

THE QUAKER EXILES.

A series of letters in fac-simile was recently presented to the Lancaster County Historical Society which are not only of interest in themselves, but which have more or less of a local interest, inasmuch as two of them were addressed by General Washington to Governor Thomas Wharton, the latter being at that time the President of the Executive Council of the State, which was holding its sittings in the city of Lancaster, and because most of the parties referred to later on passed through the city and where their relatives and friends met them at their release.

The story with which these letters are connected is, I believe, in some particulars, unmatched in the history of the war of the Revolution. I do not know of another instance where a group of twenty or more persons, composed of the wealthiest, best educated and most influential citizens of a community, were arrested, placed in temporary confinement by State and Congressional authority, transported as State prisoners into a distant Commonwealth, held in strict confinement and their correspondence carefully supervised, for a period of eight months.

Other Colonies, however, did almost the same thing. New York sent some loyalists into Pennsylvania in order to remove them from the scene of their operations. In April, 1776, the North Carolina "Committee of Secrecy, War and Intelligence" notified the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety that they had judged it expe-

dient to remove some prisoners lately taken, to Virginia, some to Maryland, and some to Philadelphia, and requested that measures be taken to prevent their return. Accordingly 26 persons, among them being His Excellency Donald McDonald, Brigadier General of the Tory Army and Commander-in-Chief in North Carolina; Col. Allen McDonald, second in command, fifteen captains, a major, surgeon, quartermaster, Adjutant General and Chaplain, were shipped to Philadelphia. No restrictions, save so far as were required for their safety, appear to have been placed on these people, and in that their case differs from our own exiles.

So far as I am aware the incidents connected with their arrest, imprisonment and release have never been gathered into a consecutive narrative. Allusions to the case are to be found in our histories and elsewhere, but in a disconnected and fragmentary manner only. I have here brought together all the more important particulars I have been able to find.*

The letters themselves are three in number, the originals of which are preserved in the Archives of the State at Harrisburg. The first one is as follows:

*Since the foregoing account was in type, I have learned that a history of the banishment of these Friends was published by Thomas Gilpin, in 1848; also, that John Pemberton, one of the three Pemberton brothers, who were banished, left a journal containing an account of the exile, which was published in "Friends' Miscellany," Vol. 8. I have seen neither of these books. The Pemberton family came to Pennsylvania in 1682. The first to come, Phineas, was one of the chief men in the province. Three brothers, grandsons of Phineas Pemberton, Israel, James and John, were among the exiles. All were educated, enterprising business men and wealthy. They did much for the public charities of the city.

"Phila. The 3rd of the 3rd mo. 1778.

"Esteemed Friend

"The Pressing necessity of an Application to thee when Perhaps thy other Engagements of Importance may by it be Interrupted, I hope will Plead my excuse. It is in behalf of my self and the rest of the Suffering and Afflicted Parents, Wives and Connections of our beloved Husbands now in Banishment at Winchester (Virginia.) What leads to our Distress in this Sorrowful Circumstance is the Acct. we have lately received of the removal of one of them by Death, and that divers of them are much Indisposed, as we find they are in want of necessarys Proper for Sick People we desire the Favour of General Washington to grant a Protection for One or More Waggon, and for the Persons we may Employ to go with them In order That they may be accommodated with what is suitable, for which we shall be much Obliged to him. Signed in behalf of the whole by

"MARY PEMBERTON.

"To

"General Washington."

General Washington to Governor Wharton.

That request called out the following letter from General Washington to Governor Wharton:

"Head Quarters Valley Forge April 5, 1778.

"Sir,

"I take the liberty to enclose you a letter from Mrs. Mary Pemberton, requesting a Passport for some waggon to be sent out with articles for the use of her husband and others, now in confinement. As the persons concerned are prisoners of the State, I did not think proper to comply with her request.

"I have assured her, that I would transmit her letter to you, and did not doubt, but her application would meet with your ready concurrence. If you will be pleased to send the passport required to me—I will convey it by a flagg. The letter mentions one or more waggons—I daresay you will send the indulgence, as far as may be requisite and consistent with propriety.

"I have the honor to be

"Sir Your most Obdt Servant
"Go. WASHINGTON"

The nice point which General Washington raised in the above letter deserves to be noted. As the commander-in-chief of all the armies of the Colonies, he might naturally be supposed to have full authority to grant the request of Mrs. Pemberton, but the young States then were, no doubt, as jealous of the individual rights as they are to-day and he defers the matter to the judgment and direction of the Governor of the State, nevertheless indicating the course which he thought should be followed.

On the same day that the previous letter was written, the following was also sent:

"Head Quarters Valley Forge 6th April,
1778.

"Sir

"Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Pleasants and two other Ladies connected with the Quakers confined at Winchester in Virginia waited upon me this day for permission to pass to York Town to endeavor to obtain the release of their Friends. As they were admitted by the Officer at the advanced picket to come within the Camp, I thought it safer to suffer them to proceed, than to oblige them to return immediately to the City. You will judge of the propriety of Permitting them to pro-

ceed further than Lancaster, but from appearances, I imagine their request may be safely granted. As they seem much distressed, humanity pleads strongly in their behalf.

“I Have the Honor to be

“Sir Yr most obt. Servt.

“Go. WASHINGTON.

“His Excellency

“Governor Wharton

“on public service Lancaster.”

“To

“His Excellency

“Thomas Wharton Esq.

“Lancaster

“Go. Washington.”

The Reasons For Their Arrest.

After this introduction and the presentation of the foregoing letters it will not be amiss to relate the causes and events that led up to the arrest and imprisonment of the persons referred to and the sending of them to Virginia.

Pennsylvania was a Quaker Province, founded by the man who, next to George Fox himself, was the most noted of that people and who, in many other respects, was, perhaps, the greatest personage that ever came from the Old World to the New. William Penn, founder and owner of Pennsylvania, naturally enough sought to people his Province with people of his own persuasion. Nearly all the colonists prior to 1700 were Quakers. After that period Quaker immigration on a large scale almost ceased and men of other religious views succeeded them. But, although the latter became very numerous before the period of the Revolution, the Quakers had from the beginning been in control of the Government. By birth and education they were loyalists. Their fealty was first, of course, to the State and then to the parent country under

which they had for nearly a century been prosperous and contented. It is true, they were almost continually quarrelling in the Provincial Legislature over the matter of the granting of appropriations, but they were true to King and country and the thought of separation from the British crown had no attractions for them.

A still greater objection to sundering the bonds that united them to Great Britain was the knowledge that it would not be done peacefully. As events went hurrying along they saw only too clearly that peaceful separation was impossible, and that war—abhorrent war—would be inevitable. Peace with the whole world, at all times, was one of the cardinal points in their religion. It was not conceivable that they could take up arms, and their relations to the two contending powers, it was felt, would be most unpleasant. But no deliberation or debate was required. The decision was made even before the issue was fairly presented. Men of peace they had always been and men of peace they would remain.

Quaker Patriots in the Revolution.

However, not all the Quakers were opposed to war, whether offensive or defensive. Some were inclined to justify the latter. Chief Justice Chew, of Delaware, was disowned by the Yearly Quarterly Meeting for arriving at that opinion. James Logan, so long the able Secretary of the Province, also entertained similar views. Indeed, he had found it impossible to carry on the affairs of the State without soldiers and guns, and as early as 1741 wrote a long letter to the Yearly Meeting favoring defensive warfare. At that time, however, the infirmities of increasing years had withdrawn him from active participation in public

affairs. In spite of the admonitions of the older members of the Quaker population, not a few of the young men broke away from the old-time principles of these friends of peace and joined the patriot forces. The "Quaker Blues" and "The Greens," or "Silk Stocking Company," so famous at that period, bear testimony that even the fighting Quaker was to be found and ready to do his part. In Dr. Wier Mitchell's excellent novel, "Hugh Wynne," we learn that the hero of the book was a patriot and a soldier, but his father, John Wynne, was a Tory. The Quakers contributed three prominent Generals to the War of the Revolution. One of these, General Green, by the unanimous consent of military men, stands next to Washington as the great soldier of that struggle, while the other two, Generals Wayne and Mifflin, came from our own State. Even though the general body of the Quakers sided with the mother country, it is pretty generally recognized that they gave only passive assistance to the royal forces and disliked the oppressive measures of the crown. There may have been instances when that assistance was of a more positive character, but it is not believed they were very numerous, nor were they as a rule of a flagrant character.

Effects of the Non-Resistance Principle.

To what results this non-resistance principle led may be seen in a letter sent by the Provincial Council to the British Admiral Knowles in command of the British fleet in American waters on March 8, 1748. It was in part as follows: "We need not tell You, who are so well acquainted with the Condition of the Colonies, that the Majority of the Assembly consisting o Quakers, their Principles wou'd

never suffer them to put this province in a posture of Defence, nor to fit out Vessels for the protection of their Trade; encouraged by this, the Coast was last Year infested with swarms of French and Spanish Privateers, and numbers of our Vessels were taken within our own Capes, & the Enemy seeing no resistance siez'd our Pilots & fell a plundering the Plantations Situate on the Bay side."

Thomas Penn wrote to Governor Morris on February 26, 1755, as follows: "I have now again mentioned the impossibility of getting anything done for the defense of the Country, while people are allowed to sit in the House that scruple to bear arms." While the Provincial Convention was sitting in Philadelphia, in 1775, the Quaker yearly meeting, assembled in that city, put forth a "testimony" in which the members were called upon "to write in abhorrence of every measure and writing tending to break off the happy connection of the colonies with the mother country, or to interrupt their just subordination to the King."

The Council to General Washington.

But to return to our letters. The Council sent the following reply to General Washington's letter:

"Lancaster, April 6, 1778.

"Sir,

"I have the Honor of receiving your letter of yesterday's date, enclosing one from Mrs. Mary Pemberton to you. I am to inform your Excellency that Council cheerfully comply with the request of that Lady, being desirous that the situation of the gentlemen in confinement should be made as agreeable as may be consistent with the safety of the State. You will please therefore, to receive enclosed a Passport for one or two wag-

ons, and such necessarys as those gentlemen may really need. It is proper to acquaint your Excellency that the House of General Assembly have Passed a Law that will apply to these cases of the Prisoners, and that Council has obtained a resolve from the Honorable Congress to deliver them to the State of Pennsylvania, and a person will be sent in a day or two to Winchester to escort them to this State, when they will have an opportunity to take a decided part, and this the act absolutely requires of them. As your Excellency purposes to forward the Passport, I beg you will take the trouble to mention this circumstance, as it may in some measure govern Mrs. Pemberton & the other Ladies in the quantity and kind of supplies intended to be sent out.

“To his Excellency Genl. Washington.”

Four days later General Washington, in a letter to President Wharton, acknowledged the receipt of the passport for the wagons and stores which, he says, he immediately forwarded to Mrs. Pemberton.

The Council, sitting in Lancaster, on April 19, 1778, sent the following instructions to Francis Bailey and Captain Lang:

“Gentlemen,

“The enclosed resolves of the Council will show that you are appointed and authorized to conduct the Prisoners sent from this state to Virginia, from Winchester, the place of their present confinement, to this Borough, and on your arrival here acquaint this Council thereof.....”

“It is reported that several of those Gentlemen are in a low state of health and unfit to travel; if you find this to be the case, they must be left where they are for the present. Those of

them who are in health you are to bring with you, treating them on the road with that polite attention and care which is due from men who act upon the purest motives to Gentlemen whose station in life entitles them to respect, however they may differ in political sentiments from those in whose power they are. You will please to give them every aid in your power by procuring the necessary means of traveling in wagons or otherwise, with such baggage as may be convenient for them on the road
.....

Self Preservation the Cause.

It is necessary at this point to show how and why these men were arrested and sent into banishment.

The necessity for keeping a watch on disaffected persons was early seen by Congress. On July 26, 1777, that body resolved that "the principles and policy of self preservation require that all persons who may reasonably be suspected of aiding or abetting the course of the enemy may be prevented from pursuing measures injurious to the general weal," and the authorities of Pennsylvania and Delaware were requested to apprehend all persons known to be "notoriously disaffected," disarm and secure them until they might be released with safety. It was also ordered that a search should be made of all the houses of those inhabitants in the city of Philadelphia who had not manifested their attachment to the American cause for firearms, swords and bayonets.

A further reason for this course was, that when the British on December, 1776, were making their way towards Philadelphia, a seditious publication, addressed "To our Friends and Brethren in religious Profession,

in these and adjacent Provinces," was sent out, signed by "John Pemberton, in and on Behalf of the meeting of sufferings, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the 20th of the 12th month 1776." The result was that Congress decided there were strong reasons for arresting these persons and recommended to the State authorities to "forthwith apprehend and secure all Persons, as well among the People called Quakers, as others, who have in their General Conduct and Conversation, shown a Disposition inimical to the Cause of America; and that the Persons so seized be confined in such places and treated in such manner as shall be consistent with their respective Characters and the security of their Persons."

From all this it will be seen that the Congress itself, and not the State of Pennsylvania, was the real instigator of these arrests, although the manner of carrying them out and the treatment and transportation of the men themselves were left with the State authorities, who, however, at all points kept the Congress fully acquainted with all that was done, accompanying their reports with such suggestions as the case seemed to require. The arrested persons, however, all through the transaction seemed to hold the State authorities, and not Congress, responsible for their imprisonment.

As a result of the foregoing action on the part of Congress and the Provincial Council a number of arrests were made—the parties around whom the facts of this paper center. After their arrest they were offered their release if they took the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania and abjured that of the British crown, if they remained in the privacy of

their dwellings and refrained from corresponding with the enemy. But they refused to do all these things, and the only course that remained was to keep them in close custody and put them where they could do the least possible harm.

Vice President Bryan, in a letter to the President of Congress, September 2, 1777, informs him certain persons known to be disaffected have been taken up. He says: "Few of the Quakers are persons willing to make any promise of any kind; they are, therefore, mostly in confinement in the Masons Lodge. As the number of those who are of this mind may exceed 20 it is proper to consider immediately of their disposal." He suggests that they be sent to Augusta and Winchester in Virginia. Congress approved of the suggestion and left it to the wisdom of the Supreme Executive Council to deal with such as had not been arrested.

On June 5, 1778, Congress was informed by the Council that the Winchester prisoners were considered by the Council as in the custody of the United States, and that considerable expense had been incurred by the State in sending them there.

It was decided in Council on September 5 that such of the persons as were confined in the Masonic Lodge who should take and subscribe to the oath or affirmation of the allegiance required by the law of the Commonwealth should be discharged, but all seem to have refused. As that implied no special hardship, the action taken in the case seems fully justified. Congress suggested that they be given a further hearing, but the Council said it would be a waste of time, as everything required had already been done.

The Executive Council sent the following letter to the President of Congress:

“Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1777.

“Sir,

“The persons detained in the Masons Lodge have notice of going for Augusta to-morrow, Light wagons are preparing and an escort fixing. Meanwhile Council having received the enclosed remonstrance for the twenty-one persons in the lodge are of the opinion that some account of this transaction should be given to the public, as they understand these people mean to publish and raise a ferment. A short attempt of this kind was made yesterday; why it appeared not in last evening's post is not clear.

“In the meantime it may perhaps be worth consideration whether the removal of those persons might not be relaxed as to such as would yet swear, or affirm, allegiance to this State.”

The Arrested Parties Protest.

The remonstrance alluded to was presented to the Council on the same day. It is a lengthy document, but, inasmuch as it fully sets forth the attitude of the Quakers at this stage of affairs, and condemns the action of the Council in no light terms, it is here given in full:

“To the President & Council of Pennsylvania.

“The Remonstrance & Protest of the Subscribers Sheweth:

“That your Resolve of this day was this Afternoon delivered to us, which is the more unexpected, as last Evening your Secretary informed us you had referred our business to Congress, to whom we were about further to apply.

“In this resolve, contrary to the inherent Rights of mankind, you condemn us to Banishment unheard.

“You determine matters concerning us, which we could have disproved, had our right to a Hearing been

granted. The charge against us of refusing 'to promise to refrain from corresponding with the Enemy' insinuates that we have held such correspondence, which we utterly & solemnly deny.

"The Tests you proposed we were by no Law bound to Subscribe, and notwithstanding or refusing them, we are still justly & lawfully entitled to all the Rights of Citizenship, of which you are attempting to deprive us.

"We have never been suffered to come before you to evince our Innocence & remove suspicions which you have laboured to instil into the minds of others, & at the same time know to be groundless, altho' Congress recommended it to you to give us a hearing, and your President this Morning assured two of our Friends we should have it.

"In Vindication of our Characters, we, who are of the people called Quakers, are free to declare that, altho' at the time many of our Forefathers were convinced of the truth which we their descendants now profess great Fluctuations & various changes & Turnings happen'd in Government, & they were greatly villified & persecuted for a firm and steady adherence to their peaceful and inoffensive Principles, yet they were preserved from anything tending to promote Insurrections, Conspiracies, or the shedding of Blood. And during the Troubles which, by Permission of divine Providence, have latterly prevailed, we have steadily maintained our Religious Principles in these respects, and have not held any Correspondence with the contending Parties as is unjustly insinuated, but are withheld & restrained from being concerned in such matters, by that Divine Principle of Grace & Truth, which we profess to be our Rule & Guide thro'

Life: this is of more Force & Obligation than all the Tests & Declaration devised by men.

“And we who are of the Church of England, are free to declare to you & to the World, that we have never at any time during the present Controversy, either directly or indirectly, ‘communicated any Intelligence whatever to the Commander of the British Forces, or any other Person concerned in Public Affairs.’ And with the same Cheerfulness we would have engaged not to hold any such Correspondence in future, had not the Requisition been coupled with ignominious and illegal Restrictions, subjecting us to become Prisoners within the Walls of our own Dwellings, & to Surrender ourselves to the President’s Council on demand; this the clear Consciousness of our Innocence absolutely forbade us to accede to.

“Upon the whole, your proceedings have been so arbitrary that Words are wanting to express our Sense of them, we do therefore, the last Office we expect you will suffer us now to perform for the benefit of our country, in behalf of ourselves & those Freemen of Pennsylvania who still have any Regard for Liberty, Solemnly remonstrate & protest against your whole conduct in this unreasonable Excess of Power exercised by you.

“That the Evil & destructive Spirit of Pride, Ambition & arbitrary Power with which you have been actuated may cease & be no more, & that Peace on Earth, & Good will to men may happily take the place thereof, in your & all men’s minds, is the sincere desire of your oppressed & injured Fellow Citizens.

“Mason’s Lodge, Philada. Septr. 9th,
1777.

“THOS. GILPIN,
“CHAS. JERVIS,
“PHINEAS BOND,
THOS. AFFLECK.
“WILLIAM DREWER SMITH,
“THOS. PIKE,
“WM. SMITH, Broker,
“ELIJAH BROWN,
“CHARLES EDDY,
“MYERS FISHER,
“ISR. PEMBERTON,
“JOHN HUNT,
“JAMS. PEMBERTON,
“JOHN PEMBERTON,
“THO. WHARTON,
“EDW'D PENNINGTON,
“THOS COOMBE,
“HENRY DRINKER,
“THOMAS FISHER,
“SAML. PLEASANTS,
“SAMUEL R. FISHER,
“OWEN JONES JR.”

Others Besides Quakers Among Them

That the foregoing document is a strong one there is no denying. The action of the Council was in a sense arbitrary. It may be, as these petitioners declare, that they had committed no overt act, but there can be no question that the enemy were kept fully informed of what was going on in Philadelphia by some one, and that the guilty parties were loyalists. These men were among the most influential and wealthy loyalists in the city. As the petition shows, they were not all Quakers, but among them were members of the Church of England, who did not disguise their adherence to the mother country. The Council and Congress may, therefore, be pardoned if as a measure of safety, they did exercise arbitrary power in order to remove, for a time, what they felt sure was a dangerous element, thereby also intimidating similarly inclined individuals who re-

mained behind. Certainly, we are not inclined at this late day to censure the authorities for taking a step which might mean so much to the course of independence. The same thing has been done since, not only in our own country, but wherever like circumstances have presented themselves, and the same course will, no doubt, be pursued through the whole world until the end of time.

Not all the names on the foregoing list were Quakers, however. There were Episcopalians among them. One of these was the Rev. Thomas Coombe. There is nothing surprising in that fact, as the attitude of that denomination in the struggle between the colonists and the mother country is very well known. Hildreth tells us that "the Episcopal clergy throughout the colonies leaned, with very few exceptions, to the support of the crown; and in the middle and northern provinces their flocks were chiefly of the same way of thinking. In the Southern colonies, where Episcopacy was the established and prevailing form of worship, the same views were entertained. In New York the Episcopalians were strongest, and the moderate Assembly in 1775 declined to sanction the proceedings of the Continental Congress.

An Ecclesiastical Protest.

The arrest of Mr. Coombe was not allowed to go without protest. The following document was promptly sent to the Supreme Executive Council:

"The Representation of 'the Corporation of the Rector, Church Wardens, & Vestrymen of the United Episcopal Churches of Christ Church & St. Peters Church in the City of Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania.'

“Gentlemen,

“Being truly alarm’d and concern’d at hearing that the Revd. Mr. Coombe, one of our Assistant Ministers, had been arrested in his own House, and remov’d from thence & put under Confinement we appointed a Committee to wait upon him, in order to satisfy ourselves by what authority he was made a prisoner, what charge had been brought against him, whether he had applied for a hearing, and whether a hearing had been granted? His answer by the Committee was: ‘That he was confined by a resolve of the President & Council of Pennsylvania, form’d in consequence of a recommendatory Resolve of Congress. That the general charge was his having evinced a disposition inimical to the cause of America. That he had join’d with Some respectable Fellow Citizens, who were imprison’d with him, in an application for a hearing; that an hearing had not been granted, but that he was inform’d by a messenger from the Council, That he is to be sent to Augusta county in Virginia.’

“We beg leave to observe to you, Gentlemen, that the connexion betwixt Ministers & People hath, in every Christian State been deem’d a Tender & Spiritual one; an attempt to dissolve this connection by the removal of a Minister upon a general charge, without suffering him to know his accusers, or being heard in his own defense, cannot but be deem’d an Infringement of Religious as well as of Civil Liberty.

“The respect we have for Mr. Coombe and the duty we owe to our constituents, the members of the two Episcopal Churches in this City, whom we have the honor to represent, will not permit us to be silent on this occasion. We do, Therefore, as well for

ourselves as in the Name & Behalf of these respectable Congregations, earnestly request it of you, as you regard the Civil & Religious Rights of Free-men, & the present Constitution of Pennsylvania, from whence alone you derive your authority as a Council, that Mr. Coombe be admitted, as his undoubted Birth Right, to an hearing in the Face of his Country.

“Not suffering ourselves to doubt of your cheerful compliance with this most reasonable request,

“We are, Gentlemen,

“With all due respect

“Your humble Servants,

“JACOB DUCHE,

“Rector.

“THOMAS CUTHBERT,

“JAMES REYNOLDS.

“Church

“Wardens.

“Sign’d by Order of Vestry

“Philadelphia, Sept. 9th 1777.”

The Council Replies.

The Council discussed the remonstrance. A hearing, it was thought, would answer no good purpose. The restraint of suspected persons in like exigencies was abundantly justified by the example of other nations and by writers on international law.

The document was read in Council the day it was received and “Ordered to lye on the Table.” Council, however, made a reply to the Rectors, Wardens and Vestry, in which they said the case of Mr. Coombe was “wholly political,” and that his connection with the congregation was no argument in his behalf. So the Reverend Gentleman was compelled to make the trip to Virginia in company with his fellow loyalists.

In addition to the remonstrances made by the arrested Quakers as a whole and by friends in their behalf,

three of them addressed a special remonstrance to the President and Council of the State. After reciting the order to Town Major Colonel Nicola to seize Israel Pemberton, John Hunt and Samuel Pleasants and confine them in the Freemason's Lodge, those men sent in the following document:

"That We are advised & from our own Knowledge of our Rights & Privileges are assured that your issuing that order is arbitrary, unjust & illegal & we therefore believe it is our duty in clear and express terms to remonstrate against it.

"The order appears to be arbitrary, as you have assum'd an authority not grounded in Law or Reason to deprive us, who are peaceable men & have never borne arms, of our Liberty by a military force, when you might have directed a Legal Course of Proceeding; unjust, as we have not attempted nor are charged with any act inconsistent with the Character we have steadily maintained of good Citizens solicitous to promote the real interest and welfare of our Country & that it is illegal is evident from the perusal & Consideration of the Constitution of the Government from which you derive all your authority & Power.

"We therefore claim our undoubted rights as Freemen having a just sense of the inestimable value of Religious & Civil Liberty to be heard before we are confined in the manner directed by the said order & have the more urgent reason for insisting on this our Right as several of our Fellow Citizens have been some Days & now are confined by your order & no opportunity is given them to be heard & we are informed it is your purpose to send them & us to a distant part of the Country, even beyond the limits of the Jurisdiction you claim & where the recourse we are justly & legally

entitled to, of being heard & of clearing ourselves from any Charge or suspicion you may entertain respecting us will be impracticable.

"We fervently desire you may be so wise as to attend to the Dictate of Truth & Justice in your own minds & observe the precept of our Lord Jesus Christ whom you profess to believe in, 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you Do ye even so to them, Matt 7-13,' & then we have no doubt you will Comply with this just Claim we make, which will be duly acknowledged by your Real Friends & well wishers,

"ISR. PEMBERTON,

"JOHN HUNT,

"SAM. PLEASANTS.

"Phila. 4 9 mo 1777."

On September 9, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council instructed Colonel Nicola, who seems to have had charge of these prisoners while in Philadelphia, to remove them across the Schuylkill Bridge on the following day. The City Guards were to assist the Light Horse Militia of the city in taking them across the Schuylkill. Six light wagons were engaged to carry them. The order was conveyed to the prisoners at 8 p. m.

On September 10 instructions were issued to Mr. Saml. Caldwell & Mr. Alexr. Nesbitt, who had the direction of the escort which was to take the prisoners to Virginia. They were to be put into light covered wagons in a way not to crowd them; they were to go on the highroad by Reading, and were to be provided with suitable accommodations on the way, but also with a proper degree of watchfulness and firmness.

When Messrs. Caldwell and Nesbitt rendered their accounts on January 1, 1778, it was found that the cost of taking the prisoners to Reading had been £159.3.4.

Ten years later, in 1789, Eva Wittington, of Berks county, presented a petition praying that certain expenses incurred by the Quaker prisoners who had been sent to Virginia be repaid to her. It was for a pension, perhaps, because of services rendered by her husband on the trip to Virginia.

At Reading they were to be turned over to Jacob Morgan, Lieutenant of Berks county, who was to further send them on their way. The sum of £100 was given them to defray the expenses of the trip. Such as wished to go in their own carriages were permitted to do so. A letter was also sent to Colonel Morgan, at Reading, with further instructions and also £500 to defray the further expenses of the journey. Morgan was to provide the escort. Letters were also sent along directed to the Lieutenants and Sub-Lieutenants of Lancaster and Cumberland counties to render what assistance might be necessary.

The prisoners had hardly got under way when some of their friends applied to Chief Justice McKean for writs of habeas corpus for them, to be heard on the 17th. But that scheme did not win. The Supreme Council, learning of what was coming, got ahead of the Chief Justice by passing an act suspending the habeas corpus.

On the further incidents of the trip to Virginia I have been unable to find a trace. Perhaps the reports have been lost. At any rate, they are not now on record in the archives of the State, although it is not improbable that they may be stored away among other papers in the archives. Neither has anything been found with reference to their lives while in Virginia, except that a number of them died.

On November 14, 1777, the Council of Safety then sitting in Lancaster, sent to Col. Smith, Lieutenant of Chester county, an order for the arrest of a Quaker named John James, who was accused of "being an enemy to the Cause of Liberty." The letter or order also contained the following: "For this purpose it will be proper to watch the meetings & especially the Quarterly meetings of the Quakers. At these assemblies agents of this nature will, without doubt, be busy & mischievous."

On the following 8th of December "the Board of War, having had sundry intercepted letters laid before them from several Prisoners of the People called Quakers, stationed at Winchester, in the State of Virginia, in which it appears that they have kept up a Correspondence with several others of that Society in this and the neighboring States, without previously showing their letters to the American Commissary of Prisoners or to any other proper Officer at that place, in the course of which Correspondence it also appears that a certain Owen Jones, one of the said Prisoners, is carrying on with Sundry Persons in the Town of Lancaster, a Traffick, highly injurious to the Credit of the Continental Currency by exchanging Gold at a most extravagant premium for paper money. And, whereas it is represented to this Board that since the Residence of the above-mentioned Prisoners at Winchester the Confidence of the Inhabitants in that Quarter in the Currency of these States has been greatly diminished especially amongst Persons of the same Society.

"Order'd.

"That Owen Jones be forthwith removed under Guard to Staunton in the

county of Augusta, there to be closely confined in Gaol and be debarr'd the use of Pen, Ink & Paper, unless for such Purposes and on such occasions as the Lieutenant of the Said County or some person appointed by him for that purpose shall deem expedient.

"That the remainder of the Prisoners sent from the State of Pennsylvania be removed under the same guard to Staunton and delivered to the County Lieutenant of Augusta, who is hereby directed to require of them a Parole of Affirmation that they will not, directly or indirectly, do or say anything tending to the prejudice of these States, agreeable to the Form herewith transmitted, & in case of refusal to confine the said Persons in some secure Building, under proper guards & subject to the same Restrictions with Owen Jones."

Under date of December 11, 1777, Christopher Marshall, himself a Quaker, alludes to these intercepted letters in his diary. He says: "By some intercepted letters, there appears to be a conciliation between the Friends sent into Virginia by the President and Council, and some inhabitants of Lancaster, in order to depreciate the Continental currency. Some of the letters are from Owen Jones, Jr., to John Mercer, Matthias Slough and Matthias Graeff. This discovery has obliged the Board of War to send all the Quaker prisoners to Staunton, Augusta county, and Owen Jones to close confinement, without the use of pen. ink and paper, except in the presence of the Lieutenant of the County, or his deputy, and the other Friends to the same restrictions, unless they take an affirmation that they will neither act, speak nor write anything that is against the Independency of the United States of America."

On February 8 he speaks of an address sent by the exiles, one to Congress and the other to the Executive Council, and brought hither by their lawyer, Alexander White, of Virginia, praying that they should not be sent further into the interior, and also that they should be allowed to return to their homes and "to enjoy that liberty of which they are unjustly deprived."

"April 25, 1778. Most of the Friends from Virginia came to town (Lancaster) this day. I gave some of them an invitation to my house.

"April 27, 1778. This evening the Friends who were brought to town from Virginia last Seventh Day got a pass from the Executive Council to pass unmolested to Potts' Grove, and then to act agreeably to their own choice for the present, in taking the test or to go into Philadelphia at their risk."

Lancaster Heard From.

On February 24, 1778, the Supreme Council was informed by a short communication that the Westerly Quarterly Meeting of the people called Quakers requested a hearing in order to lay before Council various distressing cases and circumstances. The petitioners were informed that their representations should be made in writing and they would receive consideration. The result was that the following communication was sent in:

"Lancaster, 24th, 2 mo., 1778.

"To the President and Council now sitting at Lancaster:

"We, the Subscribers, are desirous to lay before you, First, the case of a number of our Friends, now under confinement at Winchester, In Virginia, By the Authority of your body, as We apprehend, whose release we strongly desire, or, if that cannot be obtained, that three or more of them,

on behalf of the rest, may be heard in their own vindication, either before Council or Congress, as you may direct. Secondly, That you would weightily consider the situation of four of our Friends, closely confined in the common Gaol of this Borough. Thirdly, that you would interpose for our relief in case of exorbitant fines, taken from us, because of our Conscience Sake, we cannot yield our personal Service in War. Fourthly, we desire redress of grievance in a certain Law, commonly called the Test Law.

“WARNER MIFFLIN,
“JOSEPH HUSBAND,
“JAMES JACKSON,
“WILL’M JACKSON, JR.,
“JACOB LINDLEY.”

The Council gave these subscribers a hearing, which lasted several hours, in which they were told the Council intended to bring the case of the prisoners before the General Assembly; that the arrest and sending of these men was at the request of Congress, in whom the matter at present wholly rested.

On March 11, 1778, an order was drawn on the State Treasurer, in favor of Michael Muhlenberg for £75, in part payment of his account for carrying the Quaker prisoners to Virginia, the same to be eventually charged to Congress. Later Mr. Muhlenberg presented a completed bill, in which he charged for fifty-four days’ service. The exact amount demanded does not appear, but, whatever it was, it was deemed exorbitant, and only £60 additional were given him, or £135 in all. He was evidently the official who conducted the prisoners to Virginia.

Their Release Decided Upon.

On March 19, 1778, it was ordered by Congress that the Quaker prisoners should be brought to Shippensburg, in

this State, and be there set at liberty, and that they should there be informed of the law recently passed for the further security of the Government, by giving to Mr. Israel Pemberton, or some one of the prisoners, a printed copy of the said law, for the inspection of them all. It was further ordered that Francis Bailey and Captain Lang should be appointed to apply to the Board of War for an order to receive from it an order for the delivery of the prisoners, and that the Board be requested to give orders for such assistance in procuring wagons to transport them to this State, and that Messrs. Bailey and Lang should receive and conduct the prisoners to Shippensburg and there set them at liberty, treating them with all due respect while on the way. One would think that it would be no more than simple justice to have taken them back to their homes, from which they had been taken, instead of turning them out in a far-away interior town.

It was also ordered that the Lieutenants of these several counties through which the prisoners should pass should lend Messrs. Bailey and Lang all the assistance they might require. It was further directed "that the whole expence of arresting & confining the Prisoners sent to Virginia, the expences of their journey, & all other incidental charges, be paid by the said Prisoners." An order was drawn in favor of Bailey and Lang for £150 for the expenses of their mission.

An address from the wives and near friends of the prisoners, Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Pemberton, Mrs. Pleasants and Mrs. Drinker, having been received by the Council, it was ordered on April 10th that they should be brought to Lancaster and discharged here or at Pottsgrove, instead of at Shippensburg.

They Arrive in Lancaster.

On April 27, Captain Lang and Francis Bailey arrived in Lancaster and reported to Council that they had received from Mr. Alexander White, who acted for Joseph Holmes, Deputy Commissioner of Prisoners, the following persons: Israel Pemberton, James Pemberton, John Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Samuel Pleasants, William Smith, Edward Pennington, Thomas Wharton, Owen Jones, Charles Eddy, Charles Jervis, Elija Brown, Thomas Fisher, Samuel R. Fisher and Myers Fisher—fifteen in all—and that the said persons were in Lancaster. They further reported that William Rodan, Thomas Patterson and Jacobus Quigg, who had been sent to Virginia with the other prisoners, were also here. They had been informed that Thomas Gilpin and John Hunt were dead. Thomas Affleck, who was one of the prisoners, and had previously obtained leave to come home in consequence of the dangerous illness of his wife, had also come to town.

On March 30, 1779, Council wrote a letter to the Chief Justice of the State to know what had been done with the intercepted letter of Samuel R. Fisher. It would seem from this that Friend Fisher had not yet become a good Patriot. At all events, I find him in the Philadelphia Jail in July, 1781, and he had been there for two years. He was discharged, but compelled to pay all the costs and charges of his imprisonment.

Their case having been once more considered, Council ordered them to be sent to Pottsgrove, in the county of Philadelphia, and there discharged from confinement, and a copy of the order be given them. The order was couched in the following terms: "Mr. _____, of the City of Philadelphia, Gentleman, one of the Prisoners re-

ferred to in the above mentioned order of Council, is hereby permitted, with his Horses, Servants & Baggage, to pass unmolested into the County of Philadelphia, agreeable to said order, which is to be respected as his discharge."

The tender conscience of John Pemberton was hurt by the words "agreeable to the said order," so the Secretary inserted in his certificate, "and he is there to be considered as discharged." In view of all that had been undergone, Mr. John Pemberton's stand on verbal punctiliousness would appear like running things into the ground. It was also ordered that passes for Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Pemberton, Mrs. Pleasants and Mrs. Drinker and for Israel Morris who were also here, should be issued to return to Philadelphia if General Washington should approve. This programme was, no doubt, carried out, although there is no further record on that point.

A Last Word.

But, determined to have the last word, these stubborn people once more sent an address to the State authorities couched in the following language:

"To the President and Council of Pennsylvania

We, the Subscribers, Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, having been **THERE** arrested and banished to Winchester, in Virginia, by your authority, upon groundless Suspicions, without any Offence being laid to our Charge, and being now brought to this place by your Messengers, after a Captivity of nearly eight months, think it our Duty to apply to you to be reinstated to the full Enjoyment of that Liberty of which we have been so long deprived.

"We are your real Friends.

"Lancaster 4th mo., 26th, 1778."

But the Provincial Council was not yet done with John Pemberton. On May 30, 1782, he, along with William Matthews, addressed a long letter to the President and Council. He informs them that, feeling constrained by the power of God's love to call sinners to repentance and to proclaim the glad tidings of the gospel of peace, life and salvation, he had resolved to visit his religious brethren in Europe, he takes occasion to notify the Council of the same. He disclaimed any sinister motives, and, while he denies the right of any human authority to prevent him from pursuing a course his conscience dictates, he, nevertheless, makes his intentions known to the Council, in order that he may not be deemed guilty of disrespect. John Pemberton was evidently a religious enthusiast, of the most aggressive kind, firmly believing that the "inner light" was above all human authority and he made it the rule of his life and conduct.

Course of the Quakers Unpopular.

That the course of the Quakers was very unpopular with the majority of their fellow citizens seems to be very clearly shown by the treatment that was at various later times extended to them in Philadelphia. One of these affairs may be mentioned here. It called out a long and earnest address "to the President, Executive Council and the General Assembly and Others whom it may concern," from John Drinker, clerk, "in and on behalf of a Meeting of the Representatives of the said People on the 22nd of November, 1781." In this document allusion is made to the wanton "Outrages and Violence committed on the Property and on divers Persons of the Inhabitants of Philadelphia, of our Religious Society, by

Companions of licentious People parading the Streets, destroying the Windows and Doors of our Houses, breaking into and plundering some of them, on the Evening of the 24th of last month." The occasion of all this was the rejoicing at the news of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, when the entire city was thrown into an uproar and the young and patriotic element went all over the city celebrating the event, and, of course, paying special attention to the Quakers, who were still considered a disloyal element. The principles of Quakerism were set forth in the address in very forcible language, and attention is called to the fact that a wide departure had been made from the wise course and teachings of the founder, William Penn.

Elizabeth Drinker's Diary.

It will be remembered that one of the Quaker prisoners was Henry Drinker. He was one of the most prominent among them, as well as a prominent citizen of Philadelphia. He was a member of the shipping and importing firm of James & Drinker. The tea ships that came in 1773, but were not allowed to land their cargo, were consigned to this firm. He was rich and influential, a prominent Friend, and Drinker's alley still perpetuates his name. He was married by Friends' ceremony to Elizabeth Sandwith, on January 13, 1761. This lady was possessed of unusual personal beauty, great sweetness of disposition and had received an education much above that usually given to women at that day. This gave her a fondness for literature, and, beginning with 1758, she kept a brief diary of current events, especially such as occurred in her own life and immediate circle until 1807, the year of her death.

As a matter of course, there is a good deal said in her diary concerning the events detailed in this paper. She was a fond, affectionate wife, and the arrest and imprisonment of her husband grieved her sorely, but she tried to bear up under it, and, while there are many allusions to the event in her diary, she at no time denounces or upbraids in unwomanly fashion what had been done. I have thought proper to give a few extracts from her reminiscences bearing on the arrest, imprisonment and release of her husband and his associates in misfortune.

In August, 1771, she, in company with her husband and a small party of Friends, visited Lancaster. Part of her record is as follows: "August 24. Left Pennsburg this morning—rode 8 miles to ye Waggon (tavern); breakfasted there. Then went 12½ miles to ye Hat (tavern); dined there. Left it at 3 o'clock, went 12½ miles farther to Lancaster, where we arrived at about 6 o'clock. We forded this day two branches of the Brandywine and Conestoga creeks. We put up at Matts Slough's in Lancaster, at ye sign of the Swan. Took a walk this evening through a part of ye Town; came back to supper. Lodged all together again.

"August 25. First day. Went to meeting this morning; Yearly meeting here. Dined at Slough's. Eartherington, an officer, dined with us. I went after dinner to George Ross's—drank tea there. This afternoon we examined the Court House; took a walk to ye new Dutch Church (First German Reformed) and took a survey of it, inside and outside, and then returned to our lodgings."

From Lancaster the party went to Wright's Ferry, and then returned to Lancaster. They then went to Stei-

gel's "glass house," at Manheim, where she "saw them make a wine glass." From thence they passed on to Lititz. Visited "the Brethren's and Sister's Houses." They started for Dunkers' Town (Ephrata) but lost their way. Reached Ephrata on August 28. Peter Miller and Sister Keturah showed them through the buildings. From thence went to Rinstown (Reamstown, no doubt) Adamstown, dined "very heartily on boiled mutton and old kidney beans" at Peter Pennybaker's Mill House and then to Reading.

Trouble Comes Along.

The first mention of political troubles are these:

"January 30 (1776) J. Drinker (her husband's brother) called before ye Committee." His offense was refusing to take Continental money.

"February 9. John Drinker and Thos. Fisher advertised in handbills."

"February 15. John Drinker's store shut up by the Committee."

"1777, January 25. Had 5 American soldiers quartered on us."

"September 2. Third Day. H. D. having been and continuing to be unwell, stayed from meeting this morning. He went towards noon into ye front parlor to copy the Monthly meeting minutes—the book on ye desk, and ye desk unlocked, when Wm. Bradford, one Blewed and Ervin entered, offering a Parole for him to sign which was refused. They then seized on ye book, and took several papers out of ye desk, and carried them off, intimating their design of calling the next meeting at 9 o'clock and desiring H. D. to stay at home at that time, which, as he was unwell, was unnecessary. They accordingly called on ye 4th and took my Henry to the Mason's Lodge, in an illegal,

unprecedented manner; where several other Friends, with some of other persuasions made prisoners. I went this evening to see my H. D., where I met ye wives and children of our dear Friends in great numbers."

"September 5. Myself, sister and ye children went again to ye Lodge, at different time. A day of great distress it has been to me.

"September 6. H. D. breakfasted with us, but left us soon after. We Visited him, as usual, at the Lodge.

"September 7. First day. Received a note this morning from my dear Henry, desiring, as ye others have done, that we would not visit them until ye close of afternoon meeting, wishing to have this day more particularly to themselves in stillness. I went this evening to ye Lodge and found my Henry in good spirit. Come home after night.

"September 9. Sent Billy to ye Lodge to inquire after his dear Daddy's health; he found him well. Myself and little Sally went this afternoon to ye Lodge. During my stay there word was brought to ye Council that their banishment was concluded to be on ye morrow—ye wagons were preparing to carry them off. I came home in great distress, and after doing ye necessary for ye child, went back near ten o'clock at night; found ye prisoners finishing a Protest against the tyrannical conduct of ye present wicked rulers.

"September 10. Our dear friends still continue at the Lodge. I was there twice to-day. Ye time of their going off is said to be to-morrow, at nine o'clock. My dear Henry spent this afternoon, evening and stayed all night with us. Numbers of our friends here.

"September 11. Ye sending off our friends is put off till three o'clock this

afternoon; they find it difficult to procure wagons and men. My Henry breakfasted with us, then went to ye Lodge. I went there about ten o'clock. Some time after dinner Harry came in a hurry for his master's horse for a servant to ride; informing me that ye wagons were waiting at ye Lodge to take our dear friends away. I quickly went there, and as quickly came away—finding a great number of people there, but few women. I bid my dearest Husband farewell, and went in great distress to James Pemberton's—Sally with me. Ye wagons drove off about six o'clock, and I came home at dusk. I wrote a letter this evening to my dear to send by a man from Gilpins' in ye morning.

“September 12. Ye letter I wrote last evening missed of ye intended opportunity, but went by another hand. I received a letter from my H. D. this morning, which afforded me great comfort. This has been a day of great confusion to many in this city, which I have, in great measure, been kept out of, in my constant attentions to my sick child.

“September 13. I wrote to H. D. by Isaac Lane, Jr.; they have changed the place of banishment of our friends to Winchester, as I understand. John Parish called this evening. He went with our dear friends twenty-three miles on their journey, and left them all well yesterday afternoon.”

September 22. Wrote to my Henry. We are informed this evening that they left Reading yesterday morning, but have no particulars of their treatment.

“September 23. We heard this evening that our dear friends were arrived at Lebanon—all well.”

Some of Her Friends in Lancaster Jail.

For some time after the last named date, the diary is taken up with the

occurrences in Philadelphia, which had been entered by the British under General Howe. Although not plainly outspoken, one can detect the loyalist sentiment that prevailed among the Quaker population.

“October 5. Joseph Bringhurst called. Ye latter brings word of ye welfare of my Husband, who, with ye other Friends, were seen last second day at 9 o'clock in the morning within 20 miles of Winchester.”

On November 15 the receipt of two letters from her husband is recorded. He was well. On November 23 she sent by a person about to leave for Winchester £61.11.3 in Continental currency and two pairs of worsted stockings to her husband. But later the authorities would not allow the sending of the money. Still later she records having sent on the Continental currency wrapped in some shirts. She records salt was so scarce at Winchester that thirty-six bushels of wheat were given for one of salt.

On December 13 she hears that her friends, John Parish and John James, are confined in the Lancaster jail. Letters from her husband are occasionally recorded. News by friends at shorter intervals. It appears the prisoners were offered their release several times if they would take the test oath, but they persistently refused. Has news that Thos. Lightfoot, Robert Valentine and Joshua Baldwin are in the Lancaster jail.

She Comes to Lancaster.

In March a movement was set on foot by the wives of the prisoners for an appeal to Congress in their behalf. This address has already been referred to, and proved effectual in securing the release of prisoners. The petitioners set out from Philadelphia on April 5, 1778, to meet them. The Journal reads:

“We took Coach at about 2 o’clock, S. Jones, Phebe Pemberton, M. Pleasants and myself—with four horses and two negroes, who rode Postilion..... We went no further than John Roberts’ (millers), about 10 miles from home.....

“Ap’l 6. Left J. Roberts’ after Breakfast, and proceeded on to ye American Piquet guard, who, hearing that we were going to headquarters, sent 2 or 3 to guard us further on to another guard, where Col. Smith gave us a Pass for Hd. Quarters, where we arrived at about ½ past one. We requested an audience with the General, and sat with his wife, (a sociable, pretty kind of a woman), until he came in.....It was not long until G. Washington came and discussed with us freely, but not so long as we could have wished, as dinner was served, to which he invited us. There were 15 Officers, besides ye Gl. and his wife, General Green and General Lee. We had an elegant dinner, which was soon over, when we went out with ye General’s wife, up to her Chamber—and saw no more of him. He told us he could do nothing in our business further than granting us a Pass to Lancaster, which he did. We came to James Vaux’s.

“April 7. Left James Vaux’s after breakfast. We found the roads exceedingly bad. We dined at a kind Friend’s, named Randal Mellon, and went through deep mud to Robert Valentine’s, where we drank tea and lodged.

“April 8. We left R. Valentine’s after Breakfast. Jacob Parke escorted us 8 or 9 miles through ye worst roads we have yet met with, to one, Thos. Truman’s, where we dined on the usual fare, Bacon and Eggs. We left them after dinner, and journeyed on to James Moore’s in Sadsbury, Lan-

caster county, where we drank tea, supped and lodged.

"April 9. We set off afterwards on our journey till we arrived at James Gibbons, where we dined.....Here we understood that our Friends (the prisoners) were, by order of Council, to be brought to Shippensburg, and there discharged. This day we forded three large waters, the Conestoga, ye last, which came into ye Carriage and wet our Feet, and frightened more than one of us.....As soon as we had dried ourselves, and wiped out ye Coach, we set off for Lancaster, 1½ miles, and drove directly to Thos. Wharton's door. We were admitted to him, and a number of others, but we desired to speak with him by himself. We had about an hour's conversation with him, which was not very satisfactory, as they were going to Coffee. We drank a dish with his wife and ye rest of ye Company, then came back to J. Webbs by moonlight, where we drank tea and lodged.

"April 10. We arose betimes this morning; dressed ourselves, and after Breakfast, went to Lancaster."

Husbands and Wives Meet.

I shall not weary the Society by quoting the further events of the visit in extenso, but will condense what is further said in the diary as much as possible. The ladies visited some of the members of Council. Timotny Matlack, who was the Secretary of that body, promised his aid, but Mrs. Drinker does not appear to have had full confidence in him. At the request of the ladies, it was ordered the prisoners should be brought to Lancaster, or some other place nearer home, instead of being discharged at Shippensburg. They were anxious to send a messenger with the guard that was to bring them on. Wm. Webb was de-

cided upon, but was not allowed to go as he had not taken the test (oath of allegiance). At last one John Musser, a "Mennonist," was found, who agreed to go, so they packed his saddlebags full of needed things and sent him off. Musser set off on a Sunday—that was April 12. They left Lancaster on the 14th for A. Gibbons' place, in Sadsbury, where they remained until April 19, when they returned to Lancaster, again making James Webb's place (Knapp's Villa) their home. On April James Musser, their messenger, returned, bringing letters from their husbands. On the 21st they met Mr. Philip Bush, with whom the prisoners had lodged while at Winchester. On the same day they had a conference with President Wharton, "not altogether agreeable." They presented an address asking for passes for their husbands. It was not to their mind, so they sent in a second address, but George Bryan told them all had been allowed them that would be. I quote from the diary on April 25, as follows: "I can recollect nothing of ye occurrences of this morning. About one o'clock my Henry arrived at J. Webbs, just in time to dine with us. All the rest of our Friends went this day to Lancaster. H. D. (Henry Drinker, her husband) is much heartier than I expected; he looks fat and well." On April 27 the prisoners applied to Council for a paper of discharge, which was not granted, but permission was given them to go to Pottsgrove (now Pottstown) instead. Ten of the number started for home on that day, and the rest, including the Drinkers, on the 28th. They reached Downingtown on the same day and, having received a pass from Washington's headquarters, on the 29th left for Philadelphia, which place they reached on April 30, finding all their families at home well.

It appears that they were not obliged to go to Pottstown after all, but were finally discharged at Philadelphia, after having been subjected to a banishment of nearly eight months.

Prominent Lancaster Quakers and Others.

These ladies, being persons of first quality, received many attentions in Lancaster. They had many callers, largely from Quaker friends, but also from others. It will be of interest to name some of these as they appear to have been the first people in the place: Sally Graff, Polly Morgan, Thomas Poultney, Polly Parr, Sam Meredith, Nelly Matlack, wife of Timothy, Dr. Philo, Mr. Banton, Robert Jewel, Owen Biddle and his wife, James and Abraham Gibbons, William Downing, William Marshall, William Parr and wife, Joseph Reed, Thomas McLean, Eleanor Brinton, James Webb, Billy Lewis, Becky Parke, Molly Rhea, Daniel Whitlock, David Rittenhouse, Josey Brinton, Becky Moore, Robert Valentine. Parson Thomas Barton was a frequent caller and Mrs. Drinker took tea with his family several times. In these names, we, no doubt, have the more prominent Quaker residents of Lancaster.

Notes on the Foregoing Article.

The Supreme Court of 1776, composed of Messrs. McKean, Atlee and Evans, first sat in Lancaster to try Tory cases.

Captain James Bailey was the Lancaster printer of that name. Captain Lang at the time resided in York county, but belonged to the Drumore Longs.

Some of the Tories named in the foregoing article subsequently went over to the English side when General Howe was in Philadelphia.

No mistake was made in arresting and banishing these Tories.

SAMUEL EVANS.

Notes to the Article on the American and Lancaster Rifle in the No- vember Number.

The veteran historian, Samuel Evans, Esq., has supplied the following notes to the article "The Lancaster County Rifle":

The run which rises in Leman's old gun works, and runs into the Conestoga, near the old "Spook House," was called in colonial times "Boring Mill" run. Where the guns themselves were made I do not know.

William Henry had a gun factory on Mill creek, where the Old Factory Road crosses it. William Montgomery, the father of John R. Montgomery, bought the works.

There was also a boring mill at a run opposite Martic Furnace, run by the Harts, before the Revolution. Another boring mill on the creek that empties into the Pequea creek below Martic Forge. It is possible that the barrels were forged at Martic Forge, which was erected by the Smith brothers about 1750.

Peter Gontor had a gun factory in Columbia more than one hundred years ago.

Simon Rathvon's (the entomologist) father manufactured guns in Marietta during the War of 1812.

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