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4

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

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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, &c. 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 Narrative of some of the
occurrences in the life of Edmund Howard
of the Parish of Chelsea
wrote by him self in y^e Year 1785

I was Born in the Year 1709-10 on the 27th Day of February
Parents members of the monthly Meeting at Windsor
of the People call'd Quaker and they were as exemplars
in their dealings and Religious conduct as any of that
Society or any other my Father was a Black-Smith
and in small dealing, in Ironmongy, good Pitch Tar
Rosin oyle & Turpentine &c. My Mother was the Daugh^r
of a Tradesman in Windsor they lived in love and
concord to gather about 20 years and their good example
and Godly care for training up their Children in
moral & Religious duties might I hope be equalled
by many but out done by very few. My Mother keep
a Shop & sold Grocers Haberdashen goods Candles Soap Salt &c
kept 2 Cows made butter for y^e Market & 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 at 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 & also had to make
Leases indentures &c that busness increasing caus'd his
being often from home and the School would not well
answer to keep an Usher his boarders drop away few
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to a poor Man who had none but Day Scholars and none
of them nor our Master of the said Society what he
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then call'd a Nonjuror he liv'd 3 Miles from my Father
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nearer except the Parson of the Parish *

This was not
the man who
put my Father
in Prison

2
and tho' 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
the eldest not above seven years he suffered him self to
be taken to Reading Jail for nonpayment 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 her self to Reading to carry them
for my Father but can't remember how long he was
a Prisoner I have heard of some and yearly Meeting Epistles
mention frequently great Sums of Money in their acc^t
of Friend Sufferings but I never knew any one who
could with propriety be said to suffer but my own
Father. Having now finished this digression I return to
give some farther acc^t of my self The bucket of a pump was
sent to be mended it was the first I had ever seen and I was
a perfect stranger to the component parts of a pump as
we had but 2 or 3 in those parts from this view of it bucket
I made a small pump complete I also made an overshot
wheel about 16 inches diameter which I learned by going to mill
with grist to this wheel I added 2 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 12 & 14 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
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 gainfull and respectable
Occupation I was desirous to be a Gardener tho' by the bye
I think there is no Occupation more truly Respectable
and healthfull 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
at Apprentice in the Year 1724. My Father was a perfect
stranger to the art of Gardening and ~~from~~ my Parents
had a tender and godly care for me as to my Religious

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.

3
and Moral Conduct and more thoughts and care for me on that head than to place me with the most compleat 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 Skillfull he had no knowledge of the most curious parts thereof nor 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 to 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 hough 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 hough the most ground in a day was Qualification the most desirable to him had I know this and how little He was able to teach me that art which of all others I am yet acquainted requires as good natural Talants 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 Gentlemans Gardens of our own Neighbourhood However as I was bound I thought it my Duty to Obay my Master Lawfull command my fellow workfolks Men & 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

4 I was employed in 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 penny as vails 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 3 mice one penny this pleasing employment
then came to me and as I had no other means of furnish-
ing my pocket I thought it a great acquisition and applyd
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 shew my
master I caught so many my Master instead of giving
me some encouragement ~~lowers~~ the price and would give
no more than a penny for 4 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 thro' them on the floor to
the cat one half at a time which she eagerly devoured
in the presence of our Master & so imposed on him which
might easily be done as they were bro't in by candle
light in the Morning the winter being the time for catch-
ing them and that he prompt'd me to do but my Dear
Parent had instructed me better. This tho' it may seem
a meer trifle to those boys who's 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 skill'd in what is call'd reading of men
After some time (about 3 year) Samuel Smith one of
the people call'd Quakers left my Master and took a Garden
close to my Master's & Sir H. Sloane's Garden those 3 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 call'd to settle the acct
a dispute arose between them about 3 pence which
she required to be abated and he refused at length
he said Give the boy 6 pence I have seen him
often save your baskets from being drove away by
the tide She replied here Edmund take 6 pence
but then you must do 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,

5
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tree

one the purchase of which left my purse all most
 empty by this time I at one time I inarch several
 young Stocks (as I best remember 7 or 8) all of which
 took well except one which was broke by the wind
 altho I had never seen one done and no one in our
 garden knew how to do it but were almost stran-
 -gers to it name. In doing those 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 & Mistress and
 had now a few shillings at command about this
 time my Father ask'd me how I went on and how
 my Master & M^{rs} used me I replied very kindly &
 I shall scarce ever be more happy in my life which
 answer I dare say was matter of much comfort to
 my Tenderly affectionate Parents Among the
 acquaintance I had selected I must not forget one
 John le Bain a French man whom I knew when
 he lived at Chelsea & work'd in a Nursery where I went
 to learn to bud trees he went to be under Gardener
 at Putney and there introduced me to M^r Le Serf
 head Gardener to M^r Dutillo. At that time M^r
 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 Grape Vine ^{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 employ'd
 till ^{within} 20 Months or 2 Year 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~~
 my Master took weekly all my Wages and
 for some time gave me nothing at length
 my M^{rs} every week gave me a shilling and
 continued to do so till my time expired then
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 same

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 tree I at one time inarched several young stocks (as I best
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 seen one done, and no one in our garden knew how to do
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 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 grape-
 vine 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 ground-work, 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 inserted 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 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 & water Barrow I had no opportunity to learn any thing of that part call'd Ground work nor had I ever seen a stake drove or a level line made which strain'd my mental faculties much to find how to do this work none of my fellow work men could assist me and my Master was not skill'd in such matters and I young and bashfull (about 19) was unwilling to shew my ignorance but being acquainted with the use of numbers and had some knowlage of the rudiments of Geomaty I sett out the work measured the new Oval drove the stakes 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 way for the Coach round the Oval and completed the whole in such sort that I don't remember any Person ever said it ought to have been don 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 to the satisfaction 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 thought the Friends would take some notice of me and receive me into their meetings of discipline, but they took not the least notice

7
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He was born in the Parish of Fulham less than a
mile from my Masters garden in which he was employ
by my Master from a boy till he went into business for
him self a few Years before the death of my Master:
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call'd Quakers both dead before I knew him he was
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of

of me and receive me into their Meetings of Disaplin
 but they took not the least notice of me nor by any
 means what ever gave the ~~least~~ least hint that
 I might attend such Meetings which disregard rais'd
 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 tho' there was at that time some
 Members of said Meeting who knew me from my birth
 but none of them inform'd me that I might attend
 those Meetings nor did I by any other means know
 it but thought all Meetings of Disaplin was conduct-
 ed and executed by a Chosen few or else that they
 did not think me worthy to make one of that
 number the latter of which they afterwards Dem-
 onstrated by not giving an answer and take-
 ing 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 latter tongue and some Skill
 in Geometry and Algebra by his advise I Bro^t Wards intro-
 duction to the Mathematics and by his assistance acquire
 some knowledge in Geometry and Algebra for we met
 often to compare our works & to help each other I Bro^t
 also Millers Gardeners Dictionary Gregorys Opticks Desa-
 guiliers Experimental Philosophy and several books
 of land Surveying Mensuration and Geometry I also Bro^t
 a Theodolite and labour'd hard to fitt my self for
 Surveying Land and measuring artificers work applying
 closely to the Study of those arts and being then a
 Gardener the long evenings in the Winter much favour'd
 my Studies and in this way did I employ near the
 whole of my leisure hours during my servitude to Mr
 Edward I also read with attention Gregorys Opticks &
 made for my self 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 what ever I asked respect-
 ing the art of a Gardener I also was known to many
 eminent Gardeners on the West side of London & Nursery 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 my Talents in y^e art of Gardening I then gave my M^{rs} 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

9
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In a Parish Work-house. 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 at 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 & amiable Countenance engaged my attention had I then been inclined to enter the Married state I 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 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 by 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 & I came every Saturday to his House to dine there my Mrs. 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 2 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 of Kitchen Bake-house & abundance of other large Offices together with Coach-house and Stables & adequate to so noble and antient a Pallace which had been near if not more than 20 Years in Chancery Condition he furnished me like the Prophet must in a very ruinous House of Candlestick also a Bed besides which I had very little live & long 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 & the Kings Road about 100 Rod from each place nearer than which no one could lawfully come when the gates were shut.

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 arrears 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

10
11
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100 pounds of Beef stakes and sent them to a public
 house to be dress'd for my own dinner which was ~~extra~~
~~ingly~~ done but when I came to table behold there was two plates
 with a knife and fork to each this soon convinced me that half
 the quantity or less would be sufficient which for sometime
 I practis'd but it was so different from the manner in which
 I used to live that soon weary of that mode of providing for my
 self and Cooks shops we had none, this way getting my dinner
 subjected me to many inconveniences viz staying while it was
 dress'd drinking strong beer at my meals which I was not
 us'd to and some times more than I wanted and loss of time
 from my business I therefore got a tin kittle and when I could
 boyle a bit of mutton bacon &c or sent a scrap to the oven &
 us'd to take in a pint of small beer thus I liv'd for some
 time making my own bed & dressing my own victuals this
 manner of living was not pleasant to me but it was the
 best I could doe for going to a Beer house was dangerous
 of drawing into an ill habit as I could not expect
 them to broyl a steak for one pint of beer and I found
 two was some times too much and some times 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 us'd to come every week to set the plates
 dishes &c to rights 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 doe it than she 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 little of my wages for
 other uses for my pay was small and I had little to
 expect from my Parents or any body else was in
 hopes of saving something to put me in some
 way to live ~~that~~ the house in which ^{us'd} was more
 fit for the harbour of Owls and Batts or the Habitation
 of an Harmett than for a Man in the full vigor of youth in
 this forlorn place I lodged many Months and had the care
 of Gravill pits to pay the men and keep an account of the Gravel
 deliver'd out ~~the~~ Men were payed 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 requir'd some care and skill to keep a regular account to
 whom it was sold 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

13
it was drawn off as they worked in Company
and was 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 & 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 halfpenny worth of
Spinach lettuce & Cabbage &c for I sold the produce of
Garden by retail to the Neighbour and every week brought
the Money received to his Account as the days short-
ned it was some times dark before I retired to my
Lonely repose and the Neighbour would at times say
are you not afraid of the Ghost I replied no but I
was twice a little surpris'd in the night once by a
noise over my head ~~when~~ when I was broad awake
which I fear'd was thieves stealing lead for there was
a grate deal on the top of the House as I had no
one to speak to I could consult none but my own mind
some times I thought of going out by the most private
way and raise the Neighbour it being the dead of the
night I was doubtfull if I should get any Assistance
then I thought of going to the College for some of
the Pensioners but being doubtfull 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
a gain 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 y^e Morn^g
I got up went all over the top of y^e 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 walk'd
over most part of the House to shew 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: An other time I was much surpris'd
(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 astonish'd how she came
there being sure I made all the doors fast before I went
to rest reasoning much with my self at length I became

perfectly a week and for 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~~ out if neither and prevent its growing worse
 he then consulted one Mr. Sampson who was Surveyor at
 the Bank of England as to if cost of repairs who said it
 would cost five hundred pounds my advise was only to
 prevent it growing worse that he might see what
 might offer; about this time one Dr. Small proposed take-
 ing a good part of the garden and ^{though} 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
 Mr. 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 publick resort but none of them came
 to any thing some others made proposals of different kinds
 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 Acquaintance the one
 a Master Brick-layer 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 don't 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 Contract 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 tho' he proposed it and very ungrate-
 -full 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

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.

15
15
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 Posses 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 & thorns &c that had overgrown Beaufort Garden directing and keeping account of his Gravel diggers and cultivating some parts of Beaufort Garden some times to call on the Tenants who were in Arrear of rent and some times 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 Year 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 y time I purchased the premises this was a far more agreeable residence than the great house before Describ'd 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 day when that House was built this was the way the Material of that had compos'd the house was 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 y Covert of Royalty: As soon as my Master knew he had taken shelter there he order'd me to lock y Gates and not suffer Materials of any kind to be carried off this I refused to doe thinking he could not Legaly doe 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 endamnify me for so doing I then

16 I then secured and nailed up the front gate and lock or
other wise secure all doors and avenues to prevent their
carrying off Lead Iron or any thing else for this they had
torn the House to pieces pulled the Iron bars out of the windows
and by great part of y^e Lead from the top of y^e House sole y^e
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 Lead y^e Iron stored up in a strong room
which they had collected together and no small quantity
still remaining were it was originally fix'd
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 what they liked and drove 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 endeavored to
hinder their taking anything off from y^e ground
this raised such Malice and hatred in M^r Tayler and
his folks that I thought my life in some danger
however I did the best in my power for my Master
Intrest my life at this time was forenough from
happyness being continually Insulted by day and in much
fear of being abused or destroyed by night my Master
was obliged to consult y^e Lawyers how to deal with M^r Tayler
and at length got rid of him and the House in its mu-
tulated condition one 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 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 do-
ing it to which at last I complied and took to
perform that work a Carpenter & 9 or 10 Labour-
ing men I must here observe that what they had

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

17
had taken down and not carried off was left in the most confused manner my first business was to sort & place these 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 30 feet long and many stacks of chimney of large size and quite both 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 2 or 3 days each from their work this was owing to my trusting to a carpenters Judgement in preference to my own for he shored up a floor so slightly that it fell with most of the men on it ~~to~~ to the next floor which I suppose was about fourteen feet after this when anything dangerous was to be done I would not trust to 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 it 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 I 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 ~~Sold~~ fir at 6 p foot and what he said as to the many other things was as uncomplete and wrong as this and at that time new Oak & 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 acc^t. He who had Sir Hans Sloane's care at pleasure and knew ~~and knew~~ how to bias him failed not to give such advice as he knew would render my service

mean troublesome & unprofitable for he often con-
 -trived some means to make me uneasy and the Instru-
 -tions he gave me no ways adequate nor was it just
 for no man would give for old timber for more than
 one hundred year in the full of Nails & Mortice holes
 as great a price as for new and all he informs
 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 every thing else
 and Sir Hans willing to hope it would fetch in a larger
 sum by being sold at so high a rate and Sir Hans would
 persuade him self it would because Mr Sampson Sur-
 -veyor to the Bank of England (for some building then or
 lately done) told him so. Before I engage to pull down the
 House I solemnly protested to Sir Hans that I would not be con-
 -cerned with it if Mr Sampson had any thing to do with it and
 the first time I could speak to him there in his chariot contrary to my decla-
 -ration when I consented to undertake so displeasing 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 was silent but the
 next time he came then said to me in displeasure
 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 any
 thing 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 shew me the value 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
 of Timber be the ~~and~~ Scantling what ever it might
 and could readily measure any Wainscot and cast up
 the value of any quantity of Wainscot, Doors Shutter
 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 full 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 Garden

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 Sir Hans 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 displeasing
 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.

19
Garden inspecting his Small Tenements and Delivering
the work—then concerning repairs to them allso Deliver-
ing out from Beaufort House such materials as they might
want and keeping acc^t of what I deliver to whom & where
and I now began to think my Wages ought to be raised
for I hitherto had but fourteen Shillings per Week and
no lawfull perquisite but more of this here after from
this small pay I had to find my self in all the Necessaries
of life Lodging (and fire wood of which the old house furnish
abundance) excepted My business was from one end of
Town to the other and tho' I have been all my life careful
and I think frugal yet could not always avoid some
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House my Lodging was moved as before said; at that
time I had a younger Brother who had learned the Trade
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of better pay and Employment more to my Satisfaction
he seem'd unwilling to part with me and add'd some
more to my pay but took care to lay on more Business
the

20 The particulars of this agreement I don't well
remember but he now required every Trades-man
Bill ^{should be inspected} and if for work don by Measure to see that
measurement was just and that I should sign the
bills before he paid them. This and the before mentioned employ-
ments afforded me very little leisure also the pre-
paring 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 floors, board doors, Shutters, wains-
cot 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 scant-
ling and all this to be don by a Gardener I believe
will be allowed to be a work of much care and cir-
cumspction This I did with cheerfullness and pleas-
-pleasure the paving Stone and Iron ye was not set
by Mr Sampson at so high a price as the board and Timber
therefor 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 look'd amazed
other affronted and many sneered when they an-
-swered; for I offered it at the price Mr Sampson
putt 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 for
less; they answered to this effect he must be ignor-
-ant 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 usefull scantling freest from nails
and mortice holes I also some times 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 tak-
-en more liberty that way so as the Money was
coming in I think he would have been better satis-
-fied and myself Justified in so doing but had
Done so my adversary would have delineated.

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 floor-boards, 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 gimcracks, 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 forty-two 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

21
it in the worst of colours and placed it in such a light as might have ruined my character

The labouring men who were employ'd 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 employ'd and some to y^e Gravel pits but the most part of the goods stuck on hand as I told M^r H^{is} Majesty they would when I undertook the ^{business} and desired him if it should not to blame me for it. Before I had done with Beaufort House M^r Edwards the Lady to whom I had formerly been Gardener left the Great House adjoining to y^e Bishop of Winchester's called the Manor House where she had lived many Year This House being very large and Capable to contain his Library and all his Collection of Gimcracks He left his House in little Russel street near Bloomsbury Square declined his practice of Physick and retired to y^e said house with all his vast Collection All which except a few which he use to bring him self in his Chariot pass'd thro' my hands those he bro't his ware chief-ly Gold & silver Medals diamond Jewels and other precious Stone and among these I doubt not but he had many gods of gold & gods of silver for I one day unpack'd a large case full of gods of y^e antient Egyptians Greeks & Romans &c. but to give in detail only the 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 forty two Thousand other book in his Library among which was one room full of Specimens of Dried plants all which pass'd thro' my hand he us'd to appoint the rooms in which the Books was to be stor'd up and I to receive them they were sent loose in carts and toss'd from the cart to a Man on a Ladder who toss'd them in at a window up one pair of Stairs to a Man who caught them there as men doe Bricks and I was employ'd as before mention'd 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
duly

Duly settled and paid. 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 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 is 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 would be difficult to get their rent perhaps not 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

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 would 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 fellow-servants. 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

23
Was a bad hint to a young man going to engage in an employment that much money, not his own, must pass thro' his hands, and tho' I have said I 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~~ 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 rest a while and relate some other matters. I came from Surrey and returned to Chelsea I left in Mr Revels Service a young Woman to whom I had a greater liking than to any of my other or former fellow Servants 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 tho' 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 nor 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 her

27
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 30 Miles from
London whether 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 20 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 others mind on this matter) prompted
to address a Young Woman whose Father was
gardener to a Noble Man 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 So-
ciety 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 was not my principal
Object I took my Brother with me we walk'd
to the place about or more than 10 Miles & gain'd
admittance saw the Father of the Damsel but
doe not remember that we were ask'd into the House
but as we desired to see the Garden he order'd one
of his Men (who was of the people call'd Quakers) to show
us the Garden he walk'd with us some time and
I expected his ^{master} would have sent some body to ask
us in enquiring of the Man for his Master he
answer'd he is gon to Meeting thither we all so
went which was about 3 Miles and there we found
Christopher

28
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 gate-post I withdrew, saying to myself,

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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 ~~and~~ 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 ^{principles to} their principles whose appearance need not cause any body to be shy of them and thus my brother accompanied me in a walk of more than thirty miles to no purpose ~~with a friend of our Society~~
~~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 shewn the way out of the garden by a private door as my brother and I were so we was asked into the house bread cheese and beer set before us I don't remember to have seen both of Father & 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 much 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 I ^{was} sent me into that neighbourhood to forbid a Tenant paying rent to the man who used to receive it 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 & gate post I withdrew saying to my self
you

You & your Daughter may go & be hanged You did not use me well when I was with you so I returned home determined never to go near them a gain some time after this I cant say how long y^r 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 and among many singular marks of Divine Providence extended towards me this is not to be reckoned the least for the next news I heard of them was that she came to Lay in at London of a Child by her Father an apprentice and according to the time must be with Child when the Mother came to London to find me Some time now about my former fellow-servant returned to London wher I found her out and in time she became my Wife and the greatest cause I have 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 S^r H^s whom 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 y^r Timber was gon the far greater part of y^r Timber lay unsold together with almost the whole quantity of Bricks Lay as an incumbrance 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

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came
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“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

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 served this was
 before my brother
 came to Chelsea
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 House near
 the Street
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 day night
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 first days while I was gone a journey or to meeting
 and in one of those days of retirement wrote the
 following Lines

When our first sire by Heavens Command
 Surveyed sweet Edens Blissfull Land
 of all its Goods possessed
 Each Tree gave but a faint Delight
 Each Flower but half regaled the sight
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For something more his longing Soul
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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
 agreement

agreement which offended me very much that I abruptly
 gave him back his Deputation This for a time
 struck him dumb ^{as he lay} 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 acct. with me perhaps delayed the
 time that he might fix on ^{only} to succeed me which at
 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 Schoole but he had acquired some wealth
 and was therefore better Quallified & 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
 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 whet-Smiths
 Branch for he took in that kind of work as well
 as Clock & Watch makers 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
 acct 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 never could forsake and at the
 same time a true Friend of my Brothers offered
 to assist me to carry on the Clock & Watch Business

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
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 have it any more!” (but in this hitherto he was mistaken, for
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 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 William 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

29
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 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 as 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 11 years old was my Labourer and the said Man my Journey-man I had also a Book-binder & 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 2 years the Boy and I cooked for our selves; the days my Aunt was not with us and my Man lodged and victualled with his Wife near hand he was a fit hand for my Business having been used to country Shops and could doe other things besides Clock-work I some times worked in the Garden & some times in the Shop for (being with my Brother) I had learned a little to handle the tools while this ^{stranger} was with me he made 4 or 5 Clocks and I made an 8 day time piece but my chief point was then to learn how to deal with a watch some old ordinary one were brought to y 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 I was able to ~~doe or get them done~~ clean a watch and repair some small faults in them or 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 William Smith was far from being an honest Man my Business obliged me to be frequently from home my way from London to y Shop was such that if he was at work at y vise he could not see me till I was close to y Window thus have I caught him a work at what I could not see when I entered the Shop

Shop I suppose he put it into his pocket I have
 also when he was at work at 8 foarge found bury-
 ed in the ashes at one time several small tools
 such as small punches & chisels just made and thus
 with my Iron steel and Coles while I paid him wages
 he was furnishing himself with tools at my expence
 to fight me with his own weapons I have also detect-
 ed him carrying home Coals from my small Stock
 and such tricks he might with ease doe as I had
 no Eyes at home to be a Check on his actions while
 I was from home and tho' 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 pass'd 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 made at my expence
 or pilfer'd from me Insinuated himself into the
 favour of the tradesmen of the Town by frequenting
 their Clubs draw'd of some of my Customers and
 kept others who was passing by his door in their
 way to me picturing ^{me} as not only an unskillfull
 but as an ignorant fellow and was encouraged by
 some of my Neighbour to my detrimment 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 confirmed by an Oath he
 has lift up a stick and threaten'd to strike me in
 the publick 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 borrow'd
 for I Borrowed twenty pound was all gon and I
 began to run in Debt. After he was gon a young
 man a Smith came to ask for work which I refused he
 said he had ben out of busness so long he had spent
 all his money & pawn'd 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 stay'd with me about two year
 a good hand he was in the Smiths work he would
 some times Brake loos and leave my 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

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 any body 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 kept on 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 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 then 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 & watches for by this time I could do something that way and at intervals work in the garden some times by moonlight in both which my wife often assisted me but my money being now all gone and the man who lent me twenty pound 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 un sealed I tryed on other of the people called Friends who flatly refused altho 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 any body 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 y^e People called Quakers who applyed 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 altho 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 any one for Counsel and took to be my Wife the young Woman who had been my fellow servant as before mentioned She

92
The being nominally of different religions
religion there could be no hope of our being
married in the Society and by the established ^{rules} among
the People call'd Quakers and had she been of the
same Church I think I think Circumstances as I was
I should have been Married by the Priest as they
term it for I could not well afford to be married other
wise my whole charges including Wedding dinner
was not forty shillings and as safely bound I was
as if it had cost me twenty or 30 pounds which some
of our Friends foolishly squander away altho the
practice is quite Repugnant to their Principles
and as we came together with a small stock it was
needfull to use our utmost Diligence in our Temporal
affairs in which my Wife was not in the least degree
wanting for she had many times sat up all night to
doe the work of the house mend and make for the
Children and in the day assist me in the Shop at clean-
ing Clocks &c. or in the garden hoeing &c. nor had we
ever the least Jar or Discord on Religious Subject
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~~ 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 frightfull as they would
make it for Christ says by this shall all men
know that Ye are my Disciples if Ye love one an-
other I think this Love Relates towards all those
who profess faith in Christ and is not restricted to a hand-
full nor can I find any part of Scripture that
forbids one Christian marrying another what
Moses West has advanced on this head is not solid
argument but there is a book intitled 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 had but one or two Children my wife could and did
help me in whatever I found to doe but Children
came so fast we had need of 2 Cradles at once in
the same room then Suckling Nursing and the Business
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 least 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,

33. 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 & watch business and at Intervals did some work in the Garden. Family increasing very fast & I not expert in my new undertaking money came very slowly in and expenses grew larger as at this time I had none but ~~the~~ little boy and my self ~~with~~ with our utmost diligence ~~and~~ ~~our~~ ~~could~~ frugality ~~we~~ we could not bring our Expin 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 S^r H Sloane 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 dund by some who could stay, ask'd payment by some who wanted their money (perhaps nearly as much as my self) and threatened with an Arrest by two Creditors the one call'd a Quaker the other was not; my former Journey-man abusing me often, and always circumventing me in my business to the most of his Power and he encouraged by some principal Tradesmen ^{which was} I rejected by them and our Monthly Meeting who as a Body took no Notice of me till the Year 1761 ^{which was} about 16 Year after I was Married. altho I had writte several Letters to ^{the} Monthly Meeting which they never ~~to~~ answered nor did any Member ever pay me a friendly Visit; but when they thought I could be Inconvenient to them they then easily found me as did the Tradesmen when they became Parish officers they would call 2 or 3 times in 14 or 16 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 intrusted with other property had it spread abroad it might have ruin'd the little Business I had the Society to which I thought I belong'd might have Assisted me as an Honest man if they could not do it as a Sound Member for they was not Ignorant of my distress but they gave me no relief except one half Guinea and what could that do in my Circumstance but expose my Necessitous Condition I also wrote to the Monthly Meeting some Queries concerning Registering of Children and

and concluded my Letter in these words if ye think
 me or my Quere 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 which to use the
 plain Language is; Neither me nor my Quere was
 worthy of their notice and their subsequent deport-
 ment towards me was a plain demonstration of it
 for they as a body never shewed the least regard of me
 till the Year 1761 Nor did they ever invite me to their
 Monthly meetings nor give me the least hint either
 directly nor indirectly that I might come there if I
 was so inclined and I always thought Monthly and
 other Meetings of Business was always transacted by
 a chosen few till very many Year 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
 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 Chil-
 dren if one Life had drop 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 Tho^t 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 that I had no right
 to be there and sit among them alltho^g Friends
 did indulge me: from that time I forbore to attend
 them And alltho I wrote many Letter to the Month-
 ly meeting copies of them if time permit I may
 subjoyne yet they never answered one of them

B
 from the
 Savoy meet-
 ing house

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 not 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

35
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 ^{not} all 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 not more than thirty years old and was then done without requiring anything of me but the time & 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 now 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~~ Temple of Jerusalem. Having now Related ^{my} Situation with respect to the Society in which I was Born & Educated 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 as ~~anxious~~ ^{anxious} to get ^{clear of} and keep out of Debt we did not wish for dainties but thought our selves happy when we could raise 2 or 3 Shillings to purchase a hock of Bacon which was sometimes hard for us to Doe 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

Many times could not raise higher than a few sprats
 Potatoes, or thin of Beef and scarce enough of that
 once when my Wife was gone to Town on Business the
 Children and I at home without any thing to Eat
 and no Money to buy luckily came by a person
 buying Old cloath: I sold him a pair of old boots
 which furnishd us with a Dinner and as^{to} cloaths
 my Wife cut to pieces so many of her own cloths to cover
 her Children that she had not sufficient left to put
 on when she come home wet but must sit in them wet
 as they were or go to bed; as to my self I had some good
 shirts 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 cloths were old and I could not
 buy new but went to Shops in town to seek for old
 seldom or never able to get to such a price as would
 furnish me with a coat fit to be seen in where
 my business some time calld me and in fashion
 unlike our flock which might give offence to some
 weak Brother but I could not do otherwise & some
 times at great straits to do that. These circumstances
 bro^t my mind very low not into; but to the brink
 of Despair, the greatest Comfort I had in this my
 Distress was as the allmighty had given me a
 heart to doe honestly he would be graciously^{pleas'd} for
 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 him self
 would not have been content. At this time a Lady
 at Turnham Green us'd to employ me to repair her
 Clocks & watches I had a Clock to carry there in
 winter when the Ground was cover'd with snow
 and in the foot ways trod to Slush that it
 work'd thro' large holes at the bottom of my Shoes
 and quit thro' the upper leather that it appear'd
 on the out side on the top of my feet and I was
 much afraid the maid would offer me Slippers
 which if she had don I should have been strangely
 confus'd I was also more than three Years in
 arrears of Rent and twenty Pounds in the Bakers
 Debt I had notice sent that if I did not pay I should be
 Eject'd from my house the time allowed me was very
 short the money I had not and where to get I knew
 not

R
 I allowd
 oft at great
 straits to raise
 money to pay
 my Rent &c
 and tho' I
 never pawn'd
 anything of my
 own nor other
 folks yet have
 I sold my goods
 30 per cent
 under their
 value when
 distressed for
 want of Money

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 ejection 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

37
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I was well acquainted I thought would give me his
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it but the best way is to pay the Money I thought
that's true but if I could doe that I need not come here
for advice I had no time to reply for he Instantly said
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ask any security I hesitated and said I don't care
to take it without giving some security he reply-
ed 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 replyed how you can when you can
this satisfied my Landlord and prevented my being
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our Income and my Business mended in all its Branches
in process of time I paid my Worthy Friends, the
Counsellor and after some time my good Friend

and Brother professor ⁱⁿ Religion thinking it my
 Duty to return it as the Lord had blessed ^{me} with the
 the means so to doe 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 payd off the Bond of twenty Pounds
 which I borrowd of a Young Man as before mentioned this
 Bond on the Death of him came into the hand of one
 of the People call'd Quakers who us'd ^{me} very unkindly but
 removed ^{by death} into the hands of a Man in the City a perfect
 stranger to me who us'd 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
 payay nearly if not all the Principal I paid off by way of
 Interest I payd 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 occasion'd 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 Friend-
 ship or on any Religious acc^t whatever tho' 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 Manners 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 cutt him off from the
 Boddy and they would do well to make frequent visits
 to any couple and by their godly Conversation endeavour
 to shew 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 out go-
 ing 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 cutt off from
 the body; for an act which he perhaps is not convinc-
 ed 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 some
 how we labour'd to git forward and to pay every man
 his Due and

to this man
 was not of
 people call'd
 Quakers

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

39
and fit as to the garden. For some years at first I cropped it with kitchen herbs such as Beans peas Cabbage Collyfowers or Collyfowers if I answerd no they return home unsatisfied by the time mine was fitt for use carts & barrows furnishd them with what they happend to want at their own doors their best and if they came then I could not serve them so the garden then turnd 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 12 of them for my trouble then I increasd as fast as I could and bought also some Hyacinth roots as soon as my stock allowd me to part with any I plantd some in pots and brought them into the House the warmth of the fire brought them forwarder than those abroad the Polyanthus being then in few hands and our getting them forward many folks calld for them and by that means we was some times furnishd with a dinner when we had no other hope of getting one I also plantd in pots rosemary southernwood Laurustinus and sundry common plants and used to sett them in Rows out at the Door in hopes of taking a penny sometimes. At the next door livd a Gardener whose mother would walk among 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 4 or 5 handsomer plants than I could match so hinderd my sale and hurt him self for by this means increasd his stock of plants that requird shelter in the winter and not having proper places for that purpose lost more in the winter ^{more} sometimes than he gaind in the Summer he and his wife by many ways not justifiable endeavourd to draw off our trade but could not effect it and at length came to nothing. And our business in the garden way helpd to bring up our family to the improving and extending of which my wife toild 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 causd my wife many
Long

Long and wearisome walks to get them when she could—
 often three miles distance frequently before breakfast—
 and never was wanting of diligence in that or any
 other Lawfull business to support our young family
 our business in the flower trade increased and the producing
 flowers by artificial means became a general practice
 with gardeners and also with gentlemen. it was now
 needfull for me to provide conveniences for that purpose I
 then Built a small Stove or hot house being chief Carpenter
 -ter and Bricklayer my self for I had no help but my
 journey-man & garden folks this Stove I occupied in rais-
 -ing pine apples and producing rose blossoms before their
 Natural Season together with Bulbos roots. flowers such
 Hyacins Narcissus &c and for some time this did pretty
 well but our Neighbour boasted much and instead of hand-
 -ling them forth as rarities stocked his shop so full
 that his roses drop about y floor which a few years
 back would not be had for 2^s a Blossom and by
 his folly set gentlemen mad after hot houses
 a great many were built in most part of England
 of such large dimensions that where they were
 well managed the produce was 3 or 4 nay in some
 places 6 times more than was wanted the overplus
 in most places found its way to London market
 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 perplex-
 -ing than what I did. But of the fifteen Master Kitchen
 -ing 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 Brothers Business and the loss
 that would be sustained by the Sale of his Tools

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 Cawsay, 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

41
and implements together with the very kind offer of his & 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 some times wish'd 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 my self out of all employ and begin afresh must have been a grate loss of time labour & expence Therefore I strove with all my power to go forward and after some year proceeded I had a prospect of doing well could 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 of my family several years. When my brother died I had an old man who has work'd for him some times he was very honest and willing but was taken to prison in an other mans 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 suffer'd grate loss After him came James Cawsay as before mentioned who I believe never wrong'd me of anything and was in general diligent in his business but I was often at a loss to keep him employ'd and when business was slack I us'd to employ him in making jacks he made me several which lay on my hands a dead stock till the little money I had was all exhausted and I could not raise money to pay his waiges and tho' my prospect at this time began to mend I was oblig'd to part with him much against my will, and depend wholly on what I could doe with my own hands and a lad to help in the garden. In the day light I work at repairs and cleaning watches and the better sort of clocks and by candle light co're 30 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 Journey-man clock-maker who had some skill in the Founders business by whom I learn'd

something of that art and I was able to cast an
 odd wheel pillar or some small thing that might
 be wanted in repair of old Clocks but I had not
 business to keep him long I then bought old Brass nails
 two or three pound at a time that a grave digger
 picks 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 I use to melt them
 after making several articles or small parts of a day
 work I made wooden patterns and from them cast
 a set of wheels for a small Turret Clock which I de-
 signed to fix on the top of my house with a view to
 remove the prejudice to often entertain'd 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 do I supposed ~~it~~
 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 India requires 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 of the Quarter as doth
 a Repeating watch or every half hour or strike
 the Quarters only as a common Quarter Clock or Repeat
 the hour & Quarters when pulled all this it performs
 without one wheel or pinion more than a common
 8 Day Clock as I had none to help ^{me} I was long about
 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 & putt it up at his House at Petersham and
 he recommended me to the Duchesse of Argyle 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

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 eight-
 day 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 Duchesse 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 Taylor for making my coat, when formerly was hard set to buy

23
Embrace every half crown or five Shilling Job which
was the only means I had to supply the present Necessi-
ties 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 & 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 Founders art was
serviceable to me in my low state for I could buy small
parcels of old Brass 2 or 3 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 Candle-
stick 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 Journey-man and so did but at first I had not
full employment in the Clock and watch way and
then did sometimes clean a Jack, gun Pistols or mend
a poker &c all which I declined as soon as I could
and stuck close to Clocks & Watches and occasionally did
something in the garden the fruit trees of which
I have always pruned my self and do to this day
many times (formerly) at it by 4 or 5 o'clock in my main
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 a 8 Day Clock and in a little time
could do it as well as my self and could put it
together when cleaned Thus the Almighty in the
Course of His Providence so Ordred it that I could now
buy a piece of new Cloath and pay the Taylor for
making my Coat when formerly was hard set to buy

Buy an old one But still then remain'd many old
debts unpaid about this time the Man who had the
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 deliver'd to me this I held
some years other Churchwardens succeeded and they
moved for a new clock had a clock-maker from London
to view it never sent to me for the keys but broke
open the doors to shew him the clock a Neighbour
who was at the Vestry inform'd me what pass'd
there and that they were to meet ~~again~~ on the
business again on a certain day and wish'd me to
be there I went but nothing final was then don
some few years after the matter was agitated
again a Vestry was call'd to determine whether
there should or not be a new clock a Friend in-
form'd me of it and advis'd me to attend which
I did it was Resolv'd to have a new one and
I was allow'd to give in a Proposal which I pre-
par'd and met them at the time appointed
there was Smith of Moorfields and two other
clock-makers Candidates for the Job besides my self
I was chosen by a great Majority to make it the
vestry was held on a Thursday and the Sunday follow-
ing two or three head of the Parish came to my
house to forbid me to proceed saying I must not
go on with work the Parish was agains my
doing it I reply'd that could not be a Vestry had
appointed me and confirm'd it by signing their
order and no Vestry had been call'd since
therefore I would go on I must not omitt to
mention the kindness of a Neighbour who seeing
them pass by follow'd to assist me lest they should
be too hard for me for he thought what they were
coming about he also very kindly offer'd 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

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.

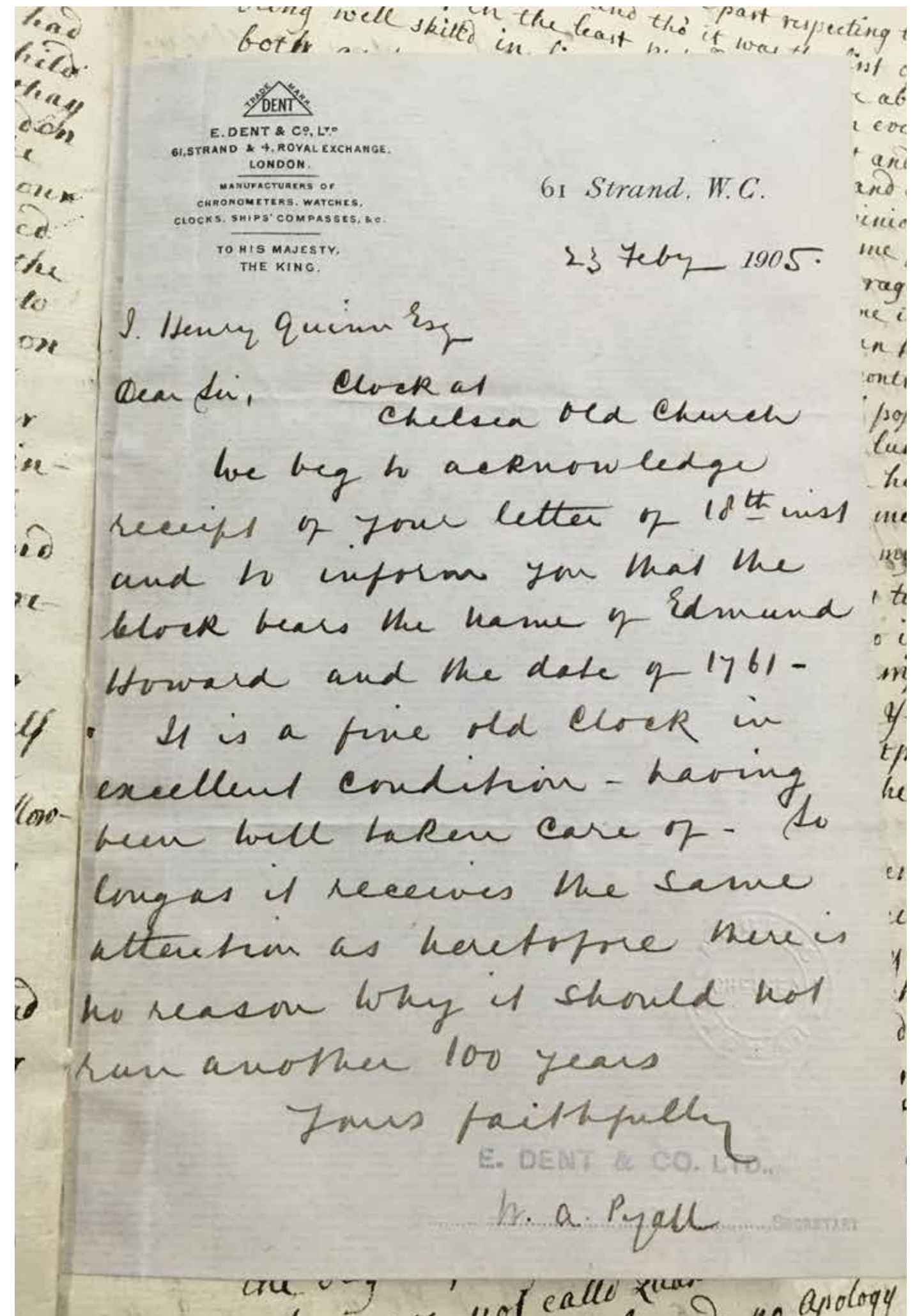
We beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 18th inst., and to inform you that the Clock bears the name of Edmund Howard, and the date of 1761.

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

45
Mr. Steward also took an active part respecting the vestry in my favour and tho' it was the first of the 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 its 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 & pinions the worst was to get a proper hand to help me for no man can doe such work alone at length a ragged fellow offered who had but one shirt and a ragged one it was I employ'd him he was a good work-man an honest fellow and good natural parts but had contracted bad habits by working with sotts who if possible will leaven all sober men into the same lump and if they cant doe 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 & 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
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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 Reli-
 gion very kindly did and to take no notice of my trans-
 -gressing 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 no-
 thing that she could do to get the rest of our Debts
 paid; and the prejudice of my being a Gardener &
 Unable to do any thing in the Clock business began
 to wear off the man who help'd 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 & 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 Bailly Watch Case-maker
 five Pounds four Shillings which completed the
 Sum of sixteen pound eleven Shillings due to him
 by my Note of hand Date 29 of Novm 1752 I also
 paid 15th of July 1762 Dr John Fothergill two pound
 and 2 Shilling which he lent me on my Note Dated
 the 23 of January 1747: About the time as Friends
 became Posses'd of Ackworth School Dr Fothergill had
 thoughts of presenting them with a Turret Clock 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
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 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,
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 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, clock-case 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

47
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Sentiments on what ever he may be talking about
 as to the Singular & Plural Number many of our
 plain Friends of the younger Branches use it in
 a way and manner neither Scriptural nor
 Grammatical this has me to make some remarks on
 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:
 that 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 some times false
 as when applyed to perhaps the greatest for 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 the word You
 tho' 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 ~~conviction~~ Restraint
 And as to outward Modes and forms of Publick
 Worship People are generally inclined to practice
 that in which from their Youth they have been
 educated and how knoweth any Man which is
 most acceptable to the Divine Being therefore
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 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 the mode he is in the practice
 of is the best but surely no external Performance
 can give a Man acceptance with his Maker if
 if his Heart is not right in His sight for if
 outward

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

49
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50
but He will ~~assist~~ assist them by that inward and Spiritual Grace which the Church of England say they use the Baptizing of Infants as a means when by they receive ~~it~~ it means when by they receive ~~it~~ a Measure 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 doe not use it but we believe and some of us (and I trust that many Thousands of the the different Sects under the Christian name) have experienced 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 them selves 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 with greedyness and draw iniquity as with cord of vanity and sin as with cart rope but doeth at times feel a sharp reproof for their own souls for what they have done amiss this is the Lords doing it is His chastisement it is the Rod of His Displeasure then is the time to seeke y 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 thy self before Him and kiss the Rod of His Displeasure He is Merciful and will Pardon all thy Transgressions and heal all thy backslidings then ~~that thou~~ shalt Thou be enabled to praise Magnifie and Adore His most Holy Name this is (I Humbly conceive) true 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

51
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more easy both in mind and circumstance I gave
my thoughts a turn to serve the Publick 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 expence of printing a Number of hand Bills
hired 2 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
my self to most of the Aldermens Houses and
gave in at each of them a Bill and to many

52 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 Publick ~~for~~ ^{and} he
applied to the Sun Fire Office and if hand in Hand
to both which Offices I went and learned my
Device for the Escape from fire but did not obtain
a hearing at either altho the means to escape
from fire and also the Supply for water are such
that that will not soon be out done by any
other contrivance I also devised a means to
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 In-
stant another might be put in this I thought
might be very usefull when a large fleet or army
wanted Immediate Supply of Bread Drawings of
this and a Description of the same I sent to
to the Society in the Strand for the Encourage-
ment of Arts &c who rejected it

If the said Society had thought fitt to enquire
in to the Merits of it and given be a Bounty I
should not have been above acceptng it but I
could not find any Propriety in their expect-
ing me to be at 20 or 30 pound expence to make
trial of a Scheme from which I could have no
Proffitt Several Other things I Devised
some of which I am very confident had I money
to purchase the Kings free gift and a little
more to carry on the work I might before this time
have acquired a considerable Share of Wealth

The hand Bills I gave out as mentioned
above containe the following words

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 Hand-
in-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

53
To the Publick in general but more especially
to the Inhabitants of London for the Preserva-
-tion of Mankind and their Dwellings &c from
Destruction by Fire (July 18: 1774)

Edmund Howard in the Kings 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
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 other Companies 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 Satisfac-
-tion 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 any where
by a Lad of twelve Years old

Thus have I given a faithfull account of several
circumstances and various vicissitudes ~~and~~ that have
attended me thro' my progress in life all of which
I have wrote from memory now in the 76 Year of
my age except money matters which for the Dates
of notes and the time of paying them I referred to
the notes them selves and as my business would not
Suffer me to write long at a time nor to search
over

34 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
what has past between me and others vocally is
it for the most part Verbatim and where I could
not do so I have given as near as possible the
the true sense and meaning of what past between
me and them

I shall now make some remarks and observations
on some parts of this narrative and then conclude this
acc^t of my Journey thro' Life and first the pump
and wheel work which I made in my Infancy as men-
tioned in the fore part of this narrative caused some
talk in the Neighbourhood so much that after I was
placed out to be a Gardener some folks of Distinc-
tion came several miles ~~to see it~~ in their Coach
to see it and was baulk'd when inform'd I was
gone: perhaps had I pursued that tract 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 any thing by his will tho'
he gain'd more by me than any apprentice he
ever had

My M^r Edwards altho remarkably
generous did not pay the Surgeon at Chelsea
who attend 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 al-
most every day for a whole week but took no notice
of him at Chelsea who had me under his care a Month
~~My M^r Edwards altho remarkably~~

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 what 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

55
I was at that time a Yearly servant so the loss of
time which was 5 of 6 weeks did not affect me and
I had a good table to go to but the Surgeon who
attend me after I came home was paid by my self and she
never asked anything about it which could hardly be expect-
ed 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 others
Disposition had I stay'd with him till we were better
acquainted it's probable I might not have left Him
as long as He liv'd He was a good Master and did
well by several of his Servants
I was a servant to Sir Hans Sloane about 6 or 7 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 Gentle-
men they would have endeavoured to advanced
me by their recommendations to other Gentlemen
the which he never did
But of all the Occurances 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 who have been
no Credit to them and many have they assisted who
have perhaps not Merited it more than my self.
who never had in my life from them as a Society
more than one half Guinea altho I am certain
they could not be Strangers to my Distress and
as they have large Donations to enable them to
help the needy and surely ^{they} might have spared me a little
and Honest who are lately entred into business
and have hard Struggles to support their Fam-
ilies 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

Instead of the whole which to the great reproach
 and Scandal of our Society we have had but
 too many Instances of in this our Day; the
 which in George Fox's time would have been
 ranked among ~~the~~ 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 altho 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, Dutifull Children a pleasant
 habitation; in which I have been Employed
 above forty Years in such Occupations as
 have afforded me much Pleasure tho Small
 Gains I shall now conclude in the
 words of Scripture Holy Holy Lord God all-
 mighty Just and True are thy ways: Glory
 to God on High on Earth Peace and
 Good will towards Men.

October 1785 Edmund
 Howard } Amen

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.