of pheladelphia Hugh Louden<sup>10</sup> (who together with 5 or 6 friends from nottingham accompanied mee heither) told the Indians that if they would send him one of their sons hee would teac[h] him to read & write English that hee might be an Interpreter & hee promised that the boy should have his liberty to go & com when the Indians pleased. The Indians answered him & said that they would advise with others about it & send him an answer. Also in the End of this meeting Andrew Job<sup>11</sup> a friend of notting-

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Chalkley (1675-1741) came of Quaker parents in London but settled in Philadelphia and later in Frankford. He was a merchant by profession and spent much of his time at sea. His Journal became a Quaker classic, as Whittier more than once indicates by reference to it.

<sup>10</sup> Hugh Lowden is mentioned in the minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting as receiving various appointments. But he is also mentioned repeatedly as confessing his guilt for things he had done "to the reproach of truth" towards his wife (9 mo. 1709), towards two other men (7 mo. 1713) and by the use of some violent and dangerous expressions and actions (7 mo. 1716). For this last offense he was publicly prosecuted and was disowned by Friends. From his will dated 1722 it appears that he owned property in the area of the State House, Philadelphia (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 40, pp. 98-101).

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Job (1650-1722) was one of the first settlers of East Nottingham to whom 18,000 acres were granted, one thousand acres a person, by the government of Pennsylvania in 1701 (*Bi-Centennial of Brick Meeting House, Calvert, Cecil County, Maryland, Lancaster, 1902*, pp. 34, 37). Beside his activity and leadership as a Friend and in civil life, Andrew Job is known as the man who befriended Elizabeth Maxwell (1700-1782), the niece of Daniel Defoe, when she fled from England. She was first a servant (redemptor) in Job's household and then his daughter-in-law. Thomas Wright, *Life of Daniel Defoe* (Bi-Centennial Edition, London, 1931), pp. 26, 237 and 348, and Mary E. Ireland in George Johnston, *History of Cecil County, Maryland* (Elkton, Maryland, 1881), pp. 526-34. For further information on Andrew Job see Futhy and Cope, *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Chester and Delaware Counties*, p. 615, and an unpublished genealogy, "My Children's Ancestors," by Mrs. Fannie (Jobe) McGuire, of which a copy is at Swarthmore College Library.

ham spake to the Indians & said Let the love that hath heitherto been between you & us continew between us & you & between our Children & your Children after us (or words to this Effect) which saiiing the Indians assented to. The Indians were Respectfull to us & wee to them. Wee came to cory stogo on a 7th day at night & lodged in a king's Pallace. Next morning wee went 5 miles further to a nother toun of Indians named shuana Indians Toune where 1 french man did well Interpret for mee & wee had a good meeting: & then returned to cory stogo & had the above said meeting in the Evening the same day. & lodged ag[ain] in the pallace upon bare skins upon scaffolds before a good fier for it was a cold frosty night. Nere this place dwelt that Old Indian Queen which Thomas Chakely wrote of in his letter which was read in the second days morning meeting at Lond[on] in the 6th or the 8th month 1711.<sup>12</sup> Shee died before I came here. I was told that when the Indians asked hur advice wheither they should meet with Thomas Chakly or not: shee advised them to meet with him. & after the meeting shee said that now hur dream (which shee had dremed a little before Thomas Chakly came) was fulfilled by one of william pens friends coming & preaching to Indians in his steed. For shee had dreamed that shee was in a place in England like Phyladelphia & heard william Pen Preach & afterwards hee told hur that hee would com to pensilvania & preach to Indians (or to this Effect).

The 9th of the 8th month 1713 I had a large meeting amongst Indians nere brandy wine River in Chester county in pensilvania. Where a honist swed did well Interpret for mee. It was a large & satisfactory meeting to the Indians & to our friends & to mee at the End Whereof the Indians said that they were pleased with what they hard in the meeting. I have ben told by som who have conversed with Indians that the Indians have a beliuef of God. & that hee hath a son. & that hee is Good. & that the good people when they dy goe to him: & bee alwais in pleasure. But after the bad people dy they are alwaise in affliction. The Indians also say that there is a Divel who is bad & the Author of badness & they are afraid of him. I was also Informed by a friend that an Indian said that hee lay as Dead som howers & then revived. While hee lay dead hee saw Indians on one side of him in pleasuer. But on the other side hee saw Indians walking on fier coles in misery. Who would faine have com out of it but could not beeing pulled back & held fast in it by

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Chalkley's letter is not forthcoming, but his experience with these Indians is related also in his *Journal* under the year 1706, including an account of the Indian "Empress" and of her dream about William Penn.

the divel. The Indian in a trance had one com to him & bid him goe back & live well & then when hee dyed hee should be amongst those Indians who were in pleasure. Hee was asked why then did hee live badly by drinkiing to much Rum. Hee answered that before white people cam amongst them they were good & kind one to another but now they are becom bad & hard to one a nother that they may have where-withal to buy Rum. Also I was told by a friend that an Indian told him that hee the said Indian had bad luck in hunting. At which hee was troubled & then see a man in white Raiment stand before him. Who asked him why hee was troubled & further said dost thou not know that there is a great God who ruleth althings & giveth good luck to whome hee please? Do thou live well & teach the Indians to do so too & then hee will give thee good things. The Indian asked him his name Whereupon hee gave himselfe the name of a bird (which the Indians say is so holy that hee never tochet the ground) & then vanished out of the Indian's sight.

So after I had left the Indians i was at severall friends meeting in pensilvania & came to phyladelphia. Where I cast up my account of the miles I had traveled in North America & found it to bee 5607 miles. Friends of Phyladelphia & Samuel Harrison marchant a friend of London beeing the[n] there & haveing there a ship bound to Barbados were very kinde to mee & John Oxly<sup>13</sup> (a minister of Phyladelphia) who went with mee: som in laying in Provishon for us: & Samuel Harrison in giveing us our passage to Barbados. Wee went on board the latter end of the 9 month 1713. Wee had a pritty good voage & had som meetings on board in our pashage to Barbados<sup>14</sup> Where wee arived the 5th of the 11th month 1713 where I found an Increace of our friends. Here is a lerned Rich & honist young ma[n] named Edward Harrison<sup>15</sup> lately com amongst us. Here is 3 friends wh[o] are Inhabitants here who have

<sup>13</sup> John Oxley (1682 [or 83]–1743) was born at Chester, Pennsylvania, lived later in Philadelphia and finally settled and married in Barbados. His visit to the West Indies continued throughout the year 1714 for Thomas Story mentions his presence at a Quarterly Meeting in Barbados in September of that year. See *The Friend*, vol. 30, pp. 188 f.

<sup>14</sup> There is no adequate account of Quakerism in Barbados, nor indeed of Quakerism in any of the West India Islands except Tortola. From 1656 on it flourished and grew, but in Barbados was already on the decline when John Farmer came there. Some data for the history of Friends there will be found in *The Friend*, vol. 60, pp. 178 f., 187 f., 195, 203 f.; vol. 71, pp. 265 f., 275 f., 284 f., 292, 299; vol. 75, pp. 245 ff. and vol. 79, p. 205 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Edward Harrison has not been further identified. That he long remained a useful Friend on the island is shown by the occurrence of his name as signer of Quaker documents from there between 1726 and 1754. See *Journal of Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, vol. 9, p. 31.

Testimonys in our meetings.<sup>16</sup> Also there was at this time one minister from new England & another from Rode Island & wee 2 from pheladelphia. Wee had large meeting at bri[d]gtoun & other Places in Barbados & the people were very Civell to us after I had bee at 30 meetings here & had a Cirtificate from friend[s] (whereby they declare their unity with my Conversation & testimony) I was againe asisted by Samuel Harrison Who gave mee a passage to Nevis & Employed mee to sell & buy for him there & paid mee for it. & also I received kindness from friends of barbados: Which hath been a help to mee in this Jorney.

At Nevis<sup>17</sup> I landed the 19: 12th month 1713 here I had 13 meetings. Here is 4 that goe under the name Quakers Who were kind to mee. Also here is severall Well wishers to us amongst Whome I had severall good meetings. But som people in Charlstoun in nevis were not very Civell in meetings which I had there. There was a Bristoll man Master of a ship who (as i was Informed) Contrived to make sport for himselfe & others by disturbing mee at a meeting in Charlstoun. And accordingly hee & a tavern keeper Invited mee to have a meeting in the tavern-keepers house. I was senceable that they had no good End in It But yet because I knew that the Lord was Stronger then the Divell & hee gave mee freedom to appoint the meeting there: therefore I did Appoint it to beegin at 9 in the morning that the people might not com drunk to it: & I gave the Toun notice of it. When the day & hower Was com I went to the house & found fidelers or a fiddeler there with this bristol master of a ship & others making a noise. Whereupon I spake to the Tavern keeper & the bristoll man against It as a bad thing Espeshally at this time & place. The Tavern keeper & bristoll man promised that they would cause them to cease their musick: Which they presently did. But after the meeting Was gathered in an uper Room & I was speaking to the people they againe made a noise with the fiddls in a Room below us but I felt the Lords power to bee above the Divell & his Instruments & in the Lords power I went on in my testimony for Christ & against the Divel & his works. When the bristoll man saw that I was not stoped nor disordered in my Testimony by the noise then hee walked to & fro before mee looking in my face & asked mee wheither I would have a dram. But

<sup>16</sup> The names of the local Ministers of Friends are not forthcoming, except that of Thomas Wynn, who died in November, 1715. Thomas Clark, another, had died three months before Farmer's arrival. *The Friend*, vol. 79, pp. 205 f.

<sup>17</sup> Some account of Quakerism at Nevis appears in *The Friend*, vol. 79, p. 285 f. A meeting house of Friends at Charlestown is mentioned as early as 1677 and a "Quaker burial ground," marked on nineteenth-century maps of the island, can still be identified.

I heeded him not but went on in my said Testimony & afterwards Ended the meeting in prayer. In which I desired the Lord to destroy the Divels works by his spirit of Judgment & burning. Which Expreshon som wrested & Reported that I prayed for God's Judgment to com down upon the Desturbrs of mee in this meeting. In a few days after these things the said bristoll master of a ship was sudently struck with a fevor & Disorder in his head in which he lay for the most part unsenceable about 2 days & then dyed. I was told that at his buriell the Church of England preacher spake against peopels making a mock & game of Religion. I had a cirtificate from friends here Whereby they shew their unity with my conversation & Testimony amongst them: & then I went by sea 15 miles to Christophers Island & had 7 meetings there. Where I found 2 or 3 that Were called Quakers who lately came from Anguilla theither who together With others were Well wishers to us. The mages-trats & most people were cevill & kind to mee tho som fue of the people were not so Civell in meetings as they ought to have been.

From hence I went to Anguilla by sea about 60 miles. Where I was kindly Received by George Leonard<sup>18</sup> Who had been Governer of this Island. I had severall good meetings in his house. In this Island is 3 or 4 that bare the name Quakers & severall others are well wish[ers] to us. Here was a friends meeting kept a while through mergret brusters<sup>19</sup> & Thomas Chakly & Richard gove<sup>20</sup> means untill hee that preached amongst them fell away into Drunkness & other sins which so discouraged the rest that of late they keep no meeting.

From hence I returned to Christopher's & Nevis & from thence to Antigue. Where I staid 5 weeks & was at 26 meeting in which I bore Testimony for God against the Divell & his rending deviding works &

<sup>18</sup> Captain George Leonard's friendliness is mentioned by other Quaker visitors to Anguilla. His name heads a list of the island's inhabitants in 1716 (*Caribbeana*, vol. 3, pp. 255ff). Thomas Chalkley's visit to the island in 1707 was, he says, the first of any Friend, but Leonard's conversion to Quakerism had occurred some time before due to the reading of a book by James Parnell. He had "laid down his commission as believing it unlawful for him to fight."

<sup>19</sup> Margaret Brewster, wife of Thomas Brewster, of Barbados, may be intended. She is best known for her prophetic warning of the small-pox by her dramatic appearance in 1677 at the South Church in Boston, commemorated by Whittier in his poem *In the "Old South."* She died in Barbados in December, 1693. Her previous married name was Sawyer, her maiden name apparently Tisdall.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Gove (1651/2-1709/10) came from Plymouth, Devonshire, and settled in 1685 at Plymouth, Pennsylvania. Journeys to the West Indies are recorded of him in 1704-5 and in 1707-8, the first in company with John Estaugh, the second in company with Thomas Chalkley. See *The Friend*, vol. 28, pp. 125, 133 f., 141 f.

his other works in this Island. I had som meetings in friends meeting house in Johns Toune:<sup>21</sup> & som at Hene[ ] Hodges<sup>22</sup> house in the country: & som meetings in other parts o[f] the Country. The people for the most part were Civell in meetings But one priest preached against friends: & spake to the Governer<sup>23</sup> to stir him up to put a stop to my having meetings so nere him as Parham. Where I had one meeting which this priest thretnd to com to & do som thing there: but came not. but did as abovesad. After the meeting I was told that after this priest had preached against friends som of his heares thretnd to do me a mischeif if I came there away & had another meeting but I nevertheless in obedience to the Lord went & told the Governer & many others that I intended to bee at a meeting at Parham that day. Which meeting I had without molestation from any; above 2 week after the first meeting there I was kindly received by friends in Antigue who gave mee a cirtificate in which they declare their unity with my Conversation & testimony amongst them: & they asisted mee in my Passage to London. Which I took in the boneta of London Thomas Harry master. With whome I began to saile from Antigue the 24 of 3 month 1714 for London. For I had freedom by the Lord given mee in Barbados to go home before I againe went to north america: The day I went on board I was told that the priest of Johns Toune also had preached against us & Reproved his hearers for their coming to here the Quakers. Here in antegoa is 14 or 15 Who are called Quakers & a fue of them keepeth up a meeting for worship in friends meeting house in Johns toune & now while John Wanton a friend of the ministry of Rode Island & I Was here they all & many others came to our meetings held in friends meeting house aforesaid. This John wanton had ben a vallient Colonol: But now has ceased from carnall wars

<sup>21</sup> John's Town is of course the Quaker substitute for St. John's. I know of no other reference to a Friends' meeting house in Antigua, except that Edmund Peckover in 1743 reports one Friend on the island and the meeting house quite dropped for want of repairing, nor did inquiry on the island for record of property owned by Friends there yield any evidence. There is, however, much scattered material about Friends at Antigua.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Hodge of Antigua appears in the Quaker records as a correspondent as early as 1711. See V. L. Oliver, *History of Antigua* (London, 1896), vol. 2, pp. 75 ff., for the separate families of Hodge and Hodges. The Quaker Henry Hodge is probably the one who married Frances Knight in 1703 and had five children living in 1715.

<sup>23</sup> The Governor of the Leeward Islands was General Walter Douglas with seat of government at St. John's, Antigua, but he returned to England in December, 1713, and his successor had not been appointed. Perhaps the Lieutenant Governor of Antigua is meant. His residence was usually at Parham, a town second in size to the capital, on the other side of the island.



& is Inployed in Christ service against the Divil & his works. Hee came here master & owner of a ship & is bound home in a little time.

I have received severall letters from my Wife & shee hath received severall from mee in this Journey whereby wee have heard of Each others welfare & by the Last letter which I had from my wife I understand that shee & our Children was well: For which mercy of God to us & for his mercy in preserveing mee through the danger of war by sea & Land & through sickness & other perls by sea & land & above all for the manifestation of his good spirit which hee in & by his son Jesus Christ hath given us to bee our leader & mover & for all his leadings & moveing of us I at this time with all my harte am thankfull to him & do desier to continew allwise so. From Antego I had a good passage to London & home Where I found my wife & children well blessed bee the Lord. Soon after I came home my Wife & I had a good Jorny together in vissiting friends meetings in Hollond & London & som other parts of England And returned home & found our family Well blessed bee the Lord. Saffron Walden in Essex 28: 9th month 1714

John Farmer

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