JSR 2101B)

ANCHIUES.

A NARRATIVE OF SOME OF THE OCCURRENCES IN THE LIFE OF EDMUND HOWARD, OF THE PARISH OF CHELSEA, WROTE BY HIMSELF IN THE YEAR 1785

MS SR210(B), Kensington Central Library, Local Studies Archive photographed and digitized by James Nye, September 2016

A NARRATIVE OF SOME OF THE OCCURRENCES IN THE LIFE OF EDMUND HOWARD, OF THE PARISH OF CHELSEA, WROTE BY HIMSELF IN THE YEAR 1785.

I was born in the year 1709–10, on the 27th day of February, of honest and good parents, members of the Monthly Meeting at Windsor of the People called Quaker, and they were as exemplary in their dealings and religious conduct as any of that Society or any other. My father was a blacksmith and in small dealing in ironmongery, good pitch, tar, rosin, oils, and turpentine, &e. My mother was the daughter of a tradesman in Windsor; they lived in love and concord together about twenty years, and their good example and godly care for training up their children in moral and religious duties might, I hope, be equalled by many but outdone by very few. My mother kept a shop and sold grocer's, haberdasher's goods, candles, soap, salt &c., kept two cows, made butter for the market, and made bread for the family. I had two brothers and one sister; we all learned to read by a country dame at the next house; as we grew bigger my brothers and I went as day scholars to a very worthy man of the said Society near a mile distance from my father. Our schoolmaster had some boarders, and also need to make leases, indentures &c; that business increasing caused his being often from home, and the school would not well answer to keep an usher. His boarders dropped away, few scholars left but my brothers and self, and we not well attended. At length my father took us from that school to a poor man who had none but day scholars, and none of them, nor our master, of the said Society. What he was as to religion I never knew, but he taught all the boys except us according to the form of the Church of England; he spared no pains with his scholars, was a very honest man, but I think a little disordered in his mind, and I have some room to think he was what was then called a Nonjuror; he lived three miles from my father; we used to go and come every day, the country strong clay and paths very dirty in the winter. We went to him about two years; then he moved about a mile father, so we went no longer to school, which was much to the disappointment of my father, who wished to give us more learning, but there was no school nearer except the Parson of the parish. This was not the man who put my father in prison.

The following is a Harration of some of the accurances in the life of Tomund Howard of the Parrish of Chelsea wrote by him seff in y year 1785

I was Born in the year 70 gir on the 27 Day of Vilman Sarents members of the monthly Meeting at Windsor of the Deople call Quaker and they were as examplant in their dealings and Rivious conduct as any of that Society or any other my Father was a Block-Smith and in somatt Tealing, In honmony, good Sitch Jan Rosin oyle & Turpentine ye My Mother was the Daugh" of a Tradesinan in Windsor that lived in love and concern to gather about 20 spars that their good exemple and godloly ears for training up their Chiloren in morral y Kligeous dutyes might I hope be equaled by many but out och by very fiew. My Mother keep Legi a Coror made butter for y Market bree & made Bread for the by a Country dame at the next House as as we gree Giver my Prothers and I went as Day Schollen towery worther man of the said Jourty near a Mile destance from the Fathy our Shoot master has some Gorden y allso did to make Leases indenture ye that busness increasing cause his being often from home and the School would not well anciver to keep an Wher his boarders oron a way fun Sholer left but my Brother & self and we not well attended at length my Father took us from that School to a poor Mak who had none but day Scholler and none of them nor our Master of the Said Society what he was as to Religion Inever knew but he taught all the Boys exceptus according to it form of the Church of England he spared no pains with his Schollan was a very hones I Man but I think a lette disorded in his wien y I have some room to think he was what was then late a Monjarer he live I miles from my Father we us to goe yearn every day the country strong clay and paths very divey in the Winter. We went to most to him about two years than he moved about a Well farther so we went no longer to chool whi was much to the disapointment of my Father who the man who wished to gives more larning but their was no Jehoo un Trison reary eacht the Danon of the Jarrich \*

and the my Father was as far an any man form the Odious Spirit of Bigotry he did not send us there to School I suppose chiefly because he would not Offered his weke mothers for when we were all very young perhap the the Class not above Seven years he suffered him self to be taken to Heaving Jail for i nongrayment of Fileh, and lef his wife due theteten to y can of Tivene goodney for at that time he Laboures for a mecar subsistance and was taken a way from a greate heate on the anvit as I very well remember and that my macher mase pages and several times went her Selly to Reasing to carry them for my Father but can't remember how long he was a Infoner I have heard of Some and by Hearly Meeting toutles montion friquently greate June of Money in their acct of Friend Sufferencys but I never knew any one who could with proposety be said to Lufer but my own Father. Having now finished this organism I outurn to south be mended it was the first that ever seen and I was a perfect stranger to to if component parts of a pump as we had but 2013 in those parts from this view of & buches Imadea Small prime compleate Fallso madea over Shott wheel about 16 inches drameter which larne by going termell with grist to this wheel ladded 2 or more whose ares when porrental and one whose ares was vertical all of which wan moved by band from the overshot wheel for I had not land to oce it by toggs this I ald begun 12 & 14 than of aige and could have been pleased had I been just to some kind of Toad Similar to such movements all thon aparates I with much regret left believe when I was destined to be to be a Gardener to which onystoymen I had greate likeing and some little practee in my Hather Garden for I had than ray some Meflon lette inferior to any I have raise since and knowing my Farents could not give a large premeum with me to larm a more gainfull and respectable Occupation I was derivous to be a fairenes the by the bye Ithink there is no Occupation more truly Respectable and healthfull than a garowner My Father finding my Inclination was for that Capitals sought for a Musice at length one was found at Chelica to whome I was bound at agrentice in the Gran 1724. My Father was a perfect for any Jenever to i art of Gardening and home my Fareints had a Tender and Gooly can for me as to my Religions

And though my father was as far as any man from the odious spirit of bigotry, he did not send us there to school, I suppose chiefly because he would not offend his weak brothers; for when we were all very young, perhaps the oldest not above seven years, he suffered himself to be taken to Reading Jail for the non-payment of tithes, and left his wife and children to the care of Divine Goodness, for at that time he laboured for a mere subsistence, and was taken away from a great heat on the anvil, as I very well remember; and that my mother made pies, and several times went herself to Reading to carry them for my father, but can't remember how long he was a prisoner. I have heard of some, and the Yearly Meeting Epistles mention frequently great sums of money in their account of Friend Sufferings, but I never knew anyone who could with propriety be said to suffer but my own father. Having now finished this digression, I return to give some farther account of myself. The bucket-rod of a pump was sent to be mended; it was the first one I had ever seen, and I was a perfect stranger to the component parts of a pump, as we had but two or three in those parts. From this view of the bucket I made a small pump complete; I also made an overshot wheel about sixteen inches diameter, which I learned by going to a mill with grist. To this wheel I added two or more whose axes were horizontal, and one whose axis was vertical, all of which were moved by band from the overshot wheel, for I had not learned to do it by cogs; this I did between twelve and fourteen years of age, and could have been pleased had I been put to some kind of trade similar to such movements. All those apparatus I, with much regret, left behind when I was destined to be a gardener, to which employment I had great liking and some little practice in my father's garden, for I had then raised some melons little inferior to any I have raised since; and knowing my parents could not give a large premium with me to learn a more gainful and respectable occupation, I was desirous to be a gardener, though, by the bye, I think there is no occupation more truly respectable and healthful than a gardener. My father, finding my inclination was for that business, sought for a master; at length one was found at Chelsea, to whom I was bound as apprentice in the year 1724. My father was a perfect stranger to the art of gardening, and my parents had a tender and godly care for me as to my religious

and moral conduct, and more thoughts and care for me on that head than to place me with the most complete master of the art if he was not a good liver; and, indeed, if he had desired to have put me under the care of the most skilful, he had no knowledge of the most curious parts thereof, not any acquaintance with those that had. He therefore put me on lodging to one George Burr at Chelsea, a man of good report among his neighbours and all who knew him, which he justly merited for his laudable industry and faithful upright dealings with all men. He kept a good house and his servants were well fed and kindly used, but was a man of no great natural parts nor great skill in his profession, therefore not likely to give much encouragement to any who aspired to anything beyond his own capacity; however, as I was like to be well used, and could not at that time discern how little I was like to learn, I consented to be bound for him for the term of seven years, my indentures bearing date the 25th of March 1724. The day after I was bound, the former apprentice told me the most material thing I had to learn was to use the small hoe, viz. to hoe out onions, carrots, and parsnips, &c.' this was a great damp to my spirits and sad mortification to think I must serve seven years to learn what I then thought might be done in one season, which I afterwards found too true, for sprightliness of genius and desire of knowledge in natural things was of no account with my master, but he that could dig or hoe the most ground in a day was qualification the most desirable to him. Had I known this, and how little he was able to teach me that art, which of all others I am yet acquainted, required as natural talents, more time, and closer application than any other to be master of, I should not have consented to be bound to learn what I could have acquired in less time to a much greater extent by working in the gentlemen's gardens of our own neighbourhood. However, as I was bound, I thought it my duty to obey my master's lawful command. My fellow workfolks, men and women, were generally of the lower class, and some of them at distant times profligate and wicked; none of them of the Society I was born and instructed in, except one man, who in the sequel proved a greater adversary to me than any of the rest.

and Morral Conduct and more thoughts and care for me on that head than to place me with the most Compleat martet of the art if he was not a good liver and indeed if he bas Deised to have put me under the case of the most Skillfull he had no knowlage of the mortenious parts thenef nor any acquaintane with those that had He therefore put me on liquing to one George But at Chelsea a Man of good report among his Helghbours and all who knew him which he justly merited for his Ladubal industry and faith-- hell upright Dealings with all men he kep a good house and his damants ware well fed and kindly used but was a Man of no greate natural parts ones greate Skill in his profession therefore not likely to nine beyond his capasity horoson as I was like to be well well and could not at that time desar how little & was like to lara I concented to be Bound to him for the term of seven years my Indentures bearing date the 29th of march 1724. The Day after I was bound the former aprentice told me the most material thing I had to turn was to use the small hoe vir to bough out ontone larvole and parinipe se this was a greate damp to my Spirits and sad Mortifergation to think I must saro seven years to larn what I then thought might be don in one Jeason which Safferward found to true for sprightlynch of geneus and desire of know-Master but he that could dig or hough the most ground in a day was Qualification the morte destable to Him had I know this and how little He was able to teach me that art which of all other Jam yet agrainted request as good natural Tallants more time and closer aplication than any other to be master of I should not have concented to be bound to Carn what I could have acquired in less time to a much greater extent by working in the Gentelmans Gardens of our own Highbourhood However as twas bound Ithought it my Diety to Obay my Master Lawfull command my fellow work folks Men & Momen ware generally of the lower class and some times mofligate and wicked none of them of the Jouely Iwas born and Instructed in except one man who in the Sequel proved a greater adversary to me than any of the sil

Iwas employed to filling dung barrows weeding draw up and cutting goods for market, about 2 year of my time paid of before as I remember I got one pany as vails no had fany means of gaining the least money but what I had from my Parents whome tellow asked; then the former apprintece's time expired he did to eatth mice in I Hans Stoans Garden for which our Master paid him for every 3 mice one peny this pleasing engeloyment then came to me and as that no other meant of furnish ing my pocket Ithought it a great requiren and applied to it with much dilegence making the traps in evening, and going in & Morning before the workfolks came to see what I had caught and brought them in to shew my master I caught sormany my Master instee of giveing me som encouragement Lowers the price and would five no more than a peny for A Istil continued to eatch at that rate at length he wold not pay me atal which Ichought was the reverse of what he should have done especially as he was payo in his Bill to do It floans for & same The former aprentice told me he wis to " cut the mice in two and thro' them on the floor to the Cal one half at a time which she egarly devound in the meance of our master y 10 impos on him which might easily be don as they were brot in by candle light in & morning the winter being the time for colching there and this he promped me to doe but my Jear Farent had instructed me better. This tho'it may reem a meer triple to those Boys which Farents foolestely furnish them with so much mony as to lay a foundation for their min Het it was to me at the time a matter of greate inportance and wahat I thought very ungeners in my Master but he was not well practised in reading Books and left skilled in what is called reading of men after some time (about 3 years) Chamuel Smith one of . the people call Quaken left iny master and took a Goden close to my Master & 994 & garden those 3 ground laying · togather and no fince between them then the care of my marten Book came to my lott a gardenen Wife in the neighbourhood came to pay a Bell for duny my master had sold her geall to settle the acct a dispute wor between them about 3 pence which The rowered to be abaled and he refused at length he said four the boy if a pence I have son him often save your baskets from being ovove a way by the try de The replyed here Bonund take & 6 percel but then you must dox another Job for me I answered

I was employed in filling dung-barrows, weeding, draw up, and cutting goods for market. About two years of my time passed off before, as I remember, I got one penny as vails [i.e. pocket money], nor had I any means of gaining the least money but what I had from my parents, whom I seldom asked. Then the former apprentice's time expired. He used to catch mice in Sir Hans Sloane's garden, for which our master paid him for every three mice one penny. This pleasing employment then came to me, and as I had no other means of furnishing my pocket I thought it a great acquisition and applied to it with much diligence, making the traps in evenings and going in the morning before the workfolks came, to see what I had caught and brought them in to show my master. I caught so many, my master, instead of giving me some encouragement, lowered the price, and would give no more than a penny for four. I still continued to catch at that rate; at length he would not pay me at all, which I thought was the reverse of what he should have done, especially as he was paid in his bill to Sir H. Sloane for the same. The former apprentice told me he used to cut the mice in two and throw them on the floor to the cat, one half at a time, which she eagerly devoured in the presence of our master, and so imposed on him, which might easily be done, as they were brought in by candle-light in the morning, the winter being the time for catching them, and this he prompted me to do, but my dear parents had instructed me better. This, though it may seem a mere trifle to those boys whose parents foolishly furnish them with so much money as to lay a foundation for their ruin, yet it was to me at the time a matter of great importance and what I thought very ungenerous in my master, but he was not well practised in reading books, and less skilled in what is called reading of men. After some time (about three years) Samuel Smith, one of the people called Quakers, left my master and took a garden close to my master and Sir H. Sloane's garden, those three grounds laying together and no fence between them. Then the care of my master's book came to my lot. A gardener's wife in the neighbourhood came to pay a bill for dung my master had sold her. I was called to settle the account; a dispute arose between them about threepence which she required to be abated and he refused; at length he said, "Give the boy the sixpence; I have seen him often save your baskets from being drove away by the tide." She replied, "Here, Edmund, take the sixpence, but then you must do another job for me."

I answered, "If that be the case I shall never be out of debt, please to take the sixpence again," laid it down, and went out to my work in the garden.

As I now kept my master's book I had a few shillings, for Sir Hans Sloane used to settle with him once in the year, and then gave a guinea to the workfolks; half of it was allowed to the book-keeper. I was kept to hard labour, and no companion to instruct me in the art, nor my master could not, his garden being cropped with nothing but what may be found in the open field round London, except a few cucumber, melons, and some common annual flowers for Sir Hans Sloane's garden, in which was no plants nor flowers of any value, and in the garden the most awkward and foolishly laid out of any I ever saw, being about forty rod long and six wide. It had six yew trees, four holly hedges parallel to each other and stretched very near the whole length of the garden, a straight gravel walk, and wide borders on each side ornamented with some common perennial plants and shrubs, together with two or three rows of very bad tulips, some common hyacinths, and other common bulbous roots. Such were some of them which a country dame would scarce have allowed a place in her garden, and often the weeds knee-high, for my master had but thirty pounds per year for the care of the whole garden which was called two acres, and my master's garden was seven acres, cropped and cultivated as before mentioned, so that little could be learned to inoculate trees, and was acquainted with some skilful gardeners in noble or gentlemen's service, which gave me great insight in various parts of the art of gardening, to which my master and all my fellow workfolks were strangers; and I took liberty, in a corner of my master's garden, to plant some things and imitate what I had seen in other gardens and I, by means of a relation, got from Sir Matthew Dican[?]'s garden, Richmond, some fruit of the arbutus or strawberry-tree, from which I raised as many plants as I sold to Mr. Gray and Mr. Furber for twenty-two shillings and was never so rich before, nor in my mind, since. I also raised from seed, orange trees, and had saved a few shillings with which I bought an orange-tree,

Answerd of that be the ease I shall never be out of debt please to take it simpense again laid is down. and went out to my work in the Garden as Inow heigh my hearten book I had a fiew Shillings for JA I wise to settle with Him once in y year and then gave a quincy to i work folks half of it was allowed to the book keyier I was kept to han labour and no companion to Instruct me in the art nor my Master could not his garden being crope with nothing but what may be found in the open file round London encys a fiew Cucumber Mellous & som Common and flower You JoH I' Garden in which was no plants nor flowers of any value and the gamen the most awkward and foolishly laid out of any Jever saw being about 40 Rod long and 6 wide it had 6 yew and a holly hedges paralel to each other and stricked very near it hole length of 4 Garden a Straight gawel walk and wide borden on each side ornamented with with some common peranual plants & Shouls together with 2003 rows of very bad Julaps Som common hyacens and other common bullus roots such war Jone of which a fountry Dame would scarre have allowed a place in her ganen and often the weeds knee high for my Master had but so pounds per Har ofor it land of the whole Gamen which was called a acres and my master fanen was y acres Coop'd and Cullivated as befor mentioned so that little could be lame in Juch a place I then got acquarded with several of it mos eminent Rupery men West of London Larie to Inoculate trees and was acquainted with some Shillfull Gardenen in noble or gentlemans Sarvice which goor me quate insight in wavious parts of the art of Carrening to which my Marter and all my fellow workfolks ware Strangers and I took liberty in a lovner of my marlen garden to plant some things and imitate what I had sean in other gundens and I by means of a relation got for I Matuhe Dican Garden some fruite of the arbutus or Strawbery true from which I raise as many plants as \$ 100 to M gray & Mr Juster for twenty two shillings and was never so sich before now in my mind Since I allso Rais from seed orang trees and had Laved a fiew Shilling with which I to an Orang tru

one the purchase of which left my pur all most empty by this tree I at one time I in arch Several young Looks (as I best remember y or 8) all of which took well except one which was broke by the wind alltho I had never seen one dan and no one in our garden knew how to for it but ware all most Scran gen to y name, In Joing those works of my own I was not duffered to neglett my masters bufiness nor Spend any time there when the men came to their work what Idid was at morings Evening and at meal times and this was a very happy part of my life for I was kindly &id by my moster of musters and had now a few Millings at Command about this time my Father ask I me how I went on and how my master of MM Essed me I replyed very kindly of I shall scarce ever be more hoppy in my life which answer Foare say was matter of much comfort to my Tenderly afectionals Parante among the arguaintant I had selected I must not projet one John Se Bain a French man whome I knew when he lived at Chelica y work'd in & nupery when I went to tark to but trees he went to be under gardiner at Jutney and there Introduced me to Mr Le Serth head gardener to M' Dutillo. at that time in Le Sist was reputed one of it best favoren of thon Times and Justly metrited that Paracter From those two men I had such instructions & and made so many Obeservation on the treatment and pruning of Grape vine that I supor fine have a better method of doing is than I at this time matice In this Mahner was Jemiloy of till 20 Months or 2 year of the experition of my Enlage. Then a Widdow Gentlewoman took me for her furdener on terms she made with my Master but Still I lodged at my Masters and . Went dayly there to work something less than halfa mite from my Master's house proposition my master took weekly all my Waigis and for some time grave me nothing al length my mm every week gave me adhilling and Pontinued to doe so till my time expired then Iwas hired as a yearly Sawant to the

the purchase of which left my purse almost empty. By this tree I at one time inarched several young stocks (as I best remember, seven or eight), all of which took well except one, which was broke by the wind, although I had never seen one done, and no one in our garden knew how to do it, but were almost strangers to the name. In doing these works of my own I was not suffered to neglect my master's business, nor spend any time there when the men came to their work. What I did was at mornings, evenings, and at meal-times, and this was a very happy part of my life, for I was kindly used by my master and mistress, and had now a few shillings at command. About this time my father asked me how I went on, and how my master and mistress used me. I replied, "Very kindly, and I shall scarce ever be more happy in my life," which answer I dare say was a matter of much comfort to my tenderly affectionate parents. Among the acquaintance I had selected I must not forget one John le Bain, a Frenchman, whom I knew when he lived at Chelsea and worked in the nursery where I went to learn the bud trees. He went to be undergardener at Putney, and there introduced me to Mr. le Serf, head-gardener to Mr. Dutillo. At that time Mr. Le Serf was reputed one of the best gardeners of those times and justly merited that character. From those two men I had such instructions and made so many observations on the treatment and pruning of grapevine and other trees that I suppose few have a better method of doing it than I at this time practise. In this manner was I employed till within twenty months or two years of the expiration of my bondage. Then a widow gentlewoman took me for her gardener on terms she made with my master, but still I lodged at my master's and went daily there to work, something less than half a mile from my master's house. My master took weekly all my wages and for some time gave me nothing; at length my mistress every week gave me a shilling, and continued to do so till my time expired; then I was hired as a yearly servant to the same [text continues two pages on, after inserted leaf]

[inserted leaf] I should here have inserted what was required of me, and how I proceeded in respect of my new station. Among the first works I was employed about was a large court before the house which was to be new made; it had an oval grass plat in the middle, and a gravel way round it for the coach to draw up to the door. This was far from a proper level, and not so large as to render it pleasing to the eye. This I was to make longer and wider, neither the congruent nor transverse diameter to be in the same line as before, and the level of the ground altered to make it appear better from the road; and as the whole time I had hitherto served to learn the art of gardening was employed chiefly in digging, hoeing, and driving the dung- and water- barrow, I had no opportunity to learn anything of that part called groundwork, nor had I ever seen a stake drove or a level line made, which strained my mental faculties much to find out how to do this work; none of my fellow workmen could assist me, and my master was not skilled in such matters, and I, young and bashful (about nineteen), was unwilling to show my ignorance; but being acquainted with the use of numbers and had some knowledge of the rudiments of geometry, I set out the work, measured the new oval, drove the takes for altering the level of the ground, computed the quantity of turf required to cover the oval and the angular plats of grass in the corners of the court, made the gravel-road for the coach round the oval, and completed the whole in such sort that I do not remember any person ever said it ought to have been done otherwise. After this I had all the gravel-walks in the garden to new-make and box edgings to plant of a considerable length, which, according to the fashion then in use, must be planted so straight and level that no eye could discover any defect, which I did to the satisfaction of all who saw my works I performed.

I should here have incerted what was required of me and how I proceeded in respect to my new station. Among the first works I was employed about was a large fourt before the Hounwhich was to be new made it had an ovil grass plat in the middle and a Gravel way round it for the loach to draw up to the door this was frar from a proper level and not so large as to render it pleasing to the Eye this I was to make longer and wider niether the conjugant nor trans were to thenely to be in the same line as before and the level of the ground altrie to make appear better from the road and as the whole time I had hither to saved to learn the art of gardening was employed chiefly in diging hougen and drivering the dung y water Barrow I had no opportu-- nity to lam any thing of that part calle growing work not had Sever seen a stake drove or a leavel line made which strains my mental facultyes much to find how to doc this work none of my fellow work men could afest me and my Master was not skilled in such matter and I young and bashfull (about 19) was unwilling to shew my equerance but being acquaited with the use of numbers and had som knowlage of the sudeme of Geomatry I sett out the work measured the new Oval drove the stakes for altering the Leavel of to ground computed the quantity of Turf required to cover the oval and the angular plate of fra in the Corner of the Court made the Gravel 100 for the loach round the Oval and Completed the whole in such sort that I don't remember any Gerson ever said it ought to have been don Othernig after this I had all the Gravel walks in the Garden to new make and box eggings to plant of a Considered length which according to the fathion then in wie must be planted so straight and leavel that no Eye could descover any defect which to the salesfaction of all who saw my works I performed

[continued from two pages earlier] lady (Mrs Edwards). But before I proceed in this I shall make a little digression to give some account of Samuel Smith before mentioned. He was born in the parish of Fulham, less than a mile from my master's garden, in which he was employed by my master from a boy till he went into business for himself a few years before the death of my master. He was the son of parents who were of the people called Quakers, both dead before I knew him; he was very zealous in observing the particulars that distinguish us from other people, but possessed less of the Christian spirit than people in general, for he would often rejoice in others' distresses, and deride and scoff others who advanced anything he did not believe himself. Of the latter I shall give only one instance: a fellow-workman, near double his age, once said that grapes when in blossom had a very fine smell; he derided the old man, though what he said is true and recorded in Scripture. Of the former I could recite a many, but shall content myself with one: his wife's niece had a child before marriage, which instead of trying to conceal he blurted it abroad, and when the child grew up drove her from place to place and would not let her rest anywhere; at length the child died, and he boastingly said he was the death of that child; yet this man was highly esteemed by the brotherhood, and notwithstanding he was so precise in his speech and apparel he contrived such an evasive way to pay the tithe, too odious and too tedious here to mention.

Mrs. Edwards gave me twenty pounds a year, which at that time was good wages for a gardener who had more ground to work than I had, and it was thought so by me, for my master gave his servants but seven or eight pounds a year. About the time I became Mrs. Edwards's yearly servant I got acquainted with one James Gordon, who at that time worked for Mr. Miller in the Physic Garden at Chelsea, of whom more hereafter. As I was now come to man's estate I though the Friends would take some notice of me and receive me into their meetings of discipline, but they took not the least notice

Jame Lady (mor Edwards) But before I proceed in this shall make a little Degrapion to Got Jome account of Samuell Smith before Mentiones He was born in the Tamish of Jullham lef than o mile from my Masters garden in which he was employ by my Master from a boy till he went in to bufiness for him Jelf a feen years before the scath of my marter: he was the Son of Parents who wan of the people Call Quakers book dead before I knew him he was very Zealous in obseawing the particular that Sittenguish It from other people but poperd less of the Christian speritalscoped in General for he would district hijorce in other distriper and coice and scoff other who advante any thing he did not believe him self of the latter I shall give only one instance a fellow workman near double his rige mee said that Grapes when in blossom had a very time Smell he denyed it an a very rud manner and doof and revised the old man the what he inch is true and recorded in Serepture of 4 former Icould recite a many but shall content my self with one he wifes herice had a Cheld before Harriage which insted of trying to Conceal he blusted it a boad and when the Child grue up Drove her from place to place and would not lether rest any where at length the Child died and he boostingly Said he was the death of that Cheld yet this Man was highly esteemed by the Grotheshood and notwithstanding he was so prisin in his Speech and aparil he controld Juck an Evan way to pay the Tyeth to Boious and to tedious here MM Lowards gave me 20 pounds to Mention. a year which at that time tous good waiges for a Gardener who had more ground to work than shad and it was thought so by me for my Master Gave his Sawants but yor & pound a year; about the time Heranne MM Dwardis grany Jawant I got acquies with one James gordon who at that time worked lor Mr Miller in g Thysick Garden at Chelsea of whome more herafter. at I was now come to Many calabe I thought the French would take some Notice

of me and receive me into their Medings of Desaplin but they took not the least notice of me nor byany means whatever gave the good the least hint that I might attend such Meetings which disregard raise in viry mind many senous thoughts and as I now lived in the limits of the Lavoy Monthly meeting I thought if I was a Member of the Jociety is must be that Meeting the there was at that time some Members of said Meeting who knew me from my birth but none of them informed me that I might attend those Meetings nor oid Ily away other means know it but thought all meetings of Disaplen was conduct-Tid not think me Worthy to make one of that number the latter of which thay after wards Dex -monstrates by not giveing an answer and take -ing no notice of som queres I sent in writing to them Now to return to James Gordon he was a Man about my own dige very loter houst and Kligions had som knowlage of if latten tonge and and some Shill in Gometry and algebra by his advik I Bot Wards intro-- Duction to & Mathematicks and Cy his aprilance acquire some knowlage in Gometry and Ulgibra for we met often to compier our works y to dely each other Het allo Miller Gan enen Techonary Jugory Optiches Tisa-- quelen Experimental Hulosophy and several books of land Inverying then suration and Geometry Jakso bot a Theodelet and and Labource have to fett my sellflor Survaying Land and meaner artificers work applying closly to the Study of those arts and Going then a Gancaer the long evenings in the Winter much faccan my Studies and in this way did I employ near the whole of my leasure hours during my Sawitue to mr Toward Sallso read with allention Gregorys Opticks & made for my self a Uncroscope and several Tellescoper but vie not neglect to improve my knowlage in the art of Gardenens That at that time two first fousens was fardener to & Last of Thomand wenter there two Hinnen as offens as Scould saws their methods and received Instructions in what ever I asked respectemenent Gancien on y West Sie of London y husery men

of me, nor by any means whatever gave the least hint that I might attend such meetings, which disregard raised in my mind many serious thoughts, and as I now lived in the limits of the Savoy Monthly Meeting.

I thought if I was a member of the Society it must be that meeting, though there was at that time some members of said meeting who knew me from my birth, but none of them informed me that I might attend those meetings; nor did I by any other means know it, but thought all meetings of discipline were conducted and executed by a chose few, or else that they did not think me worthy to make one of that number, the latter of which they afterwards demonstrated by not giving an answer and taking no notice of some queries I sent in writing to them. Now to return to James Gordon: he was a man about my own age, very sober, honest, and religious; had some knowledge of the Latin tongue and some skill in geometry and algebra. By his advice I bought Ward's Introduction to the Mathematics, and by his assistance acquired some knowledge in geometry and algebra, for we met often to compare our works and to help each other. I bought also Miller's Gardeners' Dictionary, Gregory's Optics, Desaguilier's Experimental Philosophy, and several books of land-surveying, mensuration, and geometry; I also bought a theodolite, and laboured hard to fit myself for surveying land and measuring artificer's work, applying closely to the study of those arts, and being then a gardener, the long evenings in the winter much favoured my studies, and in this way did I employ near the whole of my leisure hours during my servitude to Mrs. Edwards. I also read with attention Gregory's Optics, and made for myself a microscope and several telescopes, but did not neglect to improve my knowledge in the art of gardening. I had at that time two first-cousins: one was gardener to the Duke of Chandos, the other was gardener to the Earl of Thomand. I visited those two kinsmen as often as I could, saw their methods, and received instructions in whatever I asked respecting the art of a gardener. I also was known to many eminent gardeners on the west side of London, and nurserymen,

and in this manner did spend my leisure time by visiting most gardens that were curious within a day's walk, and not often missed attending the morning meeting in or near the City in the afternoon because some of my schoolfellows and playfellows were settled there. In this manner did I proceed during the whole time I lived with Mrs. Edwards, but her garden being small, and not such things required of me as I observed in other gardens, I began to wish for a place that might give larger scope to the exercising of my talents in the art of gardening. I then gave my mistress warning, and was not long out of place before I was recommended by my worthy Friend Peter Collison to be gardener to Thomas Revel, Esq., who had just then purchased a fine seat at Fetcham, in Surrey, late Sir Arthur More's, which had been unoccupied above seven years, gone much to ruin, and the garden overgrown with weeds, &c. To this place I went in March, 1736, in which place I stayed one whole year; but my master went that summer to the German Spas, which was much to my disadvantage, for he gave too much heed to the false and flattering tales of an old woman he hired as his housekeeper for that house. She used perpetually to send him letters of the most trifling occurrences, many of which were stuffed with complaints of the tradesmen, some true and some false, and did the same by most or all of the servants; and I have reason to think she was a principal cause of my discharge from that service. Had my master been more frequently there to observe my conduct and to see how worthless a person she was, it is probable I might have stayed with him to the time of his death; but it was her interest to put out all the candles she feared would shine brighter than her own, and, indeed, she was very unfit to superintend the affairs of a family. Often when our master was not there she would sit up after the other servants were gone to rest and get so drunk as scarce able to go up to bed, which was on the top of the house, lift the warming-pan with fire in it from step to step, and drag it along the floor through a long passage at the top of the house. She worked out some of the servants, and was very near driving out the butler, a faithful and good servant of many years' standing, but at length received the just reward of her doings, was discharged in displeasure, and, I believe, died in

and in this manner ded storand my leasure time by vesiting most gament that wan currous within a Dus walk and not often mifee attending the Morning meeting at & Javoy and figurally went to some meeting in or near the City in the after noon because some of my that fellows and play follows ware settled there. In this manner did I maced during the whole time I Lived with mi" Towards but her Gaisen being Small and not such things regimed of me des I observed in other factors I began to wish for a place that might give larger scope to the Exercising my tallants in is art of Gardening I then gave my mit warning and was not long out of place befor I was recommend by my Worther Freind Deter Collisen to be gamener to Themas Heret Isg' who had Just then purchase a fine scale at Tethan in Jumy late Is auther Mores which had been un Occupied above Seven years gon much to min and the Garden over grown with with weeds se to this place I went in March 1736 in which place I stayed one whole spar but my my master went that dummer to if Garman Span which was much to my desarvantage for he gave too much heed to i falls and flattering tales of an Old woman he hered as his hous-herper for that House wid perpetually send him letters of the trifling excurances many of which ware stuff with complain of the Frades -men sum true and some fulse and did the some - by most or all of the Savants especially the most desaving and that reason to thenk the that a minerial cause of my discharge from that Sawice had very master bun more frequently there to observed my conduct and to Les how Worthless a Person the was it is probabet I might have staid with to the time of his Death but it was her to put out all the landles she frase would shine brighter than her own and indeed she was very unfit to Superintens the affairs of a tramilly often when our Master was not then she would sit up after the other Sawants were gon to rest and git so drunk as Jeans able to goe up to be which was on the top of the House lift the warming pan with fier in it from Sup to Sup and cray it along the floor third a long parag as y lop of if House The worked out some of the darvante and was very near envering out the Butter a faithfull and good Sowant of many Hear Seanting but at length necived the Inst reward of her dings was descharged in displeasure and Abeleve Died en

In a Familh Work house. During my risdones in this part of Juing I became acquaented with soveral Freside mesoner of Borben Monthly meeting which all to notice of me and my trocker who then lived at Dorken and hay treated us more respectfully thand did theor of the Jany meeting who little regarded nather I had long Arquented that meeting and ought to have been rumbered as member among them many years be for I went into Juny among those war a young Noman whose Comby Form Vamuable Countinance engaiged my attention the Ithen ben incline to enter the marie state Should have address o her on that Frint but not long after Harns there was & young man in the Town likely to obtain her and at that time I had not exesolved to change my Condition I continued in the Lawice and could & have given satisfaction to my master of would have afforded me as much Hearun as any one year in my have life and this I presume Ishould have don had my Master been constantly-- ly at that place From hence with regret I returned to Thelsea my Mn But who wastthen a Nidow gave me room in her House I'A I came every Saterday to his Housto dine there my III' had if land of his gamen on the Jame termer as my Master Burr had in his time Iwas then seen by Ir Hans Stoone he enquired and found I was out of all employment and informe me he was about buying Beaufort how and said he should then have employed for me I waited about & Months he Bught of house and put me there to take care of it. This House was mear 200 feet in front the Main hour exclusif & Kitching Bake house & abundance of other large Ofices togather with Coach hour and Itables ye aciquate to so noble and antient a Sallace which had been near if not More than 20 years in Chancery uninhabited all that time y therefore must in a very number Condition he furnishe the Broke Higra with a table Hooly Candistich allo a Bed Crides Inhich I had very lette and sent me (only) into this old and Desolute place to Live y Long inlone in such a hightfull place surounces with high Frees and overgrown with man y thorns and with high I sich walls where had I been ever so much distress and talls aloud no Chance of being heard for & house was. Situate about half way between the Thomas & of Kings Road about Rod from each place nearer than which no one could lawfully come when the gates ware that

a parish workhouse. During my residence in this part of Surrey, I became acquainted with several Friends, members of Dorking Monthly Meeting, who all took notice of me and my brother, who then lived in Dorking, and they treated us more respectfully than did those of the Savoy Meeting, who little regarded me, although I had long frequented that meeting, and ought to have been numbered as member among them, many years before I went into Surrey. Among those was a young woman, whose comely person and amiable countenance engaged my attention; had I then been inclined to enter the married state should have addressed her on that point, but not long after I learned there was a young man in the town likely to obtain her, and at that time I had not resolved to change my condition. I continued in this service one year, and could I have given satisfaction to my master it would have afforded me as much pleasure as any one year in my whole life, and this I presume I should have done had my master been constantly at that place. From hence with regret I returned to Chelsea, my Mrs. Burr, who was then a widow, gave me room in her house. Sir Hans Sloane came every Saturday to his house to dine there. \* My mistress had the care of his garden on the same terms as my Master Burr had in his time. I was then seen by Sir Hans Sloane; he enquired and found I was out of all employment, and informed me he was about buying Beaufort House and said he should then have employment for me. I waited about two months. He bought the house and put me there to take care of it. This house was near 200 feet in front, the main house exclusive; the kitchen, bakehouse, and abundance of other large offices, together with coach-house and stables, &c., adequate to so noble and ancient a palace, which had been near if not more than twenty years in Chancery, uninhabited all that time, and therefore must be in a very ruinous condition. He furnished me, like the Prophet Elijah, with a table, stool, and candlestick, also a bed; besides which I had very little, and sent me (only) into this old and desolate place to live and lodge alone in such a frightful place, surrounded with high trees and overgrown with briars and thorns, and high brick walls, where had I been ever so much distressed and called aloud no chance of being heard, for the house was situated about half way between the Thames and the King's Road, about [blank] rod from each place, nearer than which no one could lawfully come when the gates were shut.

Besides this it was pretty currently reported that a murder had been committed in the Duke of Beaufort's time, many years before Sir Hans Sloane possessed the premises, and that the ghost of the murdered man haunted the house, the truth of which I cannot avow, but the bones of a man or woman was found in the premises by some labouring men employed by Sir Hans Sloane to dig gravel for the highways. This was my situation at entering into Sir Hans Sloane's service, which proved the most disagreeable and noways profitable nor elegant employment, although my master was the philosopher's king, for he was at that time President of the Royal Society, and I think also of the College of Physicians; but if I have any judgment in mankind, I think I have been acquainted with many men superior to him both in natural talents and acquired accomplishments. He was, however, easy of access, very affable, and free in conversing with all who had any concerns with him, and a good master to his servants, for they lived many years with him; he was also a very good landlord, and never that I know or heard of did but one harsh thing by any of his tenants, which was effected by the instigation of his steward, who, as was supposed, received a bribe from the new tenant to dispossess the old one, who, though he was in arears to his landlord, Sir Hans Sloane, yet bore the character of a very honest and diligent man, and he told me himself, with tears in his eyes, he never spent ten pounds wastefully in all his life, and that he could not be a better husband in his farm was he to live his time over again. Now to resume my account of what relates to myself: the first thing required of me by Sir Hans Sloane was to draw a plan of the whole estate, late the Duke of Beaufort's, at Chelsea, which he purchased in the Court of Chancery, which I did, apparently to his satisfaction. Before I proceed farther, shall give some account of the great change in the manner of my living. I had always been used to feed at other folk's tables in company with sometimes six or seven and sometimes ten, twelve, or fourteen other persons, and to lodge in a house with many fellow-servants; and so little was I acquainted with providing for myself, that I bought two

Besides this is was pretty currently reported that a Murder had been committed in the Duke of Beaufort time many years before I'H I popered the Primices and that if Chost of the Murdred man haunted the house the truith of which I cannot avon but the bones of a Man or Noman found in the Frinces by some Labouring men employed by Jo HI to dige Gravel for the High ways. This was my Situation of Entiring into It Hans Hoaner Sarviel which proved the most disagrable and noways profitable nor Elegans employment alltho was the Thylorophien King for he was at that Time Insidant of the Royal Society & I think allso of y tollage of Thylians but if I have any Judgment in markend I think I hav bean acquinted with many Men Superior to him both in natural Tallants and acquired accomptishments He was however casey of acres very afible and free in convening with all who has any concerns with him and a good Measter to his Sarvants for they lived many year with him he was allso avery Good Land-love and never that I know or heard of Ted but one harch thing by any of his Tenanti which was effected by the instigation of his Steward who as was supposed received at thibe from the new tenant to disposes the old one who the he was in arrear to his Landlord JaHI get bore the Character of a very honest y diligent Man and he told me him! delf with tears in his eyes he never spent tun pounds wartfully in all his lefe and that he could notbe a better husband in his Farm; Was he to leve his time over again. How to resume my aced of what relates to my self: The first thing required of me by JoH I was to draw a plan of the whole estate late the Duke of Beaufort at Chelsea which he Jurchesed in the lourd of Chancery which I did apparently to her Satisfaction befor I proceed farther shall give some act of greate chang in the maner of my living I had always been wir to feed at other folks Tables in Company with some times 6 org and some times tenn or or 14 other persons and to Lody in a house with many fellow Sawants and so little was I acquainted with providing for my self that I Bought

1100 pounds of Beef stakes and sent them to a publi House to be drep for my own dinner which was orping ingly for but when I came to table behold then was two places with a knife and fork to each this soon convened me that hay the quantity or left would be sufficient which for sometime I practise but it was so different from the manner in which Just to live that soon weary of that mood of providing for my Jelf and loochs shops we had non this way getting my Diner Julycetes me to many incovenings we staying while it was onfor downling strong been set my meals portich I was not wis to and some times more than Iwanted and lop oftime from my bufines I therefor got a tin kittle and when I could, boyle a bits of mullon beacon ye or sent a trapto of Oven y usd to take in a pinn of Small beer their I live for some time making my own bed of defring my on victuals this maner of living was not plesant to me but it was the but I could not for going to & Beer hous was danginus of drawing into an ill habit as I could not capiet them to Broy a deale for one pint of beer and I found two was some times to much and some temes befor I had for a third I had all a very good aunt a poor Woman in Lond who this to come every week to set the plates Deshis se to Bright this very kind and affectionate aunt I am indebted for many favor and acts of kindness som of which I was refused by those who ware much better able to doe it than The was. It may be here ask'd why I did not board at some housekeeper table but if I had don so I should have lettle of my wages for other uses for my pay was small and I had little to seaped from my Farents or any body elee was in hope of saveing something to put me in some way to leve the the house in which was mon fitt for the harbour of Owls and Batts or the Habi-- tation of an Harmett than for a man in the full vigor Houth in forlow place I Lodged many nonths and had the care of Gravill pitts to pay the men and keep an accomptof the Gravel Delivered out the Men wan payed every week one Shelling per Day for their Substitute and as they could not be paid the remains of their Due till the Grewel was Brown off it required some care and I kill to keep a Regular account to whom it was Jole and also from what Stock

pounds of beef-steak and sent them to a public-house to be dressed for my own dinner, which was accordingly done; but when I came to table, behold there were two plates, with a knife and fork to each. This soon convinced me that half the quantity or less would be sufficient, which for some time I practised, but it was so different from the manner in which I used to live, was soon weary of that mode of providing for myself, and cook shops we had none. This way of getting my dinner subjected me to many inconveniences, viz. staying while it was dressed; drinking strong beer at my meals, which I was not used to, and sometimes more than I wanted; and loss of time from my business. I therefore got a tin kettle, and when I could boil a bit of mutton, bacon, &c., or send a scrap to the oven, and used to take in a pint of small beer; thus I lived for some time, making my own bed and dressing my own victuals. This manner of living was not pleasant to me, but it was the best I could do, for going to the beer-house was dangerous of drawing into an ill habit, as I could not expect them to broil a steak for one pint of beer, and I found two was sometimes too much, and sometimes before I had drunk up the second pint, in comes somebody who urged for a third. I had also a very good aunt, a poor woman in London, who used to come every week to set the plates, dishes &c., to rights; to this very kind and affectionate aunt I am indebted for many favours and acts of kindness, some of which I was refused by those who were much better able to do it than she was. It may be here asked why I did not board at some housekeeper's table, but if I had done so I should have little of my wages for other uses, for my pay was small and I had little to expect from my parents or anybody else, was in hopes of saving something to put me in some way to live, and the house in which I lived was more fit for the harbour of owls and bats, or the habitation of a hermit, than for a man in the full vigour of youth. In this forlorn place I lodged many months, and had the care of gravel-pits, to pay the men, and keep an account of the gravel delivered out. The men were paid every week one shilling per day for their subsistence, and as they could not be paid the remains of their due till the gravel was drawn off, it required some care and skill to keep a regular account to whom it was sold, and also from what stock

it was drawn off as they worked in Company and were paid a certain price per load and to keep this account clear and just with respect to my master, the labourers, and customer who had the ballast, required no small care and circumspection. There was also some part of Beaufort Garden occupied by a gardener at the time when my master purchased the Duke's house that soon came into his hands; this I was ordered to plant and cultivate, which I did to the best advantage I could, and every day took account of every halfpennyworth of spinach, lettuce, and cabbage, &c., for I sold the produce of garden by retail to the neighbours, and every week brought the money received to his account. As the days shortened it was sometimes dark before I retired to my lonely repose, and the neighbours would at times say, "Are you not afraid of the ghost?" I replied, "No;" but I was twice a little surprised in the night: once by a noise over my head when I was broad awake, which I feared was thieves stealing lead, for there was a great deal on the top of the house. As I had no one to speak to, I could consult none but my own mind; sometimes I thought of going out by the most private way and raise the neighbours; it being the dead of the night, I was doubtful if I should get any assistance. Then I thought of going to the College for some of the pensioners; but being doubtful if I could get out unperceived by them, and if I did not my life might be in danger, at length concluded to lay me down again to sleep, and if I found it so in the morning would go to my master in London, tell him what had happened, and request a stronger guard. In the morning I got up, went all over the top of the house, and as I thought into every room, but could not find the cause of the noise I was sure I heard. A few days after I walked over most part of the house to show it to some strangers, and in the room just over my head I discovered some large pieces of the ceiling had fallen on the floor, which made the noise I heard. Another time I was much surprised (but this was a dream): a young woman stood in the middle of the room, which was very large, clothed elegantly all in white and very comely to behold, and as I sat up in my bed (or thought so) I was much astonished how she came there, being sure I made all the doors fast before I went to rest. Reasoning much with myself, at length I became

Stock it was France off on they worked in Company and warepaid a certain price per load and to heps this accompt clear and Just with respect to my Master the Saboures and Customer who had the Ballast required no Imale car & linearfrection there so as also some post of Beaufort Garven Occuped by a gardener at the heck the time when my Matter purches the Juke House that soon came into his hands this I was overe to plant and Culdivate which I did to the best acvantage Icouls and every day took account of every halfpeny works of Spinack lettace & labbage ye for Fold the provins of Garden by retail to the neighbour and every week trois the Money occured to his accompt as the says Short--ned it was some times darke before I retend to my Loanly repose and the Nighbour would at times say are you not afraid of the Chost I ryslyed no but I was twee a little surprised in the night once by a nois over my head when when I was broad a wake which I fraid was theever stealing lead for there was a quate deal on the top of the House as I had no one to spake I could consult non but my own mind tome times I chought of going out by the most provale way and rues the Riighbours it being the dead of the night I was couldfull if I should get any affictance then I thought of going to the Collage for some of it Gencemen but being doubtfull if I could git out renperceeved by them and if I did not my life might be in danger at length Concluded to lay me down a gain to Heeps and if I found it so in the Morning would got to my Master in London tell him what had happened and requist a Stronger quard. In ymorns I got up went all over the top of if House and as I chought into every room but could not find the lause of the nois I was san I heard; a few days after I walked over most part of the House to shew is to some Stranger and in the room just over my head I descoved some large present of the (eeling had fall on the floor which made the Nois I tuan: An other time I was much Supris 1 but this was a Dram a young woman stood in the mide of the room which was very large Cloather elegantly all in white and very comey to behole and as I sat up in my bid (orthought so) I was much astonished how she came there being sure I make all the o con fast before I went to get reasoning much with my self at length I became

parfeetly a weake and fee the room was all dark My Moster ash a me what was best to one with this House I replyed board up the windows mens the bokerp out. to the out & wether and prevent its growing won he then Constitue one me Sang son who was Jurvayor at the Bank of Inglane as to y lord of ry airs who said is would cost fine hunsred poune my nevere was only to to prevent it growing were that he might ale see what might offer; about this time one At Small propose take -Struke there was an Old tree hower out the wind has Clowen down lay on the part & Small has treatury for my master Orone me to remove it to the part he had not taken which I did and this broke the borgan for my Small would not then look at it Some gentle men then looked at it with intent to build a large Still hour and the folks who afterwards built Kandigh viewed it for a place of publick resert but none of there came It any thing some Other made presents of define here's but none took till M' Samson who knew olghes well that that the receiving of Money was to So It I pleasing than parting with it permaided him to sell the Houseand all appetainance at it Stood to be pulled down by the purchaser and all the Materiali carried of the Spott this I concer he Fit in favour of two of his accquaintant the one a Master Brick-layer the other a Master Corpenter for this mason is may be presumed he made so high a price for repain which was only temporary but he know too to gain his point he therefore proposed to Soff I to Sell it I don't well remember whether for one or two thousand pounds and Recomended the two men before Mentioned as proper person to prorchace it a bargaen was soon Seruck. But it is now time to say how Iwas employed he offered to make me his Gardener at hor his house at theesea which as it had ben done by a yearly Contract many years by my Master Burr and was then in the hands of hardly honest the he proposed is and very Ungrat Pull therefore I would not engarg in it and have some grounds to think if had offered marriag to ing Master Widow she would have accepted it to which I

perfectly awake, and lo the room was all dark. My master asked me what was best to do with this house. I replied, "Board up the windows, mend the sills to keep out the weather, and prevent it growing worse." He then consulted one Mr. Sampson, who was surveyor at the Bank of England, as to the cost of repairs, who said it would cost five hundred pounds; my advice was only to prevent it growing worse that he might wait to see what might offer. About this time one Dr. Small proposed taking a good part of the garden, and they thought a bargain was struck. There was an old tree hewed out, the wind had blown down, lay on the part Dr. Small was treating for; my master ordered me to remove it to the part he had not taken, which I did, and this broke the bargain, for Dr. Small would not then look at it. Some gentlemen then looked at it, with intent to build a large still-house, and the folks who afterwards built Ranelagh viewed it for a place of public resort, but none of those came to anything. Some others made proposals of a different kind, but none took till Mr. Sampson, who knew right well that the receiving of money was to Sir Hans Sloane more pleasing than parting with it, persuaded him to sell the house and all appurtenances as it stood, to be pulled down by the purchaser, and all the materials carried off the spot. This I conceive he did in favour of two of his acquaintances, the one a master bricklayer, the other a master carpenter. For this reason, it may be presumed he made so high a price for repairs, which was only temporary, but he knew how to gain his point. He therefore proposed to Sir Hans Sloane to sell it, I do not well remember whether for one or two thousand pounds, and recommended the two men before mentioned as proper persons to purchase it; a bargain was soon struck. But it is now time to say how I was employed; he offered to make me his gardener at his house at Chelsea, which, as it had been done by a yearly contact many years by my master Burr, and was then in the hands of his widow, my former mistress, I thought it would be hardly honest, though he proposed it, and very ungrateful, therefore I would not engage in it, and I have some grounds to think if I had offered marriage to my master's widow she would have accepted it, to which I

had no dislike but the difference of age, an objection many would have dispensed with who coveted wealth, for by this means I might have acquired the greatest part of what my master possessed, she having few relations. But now to return. As I did not accept the offer of being his gardener, I was employed in directing others to cut up the briars and thorns, &c., that had overgrown Beaufort Garden, directing and keeping account of his gravel diggers and cultivating some parts of Beaufort Garden, sometimes to call on the tenants who were in arrears of rent, and sometimes to the tradesmen with messages about repairs, &c., for he had a good estate at Chelsea. As I have said before, a bargain was struck between him and one of the two men before mentioned—viz., the carpenter—but I believe they were both concerned in it. He was allowed two years to clear it off, the money to be paid at stated times by four equal payments—the first payment before he meddled with it, which was done; but before the second payment became due he retired within the verge of the Court and sent to his creditors in order to compound with them. When my master had sold the whole of the house and offices, my lodging was moved to an empty house just close to the street by the waterside, in which a gardener lived. At the time Sir Hans Sloane purchased the premises this was a far more agreeable residence than the great house before described, and was near the grand entrance to the mansion; this was a narrow gate between large brick piers, as was the usual mode in the days when that house was built. This was the way the materials of what had composed the house were carried off when sold. A great deal of iron, lead, and marble was sold by Mr. Taylor, the man who purchased them before he fled to the covert of royalty. As soon as my master knew he had taken shelter there, he ordered me to lock the gates and not suffer materials of any kind to be carried off. This I refused to do, thinking he could not legally do it, as the time of making the second payment was not yet come; he then gave me his order in writing and a promise to indemnify me for so doing.

many went have dispende with who court weatherfor for by this means I might have acquired the greatest part of what my Mafter Popie the haveing fien he lations but none to return as I did not accept the effer of being his Gardener Twas employed in directing other to cut up the brian & thomas &c that had now grown Beaufoil Garden directing and keeping accompt of his Gravell Degen and cultipotating some parts of Beaufort farden some time to dall on the Fenome who were in areas of rent and some times to the Tradesmen with nufrager about regions ve for he had a good estate of Chelsea: as I have said before a Bargan was Struke between him and one of the Two Men before mentioned via the largenter but I believe they war both concerned in the was allowed two years be Clear it off; the Money to be paydal Stated times by four equal payments the first payment before he medled with it which was done but before the Second payment breame due he to his Crediton in order to Compound with them. when my Mader had sold the whole of the hour and offices they Loding was moved to an emply house Just close to i Served by the watersed in which a Gardiener lived at & time I'A I purchased the premies this was a far more agreeable vindence than the greate hour be for Deverto and was near the Grand enterance to the Mantion this was a harrow gate between Large Brick peers as was the usual thous in the days when that House was built this was the way the Material of that had compost the hour ware carried Of when sold a greate deal of Son led and marble was sold by In Taylor the mon who purchase them before he flee to if Covert of Regatty: as soon as my master kness he had take - en Shiller there he orded me to lock if fates and not Suffer Materials of any hind to be caused of this I grinised to doe thinking he could not Legaly doe it as as the time of making the second payment was not not come he than gave me his order in writing then

I then secure and saile up the front Gate and lock or other wire secure all doors and avenues to prevent their Carrying of Lead hon or any ching ells for the chay has ton the Hour to preces pulled the from barn out of your and and y Greater part of y Lead from the logs of y Hour Hole & Camer off a greate book and so wounded and Cryptes the house that it appears more hideous than befor and would now be market to allewist to repair to stell there was abundance lead y hon Stored up in a living room which thay had collected togather hand no small quutity full remaining were it was originally pood nery soon after I had Maild up the greate Gale thay came with a cast and by Victorie broke open the gate loaded the last with wat they liked and drove a way they ware to many I could not resist them but while thay were gon caure a deep detch to be ong in the gute way to prevent any carle profiting that way and by every means in my prover ensecones to hinder their taking anything of from & ground this gaird such Makes and hatred in IMI Tayles and his folks that I thought my left in some conger however Tois the best in my power for my Maten Intrest my life at this time was forenough from hapyness being continually husuled by day and in much has of being abused or bellroyed by night in master was Oblige to consult if Langen how to deal with m' Tagler and at length got her of him and the Hous in chimutelated condition one iner came into his hands and for some time nothing was done about it at lengthe he resolved to proceed in pulling it down and Supore of the materits by retail this he proposed to me to oce for him which I decline till thriged is so far that I mus doc it or leave his Sanice Invain de Intend I was a Gardener and as such it was not likely I should have Sufferent Shell in such matter to be fet for so greate an Underlaking for themis mon dange in pulling down than in Building so large a Terreture but he still incerted on my doperform that work a largenter & gor to Labour-ing men I must here Observe that what thay

I then secured and nailed up the front gate, and locked or otherwise secured all doors and avenues to prevent their carrying off lead, iron, or anything else, for, though they had torn the house to pieces, pulled the iron bars out of the windows and the greater part of the lead from the top of the house, sold and carried off a great deal, and so wounded and crippled the house that it appeared more hideous than before and would now be madness to attempt to repair it, still there was abundance of lead and iron stored up in a strong room, which they had collected together, and no small quantity still remaining where it was originally fixed.

Very soon after I had nailed up the great gate they came with a cart and by violence broke open the gate, loaded the cart with that they liked, and drive away. They were so many I could not resist them, but, while they were gone, caused a deep ditch to be dug in the gate-way to prevent any carts passing that way, and by every means in my power endeavoured to hinder their taking anything from the ground. This raised such malice and hatred in Mr. Taylor and his folks that I thought my life in some danger; however, I did the best in my power for my master's interest. My life at this time was far enough from happiness, being continually insulted by day and in much fear of being abused or destroyed by night. My master was obliged to consult the lawyers how to deal with Mr. Taylor, and at length got rid of him, and the house, in its mutilated condition, once more came into his hands, and for some time nothing was done about it. At length he resolved to proceed in pulling it down and dispose of the materials by retail. This he proposed to me to do for him, which I declined till he urged it so far that I must do it or leave his service. In vain did I plead I was a gardener, and as such it was not likely I should have sufficient skill in such matters to be fit for so great an undertaking, for there is more danger in pulling down than in building so large a structure; but he still insisted on my doing it, to which at last I complied, and took to perform that work a carpenter and nine or ten labouring men. I must here observe that what they

had taken down and not carried off was left in the most confusing manner. My first business was to sort and place those things in better order, which I did, and then proceeded, with much caution and circumspection, on this hazardous business, for there were many oak girders of about twenty inches square in the garret floor, about thirty feet long, and many stacks of chimneys of large size and great height, very thick brick walls, and wide piers between window and window. This business was doing in the year 1739-40, and carried on with good success. No accidents happened worth notice except one, and then no bones broke—only hurt two or three men so as to keep them two or three days each from their work. This was owing to my trusting to the carpenter's judgment in preference to my own, for he shored up a floor so slightly that it fell, with most of the men on it, to the next floor, which, I suppose, was about fourteen feet. After this, when anything dangerous was to be done, I would not trust him wholly, but examined everything myself, and safely got the whole structure to the ground—I mean the dwelling-house. When we had nearly got the house down I asked my master how it was to be disposed of. He said, "You must." I answered I knew nothing of the value of such things and was, therefore, unfit for the business. He replied, "Mr. Sampson shall instruct you." Sir Hans Sloane then bid him give me in writing such directions as should enable me to sell the old materials, which he did on one side a quarter-of-a-sheet of paper—Oak at 1s. per foot, fir at 6d. per foot—and what he said as to the many other things was as incomplete and wrong as this. And at that time new oak and new fir might be bought for the same price in the timber-yards in London, and my master owned he sold oak off from his own estate at the same price and yet insisted I should sell it according to the value Mr. Sampson had set to it, full of nails, mortice-holes, and perishing with age as it was; indeed, little else could be expected from him, for my engaging to pull down the house much disconcerted their designs and raised their malice against me, and on this account he who had Sir Hans Sloane's ear at pleasure, and knew how to bias him, failed not to give such advice as he knew would render my service

most confuced manner my first business warte sort of place they things in better order which Soid and then proceeded with nuch caution and Cercanspector On this Hacious buines for there ware many cake Gerdon of about twenty inches squan in the Carrel Hour about so feet long and many Hacks of Chimney of large Sice and greate high very thick with walls and nide Deen between Window and Window this burnes was docume in the Than 1739 40 and carries on with good Jurief no accusions happend worth notice carept one and then no bone broke only hart two orthree men so as to keep them 2 or 3 Days each from their work this was every to my trusting to it laspenters Judement in preferance timy own for he Shoan up a floor to shightly that it fill with most of the min on it thethe to it heet floor which and suppose was about fourteen feet after this when anything dannerous was to be den I would not trust to him wholy but examine every thing my self and safely got the whole Souther to M ground I mean the Intelling house when we had nearly got y house down Jack'd my Waster how it was to be disposed of he said you must Janswerd I knew nothing of the Value of such things and was therefore unfits for the Bufines he replyed IN Sampson Shall instruct you In HI I than Gid him give me in writing such directions as should enable mete dell the Old Materials which he did on one side a quad of a Sheet of paper Oake at apport Leter fire at 6 p foot and what he said as to by many other things was as uncomplete and rong as this and at that time new Cake y new five might be bought for it same pact in the timber Hardien London and my Moster owned he sold cake of from his own estate at the Sand price and yet incested I should Sell it according to the Vallue Mr Sampson had Set to it full of Mails mortice holes and perrishing with age indeed little ells could be capacited from him for my engaiging to pull down the House much disconcosted their dengus and raise their Maller agains me and on this ace! He who has AHS care at pleasure and knew and knew how to biase bem faile not to give such advise as he knew would render my Jasvis

mean Fromblesom y unproferble for he often com - treved some means to make me uneasey and the Institute tions he gave me no ways asignate mor was it I'm for no man would give for old timber for months. one honored year in the full of Mails of Montece hote as greate a price of for new and all he informs about the timber was the price of a Sollie foot al more clean Touble any man control sell it for and in the manner Did his walter every thing the and Just willing to hope it would fetch in a larger Jum by being sole at so high a rate and fain would persward him Self it would because M' Sanyston Sur - vayor to if Bank of Ingland for some bulding then or latty don told him to. Before Jengaige to pull down the House I solundy protested to JAS that Iwould not be con-- como with it if HU Sampron has any thing to doe with fand the fin time I could spake to was in Beaufort Garden for frest ( rot him there in his Charriet contrary to my decla - ration when Honcented to Undertake so Hapleweeing bufnet and there in the presence of my Master rebukes him for leading my Master into an error by which the sale of his good would be frusteraled I'AS was selent but the just time he came then said to me in displanur for I was sory to har you talk so to In' Sampion I replyed Juded Selenk the same now of HI Sampson as Fordthen and much wonder you should bring him her after I had to positively said de would not underlake it of trad any thing to doc with it my master Encuted I should oferet at that price I replyed then it well never be sole however I then to Calculates a Table to Shew me the value of any Sanding of Tember at many deferent values of the foot Solid To as nagely to fix a price on value on any piece of of Tember be the and Scantling what ever it might and could reacily measure any warned and cuity the value of any quantity of Wansect, Door Shuller or flat paveng stone but it should have ben said byon that Infused to enter on this Bujenep wellent he letter of atturney which he unwilling Granted me And now my has and hand war full charges with Current having the can of Frying Grave and kining accomplete not as before Mentioned some of it putte a mele belance from others measuring and belivering out the Materials Solo Culewatering Beaufort gamen

mean, troublesome, and unprofitable, for he often contrived some means to make me uneasy, and the instructions he gave me no ways adequate. Nor was it just; for no man would give for old timber, far more than one hundred years in use, full of nails and mortice-holes, as great a price as for new: and all he informed about the timber was the price of a solid foot at more than double any man could sell it for. And in like manner did he over-value almost everything else, and Sir Hans Sloane willing to hope it would fetch in a large sum by being sold at so high a rate and fain would persuade himself it would because Mr. Sampson, Surveyor to the Bank of England (for some building then or lately done) told him so. Before I engaged to pull down the house, I solemnly protested to Sir Hans Sloane that I would not be concerned with it if Mr. Sampson had anything to do with it, and the first time I could speak to him there in his chariot contrary to my declaration when I consented to undertake so unpleasing a business, and there, in the presence of my master, rebuked him for leading my master into an error by which the sale of his goods would be frustrated. Sir Hans Sloane was silent, but the next time he came there said to me in displeasure, "Edmund, I was sorry to hear you talk so to Mr. Sampson." I replied, "Indeed I think the same now of Mr. Sampson as I did then, and much wonder you should bring him here after I had so positively said I would not undertake it if he had anything to do with it." My master insisted I should offer it at that price. I replied, "Then it will never be sold." However, I then calculated a table to show me the values of any scantling of timber at many different values of the foot solid, so as readily to fix a price or value on any piece of timber be the scantling whatever it might, and could readily measure any wainscot and cast up the value of any quantity of wainscot, doors, shutters, or flat paving-stone; but it should have been said before that I refused to enter on this business without his letter of attorney, which he unwillingly granted me.

And now my head and hands were fully charged with business—having the care of digging gravel and keeping accounts thereof, as before mentioned, some of the pits a mile distance from others, measuring and delivering out the materials sold, cultivating Beaufort Gardens

inspecting his small tenements and delivering out from Beaufort House such materials as they might want and keeping account of what I delivered to whom, and where used—I now began to think my wages ought to be raised for I hitherto had but fourteen shillings per week and no lawful perquisite, but more of this hereafter. From this small pay I had to find myself in all the necessaries of life, lodging and firewood (of which the old house furnished abundance) excepted. My business was from one end of Town to the other, and, though I have been all my life careful and, I think, frugal, yet could not always avoid some expenses I should not have been liable to was I wholly employed in the garden. When my master sold the house, my lodging was moved, as before said. At that time I had a younger brother who had learned the trade of clock-maker. He came to Chelsea with a view of improving himself in that art, and lodged with me in the said empty house—he and I alone. Then were my days and nights happy and comfortable; we went constantly to Meetings together, and the intimates of the one were soon acquainted with the other, and sometimes walked out on first-day (called Sunday) ten, twelve, or fourteen miles to visit our kinsfolks, friends, &c., and he worked at his trade in the same house. I began to be unsatisfied with my employment, having nothing to do that could advance my knowledge in the art of gardening nor improve my understanding in anything else that was likely to be of any service to me in future. I therefore sought for other employment, and had the offer of being clerk to Benjamin Horn, a considerable dealer in coals, who asked me if I could write a tolerable hand and understood merchants' accounts. I answered I knew something of it, but the best way for him to judge was to see my books. I then kept my accounts for Sir Hans Sloane. I carried them to him at the Coal Exchange. He looked them over, asked me who instructed me in that art. I answered, Jacob Post. He seemed satisfied, but we came not to a final agreement. I informed Sir Hans Sloane I had now an opportunity of better pay and employment more to my satisfaction; he seemed unwilling to part with me, and added some more to my pay, but took care to lay on more business.

garden inspecting his Small Tenements and Findling the work-then concerning repairs to them allso Deliver--ing out from Beaufort House such materials as that might want and hypeng ace of what I delve to whome & what used I now began to think my Waiges ought to be vaist for I hutherto had but fourteen Millings per work and no lawfull purquests but mon of this him after from this small pay I had to find my self in all the Meepage of left Ledging land fire wood of which the old house furnith abundance) excepted many business was from one end of Form to A Other and the' I have been all my life cashell and athink fragal yet could not allways avoid some. expenses Ishould not have been liable to was I wholy employed in the Garden, When my Moster dold the Hour my Lodging was moved as before said; as that time I had a younger Brother who had laried the Trave of a Clock-maker he came to Chelsea with a view of ingroveing him Self in that art and Lodged with me in the said empty house he & I algoe then was my la harming days and nights happy and Compostable we went forstand - by to Meetings to Cacher and the Intimates of it one war soone acquainted with the other line some times Walked out on first days (taled Sunday) 10, 1201 14 Miles to oriet our kinefolks, Friends ye and worke at his Frade in the same house. I began to be unsatis fies with my employment haveing nothing to docthat could acouncil my knowlay in the art of fundening nor improve my understanding in any thing elle that was likely to be of any samice to me in Julun Itherfore sought for other employment and had the offer of being Clark to Benjamine Horn a Comid-- arable Dealer In Coals who asked me if I could write a Totarable hand and understand Marchants accompar Janwerd I knew something of it but the best way for him to Judg was to see my Books Ithen Hight my acet for I'As dearried them to him at the Cal tachange he looked them over asked me who instructed me in that art I answered Jacob Port he secure satisfied but we came took to a final agreement I informed I'A I that now an opertundy of better pay and Employment more to my Satterfaction he seemed unwilling to part with me and added some here to my pay but look can to lay on mon Busines,

The particular of this agreement I don't well seminater but he now required every Trades many permitted by Measure to see that pill and if for work don by Measure to see that measurement was Just and that I should Sign idstifers he paid them. They wind is fore mentioned on playment tofford we very little leaver also the paring for rate the Materials of Beaufort Houston paring for rate the and for choughs to pante out in keguised some care pavemen, purbick detty and the of offerent Kinds allie floors bord doors Shutter warms of defferent Kines other articles deveral of which were to be sold by measure and the Simber of offerthing to be sold by measure to its kind and chire of them to be sorted according to its kind and chire of them lo be sorted according to be don by a Gardener I below will be allowed to be a work of much care and les cumspection This Food with cheasfulluft and please - pleasure the paverny Stone would from ye was not set by Mr Sampson at so high a piece as the bord y Sunber therefore when Hotece of & Jake was published That Some buyen for thon articles but when any came for Timber and asked the price some looked amand other afunted and many succored when they an answered; for I offered it at the price M' Sampson putt on it; some fiere in a more sevious manner ashed me why I put so high a vallue on it we I answered it was the price my Master had bun told it would would fitch and I was not to selliple less they answered to this effect he must be igner - want or won that could advice Jegy & thus and he would never git rid of it at such a rate this proved very true for I sold very little and what Ide was of by most Hight Scantling freest from nails and mortice holes Tallso some times went a little below the stated price that I might receive some would be very pleasing to him and if I had tak-on more liberty that way so as the Money was Comeing in Ithink he would have been better Jate Home so my asvenary, would have Tehinalit

The particulars of this agreement I don't well remember, but he now required every tradesman's bill should be inspected, and, if for work done by measure, to see that the measurement was just, and that I should sign the bills before he paid them. This and the before-mentioned employment afforded me very little leisure, also the preparing for sale the materials of Beaufort House required some care and forethought to parcel out the lead, iron, marble pavement, Purbeck ditto, and stone of different kinds, also floorboards, doors, shutters, wainscot, and many other articles, several of which were to be sold by measure, and the timber of different kinds to be sorted according to its kind and size of scantling, and all this to be done by a gardener, I believe I will be allowed to be a work of much care and circumspection. This I did with cheerfulness and pleasure. The paving stone and iron, &c., was not set by Mr. Sampson at so high a price as the board and timber; therefore, when notice of the sale was published, I had some buyers for those articles, but when any came for timber and asked the price, some looked amazed, others affronted, and many sneered when they answered, for I offered it at the price Mr. Sampson put on it. Some few, in a more serious manner, asked me why I put so high a value on it. I answered it was the price my master had been told it would fetch, and I was not to sell it for less. They answered to this effect: "He must be ignorant or worse that could advise Sir Hans Sloane thus, and he would never get rid of it at such a rate." This proved very true, for I sold very little, and what I did was of the most useful scantling, freest from nails and mortice-holes. I also sometimes went a little below the stated price that I might receive some money to deliver to my master, which I knew would be very pleasing to him, and if I had taken more liberty that way, so as the money was coming in, I think he would have been better satisfied and myself justified in so doing; but had I done so my adversary would have delineated

it in the worst of colours and placed it in such a light as might have ruined my character.

The labouring men who were employed in pulling down the house, after that was done, were kept some time to attend the sale and load in carts or boats what was sold, some to cleaning bricks when no other ways employed, and some to the gravel pits; but the most part of the goods stuck on hand, as I told Sir Hans Sloane they would when I undertook the business and desire him, if it so happened, not to blame me for it. Before I had done with Beaufort House, Mrs. Edwards, the lady to whom I had formerly been gardener, left the Great House adjoining to the Bishop of Winchester's, called the Manor House, where she had lived many years. This house, being very large and capable to contain his library and all his collection of gimeracks, he left his house in Little Russell Street, near Bloomsbury Square, declined his practice of physic, and returned to the said house with all his vast collection, all which, except a few which he used to bring himself in his chariot, passed through my hands. Those he brought himself were chiefly gold and silver medals, diamond, jewels, and other precious stones; and among these, I doubt not but he had many gods of gold and gods of silver, for I one day unpacked a large case full of gods of the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, &c. But to give in detail only the sorts or kinds of things would far exceed my intention. Suffice it, then, to say, he had forty volumes in folio—catalogues of his collection—and fortytwo thousand other books in his library, among which was one room full of specimens of dried plants, all which passed through my hands. He used to appoint the rooms in which the books were to be stored up, and I to receive them; they were sent loose in carts, and tossed from the cart to a man on a ladder, who tossed them in at a window, up one pair of stairs, to a man who caught them there as men do bricks, and I was employed, as before mentioned, doing nearly all things for him belonging to his estate at Chelsea except collecting the rent. I continued with him till he, his family, and all his collection were

it in the wont of Colours and placed it in Juck a light as inight have mine my Caracter The Labouring were who ware employed in puling down the House after that was don wan keeptsonte lime to attend the sale and Load in carts or Boats what was Sole some to Cleaning Bricks when no other wasts employee and some to if Gravel pitts but the most thay would when Jundertook the and owind him if it sohopined not to blame me for it. Befor Thad don 345 with Beaufort House M" Dowards the Lady to whome I had formerly been Gardener left the Greate House adjoyning to is Bethey of Winchesters called the Mannot un House where the had lives many year This House being very large and Capable to Contoin his Seberary and all his Collection of Gimeracks He left his House in little Rufsel street near Bloomsbury Square declind his practice of Phytick and retind to if Irid house with all his Vost Collection all which extent a fiew which he has to bring him dely in his Charice - by Gold & selver Meddals diamond Servels and other pricions Stone and among theef I doubt not but he had many gods of gold of gods of liter for I one day unpache a large lase full of gods of y antien Egyptans Greeks & Romans to but to give in octate only the - tion Suffere is thenka that forty vollumes in folio Catalonger of his Collection and forty two Thousand other book in his Liberary among which was one morn full of Specimency of Bryed plants all which paid thro my hand he wis to appoint the rooms in which the Books were to be stored up and I to receive them thay wan sent loos in fasts and tost from the fast to a Man on a Ladder who tost them in al a window up one pair of truen to a man who eaught them then as men der Brichs and Iwas employed as befor mentioned Joing nearly all things for him belonging to his estate at Chilica except Collecting the rent I continued with him till he his Family and all his follection ware.

July settled and find He had many time given strong in part but several of his Tonnants Hid to pay him their Selves those hints part by me as if I did not have their delves those he told me he would employ My Holm no lange and office the whole of his employment to me Laninered I should be welling to Jane him in anything Foods he then sent me to wansled in thex to forbid a Gentleman who lived there paying any more rent to my Holmes which errand boid and went on with my bannes at before; after some time mentioned his himan This to me again and tathed of Making out a Depu -taken I chen thought it time to know on what termes I was to sawe him in that Capatity and and found he was inclined to advance me very little It anything I told him very plain terms if he would five but Labouren Waiges I would be a Laburer and if Twas a Tunord I would have something like Sten ares pay and there it willed a Long time At length he writed me to say on what terme! would Saw him I said for one Shilling in if pours from all your rents at this in some Marints he replyed there is such and Juck tennants who com and pay me as soon as ever it is due and would you have me Jend you there to ask for it I did not atall like this giply because I was sure he would rquere me toda all the before mentioned bufinefe I nero to doe for him fothers any other pay than the said Shilling in the Sound homever he morked on if Rental these Tenants who wan to pay him and left me but a smak number and those of the power sort when it would be different to git their rent perhaps not atall: after a Long pour it was agreed I should have a Certain yearly pay an one Shilling in the pound for all the Mont I should receive from those Tennants as marked for meing Kent this proposeal I did not like but one mi Jackson who had Jeffs: Laral pleasure and could doc mon with him than any than endeavoured to personal into a complyance; among other arguments he said you may make it out cithe, in Meal or in Malt this I thought 9001

duly settled and fixed. He had many times given strong hints that he disliked his steward, who collected his rent in part, but several of his tenants used to pay him themselves. Those hints passed by me as if I did not hear them, till at last he told me he would employ Mr. Holmes no longer, and offered the whole of his employment to me. I answered I should be willing to serve him in anything I could. He then sent me to Wanstead, in Essex, to forbid a gentleman who lived there paying any more rent to Mr. Holmes, which errand I did, and went on with my business as before. After some time he mentioned his stewardship to me again, and talked of making out a deputation. I then thought it time to know on what terms I was to serve him in that capacity, and found he was inclined to advance me very little, if anything. I told him in very plain terms if he would give but labourer's wages I would be a labourer, and if I was a steward I would have something like steward's pay, and there it rested a long time.

At length he urged me to say on what terms I would serve him. I said, "For one shilling in the pound from all your rents." At this, in some warmth, he replied, "There are such and such tenants who come and pay me as soon as ever it is due, and would you have me send you there to ask for it?" I did not at all like this reply, because I was sure he would require me to do all the before-mentioned business I used to do for him without any other pay than the said shilling in the pound. However he marked on the rental those tenants who were to pay him, and left me but a small number, and those of the poorer sort, where it wold be difficult to get their rent—perhaps not get it at all. After a long pause it was agreed I should have a certain yearly pay and one shilling in the pound for all the rent I should receive from those tenants as marked for me in the rental. This proposal I did not like, but one Mr. Jackson, who had Sir Hans Sloane's ear at pleasure, and could do more with him than any man, endeavoured to persuade me to a compliance. Among other arguments, he said, "You may make it out either in meal or in malt." This, I thought

was a bad hint to a young man going to engage in an employment that much money, not his own, must pass through his hands; and though I have said Sir Hans Sloane was a good master to his servants—as in truth he was—yet he was too strait with those who were concerned in money matters, which, perhaps, urged his steward to make it out in meal or malt till by such means he lost his place. However that may be, he was discharged, the deputation made out and delivered to me, by which I was empowered to receive all his rents, quit rents, &c., and in all respects to act as a steward. About this time he granted me a lease of the house, &c., where I now live, and where it was my intent to have managed my little garden the best way I could, measure artificers' work, surveyed land, or made new gardens—in all which I had as much knowledge as, with a little practice, I might have been soon able to have performed any of those works with reputation.

I shall now let Sir Hans Sloane rest awhile and relate some other matters. I came from Surrey and returned to Chelsea. I left in Mr. Revel's service a young woman to whom I had a greater liking than to any of my other or former fellowservants. Soon after I was gone the house-keeper before mentioned worked her out of his service. She was, soon after, hired to a family in town and sent to their country seat, near a hundred miles north-east of London, so that I could hold no correspondence with her but by letter, which I seldom did, though for some time she was constantly in my mind, and I have gone several times to a particular meeting to view a face there a strong resemblance of her who had so fixed a seat in my thoughts. But the distance being great and little hopes of ever meeting again, time in some measure erased those thoughts. Not was I at that time much in earnest to enter into the marriage state. If I had, and could have subdued the prejudice inculcated by our Society in the minds of the younger branches of it, I presume I might have matched with a very agreeable young woman, niece to a gentlewoman, that knew me from the first year of my coming to Chelsea. She had some hundreds to her fortune. Her aunt proposed that she and

Was a God lint to a young man going to enquigein pass three his hands and the Strage said 1991 was a good Master to his Sawants as in truth he was get he wastoo strait with those who ware concerned in money matter which which perhap word his Second to make it out in Meal or Mala till by such means f he lost his place However that may be he was discharged the deputation made out and delvind to me by which I was improvend to greeive all his Rents guit Rents 40 and in all respects to act as a Steward about this time he Granted me a Lease of the House to where I now live and where it was my intent to have nanaged my little Garden the best way I could measure artifien work Survayed Land or made new Gardens in all which I had as much knowledge as with a little practice I might have been soon able to be have performe any of those norks with signitation Ishall now let Joff rest a while and relate some other Mattin cance from Jury and returned to Chelea Heft in Int Revels Lawrel a young Woman to whome I had a greater likeing than to any of my other or former fellow darvants soon after I was gon the hour hugers before incutioned worked her out of his Sawice she was Soon after hired to affamily in Town and sent to their fountry Scale near a foundred Miles Morth east of London sothat beould hold ne Compondence with her but by letter which I seldom did the' for some time the was constantly in my mind and I have gon Several times to a particular meeting to viewe a face there a Strong Resemblance of her who had to fixed a scate in my thoughts but the outance bury greate and little hopes of ever wetting again time in Joine measure craseic those thoughts nor was I at that time much in court to enter and into the Mariage State if Shad and could have subound the projudice inculcated by our Society in the mines of the youngr Granches of it I presume I might have matched with a very agreable young woman Hice to a Gentlewoman that know me from the first year of my Coming to Chelica She had some hundreds to her fortune her aunt propose that the and

23

her nece would dine with me at my Loanly Cartle (Beaufort House) which shay according - by the sent a pritty Dinner and we sal com togather at the Table this surely was a good hing and opportinity which for the projective against mixt Maraigo I forbore to combrace some time after this began to think of changen my fonether and that I ought to Many I then had in very a Houng Woman of our Jocidy whom Frather lies at a Foron in Buckingham Shin about so Miles from London whether I went on purpos to see her but Jaid nothing of my arrand unwilling to gor can in a matter of such importance without aire Timultid a Frund to make enquery and his report detart my proceedings then thought " of another who was a very diniable young was Woman at a Town in Juny about to Miles from London on this Occasion I consulted Thomas Cortyn permanded me not to proceed and on his advise decisted Within a per year of this time I was by three different then (who knew not each other mind on this matter) promp to adorp a young Noman whose Father was Gardener to a Molle Man and had hinted to one or more of them he should like to mary his Daugher to a Gamener a young man of his religious to - citery and if he was loter and like to prove a fore Husbane he should not regard money and by ther advise I went to try if I could git a light of her Denon for the Bagg was not my principa Object Itook my Brother With me we Walk'd to the place about or more than to Miles y Gains admittance saw the Tather of the Lamord but doe not remember that we ware asked into the House but as we owind to see the gavien he ordered one of if men (who was of the people calle Quaken) to then us the Garden he Walked with us some time and us in enguing of the Man for his Master he answered he is fon-to Meeting theither we allso went which was about a miles and there were found Christopher

her niece would dine with me at my lonely castle (Beaufort House), which they accordingly did. She sent a pretty dinner, and we sat down together at the table; this, surely, was a good hint and opportunity, which, for the prejudice against mixed marriages I forbore to embrace. Some time after this I began to think of changing my condition and that I ought to marry. I then had in view a young woman of our Society whose father lived at a town in Buckinghamshire, about thirty miles from London, whither I went on purpose to see her, but said nothing of my errand. Unwilling to go, in a matter of such importance, without advice, I consulted a Friend to make enquiry, and his report deterred my proceedings. I then thought of another, who was a very amiable young woman at a town in Surrey, about twenty miles from London. On this occasion, I consulted Thomas Corbyn. He persuaded me not to proceed, and, on his advice, desisted. Within a few years of this time I was, by three different men (who knew not each other's mind on this matter) prompted to address a young woman whose father was gardener to a nobleman, and had hinted to one or more of them he should like to marry his daughter to a gardener, a young man of his religious Society, and, if he was sober and like to prove a good husband, he should not regard money; and, by their advice, I went to try if I could get a sight of her person, for the bagg [i.e. purse] was not my principal object. I took my brother with me; we walked to the place, about or more than ten miles, and gained admittance, saw the father of the damsel, but do not remember that we were asked into the house. But, as we desired to see the garden, he ordered one of the men (who was of the people called Quakers) to show us the garden. He walked with us some time, and I expected his master would have sent somebody to ask us in, but, enquiring of the man for his master, he answered, "He is gone to Meeting." Thither we also went, which was about three miles, and there we found

Christopher, and I put myself in his way as he came out of Meeting, expecting he would ask us home to dinner, or, at least, to take a glass with him where he put up his horse. But he did neither, and spoke to me in so cold a manner as if he was afraid we should follow him home. He had not that I know of—seen me before, but make no doubt had been informed he might expect me; be that as it may, it was not friendly for a man of the Society who call themselves "Friends" to act so repugnant to their principles to two strangers whose appearance need not cause anybody to be shy of them. And thus my brother accompanied me in a walk of more than thirty miles to no purpose. Some time after this first visit I was prompted by some of my friends to make a second visit to the same place. I took with me an intimate friend of our Society. We were not shown the way out of the garden by a private door, as my brother and I were. No! we were asked into the house—bread, cheese, and beer set before us. I don't remember to have seen both the father and mother; one of them was present, but which I have forgot. However, the damsel set the table for us, her person not disgusting nor very elegant, but such as did not draw my affections towards her, and I thought they look cold on me as, by the event, they thought so themselves, and, when I considered the matter, declined all thoughts of paying another visit. But a while after, Sir Hans Sloane sent me to that neighbourhood to forbid a tenant paying rent to the man who used to receive it, as I have before mentioned. When I had done my business with the gentleman, I returned homewards, just by the gate that leads to the nobleman's house. I thought perhaps they would receive me more respectfully when I came as a man of some importance, which I designed to let them know. I rode to the gate, opened it, and as my legs were between the gate and gatepost I withdrew, saying to myself,

Christopher and I put my self in his way as he came out of Meeting capecting he would ask us home to dines or al least to take a glaft with him where he put up his home but he did neither and Spoke to me in to Cold a manner as if he was afraid we should follow him home he has not that ever know of seen me before but make no doubt has been informe he might expect me be that as it may it was not Friendly for a Man of the Joetely who call themselves Friends to act so repugnant to the three trangers whose apperance need put cause any body to be they of them and thus my Brother accompanyed me in a wolk of more than therty miles to non purpor Committen portering Att in west was to the direct amount in production brown down ar byen montesare for within with of my friends to make a second right to the same place I took with me on internate Friend of our Society we ware not Shewen the war out of the Garden by a private Boor as my Brother and France ino we was asked into the House bred that y beer Let before my I don't Runember to have to dean both & Father & Mother one of them was present but which I have for got however the Damosel Set the table for us her penon not disquiting nor very elligent but such as did not much dran my affectons towards and Ithought thay look cold on me as by the event thay thought so them. Solves and when seone wie the Matter reclind all thoughts of paying another Visit but a while after SHI sent me into that neighbourhood to to for bis a Tennat paying not to the man who wie to greeve is Thave befor mentioned When I had con my bunnes with the Gentleman Freduind home wards Just by the gate that leads to the noblemans Houn I thought perhaps thay would receive me more respectfully when I came as a man of some importance which I designed to let them know I Rode to the fute opend it and as my leggs ware between the fate & gale post I withorin saying to my self

you & your Daughter may got & be hanged you oil not were me well when I was with you so I returned home determined never to gove near them a gain Some time after this I can't Jay howlong & Mother came to Fown and by dilligent sarch found out Jome of my haunts on which Inceived astette, from an aintient Woman Trive at London was her name I think was many more who desired to Lee me I went, the told me the Friend & & would be in Town such a day and if I came then I might Spake with her aliso that the man sorry I was not more kindly entertained she knew not how it happened but believed if I made another Visit and the young folls could agree there would be no Obstacle in the way of their Unen Idig not goe and among many Singular marks of Divine providence extended toward, me this is not to be naccons the least for the gest newer I heard of them was that the came to Lay inn at London of a Ghilo by her Tachen me apprentick and according to the time must be with thild when the Mother came to London to find me Some time now about my former fellow Sarvant returne to London wher I found her out and in time the became my Wife and the great est laure I have for reprentance is that I did not enter into that State with her much Sooner but mon of that when I come to relate what Occurred after marriage I shall mon return to It I whome as before raid faveme a Doputation to be his Steward but I should have related before that: when the Lead the From most part of the Stone and a little of the most Salublof & Timber was gon the for Greater. part of y Finiber lay un Told togather with all most the Whole quantity of Bricks Lay as as an incumbrance on the fround and then did Labouren to attend the Sale my Master became wan what was granted to me by Lease Jane my Lougens

"you and your daughter may go and be hanged! —you did not use me well when I was with you." So I returned home determined never to go near them again. Some time after this—I can't say how long—the mother came to town, and, by diligent search, found out some of my haunts, on which I received a letter from an ancient woman Friend at London Wall—her name, I think, was Mary More—who desired to see me. I went; she told me the Friend S—k would be in town such a day, and if I came then I might speak with her; also that she was sorry I was not more kindly entertained; she knew not how it happened, but believed, if I made another visit and the young folks could agree, there would be no obstacle in the way of their union. I did not go. Some time now about my former fellow-servant returned to London, where I found her out, and in time she became my wife; and the greatest cause for repentance is that I did not enter into that state with her much sooner. But more of that when I come to relate what occurred after marriage. I shall now return to Sir Hans Sloane, who, as before said, gave me a deputation to be his steward; but I should have related before that when the lead, the iron, most part of the stone, and a little of the most saleable of the timber was gone, the far greater part of the timber lay unsold, together with almost the whole quantity of bricks —lay as an encumbrance on the ground, and there did not come buyers enough to defray the expense of labourers to attend the sale. My master became weary of it, let the cultivated part of the garden (all except what was granted to me by lease), and my lodging

was removed to a house in the street of which my brother had obtained a lease from Sir Hans Sloane and opened a shop to carry on the trade of a clock-maker. Also I should have given some account of the garden—how I managed it. I planted and sowed it with such things as would grow in the natural ground and was most likely to be retailed to the neighbours. This caused many servants to come for salads, beans, peas, &c. —mostly young women. It must be observed this was before my brother came to Chelsea, while I lived alone in the house near the street. At that time a former acquaintance, an ingenious man, composer to a printing-house, would come sometimes and stay with me from seventh-day eve till second-day morning—from Saturday night till Monday morning—as a relax from business, and amuse himself by walking in the grove on first-days while I was gone a journey or to Meeting, and in one of those days of retirement wrote the following lines: —

1.

"When our first sire, by Heaven's command,
Surveyed sweet Eden's blissful land,
Of all its goods possessed,
Each tree gave but a faint delight,
Each flower but half regales the sight,
And half relieved his breast.

2.

"For something more his longing soul
Deep sighed, in spite of all control—
He knew not what it meant;
His great Creator, ever kind,
To cheer his thought and soothe his mind,
A beauteous consort sent.

3.

"Transported with such bliss bestowed,
His grateful heart with thanks o'erflowed
To taste such joys unknown;
Till, weakly listening to her tongue,
On which his ears too fondly hung,
His state was overthrown!

4.

"O! Howard! if, in Eden's shade,
Our general father was betrayed
By one fair nymph—no more;
What care need you your fate to shun?
For if by one he was undone,
Can you withstand a score?"

Now from this digression I again return to Sir Hans Sloane. I had not long held his deputation before he did something so mean and repugnant to our last

my Brother had obtained a Lease from Joff and opened a thop to carry on the trade of a Clock maker Who my milk allso I should have given some act of the Gardan while Head how I managed it: I planted and sound is with such there alone in the natural grown and was more likely to be retaile to the neighborn this cause many Horse news darvants to come for dallers, beans, pear se mostly young Nomen; at that time a for mer acquaintance an ingeneous Man composer to a printing House from later - mouto come some times and stay with from y day eve tell second day morning as a relax from busenis and amuse him Self by walking in the grove on first days while I was you a journey or to meeting and in one of those Days of retirement wrote the Tollowing Lines When our fin her by Heavens Commune Surveyed sweet Deur Blifsfull Land of all iel good 1 /sp/s & Each Tru gave out a faint Delight Each Hower but half regald the Light and half vileed his Brest For something more his longing Soul Teep Sight in spile of all Control He knew not what it meant His greate Greator ever kind To chear his thought and South his Mine a beaution Contort Sent Fransporter with such Blip bestowd His gratefull heart with Thanks o'reflered To laste such Joys unknowen Till weakly listening to her Jonque en which his care too fondly hung His state was overthrown O! Howard! if in Edent Shade our General Tracher was letrayed by one fair Rymph no more What Care need you your Trate to Shun for if by one the was undone Can you withstand a June now from the degression Jagain return to Soll ! Ital not long hill his Deputation before he did something for Mean and Repugnant to our last agreement

agrement which offended me very much that abrupt agreement which opened begutation This for a time by gave him brack his Deputation This for a time the form on the third in greate amarement daid you!! to return on My hand? what thousand would have leaped at you Shall repent it the longest day you have to live you shy never have is you shall never have is any no (but in this hitherto he was mistaken for 9 having get repented of it) I replyed Ja Hans I believe I shall never ask you for it. It was some time before he settled acet: with me perhaps delayed the fine that he might fix on to Jucced me which at he did on a Master Kitching Gardener at the Real House a Man whose Toucation was fart Inferior to what my Dear Farente beston co on me nor did it appear that he had made any improvement after he left the Schoole but he had acquired some weath and was therfor better Quallifue y I suppos better paid or ells he would hardly have meeted with it he was however very kind and forlaring to me when in arrean greately my Friend in regard to making the Church Clock and in the time of my low estate made my (hildren a handsom presant of Some Money he has the disposial off a a little while before Interval I I my Brother Died in whom I lost an able assent a cherrlute Companion a Disercel Friend an Offictionate Brother and a Jober diligent man the of him was to me matter of Great greef I advertised the Thop to let and the stock and took to be sold few came to look at it and I was Obliged to keep the Shop open in hope of disposing of it which Too by Wall employing an old man who wit to work for my Brother in the whet Smith Branch for he took in that kind of work aswell as tock y Watch makers bufines and was at the time of his death in prosperous increasing track and Thave before hinter I kept JoH 3 , Books in the Itallian method by double Entery the Garden ace turne out but Small profit I had not Juffi money to Establish me in a large way of farenny I was lep inclined to fix in that employment which some thought I never sould for ake and at the same time a true Friend of my Brothers offeris to afact me to larry on the Clock & Watch Burns

agreement, which offended me very much, our last agreement, which offended me very much, that I abruptly gave him back his deputation. This for a time struck him dumb. After this pause, he then, in great amazement, said, "You! ——you!! to return on my hands what thousands would have leaped at! You shall repent it the longest day you have to live. You shall never have it—you shall never have it any more!" (but in this hitherto he was mistaken, for I have not yet repented of it). I replied, "Sir Hans, I believe I shall never ask you for it." It was some time before he settled accounts with me, perhaps delayed the time that he might fix on one to succeed me, which at length he did—on a Master Kitching, gardener at the Neat House, a man whose education was far inferior to what my dear parents bestowed on me. Nor did it appear that he had made any improvement after he left the school, but he had acquired some wealth, and was, therefore, better qualified, and, I suppose, better paid, or else he would hardly have meddled with it. He was, however, very kind and forbearing to me when in arrears, greatly my friend in regard to making the church clock, and, in the time of my low estate, made my children a handsome present of some money he had the disposal of.

A little while before I left Sir Hans Sloane, my brother died, in whom I lost an able adviser, a cheerful companion, a discreet friend, an affectionate brother, and a sober, diligent man. The loss of him was to me matter of great grief. I advertised the shop to let, and the stock and tools to be sold. Few came to look at it, and I was obliged to keep the shop open in hope of disposing of it, which I did by still employing an old man who used to work for my brother in the whitesmith's branch, for he took in that kind of work as well as clock and watchmaker's business, and was, at the time of his death, in prosperous, increasing trade, and, I have before hinted, I kept Sir Hans Sloane's books in the Italian method, by double entry. The garden account turned out but small profit. I had not sufficient money to establish me in a large way of gardening. I was less inclined to fix in that employment, which I once thought I could never forsake; and then a true friend of my brother's offered to assist me to carry on the clock and watch business.

This kind offer, the promising state of my late brother's affairs, and the small profits of Beaufort Garden induced me to attempt it, as, also, the disadvantage of parting with such a good set of engines and tools. These considerations induced me to attempt, but had I known what a hard task it would prove, I surely should not have ventured; but when I had engaged, although I began to see how laborious and difficult it would prove, I was unwilling to give it up, and applied to it with the greater diligence, and took a journeyman, a stranger, who once came to treat about my brother's shop. I built a shop on the spot where I now live, and added to it a forge which I built with my own hands; a boy about eleven years old was my labourer, and the said man my journeyman. I had, also, a book-binder and his wife lodged in my house, very honest and good sort of folks; my aunt, also before mentioned, came frequently to set my apartments to rights. Thus I lived about two years; the boy and I cooked for ourselves the days my aunt was not with us, and my man lodged and victualled with his wife near [at] hand. He was a fit hand for my business, having been used to country shops, and could do other things besides clock-work. I sometimes worked in the garden and sometimes in the shop, for (being with my brother) I had learned a little to handle the tools, and while this stranger was with me he made four or five clocks and I made an eight-day time-piece. But my chief point was then to learn how to deal with a watch. Some old ordinary ones were brought to the shop by those who respected my brother and some by those who knew not how little skill I had in that art, and, by help of the kind friend before mentioned, I was soon able to clean a watch and repair some small faults in them, and what I could not manage he did for me on such terms that I had a small profit from them. But this stranger, who came to me by the name of Willian Smith, was far from being an honest man. My business obliged me to be frequently from home; my way from London to the shop was such that, if he was at work at the vise, he could not see me till I was close to the window. Thus have I caught him at work at what I could not see when I entered the

the kind offer the promiting state of mu tace Brother the te attempt it as also the standard of parting with such a Good set of Ingine and tools theele Considerator induced one to attempt but had I known what a hard task it would move I worky should not have ventured but then Tengaige althofigan to see how Intonous and difficult it would prove I was unwilling to give it up and approved to it with the greater Dilly incl and took as I ourny man a Stranger who once came to treat about my knother skop I built a Thop on the spot when I now live and added to it a founge which I built with my own hands a Boy about it fran old was my Labour and the vais Man my journy-man I had allo a Book-- bender & his Wife longer on my House very Honest and gon vars of folks my aunt allso before Mentiones Corne frequently to sett my appartments to rights thus I lived at ou a year the Boy and I workd for our Selver; the days my aunt was not with us and my man Lodged and victalis with his wife new hand he was a fet hand for my Busines hoveing being to country thops and could doc other things beside Clock-work I Some times world in the Gamen y some times in the Shop for being witch my Brother I had land a little to handle the tools while the was with me he maded or 5 (locks and I made antigoday time piece but my chief point was then to lane how to deal with a watch som old overany one wan brought to if thop by those who respected my Brocker and some by those who know not how little skill I had in that art and by help of the kind I was able to doe or get them don some Traine before mentioned I was son able to clean. a Watch and rysacrsome small faules in them on what I could not manage he did for me on such terms that I had a small profett from their But this chranger who came to me by the Mame of William Swith was far from being an lunest man my Business Oblige me to be frequently from home my way from London to if shop was such that if he was at work at if vere he could not see me tite Iwas close to y Wendow they have I caute him a work at what I could not see when Jentred the Shop

Thop I suppose he part it into his pockett I have allo when he was at work at & foarge found bury allo when he was at one time Several Smalls look, at in the after at one time feveral small look Juch as small punches & thitely just made and they with my Iron steel and Coles while I paid him waige with my From such him Self with tools at my capin to fight me with my own weapons I have allse octas to fight me with my own Coales from my small Stock - Ed him carrying home Coales from my small Stock and such tricks he might with ease doc as I had no Eyes at home to be a thick on his actions while I was from home and the I saw this I knew not how to prevent it for I thought was I to put him a way another might plunder the house and make of with his booty so I bore with it as well as I cold and so it paper on till I was Married soon after which I parted with him he took a House where all that came from the Town to me must pap by his door there he opined a Shop with fiew tools but what he made at my expense or pilfered from me Incinuated him Self into the favour of the tradermen of the Town by frequenting their (lubi drawd of some of my lustomen and tops other who wan passing by his door in their way to me picturing as not only an unshillfull but as an Ignorant follow and was encouraged by Some of my neighbours to my octarment and loss and this was not all for when he med me when none cold be witness he would abuse me in the Vilest manner and with baths and lunes say he Thould some time lay how of me and if he did he would . Squaze me which confirme by an Oath he has lift up a Steek and threatend to Strike mein all which abuse I received patiently but by this time what little money I had and what I borrows for I Borrowed twenty pound was all gon and 9 began to run in Delt. After he was gon a young man admith came to ash for work which I rejused he said he had been out of busness so long he had spent all her money & panied some of his things for want and had no vielleals for a whole day which affected me much I then said I would endeavour to employ him a week or two he stard with me about in your a food hand he was in the Smiths work he would he ow so if my work was inhaste he would call me up by four in the Morning to get it timward and

shop. I suppose he put it into his pocket. I have also, when he was at work at the forge, found buried in the ashes at one time several small tools, such as small punches and chisels, just made; and thus, with my iron, steel, and coals, while I paid him wages, he was furnishing himself with tools at my expense to fight me with my own weapons. I have also detected him carrying coals from my small stock, and such tricks he might with ease do, as I had no eyes at home to be a check on his actions while I was from home; and though I saw this I knew not how to prevent it, for I thought was I to put him away another might plunder the house and make off with his booty, so I bore with it as well as I could. And so it passed on till I was married, soon after which I parted with him. He took a house where all that came from the town to me must pass by his door; there he opened a shop with few tools but what he had made at my expense or pilfered from me, insinuated himself into the favour of the tradesmen of the town by frequenting their clubs, drawed off some of my customers and stopped others who were passing by his door in their way to me, picturing me as not only an unskilful but as an ignorant fellow, and was encouraged by some of my neighbours to my detriment and loss; and this was not all for when he met me where none could be witness he would abuse me in the vilest manner, and, with oaths and curses, say he should some time lay hold of me, and if he did he would squeeze me, which he confirmed by an oath. He has lifted up a stick and threatened to strike me in the public road, and has spit in my face—all which abuse I received patiently. But by this time what little money I had and what I borrowed—for I borrowed twenty pounds—was all gone, and I began to run in debt. After he was gone, a young man, a smith, came to ask for work, which I refused. He said he had been out of business so long he had spent all his money and pawned some of his things for want, and had no victuals for a whole day, which affected me much. I then said I would endeavour to employ him a week or two. He stayed with me about two years—a good hand he was in the smith's work, but when he did so, if my work was in haste he would call me up by four in the morning to get it forward, and

I would not have parted with him could I have kept on, for he was a very good workman, and, could I have been able to pay him, doubt not but in time I should have got into good bread: but, alas! I was forced to part with him for want of money to pay him. This was a sore trial to me, as there was some prospect of my business improving, and I had no hope of supporting my increasing family but by what I could earn by repairs of clocks and watches, for by this time I could do something that way, and at intervals worked in the garden—sometimes by moonlight—in both which my wife often assisted me. But my money being now all gone, and that man who lent me twenty pounds pressed hard for its return, I was now in great straits. I could not pay it; where to find a friend I knew not, but try I must. I went to one of the people called Friends, who kept a coach and all things adequate thereto, who gave me two guineas, but refused to lend me any. I wrote to an eminent dealer in coals who knew me from my first coming to Chelsea. He refused to grant the favour I asked by a line at the bottom of my letter, which I think he sent back by the bearer unsealed. I tried another of the people called Friends, who flatly refused, although I did not put any disguise on my request, but offered to give the best security I could, and had at that time a lease which would have made anybody safe for a larger sum. This last person had a near relation not of the said people, and I had a friend intimate in the family that was not of the people called Quakers, who applied in my favour to the young man, and he advanced me the money on my own bond, with which I paid off the other bond. Some time after the young man died, the person who refused to lend me the money became his heir, and then I was unkindly used, although by a nominal Friend.

But now to relate some unpleasing circumstances of another kind. A little while before I parted with the pretended William Smith (for that was not his name), to enter into the married state became absolutely necessary, and, indeed, what I ought to do; and not succeeding in my former essays towards it, partly by adhering to advice of my real friends—which its like might as well have been omitted—I now ventured on that most important concern without applying to anyone for counsel, and took to be my wife the young woman who had been my fellow-servant, as before mentioned.

31 I would not have parted with him could I have keep one for he was a very good work man and could I have been able to pay him doubt not but in time I should have got into good loved but alap I was fored to part with him un for want of money to pay him this was a sore toyal to me as then was some prospect of my business Improvering and I had no hope of Supporting my Increasing Fammity pin but by what Jeould carn by repain of Clocks & worther for by this time I could doe something that way and at had a Intervals work in the Garden some times by moonlight money being now all gon and the Man who lend me twenty Tound prop a hard for etircuin I was now in Greate straights I could not pay it where to find a hound I knew not but try Thoustit I went to one of the Jeople falld Ininds who kept a loach and allthings adequate there to who gave me two Genneau but refused to hand me any Invotes to an Eminental Dealer in Coals who know me from my fint coming to Chelsea he refused to grant the favour Jasko; by a line at the bottom of my letter which I think he sent back by the Barer un Leal I tryed an other of the Deople Cull Friends who flatty refusion alliho I did not put any Disquise on my request but offered to give the best security I could and had at that lime a lease which would have made any body Jake for a larger sum this last Ferron had a near Relation not of the said I conte and I had a hound internate in the Tamely that was not of y Prople , Quaken who applydin my favour to the young man and he advan me the Money on my own Bone with which I paid of the other Bond Some time after; the young man died, the Denon who refuid to bend me the Money became his hier and then I was unkindly used alltho by a nominal friend, But now to relate some empleasing linemstances of an other kind a little while before I parted with the pertended William Smith (for that was not his hame) to onles into the married State became absolutly Mysee" and indeed what I ought to for and not Succeeding in my former spayer toward. it partly by achearing to advet of my real Friends whech it's like might as well been ommitted I now ventured on that most Important Concern without applying to any one for Council and Took to be my Wife the young Woman who had been my follow darvant as befor mentioned . The

The being nominally of Deferens granion non Weligion there could be no horse of our bring married in the Society and by the established meny the People card Quaker and had the been of the Janu Church Ithink I think Circumstaned as I was I should have been Married by the Friest as they term it for I colo not well afford to be married only Nice my Whole Charges including Newing dinner was not forty Shittings and as Safety bound I was an as if it had cost me twenty or 30 pounds which some of our Friend toolishly Squader away alleho the mactice is Quite Repugnant to their Principles and as we came together with a small stock is was newfull to use our Utinost. Siliyene in our Temporal affair in which my Wife was not in the least dean wanting for the hat many times for up all nicht to For the work of the house ment and make for the Children and in the day affect me in the Shop al Chan ing Clocks ye or in the Garden howing de nor had me ever the least Sarr or Discord on Aligious Subject Jame pihap may say that we did not trouble our head about it be that as it may fiew in the Society have dury afril my Children in a sober Regular and Rayous Conduct of life and I am cortain som (heldren; c/ tarance who have been so tenations of wat they Call plainness of aparil and Speech have fall for short of them Neither am I convinced that What thay fall mixe Marriags is so frightfull as they would make it for Christ days by this shall all men know that Hea are my Designe if yelove one an-- other I think this Love Redales to wards all those who profits faith I Christ and is not restricted to a hardfull nor can I find any part of Scripture that forbids one Christian marring an other what mes, west has advanced on this head is not doled argument but there is a book intitled Religious Courthy if it had come in my way would have had some weight with me But to geturn; our due and the handshys wan not small while we had but one or two theteren my wife could and did
help me in whatever I found to doe but thite non
the same to fast we had need of 2 tradles at once in
the same then Suchleing naning and the Bufungs
of the house

She being nominally of different religion, there could be no hope of our being married in the Society and by the established rules among the people called Quakers; and had she been of the same church, I think, circumstanced as I was, I should have been married by the priest, as they term it, for I could not well afford to be married otherwise. My whole charges, including wedding dinner, was not forty shillings, and as safely bound I was as if it had cost me twenty or thirty pounds, which some of our Friends foolishly squander away, although the practice is quite repugnant to their principles: and, as we came together with a small stock, it was needful to use our utmost diligence in our temporal affairs, in which my wife was not in the last degree wanting, for she has many times sat up all night to do the work of the house, mend and make for the children, and in the day assist me in the shop at cleaning clocks, &c., or in the garden hoeing, &c. Nor had we ever the least jar or discord on religious subjects. Some, perhaps, may say that we did not trouble our heads about it; be that as it may, few in the Society have surpassed my children in a sober, regular, and religious conduct of life, and I am certain some children of parents who have been so tenacious of what they call plainness of apparel and speech have fallen far short of them; neither am I convinced that what they call mixed marriages is so frightful as they would make it, for Christ says, "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye love one another." I think this love relates towards all those who profess faith in Christ, and is not restricted to a handful. Nor can I find any part of Scripture that forbids one Christian marrying to another. What Moses West has advanced on this head is not solid argument; but there is a book entitled Religious Courtship, if it had come in my way, would have had some weight with me.

But to return. Our struggles for a living and to pay every one his due and the hardships we met were not small. While we had but one or two children my wife could and did help me in whatever I found to do, but children came so fast we had need of two cradles at once in the same room; then suckling, nursing, and the business of the

house was full employment for her, and as I had parted with my young man, James Cawsway, I left off that part of my business in which he was chiefly employed, and applied myself wholly to the clock and watch business, and at intervals did some work in the garden.

Family increasing very fast and I not expert in my new undertaking, money came very slowly in and expenses grew larger, as at this time I had none but a little boy and myself. With our utmost diligence and frugality, we could not bring our expenses within our receipts, and, of course, must run in debt. This, indeed, was a time of great trial. Deserted by the tradesmen, who, when I was in Sir Hans Sloane's service, would, had I required it, come cap in hand; forsaken by my old acquaintances and totally disregarded by the Society of which I was reputed a member; every day going further in debt; dunned by some who could stay; asked payment by some who wanted their money (perhaps as much as myself); and threatened with an arrest by two creditors the one called a Quaker, the other was not; my former journeyman abusing me often, and always circumventing me in my business to the most of his power, and he encouraged by some principal tradesmen when they became parish officers. They would call two or three times in fourteen or sixteen days for the rates, and have summoned me to appear before the Bench of Justices for non-payment of poor rates. This act was, perhaps, not unjust in law, but, as I was often entrusted with other property, had it spread abroad it might have ruined the little business I had. The Society to which I thought I belonged might have assisted me as an honest man, if they could not do it as a sound member, for they were not ignorant of my distress; but they gave me no relief except one half-guinea, and what could that do in my circumstances but expose my necessitous condition? I also wrote to the Monthly Meeting some queries concerning registering of children,

House was full Employment for her and as I had parted with my young Man James Cansway left of that part of my Bupness in which he was Chiefly onyloge and applyong self wholy to the Clock a watch bufiness and at Intervals did some north in the garsen, Family in-ercasing very fast & Fret expect in my new undertake ing money came very stonety in and corpenes grew larger as at this time I had none but the little hoy and my self meretofine with our ulmost dilligene one could frugatily were we could not bring our topen within our ricepts and of course mustown in debt This indeed was a time of Greate tryal Discoted by By the Fradermen who when I was in Soff I I Sawick would had I required it come cap in hand, forsaken by my Old acquaintance and Totally Bisregarded by the Society of which I was reputed a member Stuy, ask's payment by some who wanted their money (perhap nearly a much as my self) and threatned with an arrest by two Corvitors the one Calle a Quaker the other was not my former fourny-man abusing me often and allways cincumsenting me in my butines to the most of his Power and he encouraged by Som mincepted Transmen I rejected by them and our Month - Ly theeting who as a Body took no Notice of me till the year 1761, about 16 year after I was Married. alltho I hav wrote Several Letten to claver Monthly Muting which that never do answered nor din any thember ever pay me a friendly Went; but when thay though Leoute be darricable to them they then easily found me as did the Fradermen when they became Jamih officer than would call 2 or 3 times in 14 or 16 days for the Roles and have Summoned to appear before the Bench of Justices for non payment of Foon rates this act was perhap not unjust in Law but as I was offen intrust - ed with others property had it spread abroad it might have quin's the little But not I had the Soitety to which I thought I belong a might have afrited me as an Honest man if they could not down as a Jound than gave me no relief except one half buines and my neefsticous Condition I allo wrote to the Monthly Meeting some Queres consisting Regestering of Children

me or my Quera worther of your notice I home you will not delay to five an anime to your Trees Famin Howard to which I Received a Reply on the Jame Man Howard to which letter to them which way gave the letter to Friends thay appointed a Committe who said or unouil did not come under their Motice which to use the In holive plain Language is; neither me nor my Quene was Inhuh; I worthy of their notice and their Subsequent dyon -ment towards me was a plain Demonstration of it for they as a body new shewed the least regard of me till if year 1761 Nor did thay ever invite me bother monthly meetings nor give me the least hint like Directly now indirectly that I might come there is was so inclind and I allways thought Monthly and other Meelings of Bufiness was alloways transacted by a Cheren him till very many year after I was Manie then Thomas Finch Informed me otherwise nor die thay atall regard my Children to Regester this in their Records nor inform we what Itys I should take in in Order to get them Regestred among Friends nor did thay Visit me concerning my being Mumid by the Friest in Short thay took tettle or no monnotice of me than if I had not so much as known the name Quaker and During a Space of Leveralthan part of the time they Neglected to regester my Phil-- From it one Life had drop off I should have been their at Law to three or from hundred pounds It year I suppose there is many of Ridged proffson would not have rished such an Edvantage to their Children for want of Using a Little (of) water. Joon after I was informed by The Finch that I might gotto there meetings if I liked so to don: I went several there meetings if I liked so to soo: I went several times in Hopses of Laming their Disapline and becoming an action Member of the Society but savey must be to as I came up the Stairs that I had no right ing house to be from and sit among them all the by Franks them and all the I wrote many letter to attend them and all the I wrote many letter to the mouth-ly meeting coppyes whether if time permet I may subjoyed yet they never answered one of them

and concluded my letter in these words: "If you think me or my queries worthy of your notice, I hope you will not delay to give an answer to your Friend—Edmund Howard." To which I received a reply by the same man that delivered my letter to them, which was: "I gave thy letter to Friends. They appointed a committee, who said it did not come under their notice, or under the notice of Friends" (which I have forgot which, to use the plain language, is: Neither me nor my queries were worthy of their notice), and their subsequent deportment towards me was a plain demonstration of it, for they, as a body, never showed the last regard of me till the year 1761, nor did they ever invite me to their Monthly Meetings, nor give me the least thing, either directly or indirectly, that I might come there if I was so inclined. And I always thought Monthly and other meetings of business were always transacted by a chosen few till very many years after I was married. Then Thomas Finch informed me otherwise. Nor did they at all regard my children to register them in their records, nor inform me what steps I should take in order to get them registered among Friends, nor did they visit me concerning my being married by the priest; in short, they took little or no more notice of me than if I had not so much as known the name Quaker, and during a space of several years, part of the time they neglected to register my children, if one life had dropped off, I should have been heir-at-law to three or four hundred pounds a year. I suppose there is many of our rigid profession would not have risked such an advantage to their children for want of using a little cold water. Soon after, I was informed by Thomas Finch that I might go to those meetings if I liked so to do. I went several times, in hopes of learning their discipline and becoming an active member of the Society, but was told, as I came up the stairs from the Savoy Meeting-house, that I had no right to be there and sit among them, although the Friends did indulge me. From that time I forbore to attend them; and although I wrote many letters to the Monthly Meeting, copies of them, if time permits, I may subjoin, yet they never answered one of them.

It is true that one of my letters did obtain a public reading in a Monthly Meeting, but the most part of them, if not all the rest, were stifled in their birth by the committees who were to inspect them, and this letter was productive of a meeting of some of the Friends at James Marshman's house, to which I was called. Something then was said concerning registering my children, but such objections stated that prevented it being done. Nor was it done till my oldest child was near if nor more than thirty years old, and was then done without requiring anything of me but the time and particulars of their birth, which, if they had done in due time its like I might at this time have been a respectable member of the Society in which I was born and instructed in the principles of truth by my worthy, dear, and never-to-be-forgotten parents, who, both by example and precept, constantly endeavoured to train up their children in the practice of their religious and moral duty; and I am persuaded, if there were not more such parents, there would not be such rapid declension in our Society, which, if a reformation does not shortly take place, will soon become like the Temple of Jerusalem.

Having now related my situation with respect to the Society in which I was born and educated, and by which it appears clearly I have been little more than a cypher—nay, hardly that—I shall now give some account of the manner of our living. As my wife was anxious to get clear of and keep out of debt, we did not wish for dainties, but thought ourselves happy when we could raise two or three shillings to purchase a hock of bacon, which was sometimes hard for us to do, and often, when we were eating part of it, view the other part with tears in our eyes lest when that was gone we should not get more, and when I had two or three children my wife used sometimes to have a woman to help wash. I have gone out with some work expecting a few shillings, and they obliged to wait till I came home for their breakfast or dinner, having no victuals in the house nor money to buy any, and many

It is true that one of my letter did obtain a Jublick Reading in a Monthly meeting but the must part by the Committee who was to inspect them and this letter was productive of a meeting of some of thy the Friend at James Maritman's House to which ? was Called something then was said concerning Regestering my Children but such objection stated that prevented it being don nor was it don till my other child was near if not morthan Misty years old and was then don without requiring any thing of me but the time y perticular of their Birth which if they had don in due time its like I might at her, this lime have been a Respectable Member of the the Society in which I was born and instructed in the Principles of Truth by my worthy Dear and never to be forgotten Davants who both by Example and Freeget constantly endeavoured to train uptheir Children in the practice of their Religious and Morra Jutyt and Jam Jerlwaided if there ware now more Juck Farents there would not be such raped Declention in our Jociety which if a reformation Do not Shortly take place will soon becom like the the Temple of Jerustobern. Haveing now Ketated man my Mution with Respect to the Society in which I was Born & Towated by which it appears Clearly I have been little more than a (ypsher may hardly that I shall now some account of the manner of to fit, and key out of Debt we did not with for Dainty but thought our selves happy when we could rais 2013 Shillings to purchase a hock of Bacon which was some times hard for us to Doe and often when wee ware cateing part of it view the other part with tears in our Eyes least when that was gon wer Should not git more and when I had two have a Woman to bely wash I have gon out with some work expecting action Shillings and they obliged to wait toll I came home for their Brakefast or Finer having no vietuals in the Horse nor money to buy any and many

many times could not rais higher than a fiew sprinty Totalous ar thin of But and Jeanse enough of that once when my Nife was gon to Jown on Bufines the Children and gat home without any thing to Eate and no money to buy lackely laine of a person Crying Old cloath , I sold him a pair of do books which furnished us with a Dinner and at Cleathe my with cutt to pieces so many of her own lothe to love her Chiloren that she has not dufficut left puit Dry ones as they want or go to bee; as to mu self 3 had some good the good for such work as I had then to ook which work Il most of them destroy before I could buy other more fut Tallowed for me; my Hollen clothe waxe of and Feould not grat quate buy new but went, if shops in towate sech for old how they selven or never able to got to such a price as would my think to furnish me with a coale fitt to be seen in when my business some time calle me and in fatheon near paradunlike our flock which might give offene to some anything of my we he Brother but I could not one otherwise & some times at great straits to oce the Ather lineumstances I we my good fro my mind very low not into; but to the brink 30 per cent of tispase, the Greatest Comfort I has in this my and whis sistrefi was as the all misself had given me as value who hart to ooc honestly he would be factousky her Distrofo for his time to enable me to pay all my Debte and want of money it was this Confidence that Supported me under Such Greenstances that I presume Faul him tell would not have been content. at this time a face at Turnham fren we to employ me to gyrais her elochs y watches I has a clock to earny there in winter when the ground was covred with son and in the foot ways tree to Slush that it world thro' larghole at the bottom of my thoos and quet chro the upper leather thatsit appare much afraid the maid would offer me Stypen which if she had don I should have bein strang - by confused I was allo more than three years in Debt I had notice sent that I did not pay I should be Short the money I had not and where to get I know not

many times could not raise higher than a few sprats, potatoes, or a chine of beef, and scarce enough of that. Once, when my wife was gone to town on business, the children and I at home without anything to eat and no money to buy, luckily came by a person buying old clothes. I sold him a pair of old boots, which furnished us with a dinner. And as to clothes, my wife cut to pieces so many of her own clothes to cover her children that she had not sufficient left to put dry ones on when she came home wet, but must sit in them wet as they were or go to bed; as to myself, I had some good shirts—too good for such work as I had then to do—which were most of them destroyed before I could buy others more fit for me. My woollen clothes were old and I could not buy new, but went to the shops in town to seek for old, seldom or never able to go to such a price as would furnish me with a coat fit to be seen in where my business sometimes called me, and in fashion unlike our flock, which might give offence to some weak brother, but I could not do otherwise, and sometimes at great straits to do that. I also was oft at great straits to raise money to pay my rent, &c., and, though I never pawned anything of my own nor other folks', yet have I sold my goods thirty per cent. under their value when distressed for want of money. Those circumstances brought my mind very low—not into but to the brink of despair. The greatest comfort I had in this my distress was, as the Almighty had given me a heart to do honestly, He would be graciously pleased in His time to enable me to pay all my debts, and it was this confidence that supported me under such circumstances that I presume Paul himself would have been content. At this time a lady at Turnham Green used to employ me to repair her clocks and watches. I had a clock to carry there in winter, when the ground was covered with snow and in the foot-ways trod to slush that it worked through large holes at the bottom of my shoes and quite through the upper leather that it appeared on the outside on the top of my feet, and I was much afraid the maid would offer me slippers, which, if she had done, I should have been strangely confused. I was also more than three years in arrears of rent and twenty pounds in the baker's debt. I had notice sent that if I did not pay I should be ejected from my house. The time allowed me was very short, the money I had not, and where to get it I knew

not. To seek it among the people called Friends I thought was in vain. A gentleman (a Counsellor) with whom I was well acquainted I thought would give me his advice gratis. I went to his house: he was not at home. I made my distress known to his wife, and begged it as a favour that Mr.— would inform me how I should postpone the ejectment and gain time to try my friends. This she promised to do, and told me he would be at home. According to the time I went, and was introduced to him. To whom I opened my business, and desired him to inform me how I might put off the evil day till I could try my friends. He replied, "There is ways, to be sure; there is ways you might do it; but the best way it to pay the money." I thought that's true, but if I could do that I need not come here for advice. I had no time to reply, for he instantly said, "And I will lend you the money," a favour I as little expected as I did to be refused by those called Friends before mentioned. He lent me the money, and did not ask any security. I hesitated and said, "I don't care to take it without giving you some security." He replied, "Then you may give me your note, if you please." He wrote the note and I signed it, saying, "How or when shall I pay it?" He replied, "How you can and when you can." This satisfied my landlord and prevented my being turned out of a habitation where I have, by the blessing of my Creator, brought up a family of children who are respected by most that know them; and although the people called Friends have disregarded me, and treated me with some degree of contempt—which, to some spirits, is worse than abuse—yet among them I found one Friend who, when he knew the straits I was in, came six or seven miles on purpose to relieve me with a purse of ten guineas, which he put into my hand never to return it till I was very well able to spare it. With this money I paid off a note that I feared might be demanded when I could not pay it. My aunt, before mentioned, though she was a poor woman and laboured hard for a livelihood, lent me three or four guineas, which put us in a way to add something to our income, and my business mended in all its branches. In process of time I paid my worthy Friend the Counsellor, and, after some time, my good Friend

not, to Sech is among the Reple called Friend I thought was in vain; a fentleman (a Counciler) with whome I was well acquainted I thought would give me his adverse grates I went to his House he was not at home I made my distrip known to his Wife and begged it as as a favour that Mr - .. would inform me how I should pospone the Ejectment and gain time to try my Fruin this she promised to doe and told me when he would be at home according to the time went and was introduced to him to whom I opendury bufiness and Desired him to inform me how I might put of the evil day till I could try my Friends he riplyed there there is mays, to besure there is way you might doe if but the best way is to pay the Money I thought that's true but if I could do that I need not come here for advise I had no time to ryply for he Instantly said and I will lend you the money; a favour I at little expected & I did to be thefund by those calle Friends before mentond he lent me the Money and did not ashe any security I hepitated and said I don't care to take it without giveing some security he riplyhe wrote the hote and I sign of thow or when shall I pay it he riplyed how you can't when you can this Satisfied my Landord and prevented my being turned out a hibitation when I have by the Blefring of my freator Grought "a familly of Children who are Respected by most that know them and alleho the People Calle Friend have dungarded me and treated me with some degree of Contempt which to som Spiciti is won than abuce yet among them spound one Friend who when he knew the Straits I was in Came Gory Miles on purpor to Melive me with a. pure of tenn quincas which he put into my hand never to veturn is till I was very well able to I pan it with this Money I paid of a note that I fear might be demanded when I could not pay it. My dunt before mentioned the She was a Foor Woman and Labourd han for a livelyhood lint me three or four quineas which put us in a way to add something to our Ineum and my Dufines mended in all its Branches. Counciler and after some time my good Friends the

and Brother profeser of religion thinking is my Duty to return it as as the Lord had blefied with the the means so to doe which confirmed me in what I in my distrift thought vie that he would not for take those who put their trust and Conficience in Him and after a long time I pay's of the Bond of twenty Journ which I borrow of a young Man as before mentioned this Bone on the Death of him came into the hard of one & this many the Deople scale Quakers who us of very unkindly but was not off removed with the hands of a man in the City a perfect people alls strange to me who used me very friendly and do not with ill reature ways for the princtual prayment of the Interit, In his hand it was Several Heart which after payon nearly of not all the Prinapal Space of by way of Intres I payed the Dineyral alled. In all this long time no members of the meeting at the Javoy come in a Friendly manner to see me and when anything occasioned scading notice to the Several Members of that meeting I was allways omitted and I don't remember that any one of them in the course of more than fiveteen Hears ever made me a visit punty on the Scon of Frind-Ship or on any Religious acc whatever the most of the Themillyes of Friend in and round London had in that time been favoured with the company of many Emis-nent Fersons at Sundry time. This leads me to make some Observations on their Manuer of Dealing with those who have been Married by the Friest; If thay think it an offence toward it Should be the duty of any member to do monith him to make his peace with for for his Transgrapor and if it be only a breach of the rules of the Society thay should know what reson he can give for do doing before they proceed to cutt him of from the Body and they would doe will to make frequent vifets to any lupple and by their Gody Converator endeavour to shew forth the touth of their Profession, and ifneed apid them in their Temporal afairs this more likely to bring the Offending person to a sence of his out 96ing and to win the love of the other to a union with our Society than by sending Penons with a deputed power from the Meeting to inform them that if they to such cartain terms they must be cut of from the body; for an act which he perhap is not lonvine is evil since the Scripture says Marriage is Honour-able in all; and has not given us any form by which it is to be Confirmed: But now I shall return to give son. A how we Labourd to get forward and to pay every man his Due and

and brother professor in religion, thinking it my duty to return it, as the Lord had blessed me with means so to do, which confirmed me in what I, in my distress, thought, viz., that He would not forsake those who put their trust and confidence in Him. And after a long time I paid off the bond of twenty pounds which I borrowed of a young man, as before mentioned; this bond, on the death of him, came into the hands of one of the people called Quakers, who used me very unkindly, but removed by death, into the hands of a man in the City. This man was not of the people called Quakers, a perfect stranger to me, who used me very friendly, and did not with ill nature urge for the punctual payment of the interest; in his hands it was several years, which, after paying nearly, if not all, the principal by way of interest, I paid the principal also.

In all this long time no members of the Meeting at the Savoy came in a Friendly manner to see me, and when anything occasioned sending notice to the several members of that Meeting, I was always omitted; and I don't remember that any one of them, in the course of more than fifteen years, ever made me a visit purely on the score of friendship or on any religious account whatever, though most of the families of Friends in and round London had in that time been favoured with the company of many eminent persons at sundry times. This leads me to make some observations on their manner of dealing with those who have been married by the priest. If they think it an offence towards God, it should be the duty of any member to admonish him to make his peace with God for his transgression, and if it be only a breach of the rules of the Society, they should know what reason he can give for so doing before they proceed to cut him off from the body; and they would do well to make frequent visits to any couple, and, by their godly conversation, endeavour to show forth the truth of their profession and, if need, assist them in their temporal affairs. This is more likely to bring the offending person to a sense of his outgoing, and to win the love of the other to a union with our Society, than by sending persons with a deputed power from the Meeting to inform them that if they do not comply to such certain terms they must be cut off from the body for an act which he, perhaps, is not convinced is evil since the Scripture says marriage is honourable in all, and has not given us any form by which it is to be confirmed.

But now I shall return to give some account how we laboured to get forward and to pay every man his due.

And, first, as to the garden. For some years at first I cropped it with kitchen herbs, such as beans, peas, cabbages, cauliflowers, &c. My neighbours would come and ask, "Have you any cabbages or cauliflowers?" &c. if I answered "No" they returned home unsatisfied. By the time mine was fit for use, carts and barrows furnished them with that they happened to want at their own doors, and when the barrows ceased to come my goods were past their best, and if they came then I could not serve them, so the garden then turned to small account. After some years, a seedsman desired leave of me to plant some bulbous roots in my garden for him, which I granted. He gave me twelve of them for my trouble. Those I increased as fast as I could, and bought also some hyacinth roots. As soon as my stock allowed me to part with any I planted some in pots and brought them into the house. The warmth of the fire brought them forwarder than those abroad, the polyanthuses being then in few hands; and our getting them forward, many folks called for them, and by that means we were sometimes furnished with a dinner when we had no other hope of getting one. I also planted in pots rosemary, southernwood, laurustinus, and sundry common plants, and used to set them in rows out at the door, in hopes of taking a penny sometimes. At the next door lived a gardener, whose mother would walk around the pots with his children, and, in a scoffing tone, say, "Now we will walk in Covent Garden," deriding us for exposing our plants in that manner for sale, though all I brought to the door was the produce of our own garden, some of which were such as he had not, nor did he know them; but as soon as he found I sold them, he would learn the names, go to the nursery and buy four or five handsomer plants than I could match, so hinder my sale and hurt himself, for by this means increased his stock of plants that required shelter in the winter, and, not having proper places for that purpose, lost more in the winter sometimes than he gained in the summer. He and his wife, by many ways not justifiable, endeavoured to draw off our trade, but could not effect it, and at length came to nothing. And our business in the garden way helped to bring up our family, to the improving and extending of which my wife toiled, and her labour was incessant, for we became noted for good flowers and fine nosegay and often wanted more flowers than our garden could supply, which caused my wife many

with Ruch to the Garden For some years at first Jergicht with Kitching hert: such as Beans pear Callage Collegions Se my Hieghbours would come y ash have you any lablege or Colly Herven se if I animen no thay return from Unsayed by the time mine was fitt for the can'y some furnished and when the Barrows could to commy my gods wan pod? the fanen then tums to small act offeer some years in my famen for him which I granted he yave menof their for my Frontle there Finenaid is fast as I will and Bought allie some Hyacens roots as soon as my Stock aloned me to part with any I planted some in poly and brought them into the House the warming of the brought them forewards than thou alread the Tolianthus Helies bing then in few hands and our geting them fireward many Jobbes calls for them will by that means we was some times furnished with a Timer when we had no other hope of guting one Jalleso Tunory common plants and with to sett them in Rent out at the Door in hopes of taking a peny sometimes. at the next over live a fairener whom mother would wath amond the post with his thingen and in a Jeoping time way now we will wath in lovenganin cinting Ill for exposing our plants in that manner to Jake the all I brought to if Door was the product of our own buren some of which ware Juch as he had not nor old he know them but as soon as he found I solo them he would be an the names got to the nuls and buy 4 or & haussomer plants than I coule match so hered my sale and hurt him self for by Mis in the wenter and not having proper places for that fains in the Summer he and his wife by many ways not Justifiable encoured to draw of our trão but could not effect it and at length came to Mothing and and are our burney, in the Garden way hatito to bring up our family to the improvethe Labour was incount for me beame noted for good flowers and fine llongey and often wanted more flowers than our farden cereld Supply which cause my Nife many

Long and Weisson marks to gir them when the conte. often three miles orstance frequently before brakefast and never was manting of Sillegence in that or any other Cambull Caling to Support our young familly out business in the flewer tribe inenally and the producing our business in the flewer tribe inenally and the producing Hover & artifical means breams a general practice with fancer and also with fentlemen it was now with gameners and conveniances for that purpor 3 newfull for me to provid conveniances for that purpor 3 than Built a Small Flows or hot house being this lappen - les and Brich layer my self for I had no Kelp but my Journy man & Garden Jothi this Stown I occupied in new -ing pine apple and producing goss blofsoms before their natural Season together with Kulbon rootes, flower such Hyacens Rarefres &c and for some lime this did puty well but our Highbour boastes much and insted of hand Ling themforth as racityes stocked his shop so full that his roses drop about of floor which a fiew years back would not be had for 2 a Blefrom and by his folly set Gentlemen mad after hot houses a Greate many wan built in most part of England of Juck large comentions that where thay ware , well managed the produce was 3 or 4 may in some places & times more than was wanted the overp in most places found itsway to London markets to this befrend the demand on these folks near London who Occupies hot Houses for their Gain and I among many other fail the effect for the returns from my forden very sensably deminished Here I shall leave the Garden and give some act of my proceeding in the Bufness of the shop in which I succeed my Brother I have given som ace of wat my intentions were as to the monney of my Settleing in Bufiness had my Brocher level which it is not likely had I percevered in that tract which it is not likely had I percent in that tract might have been made prifetable and much life peoples iny than what I see But of the fifteen Master High iny fameness in Chelsen very few except my Master Sis anything more than get a Livelyhood the very famen which I cultivated for Joy I the prosperous beganing of my ky others bufiness and the loss that would be Justiend by the Trie of his Jools

long and wearisome walks to get them where she could often three miles distance, frequently before breakfast and never was wanting of diligence in that or any other lawful business to support our young family. Our business in the flower trade increased, and the producing flowers early by artificial means became a general practice with gardeners and also with gentlemen. It was now needful for me to provide conveniences for that purpose. I then built a small stove or hot-house, being chief carpenter and bricklayer myself, for I had no help but my journeyman and garden folks. This stove I occupied in raising pineapples and producing rose-blossoms before their natural season, together with bulbous-rooted flowers such as hyacinths, narcissuses, &c., and for some time this did pretty well; but our neighbour boasted much, and, instead of handing them forth as rarities, stocked his shop so full that his roses drop about the floor which, a few years back, would not be had for 2s. a blossom, and, by his folly, set gentlemen mad after hot-houses. A great many were built in most parts of England, of such large dimensions that, where they were well-managed, the produce was three or four—nay, in some places six—times more than was wanted. The overplus in most places found its way to London markets. This lessened the demand on those folks near London who occupied hot-houses for their gain, and I, among many others, feel the effect, for the returns from my garden very sensibly diminished.

Here I shall leave the garden and give some account of my proceeding in the business of the shop in which I succeeded my brother. I have given some account of what my intentions were as to the manner of my settling in business had my brother lived, which it is most likely, had I persevered in that track, might have been more profitable and much less perplexing than what I did. But, of the fifteen master kitchen gardeners in Chelsea, very few except my master did anything more than get a livelihood. The very small gains arising from that part of Beaufort Garden which I cultivated for Sir Hans Sloane, the prosperous beginning of my brother's business, and the loss that would be sustained by the sale of his tools

and implements, together with the very kind offer of his and my friend to assist me in prosecuting the works he had begun, induced me to make trial of it. It proved such a laborious and difficult task that I sometimes wished I had not undertaken it. But the hardship I was to suffer did not appear till it was too late to look back, for to put myself out of all employ and begin afresh must have been a great loss of time, labour, and expense. Therefore I strove with all my power to go forward, and after some years I have found a friend to advance me a little money, but, as I had not found it among those who assume the name of Friends, I had no spirit to seek it elsewhere, and was content to drudge on and, by the toil and labour of my own hand, to support my family several years. When my brother died, I had an old man who had worked for him sometimes; he was very honest and willing, but was taken to prison in another man's cause. Then the pretended William Smith came to work for me, whose character I have before given; he was with me about two years, and by him I believe I suffered great loss. After him came James Cawsway, as before mentioned, who, I believe, never wronged me of anything, and was in general diligent in his business; but I was often at a loss to keep him employed, and when business was slack I used to employ him in making jacks. He made me several, which lay on my hands—added stock—till the little money I had was all exhausted, and I could not raise money to pay his wages; and though my prospect at this time began to mend, I was obliged to part with him much against my will, and depend wholly on what I could do with my own hands and a lad to help in the garden. In the daylight I work at repairs and cleaning watches and the better sort of clocks, and by candle-light coarse thirty-hour clocks, mend a poker, clean a gun, mend a lock or a key, or anything of that kind that could be done by a single hand. I also had about this time a journeyman clock-maker, who had some skill in the founders' business, by whom I learned

and Simplyments together with the very himo offer of his of my hound to afirst me in proficutions the works he had began induced me to make tryal of it it moved Juck a Laborious and difficul task that I some times wifted I had not unartoken it but the Maroshup I was to suffer oil not appear till it was to late to book back for to put my self out of all employand begin afresh must have been a greate lop of time Labour & expense Thenfore I strove with all my poner to got foreware and affer some years perseived I had a prospect of Joing well could I have found a fricks to asvance me a little money but as I had not found it among there who assume the name of Friends I had no Spirit to Seek it ellewhore and wos content to onige on come by the toil and Labour of my own hand to Support of my hamily soveral Hears. When my Brother died I had an Oto man who has north o for him some times he was very horestand willing but was taken to presen in an other man Course then the pertender William Smith come to work for me whose Charracter I have before given he was with me about two years and by him ? betwee I suffered greats loss After him came James Canomay as before Mertioned who I believe never wrongs me of anything and was in general diligent in his bufiness but I was often at a loss to heigh him employed and when Busnuls was Stuck Just to employ him in making Jacks he wase me Several which lay on my hands a ded Hoch till the little money I had was all exhausted and feould not rais money to pay his waiges and the my prospect at this time began to mind I was obliged to part with him much agand my will; and desend wholy on what I could doe with my own hands and a fad to help in the Garden. In the Day light I work at orgain and cleaning watches and the better sort of (locks and by fanole light corne so hour Clases meno a poter, clean a gunn mend a Lock or a key or anything of that kine that could be done by a Single hand I allso had about this time a Journy man (lock-maker who has some Shill in the Founders bufiness by whome I lamo

Something of that art and I was able to cast an Sod wheel piller or some small thing that might be wanted in again of old Clash but I had not Entirely to long him long Token bought old Brafe waits a two or three pound at of a time that a grave ocques picks from the earth of the Graves and other Small parches of Old brok as Offered at my they and when I had enough to make a wheel I ard to melt them after making several articles or small parts of a day mark I made worden patrons and from them cost ret of Cast a set of which for a Small Turnt (lock which I'de signed to fix on the top of my house with a view to remove the prejuvece to often entertained that name can been a trade or employment without being lower apprentice for Seven Years and to make a Clock that Sie nothing but what other die Isuprose mente would be no sufficient proof that I made it with my own hands therefore I made it to then the Day of the Month the whole your by an index on the Concer of the Dial which India requested no allering but once in a year I allso made is to Strike in a manner that no other clock in the Realm ooth that ever I heard of for it will of it self strike every Quarter both the last Honer y the Quarters as ooch a Repeting watch or every hall hour or strike the Quarters only as a Common Quarter (lock or Repeate the hour & Quarter when pulled and this is performs without one wheel or pineon more than a Common I was not to right the work I has of my nighbourn which was the only support of my Family therefore of this in the evining after the Shop was Shett frequently working title nine at night when others war wasting their time and money at of alchouse by this means some people took Notice of me I made & putt is up at his House at Jetenhame and he recommended me to the Dutches of Argile but for want of money to make the apperance of a Man of Inportance I lost my footing in that Family soon being Obliged to work with my own hands and to Embrace

something of that art, and I was able to cast an odd wheel, pillar or some small thing that might be wanted in repairs of old clocks, but I had not business to keep him long. I then bought old brass nails, two or three pounds at a time, that a grave-digger picked from the earth of the graves, and other small parcels of old brass as offered at my shop, and when I had enough to make a wheel, &c., I used to melt them. After making several articles, or small parts of eightday works, I made wooden patterns, and from them cast a set of wheels for a small turret clock which I designed to fix on the top of my house, with a view to remove the prejudice to[o] often entertained that none can learn a trade or employment without being bound apprentice for seven years. And to make a clock that did nothing but what others did, I supposed, would be no sufficient proof that I made it with my own hands; therefore I made it to show the day of the month the whole year by an index on the centre of the dial, which index required no altering but once in a year. I also made it to strike in a manner that no other clock in the realm doth that ever I heard of, for it will of itself strike every quarter—both the last hour and the quarters, as doth a repeating watch, or every half-hour, or strike the quarters only, as a common quarter clock, or repeat the hours and quarters when pulled; all this it performs without one wheel or pinion more than a common eight-day clock. As I had none to help me, I was long about it, for I was not to neglect the work I had of my neighbours, which was the only support of my family, therefore did this in the evening after the shop was shut, frequently working till nine at night when others were wasting their time and money at the alehouse. By this means some people took notice of me. Sir Henry Bellandine bespoke a clock of me, which I made and put it up at his house at Petersham, and he recommended me to the Duchess of Argyll; but for want of money to make the appearance of a man of importance, I lost my footing in that family, soon being obliged to work with my own hands and to

embrace every half-crown or five shilling job—which was the only means I had to supply the present necessities of my family—very few being able to get forward and acquire wealth till they can make a grand outside appearance. And this thirst for grandeur and wealth has been the ruin of many of our Society, to the great injury of others and reproach of our profession; but if many among us have met with the same disregard as I have for my undisguised application for help, I don't wonder so many make a gay show at other folks' expense, if but few I have the greater cause to say I have been not Friendly used among them.

The knowledge I had acquired of the founder's art was serviceable to me in my low state, for I could buy small parcels of old brass, two or three shillings' worth at a time, when I could not raise money enough to pay for a suit of work at the founders, and at my leisure cast it into such form as I wanted. By this means I made with my own hands some clocks from old candlesticks, kettles, and old nails, &c., when I could not pay the founder, and I also forged the iron and steel work I used in the same clocks. I have hinted that I laid down a branch of my business when I parted with a journeyman, and so I did, but at first I had not full employment in the clock and watch way, and then did sometimes clean a jack, gun, pistol, or mend a poker, &c., all which I declined as soon as I could, and stuck close to clocks and watches, and occasionally did something in the garden, the fruit trees of which I have always pruned myself, and do to this day, many times (formerly) at it by four or five o'clock in the morning. My wife also was not a whit behind in diligence and close attention to business, both in her household affairs, distilling simple waters, and often helping me both in the shop and the garden, and my children, as soon as able, helped in any works their strength could manage; one of my daughters, when very young, learned to clean an eight-day clock, and in a little time could do it as well as myself, and could put it together when cleaned. Thus the Almighty, in the course of His Providence, so ordered it that I could now buy a piece of new cloth, and pay the tailor for making my coat, when formerly was hard set to buy

Embract every half crown or five Shitting Job which was the only means I had to supply the present Herefit thes of my tramelly very few being able to get forward . and acquire Wealth till thay can make a Grand outside apperance and this Thirst for brandung woodh has been the Ruin of many of our Society to the greate Injury of other and Reprivach of our Frofesion but If many amongs he have met with the same virrouse as I have for my unoisquies applyeation for help I don't wonder somany make a gay shew at other tolk Expence: If but fun I have the Greater Court to Jan Thave bean not Friendly used among them. The knowledge I had acquire of the Sonnier art was Samisable to me in my low state for Houle buy small pariles of old Brafe 2 or a Shillings worth at a time when I could not rais money enough to pay for a buit of work at the hounder and at my tearner cast it into such form as I wanter by this mener I made with my own hand some locks from old landle - Stick kittles and old nails se when I could not pay the founder and Jallio fourgo the from and Street work I used in the same (locks I have hinted that I laid down a branch of my burnes when I parted with a Journey man and so Soid but at hint Shew not full employment in the (lock and watch way and then did some Clean a tack, gunn Fistols or mind a poher se all which I decline at soon as desult and Stuck flore to clockey . Watch , and becare maly on Something in the Garden the fruit trees of which Thave allways priend my self and cor to this day many times (brunerly) at is by 4 015 Oclecking moin my Wife allie was not a whit behind in sitigence and close attention to bujunes both in her houshold affairs, distilling Single water, and often helping me both in the Shop and the Carren and my Chilons as soon as able helped in any works their Tringth could manage one of my Daughten when very young Larned to clean a & Day Clock and in a little time could doe it as well as my self and could put it togather when Cleaned This the allmighty in the Cone of His Drowidence to Brone it that Secule non buy a pice of new Cloach, and pay the Tayler for makeing my loat when formerly was hard set to buy

Buy an ole one But still then remains many old delle un paid about this time the Man who hadthe the land of thebea thunk clock dies a Heighbour gave me the hint that if Iwould apply to the Church namen I might success him I sid so and had the Grant; and the keys believed to me this Itilly Some years other Church-wordens, succeed and than moved for a new Clock had a Clark-maker from London to view it never sent to me for the keys but broke open the doors to shew him the Clock a Raighbour who was at the Vestery interine me what parce there and that thay ware to meet weare on the bushels again on a certain day and withis me to be there I went but nothing final was then gon some fun years after the matter was agitated again a Vestery was (all'd to octermine whither these should or not be a new (look a friend inform's me of it and advers one to attend which I did it was Resolved to have a new one and I mas allowed to Give in a Proposed which I pre - parer and met them at the time appointed there was Smith of Moore fell and two other Clock makers Candicates for the Job besies my self I was chosen by a greate Majority to make it the vestery was hild on a thunday and the Sunday follow--ing two or three head of the Parrigh came to my house to forbid me to proceed saying I must not go on with work the Famish was agains my dowing it I riply'd that could not be a Vestry had appointed me and confined it by signing their order and no Vestery had been Cally since thenfor I would go on I must not omitt to mention the kindness of a highbour who seeing them pass by followed to assist me least thay Should be to han for me for he thought what thay ware comeing about he allso very kindly offered to lend me money to carry it on thay also spine reports going to law and said many fooligh things; if proceeding m' Barrick

an old one. But still there remained many old debts unpaid. About this time the man who had the care of Chelsea Church clock died; a neighbour gave me the hint that if I would apply to the churchwarden I might succeed him. I did so, and had the grant; and the keys delivered to me—this I held some years. Other churchwardens succeeded, and they moved for a new clock, had a clockmaker from London to view it, never sent to me for the keys, but broke open the doors to show him the clock. A neighbour who was at the Vestry informed me what passed there, and that they were to meet on the business again on a certain day, and wished me to be there. I went, but nothing final was then done. Some few years after the matter was agitated again; a Vestry was called to determine whether there should or not be a new clock; a friend informed me of it and advised me to attend, which I did. It was resolved to have a new one, and I was allowed to give in a proposal, which I prepared, and met them at the time appointed. There was Smith, of Moorfields, and two other clockmaker candidates for the job besides myself. I was chosen by a great majority to make it. The Vestry was held on a Thursday, and the Sunday following two or three heads of the parish came to my house to forbid me to proceed, saying, I must not go on with the work, the parish was against my doing it. I replied that could not be, a Vestry had appointed me, and confirmed it by signing their order, and no Vestry had been called since, therefore I would go on. I must not omit to mention the kindness of a neighbour who seeing them pass by followed to assist me, lest they should be too hard for me, for he thought what they were coming about. He also very kindly offered to lend me money to carry it on. They also spread reports that if I did make it I should not be paid without going to law, and said many foolish things if possible to hinder my proceeding. Mr. Barwick,

61, Strand, W.C.

23rd February, 1905.

J. Henry Quinn, Esq.,

Dear Sir,

Clock at Chelsea Old Church.

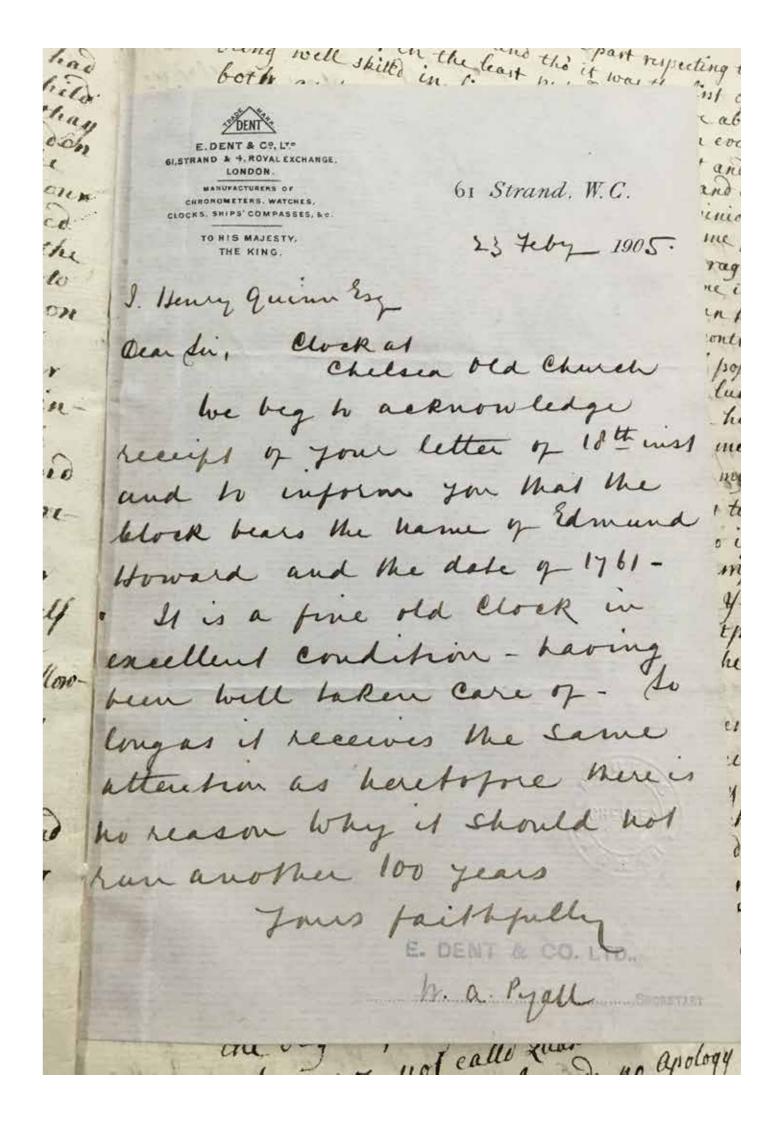
We beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 18th inst., and to inform you that the Clock bears the name of Edmund Howard, and the date of 1761.

It is a fine old Clock, in excellent condition—having been well taken care of. So long as it receives the same attention as heretofore there is no reason why it should not run another hundred years.

Yours faithfully,

E. Dent & Co., Ltd.,

W.A Pyall, Secretary.



Sir Hans Sloane's steward, also took an active part respecting the Vestry in my favour, and though it was the first of its kind, I was not in the least puzzled how to go about it; being well skilled in figures I could proportion every part, both as to the strength required in each part, and the number of turns each wheel ought to make, and could work at the lathe in turning the wheels and pinions. The worst was to get a proper hand to help me, for no man can do such work alone. At length a ragged fellow offered, who had but one shirt, and a ragged one it was. I employed him: he was a good workman, an honest fellow, and good natural parts, but had contracted bad habits by working with sots, who, if possible, will leaven all sober men into the same lump, and, if they cannot do that, endeavour to drive him from them. This is the ruin of many sober men whose lot is to work in great shops. By his help and my close attention the work was completed, so as to be well approved by both the men who were to inspect it—one on my behalf, the other for the parish—and I was paid the money. This was in the year 1761; with this money I paid off the greatest part, but not all the debts I had contracted in the time of my distress. While I was making this clock several Friends in my company, by appointment of the Meeting, visited me for the first time, concerning my being married by the Priest (as they term it), which marriage was consummated in the year 1744, and in dark hints would have me understand I might return to the flock, but did not speak out plain what they required from me; and as my whole life had been spent, from the day I left my parents to that day, among people who were not called Quakers, I was very ignorant of their discipline. I made no apology for what I had done, nor did they ask me to give a reason for so doing; indeed, it did not appear to me to be a breach of the laws either of God or man, and if not, it needed no apology; and although they could not

JoHI Saward allo took an action part respecting the vestery in my havour and the it was the first of the kind I was not in the least purieto how to got about it find well skill in figuran I could proportion every port both as to is strength required in each part and the number of turns each wheel ought to make and could work at the Lath in turning the Wheels of pinions the worstwar to git a proper hand to help me for no man can doe such workalone at length a raged fellow offerd who had but one there and a raged one it was I coupley them he was a good werk man an honest Tellow and good natural parts but had contracted Bad habits by working with sotte who if popuble will leven all sober men into the same lumps and if they earl dor that endeavour to drive him from them this is the ruice of many Jober men whose is to work in greate Shoper by his help y may close attention the work was completed so as to be well approved by both the men who wave to inspect it one on my behalf the other for the Parigh and I was paid the Money this was in the year 1761 with this Money I paid of the quatest part but not all the Debte I had contracted in the time of my destrops While I was making this (look Several Friends - ch company, by appointment of the Meeting Viset - 20 me for the first time concerning my being Mar-- ried by the Priest (as they term it) which Marriage was Confuminated in the year 1744 and in dark kints would have me uncerstand I might return to the flock but did not spake out plain what they required from me; and as my whole life had been spent from the day Heft my Farents to that day among people. who ware not calle Quaken I was very Ignerant of their Dipaplin I made no apology for what I had don nor did thay ask me to give a Reason for so doing inded it did not appear to me to be a breach of the Laws either of god or Man and if not it needed no apology and alltho than could not

be strangen to my former Toverty none of them offered to afirst me to foreware the work I was then about, which Some of my neighbours who made little pretentions to Reli--gion very kindly did and to take no notice of my trans -grafting their rules till after so many han had clapsed is an Omission they are better able to give a reason for than I am: but the Sheephan who suffer any of his Hock to stray and doch not endeavour to collect them to his fold risks the lop of them by will Beasts or the wiched danger of their herding with the Grates Haveing now completed the Clock to General Satisfaction and to my own content and paid of several defits that for many year lay as a havy Burden on my mind I had now courage to go on with every part of my Busines with better spirits and endeavourd to improve every part thereof; in which my wife also Laboured rather beyond her strongth omitting no-- thing that she could doc to git the rut of our Debts paid; and the prijudece of my being a fardener y Unable to doc any thing in the Clock burnis began to ware off the man who, help'd in making the Church - Clock being a rambler left not for any desgust to me but to indulge his rambling Spirit I got a nocks man who made several small Clark for me y nearly (with my help) compleated a Large Turnet (tak which after he was fon I finished and put up for mer Wollaston near Stomarket in Suffolk and thus my affairs began to improve my mind much carier and my Delle lepend for in the year 17.69 I paid John later for Goods I had from him in the year 1745, and in the year 1770 I paid Loward Bally Watch Commakes five Tound forces Shillings which Compleated the Sum of hatean pound eleven Shillings due to him Sum of hatean pound eleven shellings out to plan by my Note of hand Date 29 of Norm 1752 I allo paid 15, of July 1762 Dr John Jothergill two pound and 2 Thilling which he lend me on my Note Dated the 23 of January 1747: About the time as Friends became Johes of Achworth School Dr Jothergill has thoughts of presenting themwith a Furnt (lock and

be strangers to my former poverty, none of them offered to assist me to forward the work I was then about, which some of my neighbours who made little pretensions to religion very kindly did, and to take no notice of my transgressing their rules till after so many years had elapsed is an omission they are better able to give a reason for than I am; but the shepherd who suffers any of his flock to stray, and doth not endeavour to collect them to his fold, risks the loss of them by wild beasts or the danger of their herding with the goats (wicked men).

Having now completed the clock to general satisfaction, and to my own content, and paid off several debts that for many years lay as a heavy burden on my mind, I had now courage to go on with every part of my business with better spirits, and endeavoured to improve every part thereof,—in which my wife also laboured rather beyond her strength, omitting nothing that she could do to get the rest of our debts paid, and the prejudice of my being a gardener, and unable to do anything in the clock business, began to wear off. The man who helped in making the Church clock, being a rambler, left me, —not for any disgust to me, but to indulge his rambling spirit. I got another man who made several small clocks for me, and nearly (with my help) completed a large turret clock, which, after he was gone, I finished and put up for Mr. Wollaston, near Stowmarket, in Suffolk; and thus my affairs began to improve, my mind much easier, and my debts lessened, for in the year 1762 I paid John Cater for goods I had from him in the year 1745; and in the year 1770 I paid Edward Bailey, watch-case maker, five pounds four shillings, which completed the sum of sixteen pounds eleven shillings, due to him by my note of hand, date 29th of November, 1752; I also paid, on the 15th of July, 1762, Dr. John Fothergill, two pounds and two shillings which he lent me on my note dated the 23rd of January, 1747. About the time, as Friends became possessed of Ackworth School, Dr. Fothergill had thoughts of presenting them with a turret clock, and

sent me to look at one he had seen. I viewed it, and went to his house to give him my opinion of it; he ordered me a breakfast, and went out, and I, after being well refreshed, went home, and a little while before he died he gave me two guineas for my trouble.

The money I paid to Edward Bailey was, as I best remember, the last payment of the debts I had contracted in the time of my distress, and (as I suppose) was what he had given over for lost. I must not forget Joseph Clark, clockcase maker, to whom I had been long indebted. I went to him for a clock-case, and said if he would please to send it I hoped to pay for it on the delivery, but could not say when I should be able to pay him what I owed. He replied, "O! God bless you, master, I will never rest your widow for it." How different was this from the treatment I met with from one called a Friend, to whom, on Sir Hans Sloane's account, I had paid several sums of money, and his demand was not so large as Mr. Clark's, yet he could threaten to arrest me for it; and I do say I have been unkindly used by individuals, as also by the Society, but don't know that I ever did anything to offend any of them, nor in any part of my conduct have I been guilty of anything that may draw reproach or scandal on our profession, for I have to the most of my power laboured to pay every man his due, and to live in peace with all men, and think I may venture to say few have exceeded me in those points; but lay no claim to extraordinary holiness, well knowing I have done those things I ought not to have done, and left undone those things I ought to have done; but am not convinced that my being married by the Priest is of the former, nor my not using the plain language, so-called, is of the latter, because there is no mode or form given us in Scripture how marriage is to be solemnised; and as to language, I think that is the true plain language that gives a clear and perfect idea of the speaker's

Sent me to look at one he had seen I view it and went to to his House to give him my opinion of it he crowd me a brakefast and went out and faffer lang well refreshe went home and a little while before he died he gave me two Guines for my trouble The money I paid to Forward Bailey was as Itest remem ber the last payment of the Debte I had contracted in the time of my Distrift and (as I suppose) was what he has given over for losts I must not forgit Joseph-- Clark Clark Can-maker to whome I had been long indeht - To I went to him for a Clock-case and said if he would please to send it I hop'd to pay for it on the beliet - my but could not say when I should be able to pay him what I owed, he replyed Olfod Blefs you mater this will never net your Willow for it . Then different was from the treatment I met with some call a Friend to whome on IHI, account I had paid several Juins of money and his comand was not so large as mi Clarks yet he could threaten to anot me for it and Jooc say I have been unkindly used by individu as allso by the Jointy but don't know that I ever Did any thing to offered any of them nor in any part of my Conduct have I been quilty of any thing that may draw Reproach and Seandall on our profesion for I have to the most of my power labour - Ed to pay every man his due and to live in prace with all Men and think I may venter to say fiew have exceed me in those points but lay no (laim to extraordinary Holynes well knowing I have don there thenys I ought nel to have don and and left unden those things I ought to haviden but am not convinced that my being Manice by the Trust is of the former nor my not theing the plain Language of the latter because there is no mode or form given us in Scriptun how marriage is to be Solemnized and as to Language I think that is the true plain Language that gives a clear and perfect Idea of the Spakers

Sentements on what ever he may be talking about as to the Singulary Hural Humber many of our plain Friend of the younger Branches Ku is in a way and manner neither Serystural nor Gamatical this kass me to make som remarks on on the Word Friend which more than Sixty years was introduced into the Society as an expression of respect to supply the place of m' or mers for before: that the meanest Sawant or Child in spakeing of y way fee both their Propper names on George Fox William Jenn, Joseph Hale ye, but the word Trund as now used among Ils is some times falle as when applyed to perhaps the greates for the Spaker has in the World and is allways un intidag - ble busine the word Friend is boath Masculine and Tremenine the word Sheep is both Singules and Mural and as in the English, the word you the not truly Gramatical is by long practice made both Singular and Plural I know no raion why it should not be uit as such; if any Jerson can truly say they home been fully convince in their own Conchience thay ought not; let them follow that forviction but not confure other who never felt such totaling Restraint And as to outward Modes and forms of Jublick Worship People are Generally incline to practice that in which from their youth thay have been Educated and how knowethany Man which is most acceptable to the Divine Being therefore one as we would wish to neeve in that riput from others for I think it will be granted that every one who thinks attall seriously about Religion believe the mode he is in the practice of is the best but surely no extarnal Performance can give a Man acceptance with his Maker if if his Heart is not right in This Sight for if

sentiments on whatever he may be talking about. As to the singular and plural number, many of our plain Friends of the younger branches use it in a way and manner neither scriptural nor grammatical. This leads me to make some remarks on the word "Friend," which more than sixty years ago was introduced into the Society as an expression of respect to supply the place of Mr. or Mrs., for before the meanest servant or child, in speaking of their superiors, used both their proper names, as George Fox, William Penn, Joseph Hale, &c.; but the word Friend, as now used among us, is sometimes false, as when applied to, perhaps, the greatest foe the speaker has in the world, and is always unintelligible, because the word Friend is both masculine and feminine. The word "sheep" is both singular and plural; and as in the English tongue the word "you," though not truly grammatical, is by long practice made both singular and plural, I know no reason why it should not be used as such. If any person can truly say they have been fully convinced in their own conscience they ought not, let them follow that conviction, but not censure others who never felt such restraint.

And as to outward mode and forms of public worship, people are generally inclined to practise that in which from their youth they have been educated; and how knoweth any man which is most acceptable to the Divine Being? Therefore we should give the same indulgence to every one as we would wish to receive, in that respect, from others; for I think it will be granted that every one who thinks at all seriously about religion believes that mode he in the practice of is the best; but surely no external performance can give a man acceptance with his Maker if his heart is not right in His sight; for if

outward forms would do anything for us, our gracious Creator would have given us one, but we find He has not; on the contrary, when Christ conversed with the woman of Samaria He appointed neither time, mode, nor place, but said: "He that will worship the Father must worship Him in spirit and in truth," thereby indicating that all outward forms and places appointed for public worship avail little or nothing. (He also, in another place, says: "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there will I be in the midst of them"): nor indeed, how should it, for it is in the power of the vilest of mankind to perform and to comply with any rites and ceremonies, be they ever so pompous or ever so plain and simple. The Jews, who received their ceremonious worship from the inspired Moses, so far perverted their ways that their sacrifices, new moons, their oblations, and their solemn assemblies, became hateful and an abomination to the Lord.

This proves the non-efficiency of outward performances when the heart is departed from the living God, nor is there anything that can render as well-pleasing in His sight and conformable to His will but a close adherence to the dictates of that inward and Spiritual Grace, a measure or manifestation whereof is given to every man to profit withal (and it is our fault if we do not profit by it); but this is the condemnation of the world, that light is come into the world, but men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil, and whoever has subdued any of his vicious and evil inclinations, it must be from something more efficacious than human laws. They may encourage the well-doer and punish the evil-doer, but cannot make the unrighteous man forsake his ways, not convert a sinner to God. It is that Grace of God which has appeared to all men; it is this that teaches to deny all ungodliness and worldly lust, and by this we learn to live soberly, righteously, and godly. In vain do men talk of and profess religion if they do not endeavour to do what's righteous, just, and good, and humbly and earnestly desire that He would be graciously pleased to direct their steps into and in that path which leads to eternal bliss and happiness. There is then no doubt but

outroad forms would doe any thing for the our Gracious about Crater would have given the one but you fine he has not; on the Contrary when Christ convent with the Roman of Jamaria he appointed Micher time Mode nor place lat Jail he that will Worship the father must worship Him men Spirit and in truth thereby Meicating that all out CH Juplie and forme and places appointed for Melick Horships of avail little or nothing nor indeed how should it for is in the power of the Vilest of Man kind to perve: form and to comply with any rite and commonyer to be thay over so pompious or ever so plain and Simple The Jews who received theer Commonions Worthis from the inspired Mofer sofar Sewested their ways that wir move their Jacrifices, new Moons their Oblations, and their Tolomn Openblys, became butchell and an abomination of mends with hatefull to the Lord nov is there anything performancy hat can render les well pleasing in His sight and Heat is conformable to his will but a close adherance to the, Qualis linguitates of that inward and Spiritual Grace a Measur or Manifestation whereof is given to every Man to profit withall (and it is our own faules if we doe not mofil by it but this is the Condemnation of i North 63 that light is com into the World but men Love darkings rather than light because their beeds an will and who ever has subdued any of his visions and evil inclinations it must be from some thing mon Effications than Human Laws thay may encourage the well door and punish the evel doier but cannot make the Unsightous man forsate his ways nor Convert a Sinner to God it is that Grace of God which the appeared to all men it is that Teacher to deny all lingodlynch and this that Teacher to deny all lingodlynch and worldly lust and by this Lam to the Toberty Right -tecuffy and Godly; In vain doc men talk of and Trofets Religion if they doe not endeavour to doe whats highteous Just and Good and hunbly yearnesty desure that He would be growing pleased to back which. direct their their steps into y in that leads to ctornal Blif and hoppyness then is then

but He will approved afirst them by that in\_ ward and Spiritual Grace which the Church of Englandley than we the Baptizeing of Infants as a means when by they receive they means it but we say (as the Serietures delars) a Measure or Manifestaton thereof hath appeared to every man and another is no Command not form of infant Baptisim recorded in deripture me doe not the it but we believe and Jum of us (and I tout that many Thousand of the the differes Jeets under the Christan name have experined a preservation from the commission of some greate evil into which thay ware like to have faller by the faticement of Tinners I say I Doubt not but many have felt them Selver delivered from the Commission Lord by an inward Impulse on their Souls and what can this be but the Spirit oftruth which if daly regarded would lead and quitter into all Fruth and Jury there is none except there who are given over to work Nicked ness with greedy ness and cran iniquety as with core of tan--ity and Sin as with Cortrope but docth at times feel a sharp reproof for their own Souls for what they have don a mit this is the Lords doing if is His Chastinement it is the Rod of His Displeasure then is the time to Secke is Lord for if at such times the is Diligently Sought He will Junely be found for then he is near and therefor Then oughtest to Call upon him least He withdraw His vifitations from thee and thou be given over to a Rymobate Hund but if Thou humble they self before Him and His the Rod of His Displeasure He is Maryful and Will Janon all they Frangefrions and heal all they back Slydings then that the Thallt Thou be enabled to praise Magnified and adore His most Holy hame this is (I Hunbly conceive) the Spiritual Worship But

He will assist them by that inward and Spiritual Grace which, the Church of England say, they use the baptizing of infants as a means whereby they receive it; but we say (as the Scriptures declare) a measure or manifestation thereof hath appeared to every man, and as there is no command nor form of infant baptism recorded in Scripture, we do not use it; but we believe, and some of us (and I trust that many thousands of the different sects under the Christian name) have experiences, a preservation from the commission of some great evil into which they were like to have fallen by the enticement of sinners. I say I doubt not but many have felt themselves delivered from the commission of evil by an inward impulse on their souls, and what can this be but the spirit of truth, which, if duly regarded, would lead and guide us into all truth; and surely there is none, except those who are given over to work wickedness wit greediness, and draw iniquity as with cord of vanity, and sin as with cart rope, but doth at times feel a sharp reproof in their own souls for what they have done amiss. This is the Lord's doing; it is His chastisement; it is the rod of His displeasure. Then is the time to seek the Lord, for if at such times He is diligently sought He will surely be found, for then He is near, and therefore thou oughtest to call upon Him lest He withdraw His visitations from thee, and thou be given over to a reprobate mind: but if thou humble thyself before Him and kiss the rod of His displeasure, He is merciful, and will pardon all thy transgressions, and heal all thy backslidings; then shalt thou be enabled to praise, magnify, and adore His most Holy Name. This is (I humbly conceive) true Spiritual Worship.

But as to external modes and forms of public worship, I hope very few or none will be so uncharitable as to deny salvation to any of the professors of Christianity, be their external performances what they may, for every man who fears God and works righteousness shall find acceptance with Him. But there is such a strange propensity in man for novelty: they will have new fashions in their clothes, their houses, and furniture, and religion, also, sometimes forsaking the better and introducing the worse, rejecting what might be retained, and obtrude on us as doctrine the precepts of men; and to such extremes have they run in the observance of externals, that when in power have cruelly put to death multitudes who could not comply with their ceremonies, they being wholly alienated from the true spiritual worship, and quite forsaking the precepts and the essence of the Christian religion (for that is peace on earth and good will towards men), have become volunteers in the Devil's works, and by such doings have brought much reproach and scandal on the Christian religion among those nations who believe not in Christ.

I have made a much longer digression from my story than I intended, but now resume my narrative. When I had discharged all my debts, and was more easy both in mind and circumstances, I gave my thoughts a turn to serve the public; and as many have lost their lives in the flames when their dwellings have been on fire, I contrived a means whereby they might escape from any window on the upper part of the house when the bottom was on fire; and also a means for an immediate supply of water to serve the engines to extinguish the fire, and was at the expense of printing a number of handbills, hired two young men to give them into the hands of gentlemen and merchants at the gates of the Exchange; and I bought the Directory, and went myself to most of the aldermen's houses and gave in at each of them a bill, and to many

But as to Latinal Modes and forms of Jublick Worship Salvature to the Profesion of Christianity be their external performance what they may for every man who from and works Righteening that fine acceptanceith But there is such a straing propertiate in Man for Hovaley they well have new faftaens in their Maaths, their Louses, and furniture, and heliso gion allso, some times forsaking the better and intro-- ducting the won Respecting what might be retained and Obtacoon us, as docting the proceets of men and to such extreams have they run in the Observance ct of Laternals that when in Power have livelly putte Death multitudes who could not comply with their commony thuy being wholy alinated from the true Spiritual worksp and Quite forsaken the procepts and the exence of the Christian Religion (for that is poors on faith and Good will lowords Men have becom Volantien in in the Develo Works and by such docing hove brought much Rymach and Seandal on the Christian Reli--gion among those flations who believe not in Christ I have madea. weuch longer Degress from whyattory than I intended but new return resumme my Harra tive When I had Desharged all my Debts and was more carry both in mind and cercumstance I garee my thoughts a turn to saw the Sublick and as many have lost their lives in the flames when their Dwellings have been on Fire Jeontrived a means where they might escape from any windon on the upper part of the House when the botton was on his and allo a means for an imediate Supply of water to saw the Engiens to estinguish the fire and wasat the expense of minting a Humber of hand better hired 2 young men to give them into the hands Gentlemen and Marchants at the Gottes of the Pochange and I bought the Directory and went · my self to most of the alldermens Houses and . gave in at each of them a Bill and to many

other Jenous and Contlemen of Hote but found very fino who pays any Regard to it except my Workly Friend Thomas Corbyn who did all in Recomend is to the Sublick to he to the Junpor Office and y hand in Hand which Offices I went and Derek for the Escape from fire but ded not obtain a hearing at lither alleho the meanes tolocopy from fire and allso the Supply for water are Juch that that will not soon be out son by any other contrivance I allo Divised a meens to to bake Bread in an Oven to be Built in such a Monner that in might be heated with any kind of fruit and be Used Serpetual for as soon as one Batch of Proad was Frown that very In - stant another might be put in the I thought might be very Esefull when a Large fleet or army word Imediat Supply of Bread Dawings of this and O Description of the Same I sent to to the Soundy in the Strand for the Encourage - ment of arts de who rejected it If the Said South had thought fett to enquer In to the Memts of it and Given be a Bounty I Should not have been above accepting it but 9 could not find any Propriety in their expect ing me to be at 20 or 30 pound expense to make tryal of a Schuen from which Teouts have no Frofit Several Other things I Devised Some of which I am very tonfident had I money to parchase the Kings fra gift and a little more to Carry on the work I might before this time have acquired a Conciderable Than of Wealth The hand Bills I gave out as mentioned about Contains the Following North

other persons and gentlemen of note, but found very few who paid any regard to it, except my worthy friend, Thomas Corbyn, who did all in his power to recommend it to the public; and he applied to the Sun Fire Office, and the Handin-Hand, to both which offices I went, and learned my device for the escape from fire, but did not obtain a hearing at either, although the means to escape from fire, and also the supply for water, are such that they will not soon be outdone by any other contrivance. I also devised a means to bake bread in an oven to be built in such a manner that it might be heated with any kind of fuel and be used perpetual, for as soon as one batch of bread was drawn that very instant another might be put in. This, I thought, might be very useful when a large fleet or army wanted immediate supply of bread. Drawings of this, and a description of the same, I sent to the Society in the Strand for the Encouragement of Arts, &c.—who rejected it.

If the said Society had thought fit to enquire into the merits of it and given me a bounty, I should not have been above accepting it; but I could not find any propriety in their expecting me to be at twenty or thirty pounds expense to make trial of a scheme from which I could have no profit. Several other things I devised, some of which I am very confident, had I money to purchase the King's free gift, and a little more to carry on the work, I might before this time have acquired a considerable share of wealth.

The handbills I gave out, as mentioned above, contained the following words:

TO THE PUBLICK IN GENERAL, BUT MORE ESPECIALLY TO THE INHABITANTS OF LONDON, FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MANKIND AND THEIR DWELLINGS, &C., FROM DESTRUCTION BY FIRE. (July 18th, 1774.)

Edmund Howard, in the King's private Road,
Chelsea, by this means endeavours to inform them that he
has contrived a cheap, easy, and safe method for any Person
to escape from the top or upper part of any house when
the bottom is on fire; also an instantaneous and perpetual
supply of water for engines to extinguish fire in all parts of
London, and many other towns in England. If any of the
Insurance Offices or any other Companys think this worthy
their notice, I am ready to attend them as they shall please
to appoint; if an individual, I may be found at Chelsea.

The Inventor thinks he can prove to satisfaction what he has here advanced, and his good will to the Publick urges him thus to address them.

N.B.—The devise for escape from fire may in two or three minutes be fixed to any window; it may be carried anywhere by a lad of twelve years old.

Thus have I given a faithful account of several circumstances and various vicissitudes that have attended me through my progress in life, all of which I have wrote from memory, now in the seventy-sixth year of my age, except money matters, which for the dates of notes and the time of paying them I referred to the notes themselves; and as my business would not suffer me to write long at a time nor to search

To the Publick in general but more expecially Contrives a Cheap early and sofe enon to escape from the tops alled an instantaniony and perfiche Water for Engines to eatinguish fore parts of London and many other Towns Company think this worthy I am ready to attend this as please to appount if an Indevesual The Inventor thinks he can prove to Satisfac tion what he has here advanced and his good will to the Jublick urger him there to address RB the Devik for I scape from Fire may in two or three Minutes be before to any Window i may be carried any when Thus have I given a faithfull account of several Circumstances and various visitudes and that have attended me thro' my mograse in life all of which I have wrote from memory now in the 76 year of my aige except money matters which for the Dates notes and the time of paying them I referred to the notes them selver and as my bufuch would not Suffer me to wright long at a time nor to sarch over

34 over Scattere papers there may not best rigular Juerefien of occurances as Jecute have given had . I time to examine such popen and helpias I might found in my Stores but this Jean say that what has part between me and other vocatly and it for the most part Verbatum and where I could not doe so I have given as near as possible the the true sence and meaning of what past between me and them I Shall now make som kemarks and observations on some parts of this navaticans then Conclude this acet of my Journey thro Life and first the pump and which work which I made in my Infancy as mentroned in the fore part of this narrative causes some talk in the High boushood so much that after I was placed out to be a gamener some folks of Destine tion come several muly tout in their loach to see it and was baulked when informed I wai gon: perhap had I persued that tract some of them might promoted my intestin that way my Moster Bur and his Neighbour if they had bun Generous would have bun mor Liberal when I settled their accompt as has been Mentioned nor did he give me any thing by his well the he gaine more by me than any apprentice he cois had Generous ded not pay the Surgeon at Chelea who attend me for a hart I got by a kick from a Hon when on a Journey in Her bufiness not relating to Gardening it is true she paid the Surgeon in the Country who attended me allof him at Chelica who had me under his land month

over scattered papers, there may not be so regular succession of occurrences as I could have given had I time to examine such papers and help as I might have found in my stores; but this I can say, that was has passed between me and the others vocally is, for the most part, verbatim; and where I could not do so I have given as near as possible the true sense and meaning of what passed between me and them.

I shall now make some remarks and observations on some parts of this narrative, and then conclude this account of my journey through life. And first the pump and wheel work which I made in my infancy, as mentioned in the forepart of this narrative, caused some talk in the neighbourhood, so much that, after I was placed out to be a gardener, some folks of distinction came several miles in their coach to see it, and was balked when informed I was gone. Perhaps, had I pursued that track, some of them might have promoted my interest in that way. My Master Burr, and his neighbour, if they had been generous, would have been more liberal when I settled their account, as has been mentioned; nor did he give me anything by his will, though he gained more by me than any apprentice he ever had.

My Mrs. Edwards, although remarkably generous, did not pay the surgeon at Chelsea who attended me for a hurt I got by a kick from a horse when on a journey in her business not relating to gardening. It is true she paid the surgeon in the country who attended me almost every day for a whole week, but took no notice of him at Chelsea who had me under his care a month.

I was at that time a yearly servant, so the loss of time, which was five or six weeks, did not affect me, and I had a good table to go to; but the surgeon who attended me after I came home was paid by myself, and she never asked anything about it, which omission could hardly be expected from so generous a lady.

I was gardener to Mr. Revel one year complete, but he was so little there that we scarce knew each other's disposition. Had I stayed with him till we were better acquainted, it is probable I might not have left him as long as he lived. He was a good master, and did well by several of his servants.

I was a servant to Sir Hans Sloane about six or seven years, and did so many things for him as could hardly be expected from a gardener and a man in my rank of life, that had I done the same for some gentlemen they would have endeavoured to advance me by their recommendations to other gentlemen, the which he never did.

But of all the occurrences of my life none is more strange and harder to account for than the conduct of the Society of which I am reputed a member, who have been known to bestow their favours, and to assist strangers, some of whom have been no credit to them, and many have they assisted who have, perhaps, not merited it more than myself, who never had in my life from them, as a Society, more than one half-guinea. Those who knew me well will believe this, but few others, as the Quakers, so-called, have the reputation of being very liberal to their brethren, although I am certain they could not be strangers to my distress, and as they have large donations to enable them to help the needy, they might have spared me a little; and surely to help the industrious and honest, who are lately entered into business and have hard struggles to support their families, and pay their creditors their full demands, is as laudable an act as it is to assist those who by their ill conduct have obliged their creditors to comply with a composition, and to take a part

I was at that time a yearly Sawant so the doft of time which was 5 of 6 weeks did not effect me and I had a good table to go to but the Jurgeon who attend me after came home was paid by my self and the never asked anything about it which could hardly be expect from so generous a lady 4 was Gardener to Mr Kevel one year complete butte ven so little there that we scane kenew each others Disposition had I stay's with him till we wan better adquainted its mobable I might not have left Him long as the livid He was a good Master and did on me well by several of his Sawante Whether I was a Sawant to Stars Sloone about 6 or y Years button and ded so many things for Him as could hardly the sustable corrected from a gardener and a man in my rank a last harof life that had I done the same for some Gentle the sputte men thay would have endeavoured to advanced bang very mer by their recommendators to other Gentlemen wiralto the which he never did Anden But of all the Occurances of my life none is more Irrange and harder to account for than the Conduct of the Society of which I am reputes a member who have been knowen to bestow their Favour and to afrist Scrangen some of whoohe have been no Pridit to them and many have they assisted who have perhaps not Merrited it more than my self. more than one half guenea alltho I am certain they could not be Strangers to my Distrefy and hits the needy and surely to bills the indus and Honefit who are lattly entred into bufine for and have hand truggles to support their Fram-- ilyer and pay their Inditon their full Domands is as Landiable an act as it to abist those who by their ill Conduct have Obliged their (reditors to compily with a Composition and to take a part

the whole which to the greate reproach ranked among the enmes of the fint Magnetus and from which the allowighty Lord has hither me to the end of my Days and I hope Ishall when He is pleased to tall me hence Lay don my Head in seace and alltho I have had han Strugles to get a Livey hood and never in my Creator bistories on me many of Blefrings as Health of Body, peace of Mine. a good Wife Dutefull (hildren sa plesant habitation; in which I have been Imployed above fourly years in such Occupations as I shall now fonclude in the

instead of the whole, which to the great reproach and scandal of our Society we have had but too many instances of in our day, the which, in George Fox's time, would have been ranked among crimes of the first magnitude, and from which the Almighty Lord has hitherto preserved me, and I trust He will be with me to the end of my days, and I hope I shall, when He is pleased to call me hence, lay down my head in peace, and although I have had hard struggles to get a livelihood, and never in my power to gain wealth, yet hath my gracious Creator bestowed on me many of His choicest blessings, as health of body, peace of mind, a good wife, dutiful children, and a pleasant habitation; in which I have been employed above forty years in such occupations as have afforded me much pleasure, though small gains. I shall now conclude, in the words of Scripture: Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, just and true are Thy ways; glory to God on high, on earth peace and goodwill towards men.

Amen.

October, 1785. EDMUND HOWARD.