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YARDLEY WARNER

THE FREEDMAN'S FRIEND

First Published in 1957.

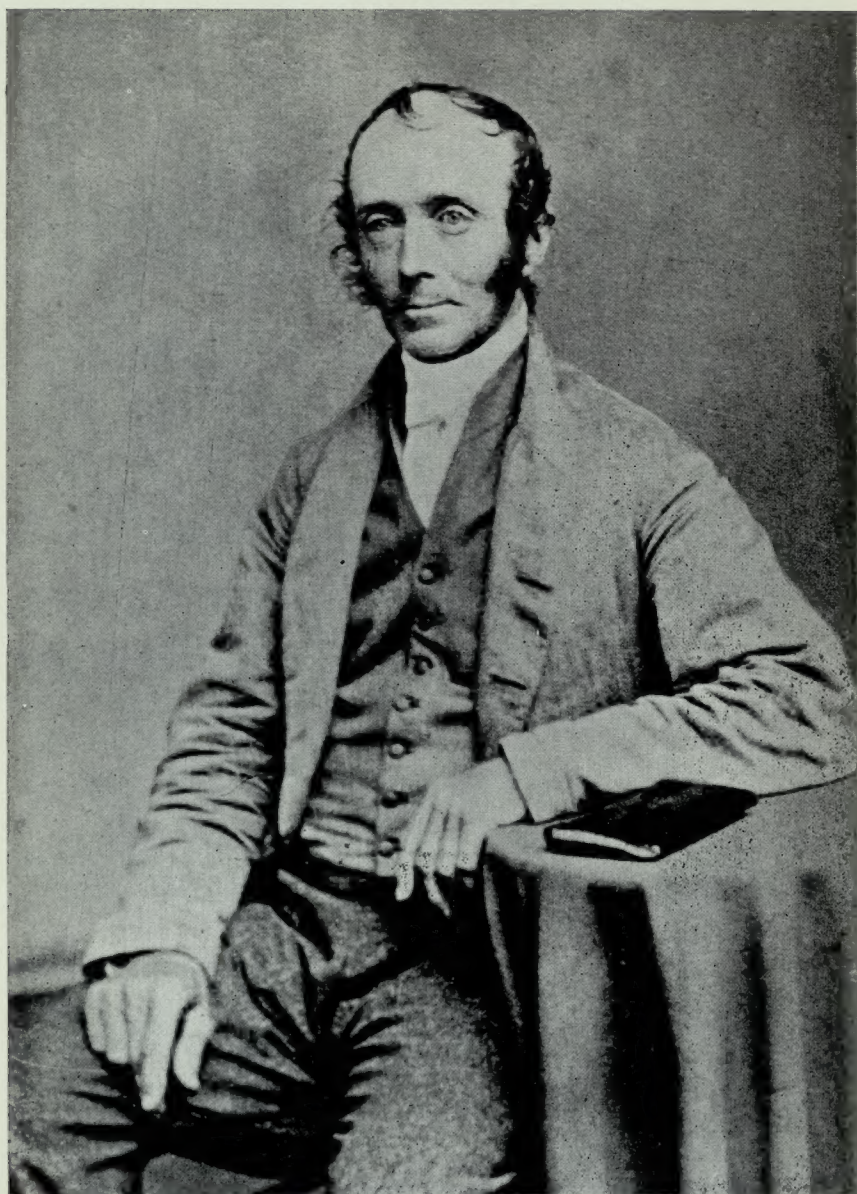
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Frontispiece.

(Plate 1). Yardley Warner. Born Bucks County, Pa., 11.12.1815.
Died at Bush Hill, N. Carolina, 1.7.1885.

YARDLEY WARNER

The Freedman's Friend

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

WITH HIS JOURNAL AND
LETTERS REPRODUCED IN AN

APPENDIX

BY

STAFFORD ALLEN WARNER

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

JANET WHITNEY

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The Wessex Press

Didcot

TO THE MEMORY
OF MY MOTHER

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INTRODUCTION

By JANET WHITNEY

It is a pleasure to write an introduction to this book by one of my father's friends. The book itself is an act of filial devotion, being a record of the author's adventures in search of his father, in a spiritual sense. This life of a Friend who was born 140 years ago and who died in 1885, 18 years after Negro emancipation in the United States of America, is a welcome addition to the Quaker biography of that period and is of special interest to-day when problems of racial discrimination are still with us. It also contains a great deal of interesting information for those who like to delve among the records of the past, especially members of the Religious Society of Friends.

Allen Warner's own Foreword has sufficiently explained how he came to make these researches and put them together in this volume. One or two of the items specially interested me. Living as I do on the borders of William Penn's great city of Philadelphia, it was fascinating to learn that one of Allen Warner's direct ancestors was Joseph Warner who was the first white settler on the forest tract between the Schuylkill and the Delaware which William Penn chose some thirty years later as the site of his city and the foundation of the colony of Pennsylvania.

In 1830 Yardley Warner, the subject of this book and the author's father, was a boarder at Westtown School (where my husband now teaches art) and returned there later for more study to prepare himself as a lawyer. My husband's grandfather, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, himself a London lawyer, was a promoter of Yardley Warner's work for the freedmen of the south after the American Civil War. Another was Henry Stanley Newman, long the influential editor of the London "Friend".

General Howard, who was in command of the right wing of Sherman's army during the march through Georgia, and was the hero of Whittier's poem 'Howard at Atlanta', was a powerful helper of Yardley Warner,

and was a Patron of the Yardley Warner Normal School to train Negroes as teachers at Maryville, Tennessee. General Howard was appointed by Lincoln as the Government Commissioner for the Freedmen's Bureau, and was the founder and first president of Howard University.

Before the Civil War, Yardley Warner worked for emancipation, in association with Levi Coffin and others. There are several colorful anecdotes in this book about the underground railroad, of which Yardley Warner had first-hand experience both as boy and man, and one story of a 'white' slave boy is a striking counter-part in many points of the plot of a recent novel by Robert Penn Warren. It was stories of this kind which touched the heart and imagination of Yardley Warner as a boy and led him into his life-work.

The Journal and Letters of Yardley Warner, incorporated in these pages, bring back the breath of other days and are peculiarly Quaker in their atmosphere, combining the sincere religious aphorisms of a by-gone age with an unusual love of nature.

The record has been lovingly prepared, to be tenderly read as an example of an energetic and dedicated life.

JANET WHITNEY.

May, 1956.

Westtown

Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

HOW THIS BOOK CAME TO BE WRITTEN.

The Maryville Pincushion of 1928.

It is probably true to say that no man setting out to write the life of his father knew less of him than did the writer of the present book, and I would never have thought of writing about him if I had not, quite by accident, discovered about 30 years ago soon after my mother's death that she had preserved in an old pincushion some printer's * type used about 60 years previously as the headline of a paper called "The Maryville Monitor". This made me wonder what unknown story might lie behind it, and inspired the hope that I would one day find the answer.

The Greensboro Daily News of 1st June, 1941.

About 12 years later there came my way a copy of the "Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News" with an account of Warnersville—a place of which I had never previously heard, and my hope to find more about my father became a resolve to do so.

These two happenings started me on my quest and a subsequent visit to the U.S.A. in 1954 and searches in libraries there and in this country, as well as studies of periodicals and books current in Yardley Warner's lifetime in both countries, have put me in possession of a quantity of information, much of which is contained herein.

My father died in 1885 when I was six years old. My mother was left with three children of whom I was the oldest, my two brothers being about four and two respectively.

It must have been no easy task to bring us up. There was not much time for talking of the past, our mother's main occupations were with the immediate present: Save for being told about two or three of our father's "favourite texts" and "mottoes"—nothing concerning his life, no stories of his travels and adventures were handed down to us

* The story of this discovery is told in connection with the account of "The Monitors" in the appendix hereto.

save that he had been in turn a lawyer and a schoolmaster, and that after the American Civil War he left everything and spent the rest of his life working for the Freedmen of the South. There were two other sayings of my father I can recall as told by my mother, the one being my first introduction to the latin tongue—"Remember" she said, "your father used to say, *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*",—and the other referred to the poet Cowper and the lines concerning his ancestry in his poem "On the receipt of my mother's picture out of Norfolk"—as to which more will be found on a later page.

Childhood's Memories.

A few fleeting glimpses of my father are all that I can recall of him—one is when he showed me how to hold a hammer "take it by the end of the handle and let the Lord help thee to use it"—a reference as I discovered later to the way my father always connected the laws of nature with the laws of the Lord. It will be seen in his Journal and in his Letters how in carrying his valise poised on the handle of his umbrella across his shoulders, he felt the "weight carried for me by the Lord himself".

My second, is of a day when drawing me to him, and seating himself at a table beside an open window he taught me how to "find the place" in the Bible and putting his finger upon a little verse in John's first epistle, then marking it with a pencil, he repeated the words "my little children, let us love, not in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth".

I recall too, one occasion when, as I now know, he was making his way to the Little Davie School,—he paused when crossing a stile at the commencement of a little path through a wood, and waving his hand, and called out "farewell". I have learned long since why he preferred "farewell" to "goodbye"—did not the use of the latter phrase, or might it not, used carelessly, amount almost to God's name in vain :—God be with you as a prayer, is quite different from the careless use of the colloquialism—now abbreviated to "Bye-bye", or worse still "Cheerie-bye".

Then there is a picture of a large iron stove, placed as I seem to recall it nearly in the middle of a room, and of an upset saucepan—a quantity of steam—and a scalded hand, and now the memory of an arm swathed in a big white bandage.

Of the course of the fatal illness following this accident, I can recall nothing but have since read of it in my mother's own reminiscences.

My last mental picture of my father is seeing him lying on a bed dressed, as is the American custom, in his Sunday suit. Of the Meeting and the funeral in the graveyard adjoining the little wooden meeting house at Springfield, I have no recollections whatever, but vivid still, indeed more clear than any of these childish American remembrances was a walk home from the Springfield Meeting House, one very hot summer's day. The road was thick with dust which spurted up like miniature volcanoes spouting jets of white cloud from between the toes ; we were barefoot as usual in the summer, and beside the way was a pair of brightly coloured tumble bugs, rolling their ball of dung, bigger than themselves to store away for future food, their tightly closed wing-cases glistening with all the colours of the rainbow.

Knowing then so little of my father, how came it then that I began to write this book ? The answer has already been given in the first two paragraphs of this Chapter.

The Aim and Scope of this Book

Yardley Warner kept a Journal for the greater part of his life and he was moreover a facile and copious writer and wrote a daily record of his doings, his hopes and fears, his achievements and disappointments. Had this Journal been preserved intact we should have had a record in some respects almost unique in the annals of latter day Quakerism. This will be seen by a perusal of the fragments of the Journal which remain, and the extracts from his letters herein reproduced.

The Journal comes to a sudden and tantalising end on a wintry day in 1873, when the little stormtossed vessel, the " Philadelphia ", came to anchor after a dangerous homeward passage. The record closes thus—

After rocketing and waiting for pilots in vain, at about 7 our officers got sight of Henlopan Light, and immediately steamed off for it at a lively speed ; and are likely to get into the Breakwater in an hour or two. What a mercy if we should ! The storm seemed to be lifted above us and scatter. The lightning being fitful, and unattended with thunder. When I think of the scoffers and the dissolute on board, it feels especially a mercy. And the solemn fact of constant accountability for the temper of our spirits the spending of our time and the occupancy of all our gifts gives no room for self gratulation in any one of us. " Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

The writer was then 58 and had just completed a nine months visit to Friends in their Meetings and in their homes in England and Ireland and as far as possible the present book gives in his own words what he

said on these and other occasions about himself, and his work for the Freedmen, on whose behalf he lived and for whom he was working when he died.

These records have been reproduced in the order in which they appeared and while this chronological method entails some repetition, it has the great advantage of showing what successive writers thought of Yardley Warner and his work in after years.

This is in short an attempt to collate all that has been traced and to set it out in the form of another Journal, so attempting to give what the lost Journal would have given, namely a commentary day by day, on the main events of the life.

Not only do the fragments of the Journal reveal something of the personality of their writer, the extracts from the letters also reproduced in the Appendix do so even more.

Although the title page to the present work states that it is a study of my father's life and times, it will be seen from the dated pages of this book that they cover a span of 140 years and as this is the measure of the combined lives of my father and myself, I trust it will not be inappropriate if I occasionally intersperse them with some recollections of my own.

As this work progressed, setting forth the course of events from 1815, the year of my father's birth, down to the present time when nothing much more is likely to be discovered, it has tended to become autobiographical, though no thought of this was in my mind when I first set out to write the story of my father's life and collect what subsequent writers have had to say about him.

Concerning Spelling, the use of Capitals and the Apostrophe of the Possessive (*see also page 82*)

It might be expected that there should be consistency respecting such matters as the use of capitals and spelling throughout a single book, but this is not easy, indeed it is almost impossible, when quotations from writers of different ages appear in the same volume.

The differences between English and American spelling of course are well known and recognised, and when quoting from American sources in the pages that follow, an attempt is made to follow American usage. The Journal and the Letters herein published are reproduced as written without alteration respecting punctuation, the use of capitals and the like.

A number of the American books I possess, for example, the "History of the United States" by Alan C. Thomas, published in 1894 and a "School History" published in 1872 by Cowpethwaite, print 'negro' with a small "n" and the well known novel "Gone with the Wind", edition of 1938 does likewise.

More recent books of American origin however, capitalise the word 'Negro', and this is an example of the changes which are taking place in literary style.

Similarly, with regard to the apostrophe of the possessive. In the chapters which follow, such titles as Friends' First Day School Association are written as here printed. With the erection of Friends House* in Euston Road, London, and the decision to omit the apostrophe, Quaker custom changed in this respect, and almost universally, as in the new publication "The Friends Journal", the word is used adjectively and without an apostrophe in Quaker nomenclature.

Acknowledgements

I would like to commence by addressing a word or two to those having the custody of old documents or into whose hands have come bundles of old letters. I would admonish them not to lose or destroy material which might have historic or literary value to future generations.

This book could not have been written if my mother had not preserved the letters, memoranda and diaries which made possible the compiling of this volume, and if those into whose hands they came on her decease had not continued to treasure them.

In addition to the documents which came to me in this way, my debt to librarians in both England and America is considerable, also to newspaper offices, whose files have been made available and to a wide circle of correspondents who have generously given of their time in replying to specific queries.

It is also fortunate that at the time when the events described in this book transpired, Quaker periodicals were able to give very much more space than they can in these days to reports of meetings, and to recording the movements of travelling Friends, relating what they said often in verbatim detail, and in printing at great length letters in their correspondence columns.

* Compare page 81. and the paragraph on Devonshire House.

To those who have helped in these ways special thanks are due, though many of them have long since passed on such as the former Editors of "The British Friend", "The (London) Friend", "The American Friend", the "Friends Review" and the "Monthly Record" and the "Friends Quarterly Examiner".

The help given by the staff of the Friends Reference Library in London, John L. Nickalls and his assistants is very considerable and to them special thanks are due.

The Librarians of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester Mass. and the Library of Congress at Washington D.C. have both been most helpful in supplying photostatic copies of the issues of "The Maryville Monitor" which by good fortune have been preserved in those places.

The custodians of the Quaker records in the great American Friends' Libraries at Haverford, Westtown and Guilford College, North Carolina have also been most helpful and co-operative. At the latter place when my wife and I visited there last year on our tour of investigation special facilities were afforded us for examining records and copying from manuscript accounts what former writers had had to say concerning the life and work of my father in that neighbourhood and throughout many of the southern States.

My wife and I also wish to tender our thanks and record our gratitude for the hospitality and help given by the Friends in High Point, Greensboro, Springfield and Archdale, N. Carolina, who made our visits to them so pleasant and so memorable and to one in particular who arranged what amounted to a conducted tour through "Warnersville", and appeared to stage-manage an unofficial ovation in our honour by a vast Negro audience from that locality. A more detailed account of this visit will be found in "Our American Journey" reproduced in the Appendix.

In Maryville and Jonesboro, Tennessee, both places where Yardley Warner's name and works all are loved and remembered, pleasant contacts have been made and additional information acquired, much of which has been written into the pages which follow.

Mention must also be made of the kind way the Curator of the Quaker Museum at Springfield, planned our visit to that interesting spot, producing for our close inspection the Noah's Ark and carved wooden animals made by my father with which my brothers and I amused ourselves in the old home at Bush Hill, the same Noah's Ark referred to by Freda

M. Hadley in her "Round the World Quaker Letter" in 1952, where she pictures Yardley Warner speaking thus to a class of little black boys and girls at the "Little Davie School" near Archdale.

"There you see, the animals are lined up two by two, ready to go into the ark. I made this ark something like the way God told Noah to make his ark only much smaller of course. I carved the animals from wood for my sons, and I wanted you to see them too".

And among the many others who have made the compilation of this work possible are the Clerks of Monthly and Quarterly Meetings and the keepers of Quaker records who have afforded facilities for examining minutes and documents of interest, also to the Keeper of the Cowper Museum at Olney, Bucks. for information concerning a Cowper relic which seems a duplicate of one which came into the possession of my father long ago by some means now quite unknown, a little piece of the scarlet mantle worn by the poet when a boy referred to in the poem "On the Receipt of my Mother's Portrait out of Norfolk".

Thanks are also due to the undermentioned Publishers and Editors for permission to reprint paragraphs from their books and journals, namely—Messrs. Chapman & Hall, Messrs. Macmillan, The University of North Carolina Press, and The Greensboro Daily News.

Yet others there must be, for it is not possible to mention everyone to whom thanks are due, and to each and all grateful acknowledgement is tendered.

Lastly, to the memory of my mother, this work is dedicated. She it was who all unwittingly, gave me the first impulse to write this book. As will be seen it was her "block pincushion" which led to my discovery that my father edited a paper entitled "The Maryville Monitor"—and she also it was whose notes on my father's earlier years gave me information I otherwise would never have obtained, and which is incorporated in the present book.

PART ONE

Some biographical notes and an account of some of Yardley Warner's friends and fellow workers and a description of some of his books.

Who would true valour see
Let him come hither;
One here will constant be,
Come wind, come weather;
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent .
To be a pilgrim

John Bunyan

CHAPTER I

SOME BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The following collected texts and sayings show us something of the personality of Yardley Warner. Similar thoughts and aspirations constantly recur throughout his writings.

"God is no respecter of persons". Acts X 34 used as a Sub-title to "The Maryville Monitor", a monthly edited by Y.W. in 1872-76.

* * * * *

"To know that which before us lies in daily life is the prime wisdom". (Milton). Used as a Sub-title to "The Freedmen's Monitor" another of Y.W.'s periodicals of the same era.

* * * * *

"He that lives up to his convictions fulfils his mission", from his Journal 1872.

* * * * *

"How diverse is the lot of man in the things of his life ! Oh I ask not for wealth ; only for support that I may not dishonour the truth and may make many rich out of my poverty,—enough to help the down trodden and the long enslaved." *Ibid.*

* * * * *

"My children let us not love in word nor in tongue, but in deed and truth". 1 John III. 18.

* * * * *

"Be always co-workers with God. When you use a tool remember this. So hold the handle of the hammer that God (by law of gravity) may aid your every stroke". (A remembered saying). On one occasion finding his Gladstone bag heavy during a long foot journey he found by putting his umbrella through the handle of the bag and carrying it on his shoulder, the weight disappeared, as though borne by God i.e. by the natural *laws of the Lord*.

* * * * *

"What is wanted to make thee happy ? Nothing but dependence upon God. Thou mayest think more money, more ease, more room, more health would do it ? The lot is in the lap ! But who is the disposer thereof ? I have never been poorer, never more cramped, never more at mercy of circumstances (as the world might say) never more powerless to lay hold of earthly helps,—yet never more happy." From his Journal in 1872.

* * * * *

Sauviter in modo, fortiter in re. (Gentle in method but resolute in action). A favourite motto which later became part of the family tradition.

* * * * *

"When my purse is light I sleep at night". *Ibid.*

* * * * *

"Who sows with stingy fingers will reap a stingy crop". From "The Maryville Monitor" of 1872.

Yardley Warner's interests were very widespread and he had a most enquiring mind. He was always asking questions. The following extract from one of the issues of "The Maryville Monitor" shows how he sought to use this method as a means of education.

WHAT'S THAT.

It is a good habit to ask questions and inquire the names of things you don't know.

"The first knowledge is the names of things", said Bacon. If you see a weed, and can't name it, inquire "what's that". A fine tree or a beautiful flower, or a handsome painting, ask, "what's that". An insect or bird unknown,—don't miss the proper chance to ask, "what's that"?

Natural objects and natural beauty made a deep appeal to him. When in the English Lake District in the Spring of 1873 and later when in the neighbourhood of the Yardley Oak, referred to in Cowper's poem, we can see how his love of lakes and mountains and the grandeur of trees made him almost mistrust himself, lest he neglect his more immediate task in the contemplation of the wonders of creation. (*See page 254*) And his letter dated 11 mo. 16. 1874 written in the solitude of a wood in Louisville shows us a Yardley Warner with a mind at rest. (*See page 283*).

Yet this was not his usual mood. Indeed far from it. Active, energetic, seemingly both restless and tireless, he is so described in his Westtown days by a contemporary—we see him always on the move.

But there was another side to his nature; emotional he was and as easily depressed as elated. But in times of stress as in times of exaltation, he had one sure and certain anchorage, his trusting dependence on God.

Elsewhere in these pages will be found a photograph of a common daisy, with the inscription in Yardley Warner's handwriting. "A Waysider, plucked on the way to Meeting 11 mo. 19.1876." The little flower there pictured was found in a bundle of letters from Yardley to Anne Elizabeth Horne, the year before their marriage. Nothing can so well demonstrate the sender's love for simple things, for the lowly and overlooked, the outcast and the despised, waysiders all, the poor and needy those mostly neglected by their fellows, such as those for whom Yardley Warner lived and worked.

The original flower, wonderfully preserved, has been sent to Youra Qualls, a graduate of Fisk University, Oklahoma, U.S.A., who is doing research on the early days of the movement for Negro education, and was in fact so engaged before this book was commenced. And the present writer takes this opportunity to record his thanks to Youra Qualls for the help she has given him in his own researches.



(Plate 2). Stafford Allen, 1806-1889.
see page 7.



(Plate 3). Photograph of a common daisy mounted and pressed—sent by Yardley Warner in a letter to Anne E. Horne from Pales in 1876.

“Waysiders”, the poor and neglected, stragglers on life’s pathway, were always Y.W.’s special care.

In this attempt to sum up the character and personality of the subject of this book, the photograph of Yardley Warner taken in 1877, and reproduced as the frontispiece, and his physical appearance as officially described on his passport, also copied herein, may help to show the manner of man he was.

Several times in his writings Yardley Warner refers to his umbrella, and presumably carried one everywhere he went. He also speaks of his "valise" and his "satchel". He must have looked somewhat of an oddity and there is a reference in the "Maryville Weekly Index" in March 1880 to his appearance as "looking like a story book character", after having walked 900 miles in journeying to that city; this would appear to put him in the same category as another well known Friend, also a great walker, the famous Thomas Shillito, of whom it was said that when setting out to walk from a Yorkshire village to Liverpool from whence he could embark for Ireland, his wife apprehensive that he would over-exert himself, gave instructions to a passing coachman who would be likely to overtake him as he passed along the road to importune him to mount the coach and ride. On the coachman enquiring "how shall I know your husband from any other man?" Mistress Shillito replied, 'If thou see'st a man not like any other man, that's my husband'!

Finally, as a correspondent Yardley Warner appears seldom to have read through his letters before posting them—there never are any corrections or amendments, and there are frequent repetitions, which on a second reading would have been eliminated. His letters as now edited are reproduced with the original spelling, and have followed the writer's use of capitals and italics (i.e. the lines *under-scored* in the original MSS). Yardley Warner's thoughts seems to have frequently outstripped the ability to get them down coherently on to paper, and he used to write at all times of the day and night in all sorts of places, in shady woodlands, by the wayside, or on the hill tops. Scenes of beauty called forth his warmest praise but he always realised his inability to reproduce faithfully the scenes before him.

His Journal (incomplete and unedited save for some eliminations here and there) shows up his inner self. It is possible that my mother in preserving these fragments felt that they might have some value for posterity, and they are reproduced in the hope that present day readers may see in these passages records of one who valiantly fought a good fight.

Yardley Warner's Journal and Letters are strangely silent upon many matters concerning which we wish more had been recorded. He tells us nothing of the way in which he first met the many people whose names occur from time to time in his writings.

CHAPTER II

FRIENDS AND FELLOW WORKERS

The following biographical notes show how wide was the circle of his friends and acquaintances.

Stafford Allen (1806-1889).

Stafford Allen was probably one of Yardley Warner's oldest abolitionist acquaintances, but we can only surmise as to how they first met. Stafford and Hannah Allen, members of Stoke Newington Meeting, were in the days before Negro emancipation most ardent workers in the Anti-Slavery cause and shortly after the close of the American Civil War, Stafford Allen visited the United States and was in North Carolina in 1869, when the millions of former slaves were freed and he was able to acquire first-hand knowledge of their difficulties and the tragedies of that time. More concerning this will be seen in the account of Stafford Allen's visit in the records kept at Guilford College N.C. It is probable that he first met Yardley Warner at that time, but be that as it may, Stafford and Hannah Allen were among the staunchest supporters of Yardley Warner's work in America and during his visits to England.

For most of my life I have had in my possession the covers of a "Manifold Letter Book"—a leather bound 8vo Wallet, which when I left home to go to my first job my mother gave to me as a souvenir of home and in memory of my father. It bore his signature,—Yardley Warner, and underneath was 7, Cowper Street, London. This is the address of the firm of Stafford Allen & Sons, established 120 years ago by Stafford Allen—who died in 1889 after a long and very active life. The following is taken from a Centenary commemorative volume published in 1933 from the Cowper Street address :—

It is significant that many of the great business houses which are world-famous to-day were cradled in this enterprising period. The Great Reform Act was passed in 1832 and in the next year a Bill for the abolition of slavery was on its way through the Houses of Parliament. It was in 1833 that the firm now known as Stafford Allen came into existence with a view to introducing another much needed reform—intimately affecting the life of the

community—namely, the removal of drug adulteration. It is of particular interest that one of the men to whom in great part the Company owes its inception was also a prominent protagonist in the anti-slavery movement.

The extent to which sophistication in vegetable powders had become customary in the drug trade in the early decades of the nineteenth century would perhaps be incredible but for our recollection of the fact that no Act of Parliament intervened to protect the unwary purchaser. But contemporary evidence on the subject is clear. Adulteration in the grinding of drugs was calmly accepted as a "custom of the trade". It was, for example, usual to allow for a loss of 4 lbs. to the cwt., according to the moisture contained.

Any deficiency in excess of this allowance was made up by the addition of extraneous matters, one of which, familiarly known as "Powder of the Post" was really sawdust, *a method of standardisation different from any of to-day*, and obviously for a very different purpose.

Now about this time the senior partner in the well-known firm of Allen & Hanbury was William Allen, F.R.S., afterwards first President of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain; Allen, who was a leading member of the Society of Friends, regarded with healthy scorn this widespread practice of adulteration and eventually conceived the idea of bringing it to an end.

He selected his nephew Stafford Allen, a miller at Amersham in Buckinghamshire, as the man to lead a movement against the vested interests that upheld standards of inferiority.

And so Stafford Allen, the miller, became Stafford Allen a drug grinder.

Stafford Allen was a co-worker with Wilberforce, Buxton, Sturge and Clarkson, all of them pioneers in the anti-slavery movement before the days of Negro emancipation, and with his wife Hannah was, as just stated, an enthusiastic supporter of that cause.

At the age of 80 Stafford Allen was elected the President of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

Stafford Allen was also one of the deputation sent by the Society of Friends on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887. He was presented to Her Majesty by John Bright, as the nephew of William Allen, who was well known to the Queen because of the latter's connection with her father, the Duke of Kent, whose executor and friend he was.

His Negro Friendships.

Before mentioning other of Yardley Warner's friends and co-workers, mostly well known members of the white race, it is both fitting and appropriate to name some of the cultured men of African descent whom he knew and was pleased and proud to regard as his friends.

Among the names that occur from time to time in Yardley Warner's journal and letters, is that of John C. Tate, then a man in the later middle life who under another name was one of the characters in "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—The visit to Tate's house at Clinton is very vividly described in the letter dated 13th Nov. 1874.

On one occasion, speaking to some English Friends who were visiting in America, when it was suggested on some future return visit to England Yardley Warner might take J. C. Tate with him, he replied that he did not favour the idea, not wishing to appear as a showman with an exhibit, and pointing out the work Tate was doing in the cause of the education of those of his race was far more important than to have him travelling around in England.

Another of Yardley Warner's friends was William H. Richards who graduated from the Howard University; also a certain William Yardley, a Negro attorney-at-law. Yardley Warner writes of him that he could never find any record of that Negro family ever having been slaves owned by anyone of the Yardley kin, though doubtless in common with all the southern white settlers, the Yardleys of Virginia were at one time owners of slaves. Another friend of my father's was Joshua Henson "Uncle Tom" himself. Henson was in London on a tour when Yardley Warner was in this country, and on one occasion found himself side by side with him on a London omnibus.

These and others, he refers to as being well known to himself in a paper which was published in "The Friend" in 1878.

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton—(1837-1915).

This well known figure in the English political scene came into the story of my father's life in 1874. Sir Thomas was a grandson of Sir Thomas, the English philanthropist—1776-1845, whose wife was a member of the Society of Friends, one of the Gurneys of Norwich and a sister of Elizabeth Fry. His grandson, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, of whom we write, in company with his cousin William Edward Forster was taken by Yardley Warner on a round of visits in East Tennessee which is described in his letters of 1874. Both of these English visitors were closely associated with the anti-slavery movement. Sir Thomas was aged about 37 at the time when Yardley Warner wrote of him thus :—"The dashing way E. Forster and his cousin, Thomas F. Buxton travel, puts me on,—one week ahead of my time table, I can scarce keep up with them. Buxton is a genial man".

The Rt. Hon. William Edward Forster (1814-1886).

William E. Forster was an influential English Friend and was the son of William Forster the philanthropist who visited America in 1854, and who died there in tragic circumstances, and Yardley Warner's own brief account of the visit paid to the spot is narrated in the aforementioned correspondence.

The following account of W. E. Forster's meeting with Yardley Warner on a train in Tennessee, subsequent to a telegram sent, is taken from the biography of W.E.F. by Wemyss Reid, published by Chapman & Hall.

*At Samuel Low's Ferry House,
Holston River,
Tennessee,*

Saturday evening, November 7th, 1874.

"Here I am, in the very house in which my father died, untouched since his death, with the host and hostess who attended him, 'remembering everything as if it was yesterday', and such striking, pleasant people! He, a tall, thin, upright dark-eyed, lantern-jawed man, but with a kindly face, and a sweet voice and courteous, dignified manner, and his wife like a sun-burnt sailorman. But I must tell you how we came here. We left Chattanooga at 5.30 this morning, 112 miles, slow train, to Knoxville, passing through Athens, which Yardley Warner had told me was his head-quarters in his visits to his schools, and to which I had telegraphed. I therefore looked out, and true enough my man entered the car. We quickly found one another out, and arranged our places, and were off from Knoxville with a carriage and a pair a little after one, having in the meantime got hold, to my great comfort, of thy letters, and snatched a quiet dinner At last we reached General Low's (he is called General by way of affectionate respect: I find before the war he did command the militia volunteer gathering), a lone cottage, or rather farm, on the brow of the hill, but so deep in forest that we cannot see the river from the windows, though it is close to us. The autumn mist is over the hills and trees; there is no wind, no sound but the wood-crickets if we listen for them; sometimes the bells of the cattle, perhaps a slow melodious chant—I suppose a negro in the distance. The day has been hot, but is now one of our warmest autumn evenings; but the air dry, as we never have it. The leaves are mostly gone; but what are left are the richest tints, especially the red oaks. I never was in a place so completely and beautifully quiet. There is a religious gathering of the Cumberland Presbyterians at a school-house, two miles or so off. Two young women went off from the house on one good horse, just after we arrived; and now our host is gone, and I am writing in a low snug room, by the light of a tallow candle and the embers of a large fire of hickory logs. When we drove up, just before dusk, our host was standing in his verandah. 'Mr. Low,' I said, 'my name is Forster. My father died here twenty years ago. Do you remember him?' 'I should think I did. Oh yes!' And he received us as old friends. 'You are like him, he said, 'but taller, a little.' He remembers everything—said almost at once pointing to a chair, 'I had that made for your father. He asked me to do so, but he never got into it.' He said he was ailing the evening he came, but very anxious to get on to Lost Creek, a small Friends' settlement about twenty-five miles off, and started the next morning, but was taken ill in a field close by, and had to be brought back."



(Plate 4). Friends' Meeting House, Friendsville, Tenn., where Yardley Warner met with W. E. Forster and T. F. Buxton in November, 1874.



(Plate 5). John Owen Jenkins, J.P.

*Riley Lee's House,
Friendsville.**Monday morning, Nov. 9th.*

To return to General Low. Our bed-room was our sitting-room—one large bed ; but I think we concealed the fact that one of us slept on a couch. I wished to do so ; but Fowell would not let me. This was the room in which were Uncle Josiah and John Chandler. My father and William Holmes were in the next room—W. H. in the large bed, and my father in a truckle bed, which our hostess drew from under the bed, and which he preferred, having it put near the fire. There was great snugness about the house, and homely comfort in the ways of the host and hostess and their sons The house was not an inn, though travellers were sometimes entertained. I asked Warner to give Low \$10 as payment for ourselves and horses, but his eyes glistened, and he said, ' Oh no ; I could not think of taking anything from William Forster's son,' Clearly my father had left the most true and vivid impression of his loving nature and Christian conduct, and next to that impression was the remembrance of William Holmes's constant devoted waiting on him. His eldest son, who well remembered my father, had tears in his eyes when we parted from him It was only eight miles to Friendsville by the right road, but that was impossible to find—no signposts, no marked features in the hills, many roads or rather trails, and the dead leaves hiding the track in the forest more completely than snow. After getting wrong twice, we captured a boy, and arrived at the meeting-house about a quarter of an hour after they had sat down. It was a curious scene. How I wish that Flo could have drawn the white painted wooden building in the forest, with the riding horses hitched to the trees, and the handsome black and white pigs rooting about, and the fenced-off graveyard just beyond, and the small Friendsville cottages scattered about, all white, and almost every one with its verandah. There were about one hundred and fifty persons at the meeting We dined at the William Forster Home for daughters of Friends to learn housekeeping and go to the Friends' School nearby. At eight o'clock there was a Bible-reading at the school, which turned out to be a discussion on war, the schoolmaster, William Russell, arranging texts which were read by one person after another, and upon which he commented and invited comment. War, of course, got the worst of it, and there was an entire omission of any reference to their own war ; so I tried to improve the occasion by exhorting them all to good treatment of the negro, as the way to avoid war for the future ; not that these friends need exhortation, for they have done their duty under most difficult circumstances. You will imagine from what I have said that the situation of the graveyard is very beautiful. . . .

This morning, friends gathered about me : an old man who remembered my father's first visit in 1823 or 1824, when he was a tall spare man, with his hair cut short, who used to bathe every morning. There was an old man, John Mackay, I went to see, very ill in bed, with his old sick wife by his side ; ' Often I feel as though I could see the prints of his knees in that chair : I was a young man, a very ignorant man, but it seemed as though our hearts were drawn together' It is curious how I have found almost every possible trace of my father very much by reason of the want of go-aheadness of the people. Low, for instance, had been born and raised in his house, his father, Abraham Low, being one of the first settlers, coming when it was an Indian country. Yesterday afternoon Yardley Warner discovered for me the negro who had been the waiting slave whilst he was ill, the decent middle-aged mother of seven children, four of whom now lived with her. Her story was an insight into the old system. She and her three children came with Mr. Low. She was called Maria Low, as was usual, after her master ; married to a slave by name Henderson, not in church, but by the Squire. After emancipation,

slaves usually had to marry again, but her husband married another woman and left her. Her eldest son was sold off, and disappeared just before the Yankees came down. However, now I should think she was doing fairly well, so I only gave her five dollars, and have asked Yardley Warner to look after her. Our meeting at the Normal Black School was very interesting. A hundred and fifty or so darkies—students, children and parents. We were made to speak. I made rather a nice little speech about their changed state, the duties of patience, industry, and the like ; and Fowell made a much nicer ; and two of them, one the editor of the weekly paper, made pleasant replies. Almost every one of them had been born a slave.

As we have seen, W. E. Forster came of the noblest Quaker stock in England. He became the proprietor of a great worsted and alpaca mill at Burley in Wharfedale, and he married the eldest daughter of Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby, thereby cutting himself off from the Society of Friends, which in those days, disowned members who married outside the Society.

The following account of this is taken from the " Life of W. E. Forster " already referred to :

When it became known that he was about to marry the daughter of a clergyman of the Church of England a deputation from the Meeting at Rawdon visited Mr. Forster. The good Friends composing it solemnly warned him against the step he was about to take, and implored him to reconsider his decision. It need hardly be said that the emissaries of the society had no idea that they would succeed in their mission. They had, however, to discharge the duty imposed upon them by the ordinances of their body. Having failed in their attempt to dissuade Mr. Forster from his intended marriage, they reminded him of the fact that such a marriage would entail his expulsion from the society, and then, their task being completed, heartily congratulated him, as private friends, upon the approaching termination of his bachelor life, and his happiness in having secured a partner in every way so eligible. Years afterwards, Mr. Forster, having to reply to a deputation of Quakers, who had waited upon him in his ministerial capacity, said, " Your people turned me out of the society for doing the best thing I ever did in my life ". He still, however, attended meetings of the society, and retained the deepest interest in all that affected the welfare of its members.

At that time many of the Friends around him were modifying their peculiar dress, creeping out of it by inches, as though they were in the hope that the change from the garb of Fox to that of the ordinary man of the world would hardly be noticed by their acquaintances. Forster did not adopt this course ; but, having determined to abandon the dress of his youth, he changed his appearance in a single hour, and astonished his friends by suddenly presenting himself before them attired in garments of the latest and most irreproachable fashion.

In 1870 W. E. Forster became a Cabinet Minister and carried the Elementary Education Bill through Parliament and it is interesting to recall that this was the man who, with Thomas Fowell Buxton, was taken by my father around to see some of the schools in those parts of Tennessee where so many institutions had been established for the help and education of the Negro race.

When I first read my father's Journal and came across the passage that he wrote when visiting Rugby, I marvelled that he should ever get inside that school, and how it was he came to be introduced to the Matron, which was presumably the case. He mentions having visited no meeting of the Society of Friends in that town, and it is probable a fair assumption that he made the visit on the introduction of the Forsters, for as seen in the foregoing, the daughter of the late famous headmaster of that school had married a friend of Yardley Warner.

On the death of W. E. Forster, a striking tribute to him and his father was paid by a writer whose initials were 'M.E.B.' (probably Mary Elizabeth Beck) * a well known writer in Quaker journals at that date. It was a poem in "The Friend" of April 1886, four stanzas of which are quoted below—

THE TWO FUNERALS.

William Forster		W. E. Forster
(obit. Oct. 27.1.1854	and	(obit. 5.IV.1886).

In Tennessee across the wide Atlantic
 There rests the clay
 Of one who bore the image of his Master,
 Long passed away.

A lonely grave, with few to stand beside it
 To shed a tear,
 Although to the oppressed of many a nation
 His name was dear

* * * * *

In England's stately world-renowned Walhalla,
 A mournful train,
 Of great and noble met, while slowly, slowly
 A dirge-like strain—

A funeral anthem in the grand old Abbey
 Far-off, yet near,
 Floats on the air—Hush ! stand ye all uncovered,
 Room for the bier !

Silence,—deep silence, for the dead is coming
 In deathly state,
 Ah ! what is life ? Before that kingly sceptre
 Earth's proudest wait.

As will be seen by the foregoing, a service in honour of the memory of W. E. Forster was held in Westminster Abbey, but he was buried in a humble and secluded spot in Wharfedale.

William Forster (1783-1854).

* I have discovered that Mary Elizabeth Beck was associated with the North Eastern Hospital for Children and was one of the Friends who were present at the Quaker wedding of my parents, and this is a further link between Yardley Warner and the great men, the Forsters, father and son both of whom he so much admired.

William E. Forster's father, William Forster was not only a most remarkable man of religious experience, but a devoted philanthropist whose heart took in the whole world.

He was one of Yardley Warner's heroes, indeed, he was his hero par excellence and he wrote of him at length in one of the issues of "The Freedmen's Monitors" which have been lost to us, but that article was fortunately reproduced in the same year by "The Friends Review" of 1875. The following passages are taken from this article.

The secret of his success in working out the great problem of life, consisted in the simplicity and the directness of his aims; leaving doubt and speculations for doubters and speculators. A memorable instance of this occurred near his end at Lowe's ferry. When about to close a mission of mercy involving in its purpose the final disenthralment of the millions of bondmen in our land; while the impenetrable cloud of slavery hung blacker than ever over him, while the means of dissipating it were as yet hid from all human eyes, he saw the triumph of God's justice, and thus depicted it, in a conversation about the chances of emancipation (that was in 1854, at Lowe's ferry), a colored man, G.R., a Friend, J.B., and S.L., all three Tennesseans, being present; the confidence of William Forster was asserted in an emphatic utterance pointing to the event of emancipation; S.L. said, "It is impossible!" to which William Forster replied, "With God all things are possible; He can work it out". His heart seemed loaded with a love which bore down opposition.

It is good for us to dwell under the burden borne by William Forster ready to embrace every opportunity to step forward to plead their cause, devoted by every means in our power to improve their condition, and to contribute toward their advancement in the scale of civilized life, and, as we may be enabled, to lead them into a participation of the hope and consolation of the gospel.

The memories of William Forster, the famous father of a famous son, were edited by Benjamin Seeböhm, in 1865, and this volume was evidently in Yardley Warner's hands when in 1875 he wrote the foregoing article.

William Forster in 1853 in company with his brother Joshua had an interview with the U.S. President, Franklin Pierce, and told him of the long felt interest of the Society of Friends in the termination of slavery and the slave-trade. William Forster died while on this visit, undertaken in an effort to persuade the people of the Southern States to give up their slaves voluntarily.

During his last illness, he dictated a letter to his friend Barnabas C. Hobbs, much younger than himself who was at that time at Bloomfield School—See the account of B. C. Hobbs' visit to Yardley Warner in Wales in 1877, in a later chapter.

In the course of the illness attempts were made to convey him by carriage to Knoxville, (for better attention) but he died at Friendsville on the 27th 1st mo. 1854.

A few days before his death William Forster was reading the account of Elizabeth Fry's work for the prisoners at New York, and he recalled that with Stephen Grellet they were visiting prisoners at Newgate—not particularly those under sentence of death and he remembered the sight of them in a long row wretchedly clothed, but their children much worse. On their return to the city, the same day they saw Elizabeth Fry at Mildred's Court and on the next day accompanied by Anna Buxton, later to become the wife of William Forster, Elizabeth Fry made her first visit to the cells of Newgate. Anna Buxton was the eldest daughter of Thomas and Anna Buxton, of Earlscolne in the County of Essex.*

From the date of Elizabeth Fry's activities at Newgate to the time of Forster and Buxton's visit to Tennessee was only 60 years, a brief span in Quaker history, towards the close of which period Negro emancipation in the United States was enacted in 1863.

Richard Cadbury of Philadelphia—(1825-1897).

Richard Cadbury was the treasurer of the Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Aid Association. He belonged to the American branch of the well known Quaker Cadburys of Birmingham, England.

Yardley Warner was naturally in constant touch with Richard Cadbury and remitted to him the monies collected from English Friends in 1873 and during the years 1875 to 1881. Ties of friendship between the Warner and Cadbury families were strengthened by the marriage of Yardley Warner's daughter Rebecca to Richard Cadbury's brother, John Warder Cadbury.

William P. Hastings (1833-1913) and

Dr. D. J. Garner (1831-1917).

Other friends and fellow workers were William P. Hastings and Dr. J. D. Garner. The former took over the headship of the Maryville Normal School for training Negro teachers after its first year, and remained its Principal for 20 years. The latter, Dr. Garner, founded the

* Consequently Buxton and Forster, who were taken to places of interest in Tennessee by Yardley Warner, were cousins.

Maryville Normal and Preparatory School for white children, which was also known as the Quaker School at the same time that Yardley Warner founded the school for coloured teachers.

Henry Stanley Newman—(1837-1912).

Many references to Henry Stanley Newman will be found elsewhere—but in naming Yardley Warner's helpers and co-workers this Friend deserves special mention.

As Stafford Allen was a good many years my father's senior, so H. S. Newman was some years younger. He was one of the foremost leaders of the mid-nineteenth century Evangelistic Quakerism. At that time Editor of "The Friend", the founder of the Orphans' Printing Press at Leominster, an author of widely read Quaker books and an outspoken and widely travelled Friend of vigorous personality and great influence in the Society.

His visit to Warnersville in 1898 is referred to later.

He warmly encouraged Yardley Warner's work at The Pales—and Yardley in his turn admired Newman's enthusiasm and his tireless efforts to evangelise and if their methods were more akin to those of Methodists than Quakers, Yardley Warner had, by the time he settled at Pales, arrived at the position of one who—like Paul—might say "I am become all things to all men, that I may by all means save some", or as Frederic W. H. Myers so finely put it—

Standing afar I summon you anigh Him
Yes, to the multitude I shout and say
'This is my King ! I preach and deny Him,
Christ ! whom I crucify anew today.

Quick in a moment, infinite for ever,
Send an arousal better than I pray,
Give me a grace upon the faint endeavour
Souls for my hire, and Pentecost today !

Apart from members of my own family, I have only met personally four Friends who knew my father, and one of these was Henry Stanley Newman, of Leominster, another was a member of the same Quarterly Meeting, John Henry Pumphrey of Evesham, and a third was Alfred Balkwill of Plymouth. My recollections of these Friends will be found in a later chapter when recounting some of the memories of my youth. The fourth was John Owen Jenkins of Penybont, who wholeheartedly supported this work of Yardley Warner at the Pales.

Stanley Pumphrey—(1837-1881).

Another English Friend, much younger than Yardley Warner, was Stanley Pumphrey—the story of whose life, largely spent in Gospel Ministry, travelling extensively in different lands, is told by H. Stanley Newman in the book “The Young Man of God”.

We can see an account of their first meeting in Stanley Pumphrey's own words in our record herein for the year 1875, just before Yardley Warner left America for his second English visit. Stanley Pumphrey later gave support to Yardley Warner's work in East Tennessee while he was himself in England in 1877.

Other well known English Quaker names occur from time to time in Yardley's writings—from two of them, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite Senr. and Gurney Barclay much helpful financial support was forthcoming from time to time.

Yardley Warner and Two American Presidents.

It will be seen from the Journal, that on one or two occasions, Yardley Warner was granted an interview with General Grant in the days when he became President, and it is also known that he had some contact with James A. Garfield during his Presidency.

Yardley Warner was a great admirer of President Garfield, and it will be seen in “Our American Journey”* that in 1954 an endeavour was made to locate the silver star, which, as a boy, I remember seeing on the platform of an American Railroad Station, to commemorate the spot where Garfield was assassinated. All attempts to trace this interesting memento were however in vain, although the custodians of records at the Washington Department of Archives are aware that there had been such a star but they feared it was lost when the old railway station was removed (“torn down” was the American expression used)—for street improvements.

Oliver Otis Howard—(1830-1909).

Both in the Journal and in the Letters there are repeated references to Whittier's Poem “Howard at Atlanta”—here quoted in full—

Right in the track where Sherman
Ploughed his red furrow,
Out of the narrow cabin,

* See Appendix “Our American Journey.”

Up from the cellar's burrow,
Gathered the little black people,
With freedom newly dowered,
Where, beside the Northern teacher,
Stood the soldier, Howard.

He listened and heard the children
Of the poor and long enslaved
Reading the words of Jesus,
Singing the songs of David,
Behold !—the dumb lips speaking,
The blind eyes seeing !
Bones of the Prophet's vision
Warmed into being !

Transformed he saw them passing
Their new life's portal ;
Almost it seemed the mortal
Put on the immortal,
No more with the beasts of burden,
No more with stone and clod,
But crowned with glory and honour
In the image of a God !

There was the human chattel
Its manhood taking
There in each bronze statue,
A soul was waking !
The man of many battles,
With tears his eyelids pressing,
Stretched over those dusky foreheads
His one-armed blessing.

And he said, " Who hears can never
Fear for or doubt you ;
What shall I tell the children
Up north about you ? "
Then ran round a whisper, a murmur
Some answer devising ;
And a little boy stood up ; " Massa
Tell 'em we're rising ! "

O black boy of Atlanta !
But half was spoken ;
The slave's chain and the master's
Alike are broken.
The one curse of the races
Held both in tether ;
They are rising—all are rising
The black and white together !

O brave men and fair women !
Ill comes of hate and scorning :
Shall the dark faces only
Be turning to morning ?—
Make Time your sole avenger
All-healing all-redressing ;
Meet fate half-way, and make it
A joy and blessing !

The "northern teacher" referred to in the first verse was the Superintendent of a negro Sunday School at Atlanta, Georgia, where in General Howard's own words he saw "neatly dressed children with intelligent faces, prompt, cheerful and hearty in all their responses could not fail to attract the attention of any thinking man". After his address to the school, Howard asked if anyone had a message for other children. One little boy of 12, wearing a clean white jacket rose and said "Tell them we are rising". This incident Whittier has described in his poem "Howard at Atlanta" the boy was R. R. Wright, and has since been a Major in the Army, a Minister abroad and a college President. "There lies before me as I write" said Howard "over 30 years after the child's message, a book entitled 'A Brief Historical Sketch of Negro Education in Georgia.' It is a faithful and exhaustive sketch. The author is the same boy from Atlanta, with added years, now head of the Georgia State Industrial College". How true and how prophetic were his words,

" Massa, tell 'em we're rising ".

These lines from the poem were frequently quoted by Yardley Warner in the 1870's.

The one curse of the races
Held both in tether,—
They are rising—all are rising
The black and white together.

Small wonder that Yardley Warner's sympathies were roused—was not he himself another "northern teacher", actually engaged in providing similar opportunities for these bright and intelligent dark skinned children only waiting their chance to "rise".

General Howard as the Government Commissioner for the Freedmen's Bureau will have been in close touch with Yardley Warner, and they frequently worked on the same projects.

Howard's Autobiography lists many of the schools and training colleges for coloured students for which his Freedmen's Bureau was responsible, and among others referred to is The Yardley Warner Normal School at Maryville and another also under care of Friends in Georgia, and it is small wonder that Yardley Warner held O.O.H. in high esteem. The following resume of an article in the "American Dictionary of Biography" shows the manner of man he was.

He was born in 1830 and died in 1909. He was a student and later an instructor in Mathematics in an American military academy.

When war broke out he was chief of ordnance in Florida, was made Brig. Gen. in 1861 and Major General in 1862. He took part in first battle of Bell River—lost his right arm in Battle of Fair Oaks (1862). He was soon back again in the army he commanded the rear and took part in the Battle of Chancellorsville and in Gettysburg. He had the thanks of Congress for his action on that occasion.

In 1863 he was ordered to Tennessee and took part at Chattanooga and in the Atlantic Campaign in which he was in command of the right wing of Sherman's Army when it drove the "red furrow", described by Whittier, through Georgia.

His kindly soul was harrowed by the horrors of the march and he punished the looters and doers of acts of violence to the civil population.

On May 12th 1865—the year the war ended, he was appointed Commissioner of the newly established "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands" for which position he had been already selected by Lincoln just before the latter's untimely assassination.

So far as good intentions went and considering his humanitarian passions, religious enthusiasm, no better choice could have been made, but he was not disciplinarian enough to control his underlings, and thus put down the corruption associated with some sections of that enterprise.

He was so busy with politics, looking forward to Negro enfranchisement, and so bent on bringing about better conditions for them and always inclined to believe the best of everyone, that in his enthusiasm, he, in the words of a biographer "lost his poise".

Later he organized a Congregational Church at Washington and raised funds for it, but seeking to bring in coloured members he precipitated a quarrel in the congregation.

He was instrumental in founding the Howard University for coloured students, which still exists, was its President in 1869 and gave much time to it till he resigned in 1874.

In 1893 he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honour for his bravery at Fair Oaks.

Barnabas Coffin Hobbs (1815-1887).

B. C. Hobbs was a well known American Friend who travelled extensively in the Ministry both in this country and on the Continent, and the reports of his Ministry and visits to Friends in their Meetings and

in their homes figure largely in the pages of Quaker periodicals of that time. He was influenced as a young man and greatly helped by William Forster, as already referred to.

B. C. Hobbs was one of Yardley Warner's closest friends and an ardent supporter of his cause, and was in England on a religious visit at the time when Yardley Warner was settling down into work at Pales, and a reference to this will be found elsewhere in this work. B. C. Hobbs was also one of those Friends who was present at Yardley Warner's wedding.

Josiah Leeds (1825-1881).

Josiah Leeds was a printer and the author of various books and pamphlets on peace, temperance, anti-opium, anti-slavery, gambling and social evils, all subjects in which Yardley Warner felt strongly, consequently they had much in common. The book for which Leeds is best known today, is his history of the United States, which claims that it includes some important facts mostly omitted from the smaller contemporary histories.

John Owen Jenkins (1856-1944)

John Owen Jenkins was one of Yardley Warner's closest associates during his time at The Pales. The following account of John Owen Jenkins' life and activities appeared in a local paper in 1935.

On Christmas Day, John Owen Jenkins, of Llwynmelyn, Penybont, Radnorshire, celebrated his 80th birthday, and having completed his four score years, he expects during 1936 to relinquish some of the service he has gladly carried on for Friends and other causes. In the course of a life of joyful service he calculates he has ridden on horse-back, going to and from meetings, a distance equal to that of a circuit of the globe, about 25,000 miles.

J. Owen Jenkins was educated at the day school at Pales, which was then kept by William Knowles, later of Bentham. In June, 1879, as the result of a concern of Yardley Warner and his wife (who were then conducting the Pales school) a series of "tent" meetings was held on the Common at Penybont. Pioneers in these meetings were Henry Stanley Newman, Stanley Pumphrey, Sarah Bell, Frank Dymond and others. The countryside was stirred and the meetings are still remembered as the "Quaker Revival."

In 1894 John Owen Jenkins became a magistrate for the County of Radnorshire, and for many years was chairman of the Llandrindod Wells and Penybont Bench, and Member of the County Council, and a school manager and a member of the former local School Board. Temperance, Peace and Liberalism always found in him a loyal supporter.

CHAPTER III

HIS BOOKS

Although a staunch and devoted Quaker deeply attached to what he would call his beloved Society, Yardley Warner's quotations were not normally from the works of Fox or Barclay, Penn or Penington, or even Woolman, though he did once quote at length from George Fox—an admonition to Friends as to their attitude to Indians and men of colour, or nationality, and expressing his concern that the message of truth should reach all mankind. He never referred of the doings of the "Valiant Sixty", though his whole life was spent as in that great Quaker tradition—of service to his fellows, guided by that "true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world".

The one book from which he constantly quoted was the Bible, and yet it would not be true to say that he was a man of but that book only. But it would be true to say that it was the constant companion of his travels.

He did not "study" it as did some of his contemporaries, seeing in the events of his time the fulfilment of ancient prophecies. He was not interested in theology and he did not often quote Biblical texts to justify his religious beliefs, as did many of his generation, nor did he seek to find in the "prophecies" of Daniel or in the book of Revelation the solution of the political and social problems of his time. He held the Bible in peculiar esteem and would sometimes use it as though if by miracle or magic it could help him in emergencies.

He accepted the Bible quite uncritically, exactly as he found it and its messages he regarded as peculiar to himself. His Journal and his Letters are interspersed with quotations from the scriptures and sentences of his own continually intermingle with passages from the Bible. Yet he would not like it to be thought that he regarded the Bible superstitiously, yet none the less, he frequently found help by taking as a personal message some word of comfort or consolation in the first text which met his eye on opening it, as in the following :—" 5 a.m.—opened

to Psalms 42. 11" and here he would have found the words, "Why art thou cast down O my soul?" The Bible was incomparably the most loved and cherished of Yardley Warner's possessions.

Whole passages in his Journal consisted frequently of extracts from varied portions of the scriptures—strung like pearls upon a string, or as musical notes repeating themselves upon a single theme as was the frequent custom of Friends when speaking in Meetings in those days.

Other books there were of course which Yardley Warner loved, and from these he sometimes quoted—among them were Cowper, Whittier, Goldsmith and Byron, and once even Homer, but from Cowper most of all. He held this writer in most affectionate regard as will be seen by references in his Journal.

The reasons why Cowper's * works were so beloved by Yardley Warner, are not far to seek. His poems on Slavery and his lines to the honour of Wilberforce, obviously had a special appeal. And Cowper's affections for simple things—the cricket on the hearth, was akin to Yardley's great love for the lowly and the oft times overlooked. The Cowper hymns also spoke to his condition—"God moves in a mysterious way"—being one of his favourites.

As for Whittier—it is somewhat strange that this great American Quaker singer and a contemporary, was not quoted oftener, but the one poem referred to more than once was "Howard at Atlanta". (See a reference to this in the chapter dealing with Yardley Warner's friends and fellow workers).

There were three other books which were well known to Yardley Warner, for they were once his own and they have all come into my possession. The first was by Thomas Clarkson on the Slave Trade. It bears on the fly leaf the signature of Joseph Sturge, evidence that it had been given by that pioneer worker in the cause, to Yardley Warner,—at some date not known.

Clarkson's book was published in 1808. He was in Deacon's Orders in the Church of England, but all his life he kept closely in touch with the Society of Friends, though he never joined that body. His book was widely read and circulated in Quaker households on both sides of the Atlantic, and there is no doubt but that it was known in the Warner household in Bucks County Pa. which as we have seen, was fully sympathetic to the anti-slavery cause.

* See also the reference to Cowper in the Chapter "Childhood & Youth".

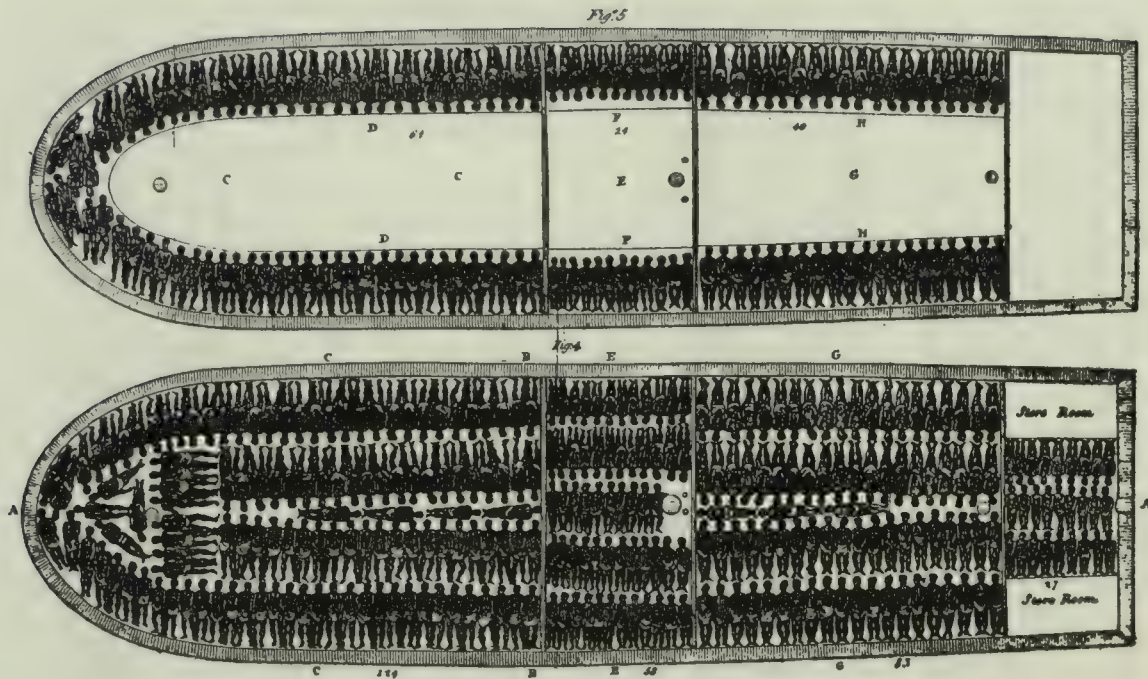
Clarkson's book gives details of the discussions which took place in Parliament and elsewhere and of the horrors and iniquities of the African traffic in slaves and collected evidence to refute the suggestions of those engaged in it that it was decently conducted and that if there were occasional lapses they could be dealt with by regulation and that prohibition was not necessary.

Clarkson's book reproduced the famous plan of an actual ship—the slaver “Brookes”, registered at Liverpool. Its dimensions were as follows—

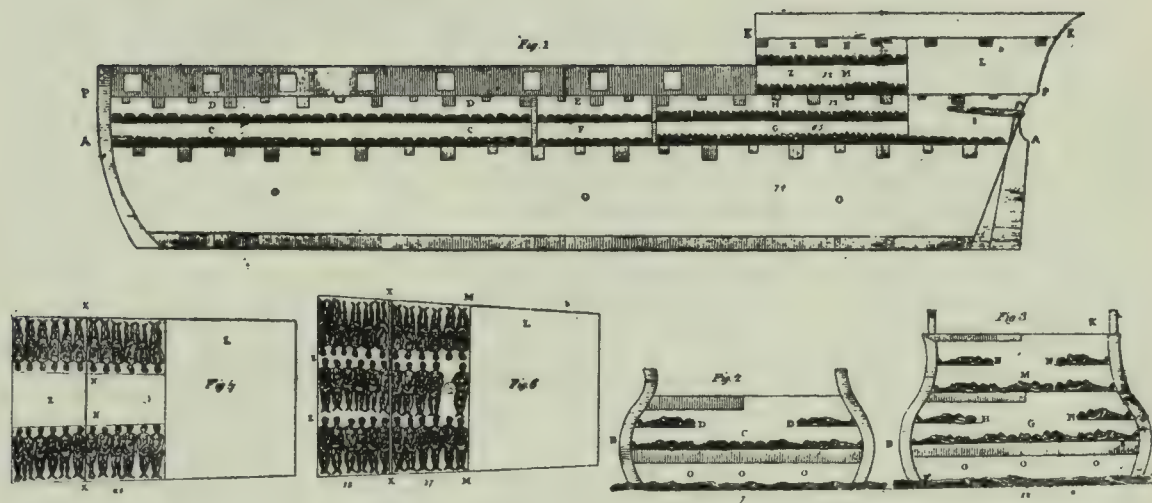
	Ft.	ins.
Length of the lower deck, gratings, and bulk heads, included at A A	100	0
Breadth of beam on the lower deck inside B B	25	4
Depth of hold O O O, from ceiling to ceiling	10	0
Height between decks from deck to deck	5	8
Length of the men's room, C C, on the lower deck	46	0
Breadth of the men's room, C C on the lower deck	25	4
Length of the platform, D D, in the men's room	46	0
Breadth of the platform, in the men's room, on each side	6	0
Length of the boy's room, E E	13	9
Breadth of the boy's room	25	0
Breadth of platform, F F in boy's room	6	0
Length of women's room, C C	28	6
Breadth of women's room	23	6
Length of platform, H H in women's room	28	6
Breadth of platform in women's room	6	0
Length of the gun-room, I I, on the lower deck	10	6
Breadth of the gun-room on the lower deck	12	0
Length of the quarter deck, K K	33	6
Breadth of the quarter deck	19	6
Length of the cabin	14	0
Height of the cabin	6	2
Length of the half deck, M M	16	6
Height of the half deck	6	2
Length of the platform, N N on the half deck	16	6
Breadth of the platform on the half deck	6	0
Upper deck, P P		

The Anti-slavery Committee made much use of this. It proceeded to allow certain dimensions for every man, woman and child in order to show how many persons could be stowed away in that vessel and they allotted

accordingly, to every man slave six feet by one foot four inches for room, to every woman five feet by one foot four, to every boy five feet by one foot two, and to every girl four feet six by one foot. They then stowed them, and found them as in the annexed plate, that is, they found (deducting the women stowed in Z of figures 6 and 7, which spaces, being half of the half deck, were allowed by Sir William Dolben's last bill to the seamen) *that only four hundred and fifty* could be stowed in her; and the reader will find, if he should think it worth while to count the figures in the plate, that, on making the deduction mentioned, they will amount to this number.



(Fig. 1). The Slave Ship "Brookes". Reproduced from plates in Clarkson's book on The Slave Trade.



(Fig. 2). The Slave Ship "Brookes". See page 28.

The committee then thought it right to inquire how many slaves the act of Sir William Dolben allowed this vessel to carry, and they found the number to be *four hundred and fifty four* ; that is, they found it allowed her to carry four more than could be put in without trespassing upon the room allotted to the rest ; for we see that the bodies of the slaves, except just at the head of the vessel, already touch each other, and that no deduction has been made for tubs or stanchions to support the platforms and decks.

Such was the picture, which the committee were obliged to draw, if they regarded mathematical accuracy, of the room allotted to the slaves in this vessel. By this picture was exhibited the nature of the Elysium, which Mr. Norris and others had invented for them during their transportation from their own country. By this picture were seen also the advantage of Sir William Dolben's bill ; for many, on looking at the plate, considered the regulation itself as perfect barbarism. The advantages however obtained by it were considerable ; for the *Brookes* was now restricted to four hundred and fifty slaves, whereas it was proved that she carried six hundred and nine in a former voyage.

From this illustration it could be seen that the improvements by a recent bill (known as Sir William Dolben's) were considerable, for the "*Brookes*" was now restricted to carry only 450 slaves ; whereas it was proved that she carried 609 in a former voyage.

Clarkson paid a well deserved tribute to the work of the poet Cowper in popularising the cause of the coloured race. He writes as follows —

The amiable poet Cowper had frequently made the Slave-trade the subject of his contemplation. He had already severely condemned it in his valuable poem 'The Task'. But now he had written three little fugitive pieces upon it. Of these the most impressive was that which he called *The Negro's Complaint*, and of which the following is a copy :

" Forced from home and all its pleasures,
Afric's coast I left forlorn,
To increase a stranger's treasures,
O'er the raging billows borne ;
Men from England bought and sold me,
Paid my price in paltry gold ;
But, though theirs they have inroll'd me,
Minds are never to be sold.

Still in thought we live as ever,
What are England's rights, I ask,
Me from my delights to sever,
Me in torture, me to task ?
Fleecy locks and black complexion
Cannot forfeit Nature's claim ;
Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in black and white the same.



The Slogan of the
Abolitionists

This little piece Cowper presented in manuscript to some of his friends in London ; and these conceiving it to contain a powerful appeal on behalf of the injured Africans, joined in printing it. Having ordered it on the finest hot-pressed paper, and folded it up in a small and neat form, they gave it the printed title of "*A Subject for Conversation at the Tea-table*". After this, they sent many thousand copies of it in franks into the country, From one it spread to another, till it travelled almost over the whole island.

Falling at length into the hands of the musician, it was set to music ; and it then found its way into the streets, both of the metropolis and of the country, where it was sung as a ballad ; and where it gave a plain account of the subject, with an appropriate feeling, to those who heard it.

This reference to Cowper must have been very pleasing to Yardley Warner, who had a great affection for the works of that poet, see also the reference to Cowper in the Chapter " Childhood & Youth ".

At the time when Clarkson wrote these things the newly formed Committee for the abolition of the slave traffic had adopted a badge or seal, a copy is here reproduced :—

Mr. Josiah Wedgewood made this emblem into a beautiful cameo and his famous firm manufactured it in large quantities. The ground was a most delicate white, but the Negro, who was seen imploring compassion, was in his own native colour. Clarkson writes of this as follows :—

Mr. Wedgewood made a liberal donation of these, when finished, among his friends. I received from him no less than five hundred of them myself. They, to whom they were sent, did not lay them up in their cabinets, but gave them away likewise. They were soon, like the Negro's Complaint, in different parts of the kingdom. Some had them inlaid in gold on the lid of their snuff-boxes. Of the ladies, several wore them in bracelets, and others had them fitted up in an ornamental manner as pins for their hair. At length, the taste for wearing them became general ; and thus fashion, which usually confines itself to worthless things, was seen for once in the honourable office of promoting the cause of justice, humanity and freedom.

Small wonder that facts like these did much to rouse public sympathy for the Negro cause.

The second was the book written by Joseph Sturge himself, published in 1842 describing his visit to the United States and his encounter with slavers and prohibitionists alike in an endeavour to ascertain facts, and assist the furtherance of the aims of emancipationists.

And a third book which Yardley Warner once owned, was a bound volume of a four page periodical, a page of which is reproduced heavier.

It was printed in Newcastle-on-Tyne by Selkirk & Rhagg and published in the same town by W. S. Pringle of Collingwood Street, and was on sale in London by W. & F. G. Cash at 5 Bishopsgate Street Without. Its price was one halfpenny. It covers the period January 1854 till November 1856. Many numbers are missing, it looks as though it had been specially bound up, and being well worn was evidently frequently referred to by Yardley Warner, providing him with much first hand evidence of the iniquity of the slave traffic, being full of reports not only of the cruelties of the time but of the progress of anti-slavery sentiment, long before the coming of emancipation.

Slavery
is sustained by the
purchase
of its productions.

THE SLAVE;

HIS WRONGS, AND THEIR REMEDY.

If there were
no consumers of
slave-produce,
there would be no
slaves.

No. 37.

JANUARY, 1854.

[ONE HALFPENNY.]

THE DEATH OF UNCLE TOM.

THE southern journals protest against the beautiful romance of Mrs. Stowe, on the ground that its incidents are exaggerated, although the accomplished writer, in her "Key to Uncle Tom," has justified every event and circumstance which she describes, by citing parallel facts. But if the Key had never been prepared, the columns of the southern journals themselves would have furnished ample evidence of the substantial truth of Mrs. Stowe's representations. No one of her incidents, for instance, has created more remark than the death of Uncle Tom by means of the violence of Legree; and it has been said that no such villain, as he is made to be, could exist, and that no such event as the murder of an old, faithful, and pious slave, by his owner, was likely to occur. Yet, read the following paragraph, which is extracted from the *Carrollton (Louisiana) Star*, of the 23rd ult. :—

"We grieve, for the honour of the town, to have to record an inhuman outrage practised on the body of an old negro of this place, named Johnson, the slave of Charles Hines, by Hines himself, which resulted in death. The negro was nearly ninety years of age, and universally venerated for his soberness and honesty, as well for his revolutionary reminiscences. The monster-master, taking umbrage at some petty offence, deliberately whipped, stamped, and kicked him to death on Saturday last. The fellow feigned sickness, as is supposed, to cover a design of escape, and even had the hardihood to affect a fear of immediate death, and to go through the funeral farce of making a public will. Officer Kenner left two deputies on guard at his residence till Monday, when the body of the negro was disinterred, and an inquest held over it by the coroner. The unanimous verdict of the jury—several physicians being present, also assenting—was, that he died from the effects of the blows and kicks he had received from his master. Persons who witnessed the examination, say the sight was sickening, his whole back cut and bruised into jelly, and the lower part of his body nearly kicked to pieces. Immediately after the inquest, the monster was taken to jail. Let him go down hand in hand with Legree, a hideous verification of that horrible villain."

Here is an actual occurrence of only a day or two since, rivalling, if not surpassing in its atrocity,

the fictitious death of Uncle Tom; and the southern writer who narrates it, is forced, in the honesty of his indignation, to confess the existence of a class of masters of which Legree is a type. An old man, who had reached the almost patriarchal age of ninety-one, who appears, too, to have served in the revolutionary war, everywhere respected for his sobriety and virtue, and, doubtless, a member of some Christian church, is deliberately whipped and kicked to death by a brute who is called his master!

Is there, we ask, anything in any of the novels that have been written to shew the fiendish influences of the irresponsible slave-system, more deadly than this? Yet, we are gravely told by the southern critics, that these novels do by society the grossest injustice, and are libels upon the truth.—*New York Evening Post*, Oct., 1853.

GOING HOME.

MR. J. B. THOMPSON, a fugitive from slavery, who was compelled to flee from Philadelphia after the passage of the "Fugitive-Slave Act," and who sought a refuge in Canada, has succeeded in securing the sum of 800 dollars, with which to purchase his freedom. The whole of this sum has been raised since the 1st of March; and the zeal, energy, affection, and talents of Thompson's wife, have contributed greatly to the success of her husband's own untiring exertions. Mr. Thompson called on us on his way to Canada, when the human bloodhounds were baying on his track. His good wife informed us, on Friday, 8th inst., that Lyman Jones, Esq., of Montreal, had negotiated with the man-stealer in Virginia, who claimed her husband, and who had consented to release all claim on him for 800 dollars; and that, as they had the money, they were now returning home.

The simple story of Mrs. Thompson, commencing with the visit of her husband's "master" to her home in Philadelphia, and ending at the collection of the last 250 dollars of the needed sum, was as graphic as a chapter of "Uncle Tom." Her husband, who is a smart, good-looking, energetic mulatto, left Virginia eight years ago, and settled in Philadelphia, where, at the time of his flight, he had two shaving and hair-dressing establishments, besides owning, in his wife's right, a homestead.

(Fig. 4). Reproduced facsimile of a news-sheet published in the cause of abolition in Newcastle, England, 1854.

Harriet Beecher Stowe was then still alive and in its pages there is eloquent testimony to the value of her work in arousing public interest in the Negro cause. The Southern whites had for long maintained that Uncle Tom's Cabin was untrue to the facts of Negro serfdom, and Mrs. Stowe's book, "A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin" which is reviewed in the issue for January 1854,—justified every event and circumstance which she described by citing parallel facts. It showed in short that Uncle Tom's Cabin was not a work of fiction in the ordinary sense, and it was for this reason that at a time when the reading of novels was forbidden in many Quaker homes, "Uncle Tom" was permitted.

Following this precedent such books as "Robinson Crusoe", purporting to be the true adventures of Alexander Selkirk, were allowed to take their places beside "The Pilgrim's Progress" and the "Original Poems" of Ann and Jane Taylor, as part of the light reading of young Quakers of 70 or 80 years ago.

No one can read these three remarkable books even at the present day without being profoundly moved—so shocking was the condition of the Negro before emancipation.

How these things stirred the feelings of Yardley Warner and his fellow workers, within whose own lifetime these horrors were a reality, can well be imagined.

PART TWO

Relates what is known of Yardley Warner's childhood and student days, and tells of him as barrister, teacher and farmer, until the outbreak of the American Civil War when he devoted himself entirely to the Negro cause.

One who never turned his back
but marched breast forward
Never doubted clouds would break
Never dreamed, though right
were worsted, wrong would triumph
Held we fall to rise, are baffled
to fight better
Sleep to wake.

Robert Browning.

CHAPTER IV

THE YARDLEY-WARNER DESCENT

Yardley Warner was born into the sixth generation of the Warner family in America, descendants of Joseph Warner of Blockley in Worcestershire, and on his grandmother's side he was born into the fourth generation of the Yardleys in America and the twelfth generation from John Yardley (1402) of Yardley in the County of Stafford, England.

The Warners, like the Yardleys, have been Quakers for many generations. Shortly after the dissolution of the Long Parliament by Oliver Cromwell, Joseph Warner emigrated to America in 1653 with his family. This was 29 years before the arrival in America of William Yardley the brother of Thomas the Emigrant, from whom the long line of American Yardleys is descended.

Joseph Warner, like many others who sought freedom in a new land where toleration respecting religious observance was everyone's right, took themselves and their families beyond the seas, preferring a lonely quiet life, in a primeval forest, to the anxieties and responsibilities of a parliamentary career in England, resolved to leave politics behind him, and crossing the Atlantic with his family * and in one of the slow sailing vessels of the period, he took up his abode on a convenient spot near the newly discovered rivers.

Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia" (in the Philadelphia Public Library) mentions this emigration from England twenty-nine years before William Penn crossed to the American Continent.

Watson says Joseph Warner appears to have been the first white man who had the hardihood to settle his family in what afterwards became Pennsylvania. That part of the country was then a luxuriant wilderness, the home of the Red Man, and of the wild beasts of the forest. Here, having moored his little boat to the trunk of a willow tree, on the bank of the beautiful Schuylkill, he dug out a cave, or formed a rude log cabin,

* Including his son John, who was born in 1649.

and commenced housekeeping we may suppose, under some difficulties, with such novel surroundings. Willow Grove was a little west of the position that William Penn afterwards chose for the site of Philadelphia.

The Swedes had formed a little colony in the Island of Tinicum, in the Delaware River, just previous to Joseph Warner's settlement on the Schuylkill. They were then the only other white men in that territory ; and by their priority of settlement these Swedes subsequently engaged in feuds against Penn and the English settlers, the venom of which, it is recorded had hardly died out 200 years later, amongst their descendants.

Joseph Warner and his family seem to have prospered in worldly matters, and other emigrants from the Old country soon settled in their neighbourhood, and the names of the Crossdales, the Kirkbrides, Taylors and Fields appear among the early records and these names are found in the family trees of the Warners and the Yardleys. John Warner, son of Joseph the emigrant became a Member of the Provincial Assembly. He married Anne Campden and they had ten children, the youngest of whom, Joseph, married Agnes Crossdale, and their son Abraham married Hannah, daughter of Mary and Thomas Yardley of Pennsbury, Bucks Co. Pa. The eldest child of this union was William, whose marriage with Letitia Field in 1803, linked the Warners up with yet another family of ancient Quaker lineage.

To William and Letitia Warner four sons and two daughters were born. Yardley was their youngest child, so named after the maiden surname of his paternal grandmother.—He was born on the 2nd of 11 month 1815—the youngest member of that branch of the sixth generation of the Warner family in America.

The earliest Philadelphia Yardleys, the direct ancestors of Yardley Warner, were the third generation in descent from William and Mary Yardley, of Yardley Staffordshire, the grandparents of William the emigrant (born 1632, emigrated 1682).

A brother of this William was George, who was born in the year of the Spanish Armada, 1588. Some account of his life and career are to be found in a book published in 1953 by Messrs. Yardley & Co. Ltd., the soap and lavender water manufacturers, and this book after reciting how this Yardley family traces its ancestry back in a direct line to John Yardley, in 1409, goes on to relate how the George aforesaid came to be knighted by James the 1st in 1618.

George was the eldest of six sons of Ralph Yardley, a London merchant, and at the age of sixteen became a soldier and saw active service in the Low Countries.

On his return he took service with his old commander, Sir Thomas Gates, and assisted him in planning an expedition to aid some settlers in Virginia and sailed himself in one of the nine little sailing vessels which left England on 15th May 1609. Misfortune befell Captain Yardley on the expedition, for a violent storm separated Yardley's vessel, the little *Sea Adventure* and she was blown out of her course and did not arrive with the other eight ships. When the little party under the command of Captain Yardley ultimately arrived to join their companions at Jamestown, Virginia, they told how blown out of their course they were shipwrecked on an island, un-named if not uncharted, which we now know to be Bermuda. Here their ship broke up on the rocks, but working for several months with the limited tools and supplies at their disposal they made two small boats, which ultimately brought them safely into port.

During the years which followed Captain George Yardley played a most important part in the life of the colony.

There are many references to him in the official Guide to the State of Virginia, published by the Oxford University Press of New York, from which source we learn that in 1616 George Yeardley (as the American spelling of that day styled him), was appointed Deputy Governor of Virginia, that he imported a herd of blooded cattle, turned his attention to the fertilization of the soil and the cultivation of tobacco. By April 1629 he was now Governor he convened a meeting of burgesses, the first democratically elected legislative body to be convened in the New World. About this time, after a brief visit to England, during which time he was honoured by a Knighthood by James 1st, and on his marriage with Temperance Flowerdew, (who was the great-niece of Amy Robsart, who was wife of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, and whose tragic fate is related by Sir Walter Scott in *Kenilworth*), he returned to Virginia to find himself one of the richest of the landowners in the new colony, so well had his affairs prospered by that time. Encouraged by Sir George, the settlers exerted themselves in cultivating their fertile soil and by 1620 they were not only assured of sufficient food for themselves, but were able to set aside land for the production of tobacco for export to England.

That Yardley Warner was well aware of his descent from some of the rulers and governors of the New World in the early days is clear for there came into his possession in 1881 "The Yardley Geneology", a work by Thomas Yardley of Yardley, Pa., U.S.A. tracing the descendants of that family from the earliest available records.

In his Journals and Letters Yardley Warner often quoted from the works of the poet Cowper * and one of his favourites was the ode entitled "The Receipt of His Mother's Picture out of Norfolk", particularly the lines in it which refer to lineage :—

My boast is not that I deduce my birth
From loins enthroned and rulers of the earth
But higher far my proud pretensions rise
The son of parents pass'd into the skies.

An indication of the esteem with which my father held the poet is seen in a touching reference written in his Journal when he was near to the town of Olney and had the offer of a drive to that place. See the entry from 18th July 1873. "Should I" he writes, "or should I not, make the deviation necessary to go to Olney, when I am so near, or ought I to keep to the plan which I feel it my duty to follow which will take me more directly to the next place I am due to visit". He did not go to Olney !

There is a further, so far unexplained connection between Yardley Warner and William Cowper, for among his possessions at the time of his death in 1885, is a relic still treasured by a great grandson, a little piece of the scarlet cloak, spoken of as follows, in the poem above referred to :—

Where once we dwelt our name is heard no more,
Children not thine have trod my nursery floor ;
And where the gardener Robin, day by day,
Drew me to school along the public way,
Delighted with my bauble coach, and wrapp'd
In scarlet mantle warm, and velvet capp'd
'Tis now become a history little known
That once we called the past'ral house our own.

The small square of cloth, now much faded, is mounted and framed with some twigs from the apple tree which grew in the poet's garden, and in Yardley Warner's handwriting, are the lines referring to it describing the journey "along the public way" when as a child William Cowper was "drawn to school" by his faithful attendant Robin.

* See the reference to Cowper in the Chapter "His Books".

How this Cowper relic came into my father's possession no one now living is able to tell. There is a similar piece of cloth in the Cowper Museum at Olney, presented years ago by the Rector of Berkhamstead.

It will be seen how strange a fascination Yardley had for the common household cricket, by the references in his Journal and the Letters, to the "Cricket on the hearth". To many a nuisance, a source of irritation and annoyance, but to Yardley Warner a cheering companion. How well he would endorse Cowper's lines—"To a Cricket":—

Little inmate, full of mirth,
Chirping on my kitchen hearth,
Whereso'er be thine abode,
Always harbinger of good
Pay me for thy warm retreat
With a song more soft and sweet ;
In return thou shalt receive
Such a strain as I can give.

Neither night, nor dawn of day,
Puts a period to thy play ;
Sing then—and extend thy span
Far beyond the date of man,
Wretched man, whose years are spent
In repining discontent,
Lives not, aged though he be,
Half a span, compared with thee.

CHAPTER V

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

1815. Born at the old Warner homestead. Penn's Manor Farm, Bucks County Pa. U.S.A.

1830. Entered as pupil at Westtown School Pa. at the age of 15.

Five months after the British fight with the French at Waterloo in 1815, Yardley Warner was born at the old Warner homestead, Penn's Manor Farm, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. At that date America was at war with England, which was officially declared on June 18th 1812 and it is necessary to link up the events of these times with the happenings in world history in order to understand how different from our own age was the age into which Yardley Warner was born.

Although only 141 years have passed since then we are living in a totally different epoch. When my father was aged 2, James Madison was only the fourth President. We in England who have twice gone in fear of invasion during our lifetime can picture the Warner family in Bucks County during the years 1812 to 1814. In his message to Congress on June 1st 1812 Madison set forth his country's grievances against Great Britain, claiming that British seamen had been the victims of "press gangs", of violation of treaty rights on the American coasts by British cruisers and that the British Council had incited the Indians to rise against the United States.

Yardley Warner was the youngest in a family of six, four boys and two girls. His eldest brother Abraham, was born in 1803, the year of the Louisiana purchase, when the United States acquired from France those immense territories which stretch from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes.

The children in the Warner family at Penn's Manor Farm would have heard the first news of the closing of American ports to British ships in 1807 and the law forbidding the importation of slaves proclaimed which came into force on January 1st 1808.

There was a temporary peace in Europe by the defeat of Napoleon, who had been banished to the island of Elba, so England was enabled to send more ships to America. She had a navy of about 1,000 vessels, whereas the United States could only muster twelve moderate size ships, and a few useless gun boats.

Invasion was expected from three points, the Canadian border, the Atlantic coast, and from the South, by way of the Gulf of Mexico.

The Warner boys and their sisters would have heard the story of the loss of the city of Washington to the invaders, which followed soon after their landing at Benedict at the mouth of the river Patuxent, of their march to the capital and of its capture and the burning of most of the government buildings and of the public records, which nothing could replace, and of the hasty flight of Mrs. Madison, who gathered up some of her household silver in her reticule as she fled from the White House, and the British, coming in almost at that instant, ate up the very dinner and drank the wine prepared for the President and his friends that evening. This was not the only kind of story the Warner children would have heard. Many of them told of the horrors of slavery and from earliest years my father felt the greatest sympathy for the unfortunate Negro. One such story concerned a young man, who had no knowledge that his mother had been a slave. She was owned by a Virginian planter, and was very beautiful and almost white. She became the mother of a little child so fair and with hair so unlike that of an African, that he could pass anywhere as a white. And no wonder, for his father was the slave-holding Virginian. The boy grew to be two or three years of age, a most beautiful child and the idol of his mother's heart. At this point, for obvious reasons the father had the boy sent away, an octoroon, and still a slave, for no papers of manumission had ever been drawn up for him. He grew to man's estate, received a good education, married a white woman and they had a family of five children. He did not know himself that African blood was in his veins and no one in the neighbourhood knew that he was the son of a slave woman.

In course of time the father died, and the executors of that Virginian slaveholder, remembered the little white boy, the son of a slave woman, and knowing that by law,—and what a law !—he belonged to the estate and by this time would be an extremely valuable piece of property, they resolved to get possession of him. At length they learned his whereabouts and the heir to the property accompanied by an administrator,

went to Guilford County North Carolina, to claim his own half brother as a slave. Being now sure of his whereabouts, they drew up a bill of sale and sold him to an unscrupulous slave trader, the victim being all unconscious of the fate in store for him.

One night the dealer came with a gang of ruffians, seized their prey as he lay asleep, and dragged him away and when he demanded to know the reason, they showed him the bill of sale. He was taken to a southern slave market, and to make him appear like a negro, they washed him with tan ooze, tied him up in the sun, cut his hair short and seared it with hot irons to make it curly. He was sold in Georgia to a master by whom he was cruelly treated.

Several months afterwards he escaped and succeeded in making his way back to Guilford County having been chased by dogs, hunted through swamps and thickets evading his pursuers by wading in a mill pond and climbing a tree where he remained all night. He ultimately made his way to the house of Stanton White, the father in law of Levi Coffin, (a well known abolitionist) where he remained for several days. Dr. George Swain a man of much influence in the district hearing the story said he thought the proceedings might be found illegal if brought before the courts, but the unfortunate victim's health was so broken by being forced to lie in swamps and thickets, that he died before the next Law Term was due to be held.

During his months of slavery in the south his wife had died and his children were scattered among the neighbours.

This and stories like them made a deep and lasting impression on the mind of Yardley Warner and he resolved that when and wherever the opportunity arose he would do all that he could to help his coloured fellow countrymen.

Yardley Warner's parents and grand-parents had held strong anti-slavery convictions, and had brought up their children prepared to assist the poor slaves and to detest the slavery system. He told in his Journal that at ten years of age, he seldom laid his head on the pillow at night, without breathing a prayer for the poor Negroes and he was often sent with one of his brothers to drive his father's team with a load of hay or straw, under which lay hidden one or more fugitives who having successfully overcome the dangers of the long wearisome and perilous tramp so far on the road to freedom, had sought refuge in this Quaker family, and who were now to be helped on the next Friends farm or station on

the "*Underground Railway*" from the South to Canada the land of Freedom. *

The history lessons which were taken by children in the Warner family, commenced with the discovery of America. Instead of William the Conqueror—1066, the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492 was the start of the American story. In contrast with the legendary tales of early Britain, the stories of the Red Indians would have been the background of American history. 140 years ago little or nothing was known or taught of the Viking settlements on North America's eastern sea-board.

Anything prior to 1492 was taught as "European and Ancient History". This would have included the histories of Greece and of Persia, Egypt, Rome and Carthage, the destruction of Jerusalem, the rise of Mohammedism and the Crusades and the long story of the days of Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire, and the fall of Constantinople. The records of France and the Germanic Tribes and of the Dukes of Burgundy linking the events of the time with the stories of the British Isles, was also European History. American children of 100 years ago would have been familiar with the names of Philip the Bold, John the Fearless and Charles the Bold. They would have been told the story of the marriage of the English King, Henry V to the Grand-daughter of Charles V, son of John the Good. But our French wars, the battles of Crecy and Agincourt, and our fights with French Kings, were to the children in American schoolrooms in 1856, incidents in the history of Europe, and so throughout the centuries until with the coming of the Spanish and Portuguese explorers and the discovery of the New World, proper American history commenced.

I have in my possession a book published in 1872 with my mother's name on the fly-leaf, written in her own hand, the date, 1876. At that time it was doubtless one of the most recent short histories of America. It quotes as its opening lines the following, from an Italian poem written, about 30 years *before the discovery of America* by Christopher Columbus.

The daring mariner shall urge far o'er
The western wave, a smooth and level plain,—
The earth is fashioned like a wheel.

I like to think that this book was acquired in order that its owner might become better acquainted with American history and the American outlook.

* This part of the Journal is missing but the record is preserved in one of A. E. Warner's letters.

So much for history, but what of geography as taught to the Warner children at this time. The map of Africa would have been dotted with names, around the coast though but sparsely in certain regions and some parts of the continent were marked "unexplored," for vast tracks in the old world had not yet been visited by white men. The famous American, Henry Morton Stanley, who "found Livingstone" in 1871 was not born until Yardley Warner was about 35 years old; compared with the discovery of America in 1492 how recent is the discovery of the real Africa is shown by the fact that large tracts of the big wall map in the schoolroom in which I was first taught was "terra incognita",—the sources of the great rivers, Congo, Nile and Zambesi were unknown, lying in the interior of a vast unexplored continent. Save for the names dotted round the coast and in the South and the more numerous places marked in Egypt and Abyssinia and on the Mediterranean sea-board, the map was nearly a blank.

Yardley was a boy of 14 in the year in which George Stevenson built his "Rocket"; had grown to be a man of 49, the year of General Sherman's drive through Georgia when Americans were killing Americans in the bloodiest of civil wars, as at Chancellorsville (where the famous Southern General Stonewall Jackson lost his life, shot accidentally by one of his own men), a battle in which the killed numbered 21,000, the losses of the Northern Army being twice those of the Southerners. No wonder, when as a youth he had first hand experience of the evils of slavery and as a man in middle life he saw around him the misery and destruction caused by war, he resolved to do what he could to help in every way open to him.

Even when still a young lad, he made himself a little quiet corner in his father's attic, to which he could retire for private prayer and Bible reading—and his Journal, written in later life, informs us that if his childish devotions at this time were rather formal they were at least sincere.

As we follow the story of his life through the years, we shall see how closely he adhered to the resolves and resolutions made in the days of his youth.

In the book of the Yardley family descent the name of Embree occurs, as in the fifth generation of Yardleys in America. There is no indication in any of Yardley Warner's writings as to whether he knew anything of this distant cousin, but it is worth noting that an Embree

(probably of the same line of Quaker settlers as the Friend who married into the Yardley family) was known to have expressed views on slavery which would have delighted the heart of Yardley Warner and other reformers of his day.

This man was Thomas Embree a Quaker, who in 1797 wrote a letter to the Knoxville Gazette urging the organization of a society to promote "a gradual abolition of slavery of any kind". Though the people of East Tennessee were free farmers and as such were hostile to slave labour there is little evidence of a strong abolition movement here until 1814. The temper of the community in 1820 is evidenced in the speech made by Thomas Roan before the Tennessee Manumission Society.

"Slavery is unfriendly to a genuine course of agriculture, turning in most cases the fair and fertile face of nature into barren sterility. It is the bane of manufacturing enterprise and internal movements, injurious to mechanical prosperity; oppressive and degrading to the poor and laboring classes of the white population that live in its vicinity, the death of religion, and finally, it is a volcano in disguise and dangerous to the safety and happiness of any government on earth when it is tolerated".

Elihu, son of Thomas Embree, established one of the first periodicals in the United States exclusively devoted to the freeing of slaves. His paper, the Manumission Intelligencer, a weekly that first appeared in 1819, was succeeded in the following year by his monthly Emancipator. The latter with 2,000 circulation—large for those days, was published until Embree's death in December 1820. Benjamin Lundy took it over in 1822 and moved the publication office from Jonesboro to Greenville.

And it is a coincidence surely worth recording here, that a son of Yardley Warner, the late Joseph Yardley Warner of West Grove Pa., has a granddaughter née Mary Connell, now Mary Robinson, whose home is Embreeville, Pa., and she has a son who is therefore in the fourth generation from Yardley Warner of Bucks County Pa., and in the 8th generation of the Yardleys in America, and the 16th generation from the Yardleys of Yardley, Co. Stafford, England.

1815—1830

A SCHOLAR AT WESTTOWN.

Entered Westtown School Pa. at the age of 15.

His father died when Yardley, the youngest of six children, was just thirteen years of age, and he very deeply felt the loss, and resolved hence-

forth to devote all his powers to love and comfort his widowed mother, asking God's help to enable him to do this task.

In boyhood he attended school, at the " Old Octagon " school house near his home, his first teacher was his cousin Thomas H. Yardley, and at the age of fifteen he was sent to Westtown Boarding School for one year, during which he studied very diligently, in order to qualify for any business or profession which might open before him as a future sphere of usefulness, hoping he might be able to find some occupation which would not only provide him a comfortable living, but which would also give an opportunity to promote the welfare of his fellow men.

An entry in the Westtown School Register reads as follows :—

Yardley Warner entered Westtown as pupil from Fallsington, Pa. 9 mo. 23rd. 1830. Aged 15. Left—6 mo. 29 1831.

He was the son of William Warner—dec'd. The account was in the name of Letitia Warner.

CHAPTER VI

STUDENT DAYS

1830—1838

In thinking of a future career, the legal profession was my father's first choice, and he continued to look forward to becoming a lawyer as soon as he was old enough. Leaving Westtown School at the age of sixteen he spent the following year teaching the scholars at the "Old Octagon Schoolhouse" where he had acquired his first love of book-work; but feeling the need of further instruction he returned for another term to Westtown, to prepare himself to enter as a student of the law. This early ambition was gratified, so far that in 1835, at the age of twenty, he was allowed to join the class of law students under John Cadwallader, Barrister, of Philadelphia, and he regularly attended it with other young men, in the rooms of his Preceptor.

During this course of study he noticed one morning, through the window of the classroom, that some Friends on the other side of the street were walking to their usual weekday morning Meeting for worship. This greatly impressed his mind, and set him wondering how such business men as these should always devote one morning every week away from their own affairs, to attend a religious meeting. He resolved to follow them the next mid-week meeting day, and find out for himself what spiritual power in the worship could compensate them for the apparent loss of time and money that absence from business at that hour might entail. So Yardley Warner followed these Friends the next week, and slipped quietly into one of the back seats, hoping to escape observation. He was struck by the deep solemnity of the silence, and when at length a Friend rose to speak in Ministry, the few simple earnest words uttered were the means of much spiritual blessing to the young law student, who felt that they had been a message really inspired to reach his heart, although he was an entire stranger to the speaker, so he continued regularly to attend that mid-week meeting, and was soon led to the conviction that all was not right in his own soul, but that

pride, vanity and the love of fame, which he knew were his easily be-setting sins, had too much place in his life, and he began seriously to query with himself whether, if he followed the law, as his means of earning daily maintenance, his ardent love of applause and popularity, together with the admiration of grand elocution and fine oratory, would be a snare to him, and lead him into worldly ambition and pride, which would be inconsistent with the humble Christian life he wished to lead.

This was the turning point in his spiritual life. He has put on record in his Journal * how many mental struggles he passed through and what temptation he suffered before he could decide whether he ought to follow his chosen profession, and become a fervent orator, perhaps in the political arena, pleading in eloquent tones for the oppressed, the downtrodden and the ignorant, and gaining public applause by his use of fine language,—or whether he ought to abandon all such high-flown ideas of gaining fame and popularity as a lawyer, and quit his present studies, to seek some other means of earning a living. He knew that the object of his youthful ambition was now almost within his grasp ; he was within a few months of the final examination which he felt sure he could pass with credit and become fully qualified to practise law.

1838

A BARRISTER AT LAW.

The remembrance of the many sacrifices his mother had made to give him the good education he had, and the expressed wishes of his friends helped him to decide that he would continue steadily to read law, and take the examination when the time arrived ; he did so and passed the examination, being “ admitted to the Bar ” in 1838, aged 23 years, to practise in the City of Philadelphia and in the State of Pennsylvania. He was glad he could now use the influence thus given him, to plead for any cause of distress or oppression, but he could not feel free in his conscience to use it for his own financial gain and prosperity.

He spent several days in doubt and uncertainty as to his future career, when one evening, as he was sitting alone in his lodgings sadly pondering the situation, his friend Thomas Kite entered the room, and after a few words of general conversation, enquired if he felt at all drawn to take a post which was then vacant at Westtown as teacher of the Primary Class. So ended a brief chapter in Yardley Warner's life, and in this book a brief chapter indeed.

* A note of this was made many years ago by his widow Anne E. Warner, who came into possession of the intact MS. and intended preparing a biography of her late husband ; she was however dissuaded from so doing and many contemporary documents were lost in consequence, and also much of the Journal.

CHAPTER VII

TEACHING AT WESTTOWN, WHITELAND and OHIO

1838—1858

Teaching at Westtown and later living as a small farmer and schoolmaster at Whiteland Chester County, now married to Hannah Allen, he opened a private boarding school for the daughters of Friends.

The offer of a post at Westtown coming thus unexpectedly and at so needy a time, appeared to be providential, and was so congenial to his mind that my father accepted it thankfully.

He entered on his new duties full of hope and enthusiasm, being very fond of children, and having a natural gift of interest and instructing them, he soon gained their attention and their affection.

It was during these years whilst a teacher at Westtown School that he first felt a distinct call to the Gospel Ministry, and occasionally spoke in the Meeting for Worship. He was always very conscious of the serious responsibility of thus addressing the scholars, and his fellow-teachers. He felt a sense of his own unworthiness for so high a vocation, and was afraid of allowing his love of fame and his vanity to lead him into rhetorical flights of language, thus hindering him from speaking as a simple disciple of Jesus.

In the year 1841 Yardley Warner resigned his position at Westtown and settled on a small farm at East Whiteland, in Chester County, Pa. where with the assistance of his cousin Sarah Warner of Bristol Pa.—he opened a select private boarding school for the daughters of Friends.

His marriage with Hannah Allen of Bristol Pa. took place in 1842. Their five children were born during this period of quiet home life at East Whiteland, where they resided for seventeen years.

The following is from the Journal of Joseph Edgerton, which gives an account of the visit to the home of Yardley and Hannah A. Warner, and at "sitting" with them at Whitelands.

6th day 26. 6 mo. 1844.

At Whiteland.

Paid a visit to Yardley and Hannah Warner and feeling my mind drawn towards them in the love of the gospel and in the flowing thereof I was led in a sitting with them to speak forth the language of encouragement.

This is typical of the family visits paid under religious "concern", which were undertaken by travelling Friends of those days.

1858—1861

In 1858 Yardley and Hannah Warner were appointed Joint Superintendents of the Ohio Yearly Meeting Boarding School at Mount Pleasant. Here some arduous years were spent both in connection with the school and the Friends' Meeting.

The Society of Friends in America in the middle 1800's was greatly disturbed by controversial disputes as regards doctrine and practice *.

In 1827-28 most Yearly Meetings suffered divisions and separate "Hicksite" Yearly Meetings were set up. The "orthodox" bodies, however, were further divided in the years following 1845 between those Friends of conservative and those of evangelical sympathy. Ohio Y.M. suffered such a split in 1854 and when Yardley and Hannah Warner arrived at Mount Pleasant in 1858, Joshua Maule was one of the leading Friends in the Conservative Meeting, and it is from his writings we learn something of this epoch.

Yardley has left no record in any of his Letters nor in his Journal concerning the events of this time. The words "The Sojourn in Ohio" occur once or twice in Yardley Warner's recorded writings when as often in various stages in his life he felt the help and guidance of the Lord. But we find no word or comment as to what happened, or what part he and his wife took in the discussions and decisions of these difficult days. Indeed, were it not for the contemporary account found in the writings of Joshua Maule, we should have known nothing of the time when Yardley and Hannah Warner were superintendents of the Ohio Friends' Boarding School.

All that we know of the Mount Pleasant Boarding School is found in Maule's** book and in "Some Notes on the Early History of Ohio Yearly Meeting," reprinted with additions and corrections from 'The American Friend' in 1918. It was published by W. W. Dewees, at 4 Arch Street Philadelphia. The following are extracts from that pamphlet.

The building had a frontage of 40 ft. and was 46 ft. in depth, three stories in height, flanked at each side by a wing 30 x 32 ft. two stories in height, with a good basement extending throughout the length.

In the central building were the superintendents quarters, a guest chamber, rooms for the men and the women teachers, a nursery, a parlour and library.

* The best account of this period is found in Edward Grubb's book "Separations."

** "Some Transactions and Changes in the Society of Friends."

On the first floor rear, best remembered of all, was the double collecting room with shutters like any country Meeting House with the usual wooden benches.

This did more than double duty as a place for all meetings for worship and Bible readings, lectures, society meetings, and by day the shutters having been closed, it became two recitation rooms.

Large school rooms with lodging rooms over them, for boys and girls, were in the respective wings. The house was of brick and the builder's name was Abel H. Townsend.

The school was opened—1837.

The Resident teachers were—

Robert S. Holloway	}	Men teachers \$400
Geo. N. Jenkins		p.a. max.
Abby Holloway	}	Women Teachers \$250
Abigail Flame		p.a. max.

Fees—Board and tuition \$68 p.a.

Total enrolment first year 125, average attendance 85.

Two terms of 24 weeks.

In common with all educational institutions Mount Pleasant was always poor. There was a continual struggle to keep the expenses proportionate to the income. The range of studies was not wide, but the instruction in comparison with other schools of the age and similar conditions was surprisingly good. Like other schools too, it developed a body of tradition and there was the inevitable tendency to fall into ruts.

It often happens that persons coming into an institution from without have the clearest sense of the need for reform. But changes might be made too rapidly, and years may be required to solidify and make sure of new advances—but in the end the loosening of the shackles of tradition brings new life to the body.

When Yardley and Hannah Warner came to the school in 1856 as superintendent and matron they found a boys and girls school under the same roof, attending the same Meeting for Worship, but otherwise entirely separate.

They proceeded to unite them in classes, commencing by taking down the shutters at the time of a Yearly Meeting at the proposal of Hannah Warner, and in this and in other ways economising the time of the teachers.

They found two students dining rooms at opposite ends of the house and a family dining room between them. They moved the boys to the girls dining room and put the family to eat with the pupils. The boys gained a playroom by this move, but it was long cumbered with furniture piled at one side and always kept its name as the "old dining room". The home feeling was greatly increased by these reforms and renewed vigour was given to the entire work of the school.

Before turning to the accounts of those days found in the writings of Joshua Maule, it should be stated that whilst Yardley and Hannah Warner were both members of the so called Orthodox Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, Hannah was obviously the more "orthodox" of the two, that is to say the least progressive, and not so much inclined to "move with the times" as her husband Yardley. To "move with the times" was in the opinion of conservative Friends, to 'temporize'. Did they see the significance of the word 'tempus',—and did they resent *all* the changes that time was bringing to pass in their midst?

We shall see presently how little regard my father had for public opinion whenever he felt his course was in right ordering, and the light thrown upon his character shortly after this time in the letter from Martha Sankey a teacher at Westtown, quoted on another page, makes this clear.

The following extracts from Joshua Maule are the first indications we have that Yardley Warner was then throwing off some of the shackles of the Quaker quietism, in which he was reared, and although to the end of his days he regarded himself as a member of the Orthodox Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, it is not clear either from official records or from his own writings whether that body regarded him as in unity with them towards the end of his life, when he not only countenanced but encouraged hymn singing and thorough going evangelism. But we must not anticipate the course of events.

To return now to the Warners, newly come to Ohio, let us see how Joshua Maule regarded them and their doings.

The following account of a Monthly Meeting at this time shows the lack of toleration prevailing in the minds of those anxious to retain old customs and beliefs of which J.M. was zealous. To be tolerant of new ideas was to "temporize", and in those days "to exercise the discipline" was to reprimand or even disown the offending member. Here we see Yardley Warner defending a supposed delinquent by asking why only one Overseer signed the complaint. J. Maule writes as follows,

12th mo. 9. 1859

Our Monthly Meeting : it was long and tedious and the compromising spirit which resists the right exercise of the discipline, or treatment with those who have separated from our meetings and gone from the faith and practice of the Society, was very active. A complaint was read from Concord Preparative Meeting, which was signed by only one Overseer, and was against a member who, besides attending the meetings of the separatists, was charged with reproachful conduct. Inquiry was made by Yardley Warner why this complaint was brought by but one Overseer, and this query being pressed

repeatedly, D. Atkinson answered that Israel Steer, the other Overseer in the Preparative Meeting, had declined to act with him in the matter. Much discussion ensued, and I. Steer requested to be released from the station of Overseer. Yardley Warner proposed that a committee be appointed to consider his request, and a minute was accordingly made naming a Committee and directing them also, if way opened, to offer the name of a Friend to serve in the place of I. Steer. The Committee consisted of Jesse Hall, John W. Tribby, Yardley Warner, Louis Tabor, Josiah Bundy, and myself.

I write this account of the proceedings to exemplify the kind of opposition, and the style of reasoning or the want of reason, that is brought forward by the defenders of the Gurneyites still remaining amongst us who seek to balk the testimonies of Truth, and to prevent the authority of the discipline from being placed upon those who transgress it.

During the time Yardley and Hannah Warner were in Ohio, there was much controversy concerning an article which had appeared in a New York Encyclopaedia. This was said to have expressed Hicksite views and an article had been prepared by way of reply which according to Joshua Maule dealt faithfully with the exposition of historical Quakerism down to the time of separation in 1827 when many of the more radical members of the Society followed Elias Hicks. But the defence of conservative orthodoxy failed to please Maule and his friends "because it made no mention of the still greater evils of the evangelising work of the followers of Joseph John Gurney", which J.M. regarded "as a sad departure from faith and principles of Friends, causing separation and desolation and leaving honest enquirers to plunge into the whirlpool of unsoundness without a warning or even intimation of its existence".

Another extract from Joshua Maule's book printed below shows how seriously Yardley and Hannah were out of harmony with the Friends of the Meeting and it is no wonder that they wished to return later to the quieter and more friendly atmosphere of Philadelphia.

While Yardley and Hannah Warner continued at the school, the latter expressed a concern in our Monthly Meeting to visit, as a minister, a number of meetings within the compass of the Yearly Meeting. This brought much exercise upon the meeting, as was evident by the silent delay and the absence of expression on the part of many Friends. Several of these, such as had united with making a minute at the Yearly Meeting commending Hannah's ministry, expressed unity with her prospect, but still the matter dragged heavily. The clerk, John W. Smith, a worthy Friend, after waiting a considerable time and no voice being heard from any except those last mentioned, made a minute, which he read, stating the prospect brought before the meeting, and that it had been united with. I had silently and seriously considered the matter, and, after the minute was read, I said, briefly, I believed it was more than I could say that I united with it. The clerk immediately rose and also said it was more than he could say that he united with it. The only expression having been by the few who united, he had made the minute

accordingly. When he made known his disunity, it seemed to open the way for others who had been silent, and quite a free and decided judgement was given by Friends, and prevailed in the meeting, that they did not feel unity with the proposed visit. The clerk was authorized to erase the minute he had read, and Hannah Warner was not liberated.

In Philadelphia "orthodox" Yearly Meeting a split between the conservatives and evangelicals had been avoided, but the weight of the meeting was conservative in viewpoint and unfavourable to anything that savoured of innovation. Evidence of this will be seen later when Philadelphia Friends showed little sympathy with some of Yardley Warner's activities.

Joshua Maule regarded what he called the "apostacy of Gurneyism,"—evangelical Quakerism, with even greater abhorrence than the "heresy of Hicksism", the radical tendency of the more progressive Friends, and the coming of the Warners to Ohio with their innovations and new ideas greatly disturbed his mind.

To him even Yardley and Hannah Warner's new ideas and arrangements that boys and girls should dine in the same room and that shutters should be taken down in school house, were intolerable. Even the moderate and conservative views of Benjamin Hoyle were distasteful to Joshua Maule.

Benjamin Hoyle had been the clerk to Ohio Yearly Meeting at the time of acute controversy when Quaker opinion was strongly divided between the supporters of Joseph John Gurney, strongly evangelical, and John Wilbur, very conservative. This reached a climax in 1854 so that representatives could not agree upon a nomination as Clerk to the Y.M. that year, and Benjamin Hoyle, whose views were those of the middle party who for years had striven to avoid a separation had continued in the clerkship from year to year. But this year about one third of the representatives, belonging to the Gurney party, nominated Jonathan Binns as clerk, and persisting in their purpose, divided the meeting. But the considerable majority remained with Hoyle. And this was the situation in 1858, when Joshua Maule wrote his account of Yardley and Hannah Warner's Superintendency at Mount Pleasant.

The Boarding-school at Mount Pleasant was for some time under the care of Yardley and Hannah Warner as superintendents. They came from within the limits of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and were both recommended as ministers; being at the school, they became members of our Monthly Meeting. The ministry of Hannah Warner was well approved by Friends as evidently in right authority; Yardley's was different. Her ministry was felt to be against the temporizing spirit which prevailed with many amongst us, and it was encouraging and strengthening to consistent, faithful Friends.

But others extended their influence over her to draw her into their view and measures, and they having the control in the management of the school, and in the Yearly Meeting, and also, through the Clerk, she gradually yielded and came to co-operate with them.

As this change took place, it appeared sorrowfully evident that her ministry had lost the life and savour which formerly attended it. There was a remarkable instance of the means used to gain her fully into their ranks. In our last Yearly Meeting she expressed a wish to have the shutters open between the men's and women's meeting, which was done, and it gave satisfaction to B. Hoyle and his coadjutors. They commended it highly, and in their zeal to manifest their approval they urged that a minute should be made, to express the unity of the meeting with this action. This was seriously objected to by many Friends as being unnecessary and unusual.

These controversial disputes so distressed Yardley and Hannah Warner that they resigned their appointment and returned to the quieter religious atmosphere of Pennsylvania being members of what was then the so-called Orthodox branch of the society,—in 1955 happily and organically united with the other great branch of the Society which since 1827 had been regarded by the more conservative Friends as having departed from traditional Quakerism.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAR YEARS 1861-1865

I first heard the following jingle many years ago and it has remained ever since :—

In sixty one the war begun
In sixty two 'twas half way through
In sixty three the slave was free
In sixty four 'twas almost o'er
In sixty five they ceased to strive.

So greatly have conditions changed since those days it is difficult to realise that the American Civil War only began 95 years ago and there are at this moment four living survivors from that dreadful conflict, three who fought in the Southern Confederate Army, William Allen Lundy, W. W. Williams and John B. Salling, who to this day defies anyone to decry his services to the rebel army and proudly asserts that he was in the company commanded by Captain L. Collins and that he “dug saltpeter” for Robert E. Lee himself.

While this page was being prepared for the press the following paragraph appeared in a London Newspaper :—

Veteran's Funeral.

Albert Woolson, the last surviving soldier who fought with the Northern Armies in the American Civil War, will be accorded full military honours at his funeral at Duluth, Minnesota. He died aged 109. A guard of honour of 109 soldiers will attend the funeral on August 6th.

And now a copy of the “Knoxville Journal”, for August 3rd 1956 has just come to hand. Knoxville was one of the centres of my father's work, and was one of the towns my wife and I visited recently when in search of material for this biography. It is therefore interesting to find that this paper contains a long account of the before-mentioned Albert Woolson, who fought in the “War between the States” at a time when Yardley Warner was engaged in relief work for the victims of that conflict.

This same issue of the "Knoxville Journal" also publishes particulars of an hitherto unknown veteran of the Union Army. He is Mr. Lewis Nicholas Baker, aged 110 who lives at Guthrie Minnesota. He did not join the group of survivors known as the Grand Army of the Republic, GAR, consequently his name has never before been included in the list of known survivors.

The "Knoxville Journal" refers to the fact that in certain quarters in the U.S.A. it is becoming usual to speak of the 1861-1865 conflict as "The war between the States", thus avoiding the term "Civil War".

We have no clue at all as to what Yardley Warner was doing in the year war broke out although he was teaching at Westtown in the year following. All we do know is that he had by that time returned to Philadelphia from Ohio. Neither have we any inkling at all as to what led him to take the final step, to leave all and follow the leading of his soul and for the remainder of his days live in dependence upon the "Mercies of Providence", daring to become poor in the hope of making many rich.

We do know however that in the second year of the war the Westtown School records show that Yardley and Hannah Warner were again both on the teaching staff, copies of the entries relating to their services are given below.

Yardley Warner was teacher at Westtown at two times in the Elementary School.

From 12 mo. 1838—4 mo. 1841

" 1 mo. 1862—4 mo. 1863

Hannah Allen was also a teacher at Westtown and taught Reading—10 mo. 1831—2 mo. 1832.

He, (Yardley Warner) married Hannah Allen, who came to Westtown entering the school in 10th mo. 1829.

Hannah Allen Warner was Governess 2 mo. 1862 to 4 mo. 1863, after marriage.

Both Yardley and Hannah Warner were on the Westtown Committee, Yardley Warner appointed in 4 mo. 1867 till 4 mo. 1873. Hannah A. Warner 4 mo. 1871 till 4 mo. 1873. H.A.W. died in that year.

From the Westtown School Library comes also the following—a copy of a letter from Martha Sankey, a teacher at Westtown, dated 3 mo. 25. 1862.

Hetty Kite and I have had two rides on horseback, it is delightful. I expect thee has heard of Yardley (Warner) taking the girls riding—they have nearly all been and some of them two or three times. I wish that I could often go so that I could learn to ride—for I never had any chance to learn.

He has two horses of his own and rides one of the school horses himself. Somebody has said "he has made a ripple on the surface here at Westtown by the riding etc."

I heard somebody else say he had taken a long pole and stirred things up—I hardly know which is the most expressive, but I think myself that he has done good here, even in so short a time—I wonder he does not get tired out, but he never appears to be tired. I like him much and Hannah is lovely.

One further extract from the Westtown records of that time shows Yardley Warner as the dispenser of some war news. A letter from a Deborah Lightfoot to her sister, who was a pupil at the school when the civil war was raging, contains the following—

If Master Yardley has the news, cant he tell thee who gains the victory ?
So far as I understand in the battles around Richmond there was no victory on either side, but a great slaughter on both, and the President has called for 300,000 more men.

It is not known how Yardley Warner came to be in possession of this bit of war news and why it was that he was the first person to pass it on to the school.

In those days the use by scholars of the Christian names of their masters and mistresses was quite customary.

It will be seen from the Westtown date (April 1863) that Yardley Warner ceased to teach there at that time and Hannah also left and it was probably during this year and the year following that Yardley Warner, with other Friends, was doing relief work between the battle lines : it was doubtless at this time that he used the "pass"—signed by Lincoln, and referred to by his widow Anne E. Warner in one of her letters. A similar "pass" made out for the use of Francis King and his friends is framed, and on exhibition in the Guilford College Library,—it reads as follows :—

Allow Francis King of Baltimore to pass with the English Friends, through our lines to North Carolina.

Oct. 25.1.1864.

Signed A. Lincoln.

Unfortunately my father's own writings are silent as to this, and his Journal for that date is not now extant.

An undated fragment in MS. is probably part of the lost Journal written, as will be seen during the war reads as follows —

I thank my Father in Heaven, Infinite in Power, Wisdom and Goodness, who alone has brought me hitherto, and praise and bless His Holy Name, for as a necessity of getting through the Military Lines I had to strip, and swim the Neuse River for a boat which was moored to the opposite bank, leaving my clothes, watch and money with the friend travelling with me, bring the boat across, then dress and recross resuming our journey traversing a woody unknown and hostile part of the Country without a Guide.

The river Neuse is a considerable stream, some 200 miles long, rising at Roxboro, close to the Virginian border and flowing to the eastward of Durham and Raleigh right across the State of North Carolina, through Salma and Kingston, reaching the Pamlico Sound on the Atlantic at New Barn.

It is not clear at which point Yardley Warner and his companion made their crossing, but probably not far from Raleigh.

CHAPTER IX

EXTENSIVE TRAVEL AND SCHOOL BUILDING

1866—1872

Six years of work in collecting more monies from the Friends in Philadelphia and elsewhere for the "Friends Freedmen's Aid Association", these funds were spent chiefly in the building of schools.

Directly after the Proclamation of Freedom by President Lincoln in 1863, Friends in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New England and elsewhere also in Great Britain and Ireland, saw the urgent and immediate need for help and contributed money and clothing for the destitute multitudes of Negroes who had been turned adrift, ignorant, and penniless, by their former masters.

At about this time the "Friends Freedmen's Aid Association" of Philadelphia was formed, and that body organized important relief works under a strong committee with Richard Cadbury of Philadelphia as Treasurer, and Y.W., with his characteristic energy set valiantly to work in and around Philadelphia collecting subscriptions and by unremitting personal exertions raised large sums for establishing schools in the Southern States for the ex-slaves, many of whom were eager to learn, and fairly quick scholars when they had the opportunity. It was soon evident that the greatest need was to secure competent teachers for these schools, and before long many kindhearted white people volunteered to go and teach them for very small remuneration.

It was obvious that this condition could not continue permanently, and the necessity for providing teachers of their own race called for the establishment of normal schools or training colleges for coloured men and women to fit them to teach in the public elementary schools, and such Institutions were founded and equipped at various centres in the Southern States—as at Maryville, Athens and Jonesboro, Tennessee, Christiansburg, Virginia, and many other places. This involved much arduous labour both of heart and hand and Yardley Warner travelled in this service at various times through Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, N. Carolina, Georgia and part of Alabama and Mississippi helping to



(Plate 6). The Freedmen's Normal School, Maryville, Tennessee, reproduced from a sketch by John Collins in MS. account of his visits to North Carolina in 1868-1877.

establish fresh schools and visiting the earlier ones ; distributing Bibles, tracts, and other literature. He met at first with unpleasant incidents here and there, when coming in contact with some of the former authorities and slave-holders, and he wrote of having been " threatened with the ' halter ' in Virginia by men with the power to inflict it ; fired at with shot guns, (the men saying " goodbye nigger teacher ") in Hillsborough, N.C. and assailed with stones near Chapel Hill, N.C., and waylaid near Stevenson, Alabama," yet later he said " I have again traversed all those parts, was cordially welcomed, and could go back there now, to be received as the friend of both races ".

In 1863 Emancipation Act passed Congress and in 1865 President Lincoln was assassinated, and the war ended shortly afterwards. At this time Yardley and Hannah Warner were living at Germantown, Phila. and from there he made frequent journeys to the Southern States and here Hannah Warner continued to reside during the time Y.W. lived near Greensboro engaged in the first major enterprise undertaken by him for the help and uplift of the recently liberated Negroes.

His wife was entirely with him in spirit throughout as is evident from the fact that she was a co-trustee with him in this scheme for " Land for the Colored Men ".

This time at Greensboro, in the neighbourhood which was later to be known as Warnersville, must have been extremely difficult and trying to Yardley. With his natural love of popularity, — it was an inborn trait, and his regard for the opinion of others, he must have very keenly felt the way in which he was ostracised and regarded as outcast and pariah by the white population during the early days of the project, but undaunted and un-deterred, he carried the scheme through with his characteristic dogged determination.

For a full and detailed account of this important piece of work we are greatly indebted to Nell Craig, who was on the staff of the Greensboro Daily News in 1941 and who in that year wrote an account of the undertaking which is reprinted in the Appendix. There is, therefore, no further need to add more here, save to say that the scheme for the purchase of the land and the building of the houses was inaugurated soon after the close of the war, sponsored by the Association of Friends of Philadelphia for the Relief of Colored Freedmen.

The year 1865 must have been a busy one for Yardley Warner. In addition to time he devoted to the Greensboro (Warnersville) under-

taking he simultaneously travelled much, organizing projects elsewhere. This is evident from a letter of this period from Dr. James Rhoads to his wife Margaret, written from Yorktown, Virginia.

2.27.1865.

I send these few words by Y(ardley) Warner who expects to leave us by 4½ a.m. tomorrow. It has been a busy week since he came. His visit very useful in all respects, and most acceptable. How vastly more fitted to be Superintendent here than I am. We have visited the schools at Darlington's Bellefield and Tinsley in company and he has gone thoroughly into those at Slabtown and Acreville. He has visited much in the cabins and been twice at the latter place in their meeting here. He also had the women together this evening to speak to them of their domestic and social duties. On First Day Rhoda Smith from Bellefield, and A. Lawrence from Williamsburg with the teachers from Acretown (i.e. Accreville) met us in our sitting room. We numbered about 18 and had a good meeting, J. C. Carter and Anthony Kimber being here. H. Cranston, our matron, is ill, and the duties of so large a family fall heavily on our ladies who teach and keep house through the day and crowd 3 or 4 or 5 in a room chiefly in beds on the floor at night. Yet they seem to be the happiest of people. . . .

Concerning this work at Yorktown, Va. and the schools at the other places mentioned in this letter, no details have come down to us.

Another letter from Dr. Rhoads to his wife, four months later, gives us a glimpse of the way contact was maintained between this group of Friends and General Howard, the head of the Government's Bureau for the help and relief of Freedmen.

Phila. 6.12.1865.

My Dear Margaret,

Seventh Day came to town as usual and at 1 p.m. joined Stephen Colwell, Yardley Warner, Marmaduke Cope, F. R. Cope and Henry Lang, representing all the Freedmen's Associations of Philadelphia, in an interview with General Howard. He is a man of about my age (i.e. about thirty-six), not tall but has a fine face, is modest and very careful and courteous in giving information as to what he had done and promised to do. The interview was highly satisfactory, as he had thought of all that we could have proposed to him, and his plan for operations such as we would have advised if consulted.

For further reference to General Howard and the Whittier poem relating to him, see page 17

Two months later still the following Minute was placed on the records of the Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association.

This shows how widespread the movement for Negro education had become by that time.

Eighth Month 1.1865.

Yardley Warner has visited many of the principal towns in North Carolina, and conferred with the Assistant Commissioners of the Freedmen's Bureau for both that State and Virginia—he is preparing the country about Greensboro, Charlotte and Salisbury, N.C., for such schools as we may

be able to establish there, the coming autumn. Col. (Orlando) Brown (Assistant Commissioner of Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia) had proposed that the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Association and our own jointly should establish and conduct such schools as may be required for the seventh district of Virginia, embracing Lynchburg and the surrounding country, but believing that concentration of our efforts is very desirable, the committee intend first to supply the wants of the district of N(orth) C(arolina) now under preparation by Y. Warner and will, after that, aid in the Lynchburg district, if such then appear needed.

During this period Yardley Warner travelled extensively in the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia and Virginia superintending the building and staffing of schools for coloured people, children and adults and for teacher training centres.

Detailed records for these six years are missing. It is only by reading reports published in later years that we can see what was accomplished during this busy period. There is however one contemporary document; it is a report dated October 1866 signed by Yardley Warner concerning a special visit he made to North Carolina at that time. It runs as follows:—

To the Friends Freedmen's Association.

From a conversation with Governor Holden, ex-Gov. Graham, John A. Gilmer, Nathaniel Boyden, Robert P. Dick, and many other North Carolina men of less note, and from the measures already matured and practiced by them for the comfortable settlement of their "people", the favorable animus of that class is inferred. The humiliations associated with the Freedmen, render it distasteful to Southerners. They often say, after using the word "people" -- "Freedmen, *you* call them." The use of this word "people" is indicative of good feeling. Nevertheless, we should steadfastly resist the strong tendency to shape our language towards any compromise with right. It becomes us to move with due consideration and Christian gentleness, yet strong in a consciousness of the authority with which the Government clothes us. Were we to succumb at all to the antipathy existing, to a considerable extent, in some classes, towards the education of the Freedmen, as if we were doubtful of the right of the Government to control it, or as if we sought a favor from men who had incurred the liabilities of treason, there is no calculating the extent to which that antipathy would run. Speculative discussions of points not practically essential to the business, are unprofitable, and soon become dangerous to its interests.

The best demonstration of our principles and our motives, is faithful and industrious working, minding our own business, thus rebuking the dissipating way of the South, viz: idle talk. It is no marvel, that much complaint is made against the Freedmen for vagrancy and "loafing", when the *summum bonum* of Liberty, as exhibited to them, consists of herding, talking, smoking, and ejecting poison. What an ignoble ambition! to have means and leisure to sit about taverns, cross-legged, chair-breaking (leaning back on two legs of the chair) and spitting...

The journey led me once to Newborn, three times to Goldsboro, twice to Raleigh, spending several days in and about Greensboro, Jamestown, High Point and Spring Meeting each, and a day or two at each of the other places..

freedmen fairly These so disposed are found chiefly among the educated gentry, and among others who had held their people, as they came to them, by inheritance. But those who get their slaves by their own hard work and enterprise (of those there are many) looked upon them as chattels not as their "people". And now that they are forbidden to enjoy the fruit of their unrequited labor, are determined to do with little or no colored labor - - some to import white labor instead - - and are running the Freedmen off, so that they shall be forced to feel what a sore and costly thing it is to be free. These men, with such of the higher and educated classes as are of the same malignant spirit, still busy themselves vigorously to thwart the progress of the work of humanity Many of them being political agitators and office-hunters, are likely to do more harm than other men who were known openly before the surrender as Secessionists. They certainly are making a great deal of work for the friends of the Freedmen. A large proportion of those turned off as above by them, were run off, partly paid, many not paid at all ; and a few settled with justly, as regards time and labor. The settlement of claims arising out of attempts of this kind, forms the chief business of the distant branches of the Freedmen's Bureau . . .

The number of men, women and children made homeless by spite, injustice, and deliberate persecution is so great that it behoves us to be ready with relief, in order to avert that which is aimed at by this treatment, viz : such a state of poverty and degradation as presents the alternative, steal or starve. The enemies of the colored man would thus fulfill their own prophecy, that he must perish (if left to himself) by his improvidence and his crimes, unless colonized at Government expense We are called on to have at hand the means to repel the imputation against the Freedmen, that they are unfit for the liberty which is the rightful boon of every man who has not forfeited it by crime. . . We shall do well not to turn our faces from the naked truth, which is to be seen in Southern newspapers and Southern travel, that the Slave Power, though not in arms, is not dead ; that its writhings still show strength enough to crawl insidiously - - serpent-like - - to the honored places where he was bruised - - even to the White House - - and strike the old venom of slavery into the nation's arteries just renovated with the uncontaminated breath of Freedom, and strong with the full flow of uncompromising justice. We must meet this truth and all the issues which it properly involves, in that great moral struggle now pending between the advocates of human rights, and the advocates of a system fed by wrong and outrage. For there is no question between the issue of slavery or liberty ; - - say not what color, rank, or cast may be enslaved, but what man ? Those who claim a right to abridge or engross the liberty of one race or class of men, except for crime, will not find either color or reasoning or reason of color, sufficient to stop them from abridging or engrossing that of any other class or race, if circumstances favor it. Once move the bound of justice, what will stop them but the strong hand of Providence displayed for the Right ? A moral turpitude so great as that which would seek to make a failure of that measure of the proclamation of which the heart of Christianity leaped with joy, beholding it as a success, would not hesitate to taunt the world with weakness, nor to enslave it, for believing the fabrication of a snare of sophistry. How then doth it behoove our President to beware lest he suffer himself to venture into the embraces of the prostrate foe !

The Slave Power in arms was the foe of the Union, the foe of Republicanism, the foe of humanity, the world over ; and the Slave Power prostrate, is the foe of all these still. The conflict will not cease till that Power is dead, in Congress, in the States, in the Cabinet, in the Army, in the Navy, in the whole land, and buried as a dead monster, unfit to be seen in the age of civilization.

(Signed) Yardley Warner

It is on record that Yardley Warner was accustomed publicly to state that three ways were open for dealing with the 4 million coloured people so recently emancipated, their transportation back to Africa or their subjugation, both impossible and unthinkable, or their education, both possible and feasible.

While details of the work accomplished from 1866 to 1872 are absent, it is clear from the documents bearing dates 1873 onwards, that immense progress had been made.

"The Freedmen's Friend" an official organ of the Freedmen's Association had been established by this time and Yardley Warner was a regular contributor to this and much of our information as to the number and location of the schools then established comes from the pages of this news sheet.

Papers with the general title of "Monitor" were in circulation, edited by Yardley Warner running some time prior to 1872 until after 1877, by which time Yardley Warner was living at the Pales, near Penybont, Radnorshire. Some details of these papers, particularly the most important of them, "The Maryville Monitor," will be found in the Appendix.

The following list of schools had been established by this time as shown in the pages of the two periodicals stated—

"The Freedmen's Monitor".

Published by William Axe of Philadelphia U.S.A. lists the following.

Riceville

Athens

Mount Harmony

Sewee or Hickory Flat

Yullehoma

Columbia

All in East Tennessee.

"The Freedmen's Friend".

Published by the Friends Freedmen's Association Philadelphia, U.S.A. contains reports from the undermentioned.

Christiansburg, Va.

China, Me.

Daneville Va.

Raleigh, N.C.

Goldsboro, N.C.

Okalona, Mississippi

Stevenson, Alabama
 Cleveland, Tenn.
 Clinton, Tenn.
 Louisville, Tenn.
 Mossy Creek, Tenn.
 Greenville, Tenn.
 Jonesboro, Tenn.
 Bristol, Tenn. &
 Virginia.
 Draper's Valley, Va.
 Salem, Va.
 Lynchburg, Va.
 Hillsboro, Va.
 Lexington, N.C.
 Lincolnton, N.C.
 Hopewell, N.C.
 Warrenton, N.C.

Dalton, Georgia
 Knoxville, Tenn.
 Little Riner, Tenn.
 Maryville, Tenn.
 Rogersville, Tenn.
 Rheatown, Tenn.
 Johnson's City, Tenn.
 Dublin, Va.
 Newborn, Va.
 Wytheville, Va.
 Alleghany Springs, Va.
 Clarksville, Va.
 Bush Hill, B.C.
 Charlotte, N.C.
 Salisbury, N.C.
 Chapel Hill, N.C.

An interesting scrap of writing traced from this period occurs in a letter from Robert B. Haines of Cheltenham, Pennsylvania U.S.A. to Isaac Robson of England, now in the collection of Quaker manuscripts at Friends House, London. It bears date 8 mo. 19. 1871 and reads as follows :—

Yardley Warner after having been home since our Y.M. has just returned to his work among the Freedmen, which is progressing, though by letter from him the other day he seems most discouraged that the upward progress is so slow both among white and coloured—but he is one who will not abandon his post as long as he can do anything.

Further records for this period have been preserved in the Library of Guilford College North Carolina, copies of which will be found in the section in the Appendix entitled "Our American Journey".

Some of the records of the Philadelphia Freedmen's Association and the Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting, which Yardley Warner published for circulation at this time to those who had previously supported his cause, and to others likely to be interested, ran as follows :—

The Alleghany Mountains form the limit between the working fields of the Philadelphia Association and the Missionary Board of Indiana Yearly Meeting, so that when the Tennessee work was begun, Philadelphia Friends could not properly grant a commission. After many vicissitudes, Indiana Yearly Meeting assumed this district cheerfully as their work, and issued a commission, dated Fourth Month 24th, 1871. The Indiana Friends had already a flourishing mission at Helena, Arkansas. The link was not a long

one, to connect the whole, via the States of Alabama and Mississippi ; which has been done by our last year's operations in the latter State, at Okolona. This extensive circuit, embracing lands rich in agricultural and other undeveloped resources, and facilitated by railways and navigable rivers, in a stretch of over 500 miles, and generally well settled with Freedmen, is now vigorously supervised. It opens fresh opportunities to lever up the mass of humanity just delivered from brutedom, and to use every available scotch-block to prevent them from gravitating backward to serfdom and slavery. For, we see that what the lash and inhuman laws cannot do now, rum and ignorance may do, in time.

Indiana Friends now look upon this as permanent work for the Church. The following extract from the report to the Indiana Friends' Missionary Board", dated 9th month, 1871, will convey an idea of the character of the work before them. It states that the general aims and working are - -

" 1. To help them to right living, and self-development ; to educt the whole Christian man, and especially to bring out teachers from their own ranks. To this end we take hold of the gifted ones, and in some cases assist them in boarding where they may attend the Normal classes.

" 2. We visit much in their families, and encourage them to train their children, and rule their houses and their business as becomes the Christian believer.

" 3. Their spiritual needs are sought out ; our sympathies go with them therein ; and in many communities great openness is manifest for the reception of Gospel Truth.

" 4. We labor to arouse them to exert themselves to live economically, to clothe themselves properly, and lay up means to support their schools, families, and meeting-houses. We use opportunities to teach them profitable farming, gardening, stock management, and choice of seeds and plants".

The Report of Ninth Month, 1872, contains the following :—

" Since last report about twenty schools have been kept up, from four to nine months, with an aggregate attendance of about 1,200 scholars.

Yardley Warner succeeded last winter in interesting a few of the most influential colored men in the establishment of a permanent Normal Institute. A convention was called, composed of delegates from surrounding counties, at which the need of such an Institute to educate teachers from amongst themselves was fully set before them and well received. Resolutions were passed favourable to the enterprise, and a subscription entered into by the coloured people, which has since reached the amount of 2,300 dols., with a prospect of further increase. The white people are cheerfully co-operating in and subscribing to the work. Liberal subscriptions have also been made by some Friends of Philadelphia. The total amount is about 14,000 dols.

" With this subscription list before him, and at the urgent desire of the colored people to commence the work, our friend had plans and specifications for a suitable building, 120 feet long, 36 feet wide, and two storeys high, with a basement.

" Thirty acres of land suitably situated near Maryville, the county seat of Blount County, was purchased at a cost of 1,000 dols., and deeds taken in the name of the Trustees of Indiana Yearly Meeting ; a barn 40 by 50 has been built, and 750,000 bricks have been made. The school building is fairly under way. The whole cost is estimated at 17,000 dols., and is built to accommodate 80 normal students and 250 day scholars.

" Great enthusiasm is felt by the colored people in the enterprise. They have done most of the work. All the workmen enter into obligation to avoid profanity and intemperance".

The Minute of Indiana Yearly Meeting itself on the receipt of the foregoing, states :—

“ Our sympathy has been enlisted for the dear friends who are so earnestly labouring in this work, and we desire to encourage them to continued faithfulness, looking unto Jesus. The question as to the practicability of gathering into connection with our religious Society those who have been brought under the influence of their instructions, and who have, through the power of the Holy Spirit, submitted themselves to the Saviour, and experienced forgiveness of sins, and thus need the fellowship and support of Christian brethren, has been forcibly and earnestly brought before us ; and the Meeting desires that our dear friends who are engaged in this work may be faithful in endeavouring to throw around them the arms of the Church as way may open, bearing in mind ‘ to lay upon them no greater burden ’ than they are able to bear ”.

No less encouraging is the last Report to the Philadelphia Association, dated Fourth Month, 1873, which states :—

“ The number of Schools now open is 20, 17 of which are in North Carolina ; the whole number of teachers is 34, of whom 11 are colored. The number of pupils enrolled during last term was 2,000 and the average attendance 1,495, or about 70 per cent of the whole ”. It further reports.

“ The operations of the past year have been not less interesting in the department of instruction than previously. An excellent and faithful corps of teachers has been at work, many of them, we believe, with no less sincere regard for the physical, moral and spiritual poverty of the Association’s wards than they are of their intellectual needs. And, in this latter respect, we have the satisfaction of assurance that year by year hundreds of them are becoming fitted, through this instrumentality, when they would not be otherwise, for occupying useful stations in the community.

“ We have referred to the spiritual poverty of the freed people, and most of us know the darkness into which they were introduced, and in which they were held by the institution of slavery, under which system the State Laws sometimes prevented their meeting, even in a simple way, for worship, through an unfounded fear of insurrections on the part of their masters. It has been our wish that the schools should impart not only literary instruction, but that, by a blessing upon their teaching and example, those who conducted them might lead the Freed people to the light of Gospel Truth.

“ The First-day schools, in which scriptural instruction is imparted, were attended by an average of 1,786 scholars (about 300 more than the day scholars). The distribution of Bibles, tracts, and other instructive reading, during the year just past, has been as follows, viz. :—

Bibles	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,040
Testaments	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,725
Gospels	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	346
Wall Texts	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,704
Selected Texts	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,708
Selected Psalms	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,224
Selected Hymns	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,028
Books for the use of First-day schools	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,540
Library Books	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	246
Tracts	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33,878
Juvenile Tracts	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22,585
Reard Cards	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,374
Illustrated Cards	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,759

This cause is also represented by a Monthly Organ, "The Maryville Monitor", published by native Tennessee negroes, all the office work being done by them. A regular Friends' Meeting is established at Helena, composed of Freedmen, one of whom is a recorded minister of the Gospel, and attended very acceptably the Yearly Meeting, with others representing their meeting at Helena.

All along the line of our schools, thirty-two in number, from that distant point up to the meridian of the Philadelphia Association Schools in Virginia, we see most encouraging signs of the freedmen coming to the true Gospel platform of public worship; their love for it and for Friends is steadily growing; their confidence in us is almost unlimited. These facts plainly indicate, that so far from looking to closing our work, whilst the Freedmen are knocking at the doors of our Church for admission, we should increase all educational facilities. It were acting treacherously towards our great trust, to turn them over to other hands, when so far advanced to a more excellent way; and when the very directness and simplicity of their worship furnish a ready sympathy with our own.

But to forward the spiritual interests, we must make the school work more efficient. To do this we need better accommodation in buildings, and their appointments. We must make teachers of the freed people themselves; and throw them upon self-help (with our supervision). This is the work of the hour, and it is to promote it, and to inspect schools for information in the best methods of industrial training and normal training, that the writer's visit to this country has been undertaken. As some valued sympathisers in America have said to us when thanked for their liberality, "No, I am obliged for this opportunity"; so when the Society of Friends in England comprehends these facts and realizes the vast importance of vigorous and timely aid to these ignorant four and a half millions of emancipated colored people (only one in six of whom between the ages of six and sixteen have been to any school whatever) we feel a strong assurance that, as a body and as individuals, they will feel alike glad of the opportunity being afforded them (whether personally or through the ordinary means in the "Friend" and "British Friend") of helping both "their brethren in the other ship" across the Atlantic, and through them the Freedmen themselves. They are indeed looking to our Society (to quote the words of George Fox) for counsel and for instruction "in all things civil and useful in the creations". The need is very great and the time very pressing. May we then, without offence, conclude these few observations on the Freedmen in America with the well known Latin motto, "Bis dat qui cito dat".

YARDLEY WARNER

(of Tennessee, U.S.)

It is most fortunate that the early entries in what remains of Yardley Warner's Journal date from about this time, though not in as much detail as we could wish.

Hannah Warner died on the 25th day of 9th mo. 1872 and Yardley felt her loss most keenly, though he would in no way let it interfere with his work. Passages in his Journal (these sections have been abridged) show something of the mental and spiritual stress undergone at that period.

Indeed it was indirectly because of this loss and the consequent loosening of home ties that Y.W. now felt greater freedom than formerly

to undertake work in wider fields. Up to this time we read of no thought of any visit to Europe.

By this time the more important projects to which Yardley Warner had devoted the previous ten years, in the main were going on tolerably well,—the Greensboro land and building scheme, the two Teacher Training Institutions at Maryville and Jonesboro had been established and the publishing arrangements for the "Maryville Monitor", by means of which the interest and help of a wider circle of supporters was secured, were working satisfactorily.

By the end of this period work was proceeding in Okolona, Stevenson, Cleveland, Athens, Mount Harmony, Knoxville, Louisville, Rheaton and Bristol. Of this latter town Y.W. writes, "lying partly in two States is difficult to work".

The Maryville undertaking was one which caused Yardley Warner many anxious days and nights. References in the Journal are frequent, telling of anxieties on the score of finance, but again and again his faith was rewarded and his prayers answered.

In this year Yardley Warner had an interview with General Ulysees Grant, on the question of Negro education, but beyond mention of the bare fact in his Journal no details are given.

The work at Jonesboro seems now to have caused less anxiety. Here "The Warner Institute" was established and it was to this centre of teacher training that Yardley Warner returned, after his second visit to England, but again we must not run ahead of our story.

Towards the end of 1872 it seemed in right ordering that an effort should be made to still further extend the interest of Friends in the work for the Freedmen's cause, particularly Friends in England. Accordingly in the Spring of 1873 Yardley Warner set sail for Europe, in time for the Dublin and the London Yearly Meetings. He carried with him the Minute of which the following is a copy.

TO ALL WHERE THESE MAY COME

Yardley Warner of Germantown Philadelphia Pa. a Minister in the Society of Friends, has been during the last nine years much engaged in organizing and supervising Freedmen's Schools in North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama.

He has been commissioned by the Missionary Board of Indiana Yearly Meeting to superintend their Schools in Tennessee; and is authorised to solicit and collect material aid for the same.

A prominent feature of his work is to render the schools self supporting as soon as possible, and to encourage the people to self help, in all ways of right living.

The fields of labor have greatly increased and prospered.

The *training of teachers from among the Freedmen themselves* in the South is now the principal object and expense.

A Farm School and Normal Institute are now being organized.

Timothy Harrison—Secretary

Joseph Dickinson—Corresponding Sec.

Richmond

Wayne, County Indiana

8 mo. 27. 1872.

PART THREE

Tells of the visit of Yardley Warner to Ireland and England for the first time to plead in person the cause of Negro education and raise further sums for the building of more schools and training institutions for coloured students. Also gives an account of his return to the Southern States to consolidate further the work already established, and concludes with an attempt to give some account of Quaker life and thought at that time.

"Once more on my adventures brave and new."

Robert Browning.

CHAPTER X

1873 THE FIRST ENGLISH VISIT

The pages of Yardley Warner's Journal should be consulted for the period covered by this visit to England in 1873 ; a reference to the projected visit to Europe is typical. Here is an extract. It is dated 4 mo. 9th. 1872.

"He has kept me to-day leaning very closely on Himself . . . I have found His countenance benignantly cheering me to trust Him . . . nothing but quiet patient trust can steady me . . . Preparations for the voyage, "The Monitor", collecting and settling the School affairs and my family concerns, and the re-making of my Will—All these press, but do not sink me.

These and other entries from the period show us the man whose life story is herein being told.

The boat in which Yardley Warner sailed from U.S.A. to England in 1873 was the "Calabria". The Cunard Line have kindly supplied some interesting details concerning this boat ; their records show that she was originally "The Australasian", being built and engined by Messrs. J. & G. Thomson, in 1857, for the European and Australian Royal Mail Company. Her overall length was 360 feet, and she had a spar deck and two others, also poop and topgallant fore-castle. She also had a deep tank of 400 tons capacity, a very unusual thing in those days. In addition she had Clifford's patent boat lowering apparatus and Cunningham's patent roofing topsails.

She was fitted to carry 180 to 200 saloon passengers. Her original registered tonnage was 2,760 but in 1869 it was 2,901, with a displacement of 6,410 tons.

She was built for her original owners who had contracted with the Government to carry the mails to Australia via Suez, thus ousting the P. & O. Company. She was the first steamer the Company built.

It was in this same year, 1857, that the railway from Cairo to Suez was opened to facilitate the Mail Service from Europe to Australia, and it is interesting to think that this ship was first used in that connection.

The normal run from Queenstown to New York was about 11 days.



(Plate 7). The Cunard Liner "Bothnia" a sister ship to the "Calabria" in which Yardley Warner sailed to England in 1873.



(Plate 8). Pales Friends Burial Ground, adjoining the Meeting House and Cottage. 1956.

The June 1873 issue of "The Maryville Monitor" was in course of preparation at the time of the voyage and Yardley Warner's account of a burial at sea during that passage can be read in the section of the Appendix where some accounts of the "Maryville Monitors" will be found.

Yardley Warner reached Dublin in time for the 1873 Yearly Meeting, and later attended London Yearly Meeting and spent the next nine months visiting Quarterly and Monthly Meetings and staying in the homes of Friends, interesting Members of the Society in the work for the Freedmen and collecting considerable sums for the furtherance of that project.

His address during this time was c/o Stafford Allen, Cowper Street, London, E.C. (Reference should be made to the section of this work entitled "His Friends").

"The Friend" and "The British Friend" for the 5th and 6th months contain references to Yardley Warner's presence at Dublin and London Yearly Meetings of 1873.

"The Friend" says "Yardley Warner was present with a Certificate of the Freedmen's Aid Association of Philadelphia. A welcome was extended to him".

"The British Friend", reporting the Yearly Meeting of 1873 says "Yardley Warner was present from Philadelphia but not under religious service (i.e. no official letter or minute from his Yearly Meeting, only a Certificate from the Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Association). His presence was welcomed and later in the Meeting a Minute from the Executive Committee of the Friends' Freedmen's Association was read concerning him."

At the Dublin Yearly Meeting held the month before Yardley Warner is reported as saying he "only came to represent a Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting on behalf of the downtrodden people of his country". Later in that Yearly Meeting he said that the true work of the Church was to seek after that which was lost.

These references to the visit of Yardley Warner show more by what they omit than by what they state how cautious was the attitude of official Quakerism when the status and credentials of any member was in doubt.

My father was known to be a Recorded Minister, a member of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, yet here he was in England not "under religious

concern" nor travelling as an accredited representative of a Monthly Meeting, why was this?

We can only conjecture. We have seen that his methods and outlook were too progressive for the conservative section of Ohio Yearly Meeting to have 'unity' with him, and it may well have been the case that even the more liberal and tolerant members of Philadelphia Monthly and Yearly Meetings may have felt they could not fully and officially endorse Yardley's concern for the Freedmen, but not because they did not sympathise with the cause, for Friends of that Yearly Meeting were subscribing most generously to its funds. Their caution in endorsing his personal concern was probably due to their lack of unity with his theological outlook.

It is a matter of some surprise to find that notwithstanding the unofficial nature of Yardley's visit to this country it was most successful. Minutes were passed at all or most of the Meetings he attended commending his appeal to the generosity of Friends. The following minute from Westmorland, Quarterly Meeting dated the 20th of 6 mo. 1873 is typical of others.

3rd Minute.

We have also the company of our friend Yardley Warner of Germantown, Pennsylvania, a minister and member of Philadelphia Y.M. with a minute which has been read from the Missionary Board of Indiana Y.M. dated 18th of 3rd mo. 1873 stating that he believes himself called to labor for the relief of the Freedmen, and that it is with the unity and sympathy of his friends that he visits this country upon that object. Our friend has given us interesting information respecting the freedmen and of the efforts made by our American friends for their education and their religious and temporal well being. Sympathising with our friends in their labours we recommend our Monthly Meeting to make a liberal subscription in aid of this object to be remitted to Stafford Allen, 7 Cowper Street, reporting the amount to our next Meeting.

Minutes of subsequent Meetings show that subscriptions were sent from Kendal, from Sedburgh and from Swarthmore Monthly Meetings. The only amount mentioned is £43 10s. 0d. which appears to have been from Kendal Monthly Meeting.

The present Custodian of the records of Westmorland Quarterly Meeting writes as follows:—

*Ghyll Close,
Kendal.*

5th September, 1955.

I had no difficulty in finding the Minute referring to your father's visit to Westmorland Q.M., when it was held at Swarthmore in June 1873, and I enclose a copy of this Minute in duplicate.

I find from the Minutes of subsequent Meetings that subscriptions were sent from Kendal, from Sedbergh and from Swarthmore Monthly Meetings. The only amount mentioned is £43.10.0 which appears to have been a subscription from Kendal Monthly Meeting.

I was interested to note that the word Friend is spelt with a small f, and that in the clause referring to the Minute of the Missionary Board labour is spelt according to American usage "labor", while later in the Minute it is spelt "labour". I mention these points so that if you are quoting the Minute in full and care to retain these spellings you will know that they are as in the original and not mistakes in transcription.

It is very interesting to me to find that the Minute referring to *your* father's visit was made by *my* Grandfather Charles Lloyd Braithwaite as Clerk of Westmorland Quarterly Meeting.

Harold C. Wilson.

It is interesting to note that at the first London Yearly Meeting Yardley Warner ever attended it was decided that arrangements should be made that at future Yearly Meetings there should be regular holdings of the annual meetings of Temperance Union, Foreign Mission Association, Tract Association. It was also decided that at Yearly Meeting time there should be a meeting concerned with Home Philanthropic Engagements and that the Friends' First Day School Association (these hitherto generally held at Ackworth) should be also held at Yearly Meeting time. Yardley Warner is reported to have taken part in that discussion saying he witnessed what transpired with great interest and satisfaction. He also thought that entertaining, as he did, such emphatic views on Church work and order, it was cause of thankfulness that Yearly Meeting should spend time in deliberating on outside matters of real concern to the Church. At another sitting of the same Yearly Meeting Yardley Warner said it was to him very interesting to witness the reading of the Epistles from various Yearly Meetings. He was glad of the custom—it was real churchwork, adding "we must be fortified with patience".

Later during the last session of that Yearly Meeting he said that in fulfilment of a pledge he wished London Yearly Meeting Friends to know that the University of Nashville for colored teachers was doing work to which English Friends might unhesitatingly give their support.

Yardley Warner also spoke at the Annual Meeting saying that the Friends' First Day School Association Reading Rooms were a great help in American schools and also said he wished to say how much he owed to the help received from scripture passages learned from his mother's lips.

In this same Yearly Meeting some observations were made by Stafford Allen on the subject of Negroes becoming Friends. He said when in 1869 he inquired about the matter he did not find that any had been received into membership. J. Hodgkin said he hoped we in England would not suppose that Friends in America had any aversion to receiving blacks as members.

It is probably necessary to state for modern readers, that at the time of this Yearly Meeting the London Headquarters of the Society in Great Britain was in the premises known as Devonshire House, Bishopsgate. Here were situated two large Meeting Houses and the numerous offices used as offices for the many Quaker organizations connected with the London Yearly Meeting. This property in Bishopsgate was acquired nearly 300 years ago because the first Quaker Meeting House in the City of London, premises known as the Bull & Mouth in Gracechurch Street were destroyed in the great fire of 1666.

In the days when Friends first met in Bishopsgate Street, meetings were still liable to be interfered with by the authorities who in carrying out their duties under the existing laws hailed Friends to prison, and it is said that at least one elderly Friend always took his night-cap with him to Meeting, in case he should be taken off to jail without the opportunity of returning home.

The centuries which have passed since have wrought great changes. By 1911 the accommodation had become so inadequate at Devonshire House that a move to larger and more commodious premises became essential, and as an advantageous offer for the property in the city was forthcoming it was decided to move to Endsleigh Gardens in Euston Road, and as a result of long negotiations a site was acquired, a building erected, now known as Friends House, and in 1925 the Recording Clerk and his staff moved in and the other Quaker organizations followed as accommodation became available for them during the next two or three years. The Yearly Meeting for these years were held in the provinces, in 1924 at Llandrindod Wells, in Scarborough in 1925 and in Manchester in 1926.

There was no official opening, no ceremony, no foundation stone laying and the removal was made without show or ostentation. The Society of Friends seems to have crept gradually out of its old home in the city (at that time aptly called by some the philanthropic Quaker rabbit warren), and edged its way into its new quarters by inches, gradu-

ally accommodating itself to its new surroundings rather like the Quaker contemporaries of William Edward Forster, who as related elsewhere, shed their old fashioned garb gradually and by slow degrees, without drawing undue attention to the changes they were making.

The name Friends House, without the customary sign of the possessive case, was chosen with some care. One of the alternatives was Swarthmore Hall. Had this name been adopted it is probable that those Quaker Councils and Committees which since about the year 1927 have dropped the apostrophe from their titles, would still have retained the sign of the possessive, as in "The Friends' Service Council", and the lettering on one of the doors in the basement would have been in accord with the older usage, thus, Men's Cloak Room, and not as now named, without the apostrophe.

There are indications that the dropping of the traditional sign of the possessive is becoming usual, when used in a name, as witness "Barclays Bank" or "Macleans Powder", though this is by no means universal c.f. Owbridge's Lung Tonic and Kay's Linseed Compound, to quote some instances of usage; the apostrophe will doubtless for a long time be retained by those who like to be thought grammarians. "The Times" newspaper, when reporting meetings held in the well known Quaker premises in Euston Road, prints it thus, Friends' House.

The British Friend for Aug. 5, 1873 carried the following paragraphs.

This Friend is engaged in visiting the principal meetings in this country as a deputation from the Missionary Board of the Indiana Yearly Meeting.

He was at Sunderland on the 7th ult. where he had a Conference with several Friends to whom he communicated much information respecting the work undertaken by Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for the education of the colored population of East Tennessee.

Much interest was aroused and a collection was made on behalf of the object, and under heading of "Movements of Ministering Friends", "The Friend" for August 1st published the following —

Yardley Warner at Sunderland 7th July 1873 as a deputation of the Missionary Board of Ohio Yearly Meeting and he reported on the work of American Friends for the education of the colored population in East Tennessee. Much interest was aroused and a collection was taken.

And in "The Friend", Nov. 21. 1873 we read —

"In a report of a Conference of Friends on the state of the Society held in London Yearly Meeting stated that a colored man in India speaking to a Missionary said, "Why do you teach us what you don't believe yourselves. You want us to serve the Prince of Peace when you are the greatest fighters in the world".

In the days of which we are now writing Editors of Quaker Journals seemed to have unlimited space to devote to their numerous correspondents.

In the issue of "The British Friend" for 7th mo. 1st. 1873, was a lengthy letter from Yardley Warner, commencing with an extract from George Fox's Epistles as samples of "Christian Work". These sayings of Fox are as applicable to the present day as they were germane to the mission which Yardley Warner came over here to preach, so that it seems appropriate to copy them here together with the rest of the letter to which they are the prelude.

"And, if sometimes you should have some meetings with the Indian kings and their councils, to let them know the principles of truth ; so that they may know the way of salvation, and the nature of tru Christianity, and how that Christ hath died for them, who 'tasted death for every man' (and so the gospel of salvation must be preached to every creature under heaven) ; and how that Christ hath enlightened them, who enlightens all that come into the world. And God hath poured out his Spirit upon all flesh ; and so the Indians must receive God's Spirit, for 'the grace of God which brings salvation hath appeared to all men'. And so let them know that they have a day of salvation, grace and favour of God offered unto them ; if they will receive it, it will be their blessing. And so now, you that are settled in those parts, who have had a testimony from the Lord to bear to people of the truth, you should spread abroad God's eternal truth, and have meetings with the Indian kings and people, so that all the earth may come to look unto the Lord for salvation. For if ye should settle down, in the earth, and have plenty, and be full, and at ease for a time, and not keep in the power and service and Spirit of God, you would quickly come to lose your condition".

"My desire is that you may all keep in the power and Spirit of the Lord, in the heavenly unity, that you may all shine forth in his glory and praise, to whom all belongs"—From Epistle No. 412, p. 300. To Friends in America, concerning their negroes and Indians. No. 355. p. 205 :—

"All Friends everywhere that have Indians or Blacks, you are to preach the gospel to them and other servants, if you be true Christians ; for the gospel of salvation was to be preached to every creature under heaven ; Christ demands it to his disciples, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost' . . . And you must preach the grace of God to all Blacks and Indians, which grace brings salvation, that hath appeared, etc. and instruct them to live righteously and soberly. And Christ, who is the light of the world, saith "believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light". And they that do evil and hate the light (which is the life of Christ) will not come to the light because it will reprove them, and love the darkness more than the light ; this light is their condemnation . . . And therefore you are to open the promises of God to the ignorant, and how God would give Christ a covenant, a light to the Gentiles—the heathen—and a new covenant to the house of Israel, and the house of Judah ; and that he is God's salvation to the ends of the earth, and how that the earth shall be covered with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea".

These and other passages of the same epistles plainly show that G. Fox held it to be incumbent on us to teach and to preach the doctrine of truth to our families, servants, and those with whom we have opportunity.

The conversion of Saul of Tarsus, together with other similar conversions since his day, plainly show that it "pleases God" to call men by his grace and "to reveal His Son" in them without intermediate preaching. Paul's conversion, in fact, may be called a model conversion, as verifying the prophecy of the time when "all shall know the Lord, from the least unto the greatest". But while the sanctuary is accessible to all, servants, ministers, and teachers are still sent to invite the people to come unto Him who is the way, the truth and the life. G. Fox was one of such, and as such exhorts others to do likewise. The extracts above are offered for the attention of those who on any ground feel an interest towards that branch of Christian work which was under consideration in the London Yearly Meeting on the 20th inst.

Affectionately,
Y. WARNER.

London, 5th Mo. 29th, 1873.

As a further example of the courtesy of Quaker Editors, and the space they devoted to good causes in the 1870's the following long communication, with the heading as shown appeared in "The British Friend" for 9th mo. 1873, and an identical letter appeared in "The Friend" for the same month !

THE FREEDMEN'S MISSION IN 1873.

As this subject has obtained some publicity in the columns of the British Friend, it is but courteous that suitable acknowledgements should be made of the practical sympathy which has thus far been extended to it. Attention is also requested to the speech of the Duke of Argyll before the National Committee of British Freedmen's Aid Society, Westminster Palace Hotel, 17th of fifth month, 1865. That address teems with the breathings of philanthropy and the sound reasoning of statesmanship. It shows what we are now passing through in the United States ; and is a timely introduction to the appeal of Indian Friends. He said, as to "the abolition of negro slavery through all the territories of the United States, this great result cannot be attained except through a period of great difficulty to the government and people, as well as of great distress and of great suffering to a large proportion of the negro population themselves".

It is the object of this Society to assist the people and government of the United States in dealing with the difficulty. He then refers to the pith of the thing in these words, that the great work of leading on "this vast negro population is to be done under conditions wholly different from those under which they were formerly provided for"; and adds, "It appears to me that this simple statement of the facts of the case, and of the objects we propose to ourselves, ought to be sufficient to recommend it to the reason, the feeling, and the conscience of the British public". It appeared to him that that was speech enough for the reason and the "conscience of the British public". Truly it was enough, but that speech was made so lately as 1865, after emancipation had become a fact ; and when the Freedmen's Bureau was in full operation, with nearly 2,000 schools, and with protection otherwise afforded by that Institution. But the Freedmen's Bureau recently expired by the law of its existence, and with it went down 2,000 schools or upward, while as yet only one-sixth of the children of four and a half millions of freedmen had been at school. Simultaneously, the denominational schools began to wane ; the late slave states, with few exceptions, had their

state school funds swept away to pay the Confederate army and they have done very little (some nothing at all) to provide for education ; the people being unwilling and unable to pay taxes to support schools. These facts, put as a sequel to the remarks of the Duke of Argyll, and considered in relation with the grand event of conferring the elective franchise upon the negro by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which President Grant justly asserts to "complete the greatest civil change, and to constitute the most important event that has occurred since the nation came into life", force upon us the conviction that we are now in the third crisis of the exodus of the Anglo-African chattelhood to citizenship. The first crisis was passed when the contraband was issued ; the second, when the Emancipation Proclamation was signed by President Lincoln ; the third was only reached when President Grant signed the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

How can the Freedmen be educated so as to act out the man as a citizen, how do the needs of this case differ from what they were at the time of the Duke's address ? Only in these respects ; viz., 1st. His physical wants are mostly provided for. 2nd. Five-sixths of his children have never been to school. 3rd. Provision for their schooling practically by the late slave states (who only can do it legally) is hardly worth counting, except in Florida, Louisiana, Texas and Missouri. 4th. The United States government is moving to supply the loss of the Freedmen's Bureau Schools, by "applying the proceeds of the public lands to the education of the people, including the blacks" (but has not yet done so). 5th. Religious societies, except Friends, are obliged to withdraw support, in consequence of the failing of the early enthusiasm. 6th. Employing teachers trained out of, and among, the Freedmen themselves appears now to be the great resource for meeting the needs of this third crisis. These six facts constitute the main difference in the case, as stated by the Duke, and the case as we see it today ; that is, we know these things now ; he did not know them then. But his words plainly foreshadow them, and they commend themselves to us in the light of philosophy and of history.

"The Review of Emancipation in the United States", by Frederick Seebohm, is another able exposition of the situation and requirements of the Freedmen, which will not perish with the occasion. John Taylor's pamphlet may be put in the same list ; and the reader is respectfully asked to reperuse them in connection with the mission of Indiana Friends.

With thanks (and good reasons for the same, to Friends where the mission has been presented), and with a hope that the cause may live in your hearts long after mine have ceased to beat, believing that oceans and mountains interpose no barriers to the outgoings of philanthropy, but that wherever humanity is, there the brotherhood ought to be.

I remain, as I came to your shores with love,

Y. WARNER.

Scarborough, 8th mo. 22nd. 1873.

In June 1873 Yardley Warner was at Ackworth, his comments on the school as he saw it then can be seen in the appropriate place in the Journal.

While still at Ackworth Yardley wrote the following statement respecting work for the Freedmen, which appeared in full in "The Friend" for July that year.

FRIENDS' MISSION AMONG THE FREEDMEN.

The first visit to England, etc. on this account, has so far received quite encouraging consideration where it has been understood. Some meetings have taken it up officially, and it seems necessary to present a short statement of the leading features of the case.

Four years ago, after the North Carolina and Virginia Schools for Freedmen had been pretty thoroughly organized under the care of the Philadelphia Association of Friends, our attention was directed to Tennessee. But that State lying beyond and the Alleghany link, and that line being the boundary between Indiana Friends and Philadelphia in regard to Freedmen's work, it was not competent to the latter to send a commission into Tennessee. Therefore, with a letter from General Howard (Chief of the Freedmen's Bureau), the writer entered upon that field. Friends of Indians had already been operating west of that, so that after nine schools had been organized they took up the business and issued my commission dated Fourth Month 24th, 1871. Many Friends in America, several years before that, had begun to think they were nearly ready to retire from the field, that the late slave states would take the education of the Freedmen into their hands, and Friends might make their "last appeal" for material aid. But experience has assured us that, so far from this, we are just finding our opportune season for real work; and consider that it may well be looked upon as that of our children also for a long time to come. This conclusion we arrive at not only in view of the indebtedness incurred by our prosperity upon the unrequited toil of the Freedmen while yet as slaves in the cotton fields, but in view of the commission we held from our dear Lord to "teach all nations" in his "Name", and lastly in view of the reflex blessings likely to rest on our children from such engagements.

With such feelings Friends in America now cherish this work; and the opportunity has at length reached us of holding and prosecuting it as a religious one—as a work of the Church—without making our schools denominational schools. We work with the Public School authorities where they have schools and money; and even our normal schools will have, more or less, public support. This point I am fully prepared to verify. After Indiana Yearly Meeting had thus become the patron of these schools, it required a severe effort to keep them going. As soon as I could leave the fields of labour, and at intervals represent our needs to Friends, in the North, they and Western Friends generously responded, so as to keep the common schools going. But a heavy drain came upon us to supply and pay teachers. It is now our great aim to train up teachers from among the Freedmen themselves.

Proceeding on the plan of rendering them self-supporting as soon as possible, we have located our schools among the people where they and the planters find mutual want of each other, and where the wages may be made available in paying for schooling and the building of school-houses. In the midst of agricultural promise, and in hope of teaching the Freedmen to draw to his aid the vast undeveloped resources around him, we are locating Normal Training Schools, central to the common schools, which Normal Schools, by taking the gifted ones from their homes (not very distant) may irrigate the meadows, as it were, by returning these as teachers and examples to their home-friends and their children. A work of this magnitude, embracing near 2,000 children and 32 schools, and extending from Virginia to beyond the Mississippi, we could not well expect to be sustained by Friends alone. We are enlisting United States Government aid, and looking for some from the Peabody Fund. But none of these are as yet available to much extent, and yet the schools must go on; children are being born, and others growing out of childhood to manhood. It will not do to rest

with our hand upon our loins, and wish the poor things may get learning and get homes. We must do things. So, upon the plan of self-help, we have brought the Freedmen to the rule of half-pay pretty generally. That is from one to two shillings a month for schooling. Then, on the same plan, I called a meeting of delegates and Freedmen from counties adjoining Maryville in Tennessee, to consult and undertake something for themselves as a Normal Institute to supply teachers. It was well attended and well conducted, with decorum and earnestness, and the proceedings published with marked commendation by the papers of Knoxville, etc.

Three hundred dollars were raised on the spot, Freedmen's money; 2,300 dollars have since been raised by them, and 500 dollars given by the white people of the town as a tribute to the teaching value of "The Freedmen's Normal Institute of East Tennessee".

This is the concern for which money is now chiefly wanted. It has grown on from that beginning into an enterprise strong in the affections of the people, and I received by mail yesterday a cheering photograph, showing the imposing structure receiving its roofing. The Freedmen made the bricks, 750,000, and have been mostly the workmen under the architects. A farm is connected, to teach husbandry and gardening of all useful kinds, industrial operations in-doors also. The whole is deeded to the trustees of Indiana Yearly Meeting. Charles F. Coffin, and others, for the use of the Freedmen of Tennessee.

The school building is 120 feet long and 36 wide, a central cross 56 feet deep by 40 feet on the long side of the main building; two stories high, beside a complete basement with all family arrangements. The barn is 50 by 40 feet, on the best plan, and all the appointments in both buildings will be models for industry and economy.

We plan to accomodate forty of each sex as boarders and training teachers, 250 day scholars. All the work in-doors and out, to be done by the pupils. The cost of the school buildings alone, in Philadelphia, would be 40,000 dollars, by the employment of Freedmen, and other savings, it will cost, including the barn, 17,000 dollars.

As we wish to avoid the peril of having a complete machine ready to run and nothing to run on, it has been a subject of much thought how to run this. We propose to do it on the product of the farm, by the labour of students, by what they can pay besides, and by the interest of an endowment invested in good-paying securities. The enterprise has a strong hold not only upon the affections of the Freedmen, but upon those of the White Southerners generally; as will be seen by the following among many similar notices which have appeared in Southern papers—

"Yardley Warner, Superintendent of the Friends' Freedmen's Schools, west of the Alleghanies, was in town on Friday last, and visited the News office. He is evidently a gentleman of rare capacity for the great work he has in hand, and is most thoroughly in earnest in its performance. The school which he has founded in Bristol for the coloured children is a great charity, and is, we think, very ably conducted. In the town of Maryville, Tenn., he is erecting a large brick building, to be used as a normal Agricultural and Mechanical School for coloured persons; each one being taught to labor, without which none are received or retained. Wages are graduated according to the number of hours of labor performed. We hope he will continue his labors in this field, and we would be very glad if the work at this point could speedily ripen into such an institution as has been founded at Maryville".

The above slip is inserted from the Bristol, Tenn. News, to satisfy some of our friends, and to indicate the feeling which exists towards our work. A prominent citizen of Bristol (Z. Burson) has agreed to build a commodious house with ample rooms, and ceiled, for a graded school, to accomodate

the colored people of the town both sides the State line. He asks only 9 dols. a month rent.

Besides this Institute, we have one near Helena, Arkansas, which has turned out a number of teachers, having put 28 into the common schools of that State. There, also, we are about to build more (needed) accommodation—soldiers' barracks being now all we have for family purposes.

The leading facts appealing to our sympathies are - -

1st. The Freedmen's Bureau is dead, and, with it, died 2,000 schools. We cannot ask Government to restore it; for it was a military institution, and subject to objections in the time of peace.

2nd. At this time only one in six of the children of Freedmen between six and sixteen years old had been to school, in a population of four-and-a-half millions, increasing in a rapid ratio, and now voters with all the power of ignorance or of intelligence.

3rd. At this juncture, denominational organizations are "withdrawing support from all schools which have not Church connection with Freedmen". I quote the words of the resolution of the most extensive working Church in the United States.

4th. Government help in our Congress we hope for, but legislation is so laborious we must not stand still in our field of labor, State help we are working for, but the States have no invested funds—they were swept off by the rebellion; 2,500,000 dollars went in this way from the people of Tennessee alone, out of invested funds "sacred to education". The people can hardly be brought to bear taxes for schools, even if they were wholly in favour of them, for they really have so little money to pay.

5th. The young men and women are on the spot awaiting the chance for training as teachers, and being at our doors we cannot do less than exert every available power to answer them.

6th. All the work here represented is matter of history, and adopted and managed by Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting, as will appear by their minutes; to which and the Philadelphia Reports, and the organs representing their work, the reader is respectfully referred.

Y. WARNER.

Ackworth, Sixth Month 26th 1873.

For fuller details of the English visit and an account of the return passage to the United States reference should be made to the pages of the Journal, to be found in the Appendix.

CHAPTER XI

1874—1875—THE SOUTHERN STATES AGAIN

Yardley's Journal for the nine months during which he was in England during 1875 gives us a tolerably connected account of his journeyings and his letters to Quaker periodicals and reports of his meetings help us to picture him at this time.

The Treasurer of Indiana Yearly Meeting for 1874 reported that the costs of this visit amounted to £11 7s. 11d. and Yardley Warner landed in Philadelphia with the sum of 9/7½ in his pocket ! This will be seen in the accounts printed on page 96.

The Journal, however, came to an end on Dec. 19th 1873 when the "Philadelphia" finally reached New York, and our subsequent source of information as to the writer's movements on his return to his American home is to be found in the letters he sent back to England. They were addressed to Anne Elizabeth Horne, at that time the Matron of what was then called the North Eastern Hospital, in Hackney Road. She was trained at St. Thomas's Hospital, and in 1871 was appointed Lady Superintendent and Matron to that small hospital for children.

The accounts for the hospital published for the year ending June 30th 1872, contained the entry "Matron's salary and servants wages £117 16s. 8d." In that same year 112 in-patients were admitted to the hospital, and 10,940 new cases attended as out-patients, making a total of 34,895 attendances. There were 20 beds at the hospital that year and 6 at a cottage for convalescent patients at Croydon. The hospital is now the large and important institution known as the Queen Elizabeth Hospital for Children.

The appointment of A. E. Horne to this post came about through the recommendation of Mary Elizabeth Phillips and her sister, the wife of John Fox who with other members of the Society of Friends had been closely associated with the establishment of this hospital, particularly the Barclays and Godlees.



(Plate 9.) Group of children and nurses at the North Eastern Hospital, Hackney Road, London, E. The matron—Anne E. Horne is on the right with black neck-riband. 1877.



(Plate 10). Pales Meeting House with Anne E. Warner. Photo taken by W. J. Hall, father of the Rt. Hon. W. Glenville Hall, M.P. 1886.

It was when calling on Friends in London during Yardley Warner's English visit in 1873 that he first met A. E. Horne as will be seen from his letters (Nov. 1877), when he speaks of a visit to the Hospital in October 1873, accompanied by Helen Balkwill of Plymouth. He had visited Friends in Devon and Cornwall that month and made the acquaintance with that well known Quaker family. Helen Balkwill's name occurs frequently in the pages of "The Friend" of that period under the running title of "Visits of Travelling Friends"—and being in London at the time, it is probable that in this way the introduction came about.

Extracts from the letters to Anne E. Horne from Yardley Warner will be found in the Appendix. This correspondence was a source of strength and encouragement to him during these four years of strenuous work in the Southern States and in this country.

This correspondence gives an account in my father's own words of the nature of his work and of his daily life during the first year after his return to his beloved coloured brethren and to his schools which by that time seem to have been on the way to becoming self supporting, or to have been placed under care of American Meetings or transferred to the management of the State.

These letters written in 1874-5 are in fact almost the sole source of our information as to the happenings of 1874 up to 11th November 1875, when, as we shall see, we hear of him in company with Stanley Pumphrey and Dr. Garner and Charles Hubbard, at New Garden (now better known as Guilford College) North Carolina.

It is a safe assumption that this time was one of much mental strain and conflict. For so prolific a writer and one so accustomed to express his thoughts, and to tell of his doubts and struggles and expose his inner feelings as in the Journal he kept for so many years, it is no wonder when that means of self-expression ceased, he found in his letters an outlet for his thoughts and feelings.

These letters fall into two groups, those written in June '74 when the writer was on his way to and while attending a Yearly Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island, and those written the following October and November, and from the places from which they were posted we can trace his movements during those two months. This latter series commences in Germantown on October 4th and visits as below follow in sequence thus—

October 15th at Johnson City
21st Jonesboro

November 5th	Dalton, Georgia
6th	Rome, Georgia
10th	Knoxville, Tenn.
12th	Clinton, Tenn.
13th	Knoxville again
21st	Morristown
15th	Friendsville
16th	Louisville

In so far as they convey news, the letters speak for themselves, but many of the references are obscure for lack of information as to their background, but they help in some measure to make up for the cessation of the Journal entries which gave us so much insight into the character and personality of the man who wrote them.

On Yardley Warner's return to America after nine months in England he found things very much as they were when he came to these shores. That this was so is seen by the review which he wrote for "*Freedmen's Friend*" shortly after his return. This shows that the work was at this time of considerable extent.

School Reports cut from proof sheets of the *Freedmen's Friend*—about 1874.

REVIEW OF THE WORK IN TENNESSEE.

In 1865 it became evident that the Friends Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia must change the character of their work and extend it into localities where the Freedmen themselves might locate, and find work so as to co-operate with us in their uplifting. We had good schools about Yorktown, Va., etc. But the life of the Freedmen there was not normal; no business there except oyster fishing which is but temporary and uncertain. In the seventh month of that year the Editor of this paper went for the above named purpose (commissioned by the Friends Association of Philadelphia) into North Carolina; and, with headquarters at Greensboro organized before the autumn of that year the Circuit of Schools extending from Goldsboro on the east to Lincolnton on the west, all nearly in the localities occupied by the schools, now sustained by that Association. In course of time certain reasons indicated Danville, Va., as the Head Quarters of that Circuit; and, there have they been until the present time. During the prosecution of this organizing of schools in N.C. my attention was drawn (partly by letters from men of influence, farther west in N.C. partly by my own observation) to look toward supplying the more remote and as yet unhelped districts with similar schools. But owing to the uncertainty of commensurate means, and the barrier of the Alleghanies lying between us and Tennessee, the thought of extending the line directly west into Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi was abandoned. The N. Carolina school being on a solid footing I (not on behalf of the Philadelphia Association and uncommissioned by any except a general recommendation from General O. O. Howard), went in 1869 into Tennessee and took up head-

quarters at Maryville with a view of working N.E. and S.W. from that point ; and forming an educational chain similar to that in N. Carolina, with a centre at Maryville. This system of schools was founded upon, and was steadily grown upon the plan of self help—the plan of co-operation with the Freedmen and with the local school authorities of each state. On that we propose to hold it ; and are the more encouraged to do so, because the schools while increasing in number are also becoming every year more self sustaining, and every year more efficiently enlisting the co-operation of all concerned in their benefit. Looking at the map in connection with our remarks it will be seen that the Tennessee work now overlaps the North Carolina schools. For, besides Bristol (which we still are holding), Dublin and Newborn, Va., will probably share our help next winter. The meridian of Bristol is considerably east of Lincolnton : Dublin etc., still further east. But if the wish and the means for joining the Tennessee work with the N. Carolina work concurred, the connexion by rail is not convenient and the transit over the mountains is difficult and tedious. So that it would seem the two concerns could not be readily supervised by the same men.

That was one good reason why the Indiana Friends should take hold at Maryville. It is pretty generally known they did ; and still prosperously conduct the Normal School there. Attention to that and to the other schools being too much for one person, and the support of the tributary schools with County co-operation and Freedmen's co-operation being an essential part of the whole plan and other reasons concurring, I dissolved my connection with the Maryville Institute, so far as any responsibility in its executive administration is concerned, and gave my attention to the other schools, interesting friends and others in their support, supply them with teachers, books, methods of instruction, etc. ; encouraging First Day schools, and in every possible way promoting the moral and spiritual growth of the people.

This sort of care has been more blessed every way in the last two years than ever before. The interests of the Freedmen are becoming knit into the general fabric of society ; and everywhere more hearty sympathy is manifested on the part of the Southern people. The opposition is very exceptional ; and no where, direct or overt. The support and conducting of these schools, in every way undenominational—unsectarian and we are bent on keeping it so. It is in contemplation soon to entrust the finances to responsible hands, that will exercise control over disbursements, and other essential departments of the business, so that its usefulness may not cease in the event of the death or withdrawal of the men who have been so far the chief actors in the concern.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE?

The history and present working of the Maryville Normal Institute are familiar to those who read *The Monitor*.

Of the 29 teachers, sent out from that Training School this year, all have given full satisfaction, with one exception. That one did to his employers, but we would not endorse his doings in all respects. In all where the influence of the Normal School is felt, students are attracted towards it and nothing but the want of means for support in boarding, prevents it from being crowded to its utmost capacity.

The methods of teaching, the care of the morals and religious growth of the people where the schools are located give some of the most effective proofs of what has been accomplished both by the Institute and the other schools. These proofs are not the say so, of our teachers only ; but by the testimony of county Superintendents and other residents who see them.

Our teachers are sought after, both those of the Normal Schools and others ; so that it is fair to say there never was so keen an interest for general

and right education ; and we believe never a better opportunity to promote the highest welfare of the people of South where our work lies.

Helena in Arkansas is not a part of the Tennessee work, and is not on the map, but it is under the care of Indiana Friends and the Normal Institute there is doing as much or more than Maryville. Okolona being in the adjoining State, (Mississippi) may be taken as the connecting link between Helena and Maryville !

Okolona

is not on the map, but we have been from time to time operating there, and expect to (are at this time) and although it is a long stretch of miles to

Stevenson Alabama

in the next State, yet the use of keeping up our connexion between the two is constantly apparent. One of our best young men is teaching now at Stevenson. At

Dalton, Geo.,

all is well. A good man just over 21 ; an efficient teacher and trained in the Maryville school is about to open school again, they are part supported by us.

Rome, Georgia

is calling for help and there is good reason why we should second the call : And of

Cleveland, Tenn.,

we can say the same.

Athens, Tenn.,

is still one of the main points of influence as may be seen by last MONITOR. The enrollment there the last month of school was 43 with an average attendance of 40. Great interest and hope cluster about Athens. The beginning of the work there may serve as a sample of our way of doing. The colored people of that place having found that we were helping the people of Stevenson and Cleveland, on the railroad below them, several times beset us to stop and help them of Athens. We found they were not united, and passed by, but watched up the temper and efforts there. At length we told them that when they would unite and subscribe to a paper guaranteeing 50 scholars or upward and keep united we would furnish a teacher. They soon had over 80 pledged. A. King and L. Kendall having providentially become interested in the mission, were at once commissioned there. An enrollment of 130 or upward followed their efforts which were signally blessed ; and although the former had at last to go to Morristown, the work there has continued to the present time under the faithful and efficient administration of L. Kendall uninterruptedly prosperous. Her labors and sympathy extending also to the First Day School and to all classes and colors where her Master called her. And she went on His own rule "without respect of persons". The fruits have been such as that sort of labor might be expected to produce—to the advancement of the best interests of the people.

One of the young men of that school was commissioned and paid by us for opening and teaching a school at

Mount Harmony, Tenn.,

not far from Athens ; and there is probably the need of another outlay at another near point.

Knoxville and Knox County.

The authorities are well awake here, and our aid is solicited only in the more sparsely peopled districts. We help to support one teacher only as yet.

Clifton, Tenn.,

is a good point ; and our teacher Rhoads C. Mahony, as may be gleaned from her letters, has been much blessed in her work there.

Little Riner School, Tennessee.

has been well attended and well taught. William Golden the teacher has been mainly supported by us these five years. He was an orphan, sent to the Emlen Institute, in Bucks county. There his probity and industry secured a recommendation to us; and now, after having had experience at Tennessee and training at the Maryville Normal Institute he is doing well, is happily married, and lately transferred to Knoxville. We expect to keep Little Riner under care.

Louisville, near Knoxville, Tenn.,

there we partly support a teacher; and have had the school, and vicinity in care several years.

Sevierville, Tenn.

We have assisted there formerly and propose to answer a recent application favorably.

Mossy Creek, Tenn.

So far as the Day School and the thrift of the community are concerned great improvement is here. We have done much for the people in money, as in other ways. L. L. Nicken, the teacher is a careful financier and his money statement as well as his report, in MONITOR No. 4 will interest those who wish to know about our schools. That school is to be re-opened on our account next month.

Morristown.

was one of the first to engage our sympathy while under the Presbyterian Board, and taught by Almira H. Stearns. After her transfer (by that Society) to another school, we transferred Almira King from Athens to Morristown. She and Lizzie Kendall had been so successful at Athens in every requirement — (the religious and moral as well as the more educational) that it was with much hesitation and no little anxiety this step was taken. It proved however a wise separation of the two faithful working sisters (so they always had seemed) and up to near the first of this year the management and success of the Morristown day school and first day school were very gratifying. A. King then was called away on account of the illness of a relative, and we were glad to be able to secure again the services of A. H. Stearns, by whom the same success in every way has been maintained. This is one of the centres of light to the Freedmen.

Rogersville, Tenn.

Is a new location above Morristown, not marked on the map, on a branch railroad near Bull's gap. We have just commissioned Carrie Branch to go there, on the recommendation of the school directors of Rheatown, where she has been teaching, partly supported by us and partly by the State.

Greenville, Tenn.

A new location not marked—below Rheatown on the railroad. Here we spent some time in the late visit, to become well acquainted with the situation and promise of things. We think we have the beginning of a good work there, having the testimony of the superintendent of Green County in favor of our teacher, whom we have been supporting several months, and agreed with him for future trial. There is union of the people, and co-operation on the part of the authorities.

Rheatown, Tenn.

This place is circumstanced like many others in Virginia and Tennessee; viz. without enough Freedmen's children in the district to support a teacher, or make a school; and requiring the union of two or more districts. But the school directors have been very exertive to effect all that can be, and faithful to apply the money for the Freedmen to their education. We support, (or have for a long time) partly a teacher there. Our friend Eli Marshall is vigilant and helpful both as a school director and a disinterested friend of the cause.

Johnson's City, Tenn.

A new location not marked, doing much better than at first we apprehended. Have helped support a colored teacher (native) and expect to continue.

Bristol, Tenn., and Virginia.

This place lying on both sides the state line is difficult to work in. We have done a good deal here, first, in getting up a school with Susie Peirce, formerly of the Friends' N. England Mission in Washington, a first-class teacher. But she did not stick; and although we have since spent some money for teaching and much time and effort, in trying to unite the people, little good is effected, and there is a crying need of the right kind of doing things all round.

We don't fail heart however, for Bristol yet; and are in correspondence rather briskly with the directors on behalf of some plans for real combined effort. We are disposed to attribute the slackness and do-nothing condition there to the want of a live interest on the part of the Freedmen themselves. There is what they call a good chance for wages, a rich soil, and considerable business stir. Some prospect of manufacturing etc.—We wish the heart of the people could be stirred to business that would amount to something.

Dublin, Newbarn, and Draper's Valley, Virginia.

Are interesting fields and need judicious assistance. We have several times gone over the situation, and we know that we have the sympathy of W. Wyson, County Superintendent, as well as that of some of the directors, and hope for good results. The Freedmen at the time of our last visit were making commendable efforts at improving and enlarging their church and school accommodations at Newbarn, in which we propose to assist, if they do, or shall have done, their part.

The foregoing sketch (prepared for a special object and written on the spur of the moment) no doubt omits many vital features of the plan and perhaps some localities which ought to be enumerated. But it will, we hope show that our work is alive, that it is on self-help and co-operation, that it is undenominational and embraces in its plans and administration both the religious, moral, intellectual and material prosperity of the whole people where it lies. The interweaving of all interests, by enlisting all classes on the spot to put shoulder with shoulder to the pushing forward of common school education, is the main feature of the business. We see its effect already in a better idea of books and methods of teaching, and in a more consistent way of worship. We append some extracts from the last financial statement and expect to present another in due time.

The following is an extract from the Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends held at Richmond, Indiana, 1874.

Financial Statement

of Yardley Warner, from Fourth mo. 18, 1871 to Sixth no. 10, 1874, part of which was embraced in our report to last Yearly Meeting.

RECEIPTS	
From Friends in America	\$12,538 83
„ Missionary Board	1,240 00
„ Friends in Great Britain and Ireland per Y. Warner	16,797 91
	<hr/>
	\$30,576 74

EXPENDITURES

For lands at Maryville				\$ 1,000 00
„ buildings at „				18,679 14
„ teachers' salaries, books and school furniture				4,193 65
„ teachers' accomodation, including my own passage to Europe, and expenses there				790 00
„ indebtedness for building work previous to visiting Europe				5,086 11
„ allowance to Yardley Warner for services from fourth mo. 1871, to fifth mo. 1874				400 00
Balance paid C. S. Hubbard				212 24
				<u>\$30,576 74</u>

* N.B. The \$4,007 in the Treasurer's report, as received "From Friends in Great Britain and Ireland", is to be added to the \$16,797 91 as making the total of \$20,805 91 per Y.W. from abroad. The \$4,007 were remitted from London direct to the Committee in Richmond, and the most of it after Yardley Warner had embarked for America.

The item "teachers' accomodation" means travelling expenses, boarding, and the various incidentals attending their services and locations.

During the eight months' work in Europe, expenses of all kinds amounted to £11 7s. 11d. Yardley Warner having in hand on landing in Philadelphia, on the 21st of 12 month last, 9s. 7½d.

YARDLEY WARNER.

The following is the account of the Treasurer of Indiana Y.M. 1874.

RECEIPTS

Balance from last year				\$1,475 11
For Maryville —				
From J. H. Worthington			\$50 00	
„ Henry T. Wood			50 00	
„ Great Britian and Ireland per Y.W.			4,007 90	
„ settlement with Y. Warner			76 25	
				<u>4,184 15</u>
For Helena				
From B. F. Knowles			114 00	
„ Friends			100 00	
„ J. C. Tyler			92 00	
„ Eliza P. Gurney			100 00	
„ A Friend			20 00	
„ Friends			250 00	
„ Newbury port, Mass.			210 00	
„ J. M. Whitall			25 00	
„ E. H. Farnum			200 00	
				<u>1,111 00</u>
„ Indiana Yearly Meeting				2,500 00
				<u>\$ 9,270 26</u>

EXPENDITURES

Helena—					
Current expenses	.....	.....	.....	\$2,062	20
New building	.....	.....	.....	3,085	54
Teachers' salaries	.....	.....	.....	823	25
					<hr/>
					5,971 29
Maryville—					
Current expenses	.....	.....	.....	900	00
Travelling "	.....	.....	.....	450	00
Tuition	.....	.....	.....	546	44
Furniture	.....	.....	.....	874	72
Discount on draft	.....	.....	.....	15	26
Travelling and other expenses of Board	.....			52	30
Travelling and other expenses of Friends	.....			298	00
Dr. Garner, for E. Tennessee.	.....			200	00
					<hr/>
					3,236 72
					<hr/>
					\$ 9,208 01
Balance on hand					62 25
					<hr/>
					£9,270 26

Isaac P. Evans — Treasurer.

We, the committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's account and vouchers, found them correct.

Luke Thomas
C. S. Hubbard.

Obviously, English Friends must have seen to it that hospitality and presumably most of the costs of his travelling while in this country in 1873, was paid by those Meetings which were visited.

The London "Friend" of 2nd March 1874 published a letter from Yardley Warner reporting a visit paid by him to schools in Oklahoma and a voyage up the Mississippi, which had delayed an issue of "The Maryville Monitor" but a double issue was being prepared with an account of the work of the Committee and the occupation of some new buildings,—and he now wrote to acknowledge the kindness of Friends in England and elsewhere in support of this work.

This seems to indicate that Yardley sent over copies of the "Monitor" from time to time to English supporters of his work.

His letter to the "Friend" referred to below was probably written just after Yardley Warner's visit to the Congregational Church at Oklahoma, concerning which he wrote down the reasons why he did not join with them in taking the Communion on that occasion. The letter is as follows ;—

I was informed that you did not understand my not taking the outward Bread and Wine with you on the night I was at your meeting on the 13th of last month.

I know it will be reason enough for you to understand why I did not, when I tell you that my Church never administers the outward Bread and Wine ; and I myself never did partake of it in any Church, nor in any place as a religious ceremony—I moreover will hope you understand me further when I tell you I never taste or partake of wine, for any purpose whatever ; and hope to do as the Great Apostle said, not touch it “ while the world standeth lest I make a weak brother to offend ”. Moreover my Church believes what the Bible says is true, and the words of the Lord Jesus are true ; thus, “ Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood ye have no life in you ”. For he hath ascended up on high ; and is our advocate with the Father. We cannot eat his flesh or drink his blood except in the way he said (in a spiritual sense). But he also said “ Behold I stand at the door and knock : if any man hear my voice and open unto me, I will come and sup with him and he with me to ”. This is the supper we (Quakers) take and keep by faith : We believe there is just as strong (and stronger) reasons for washing the feet, as for eating the Bread outwardly ; because the same dear Lord said “ If I your Lord and Master have washed your feet ” and besides, he did wash their feet, tho’ Peter said “ no ”.

You will now know and understand why I would not partake with you,
Your Friend and brother in Christ Jesus our Holy Head and High Priest,

Yardley Warner

2nd month 14th 1874.

In April 1874 Yardley Warner wrote this message to “ his friends abroad ” as he put it—to English Friends he had so recently left, and this was printed in “ The Friend ” for 4 mo. of that year.

We address you in a hope that you have so well comprehended the situation at Maryville, that the long delay of this expression will neither offend or surprise you ; believing you will have said mentally “ he is at work ”. This has been so constantly true, that the longest periods of absence from my own dear family ever experienced by me have been since my coming out here this time—not excepting the 17½ days of the perilous home voyage. I think that this fact (if it is not owing to a want of natural affection) is sufficient to vindicate me from the charge of ingratitude, or negligence towards you. This is as much, and as little, as I ought to say on this head ; and so refer you to other columns for the verification. But nowhere can I refer you to any suitable expressions (for they cannot be written) of the lasting and deep emotions of thankfulness to our Heavenly Care Taker, and to your instrumentality in His hands, for the realization of what we have so far of success in our enterprise, and personal preservation, in toils and dangers ; as well as for what we realised of enjoyment of Christian and social life in your midst. It would cut me the closest, the keenest, were it once suspected by you that even all this work by which I am encompassed, or any other cause, has chilled those emotions.

There was a time (in the eleven days’ adversity at sea) when some questionings momentarily prevailed. Then I said are the forebodings of a few dear American Friends to be verified, and the fervent prayers of so many dear English ones to be denied ? Did all that—all that—from so many hearts, and in so many places, ascend in vain ? Oh no ! And so it has pleased our Dear Lord to bless and prosper the work since coming “ On the spot ”. May I be suitably grateful, and you adequately blessed, for your part in this prosperity. You will be informed in due time by responsible parties in England how and what funds have been received and remitted there and thence ; and in due time what has been done with them here.

Doubtless most of you can appreciate what it is to fall from the lap of abundance in your land, into an establishment such as this, unfurnished and unprovided, and requiring immediate occupation.

The pervading thought when we turn to you is Oh that every one were right here ; that they might understand the stringencies of American pioneer life ! Our life in most of these enterprises is pioneer life. When I recur to some of those noble enterprises of improvement among you as those of this or that school and then think of Maryville, and to some of our struggling enterprises in the Great West, I sigh for something superhuman that I might overleap present clogs, and, scaling heterogeneous obstacles, reach completion such as yours, with means such as ours. Evanescent as is such an aspiration, it nevertheless comes ! and comes with the more force since I have seen through what thoroughness, what method, what patience, and what cost, you reach such completeness—most of these intermediates being only partially attainable by us. Our people's wants are more urgent ; they must be met somehow, or disastrous failures quickly follow, and blot the pages of our history.

If our Government had vacillated in regard to providing for the Freedmen (by the Freedmen's Bureau) until Congress should have settled on a National plan of Education, we should have had an appalling mass of ignorance to shoulder now. But the Government acted promptly in providing for the first seven years. Now we are deliberately maturing in Congress a permanent plan ; and we hope it will be efficient, just, and National.

With such a teeming population, augmented by immigration, we must do things somehow, and as near right as we can. We have done some things at Maryville which we would rejoice for you to see just as they are. Could you look on 120 students, with the fire of earnest seekers after truth, going through the various exercises of school ; then through the vigorous athletics ; then in complete order filing into schoolwork again, and compare this and all its concomitants (in-door and out) with the state of humanity here twelve years ago, you would unhesitatingly say, with a blessing, speed the work ! Let it go on to completeness when it can ! It is good as far as it goes !

Some of our pupils know some things more than they once did, if they don't know all things they ought to know.

We hope to keep our Friends everywhere informed of what interests them in the various features of the work among the Freedmen.

Yardley Warner.

Yardley Warner was at Louisville in November 1874, when after a restful contemplative time on a mossy bank alone with the friendly noises of nature, the birds, the tree crickets and the wind in the trees, he walked into the town. Here he met two of his former pupil-teachers from Maryville just through their course of training. He had the great joy of seeing some of the results of the love and labour he had bestowed upon that place in the past four years.

He wrote under date 11 mo. 26, 1874 from the house of a coloured woman, a woman with whom Isaac Robson an English Friend " travelling in the ministry " and a companion had lodged when visiting in these parts.

No American letters are extant bearing a later date than this, and exactly a year elapses before we hear of or from Yardley Warner again,

when in November the following year we have one momentary glimpse of him in this year when visiting New Garden (Guilford College) on the occasion of a Yearly Meeting at that place. It is found in Henry Stanley Newman's "Life of Stanley Pumphrey", thus :—

"I had to rise soon after three o'clock," writes Stanley Pumphrey on the 4th November 1875, "to come down to North Carolina. . . At the station I met my good friend Robert Haines, of Germantown, who has kindly undertaken to accompany me, and whom I thankfully accept as the companion of the Lord's providing. We were finally turned out with our baggage on the line in the middle of a wood, and after a little reconnoitring found a waggon that was ready to take our belongings to New Garden while we tramped.

New-garden is a school house in the midst of the woods. The large Meeting House lately erected stands near by, but there is no other house in sight.

Our lodging room is fitted up for six friends, and has one jug and basin and soap dish as the complement of earthenware. The Yearly Meeting assembled on the following day, the waggon driving up with their curious projecting roofs, and loaded with the families of Friends, and with bedding, provisions and other necessities of life. Many sleep in the waggons. Some found lodgings a mile or two off, and the school house is stretched to its utmost capacity, with shake-downs spread over the school-room floor. We only had six in our room, except that one night we made up a bed with our wrappers for a friend on the floor. Yardley Warner was the elder brother, and was ready for any emergency ; and then there was Charles Hubbard, Dr. Garner of Tennessee, Edward Soull of Philadelphia, and ourselves. We were a merry party and often had times of true Christian fellowship together. Many of the Friends live in log cabins, some with an entire absence of windows.

When next we hear of Yardley Warner, he is back again in England ; the records of this time are to be found in a later chapter. But before writing of that period it is necessary to try to describe the "state of the Society"—to use a well worn phrase—to depict Quakerism at the time when Yardley Warner, a conservative-evangelical American came to settle down for a time among English Friends. This task is attempted in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XII

QUAKER THOUGHT AND CUSTOM 75 YEARS AGO

Being on the whole cautious of deviating from long established custom and belief, Friends were, in 1873 as might be expected, very much under the influence of an earlier generation.

At the time of Yardley Warner's first visit to England, the *Advices and Queries* as published in 1861, in *The "Christian Doctrine, Practice and Discipline of the Society of Friends"*, reflected the conduct and belief of the Society at that time. The following pages attempt to show, however inadequately, some of the trends of Quaker thought during the latter half of the 1870's, and before giving an account of these it may be well to attempt to describe the Quaker ways of life and thought of that day.

When Yardley Warner first came to this country the tides of Quaker thought were beginning to run strongly in evangelical directions, and preachers were greatly concerned to reach those that sat in darkness and in the "saving of their souls".

The paramount duty of Friends was held by some to be that they should seek to become instruments in reclaiming the lost, and the conversion of sinners.

Much was being made of the printed word and multitudes of tracts were produced and distributed, dealing with the dangers of alcohol and the evils of gambling.

The Orphans Printing Press at Leominster and the Leominster Tract Association were producing quantities of leaflets, and many of these can be seen in the Library at Friends House, London, but unfortunately, its files do not include a copy of a tract relating to a Negro ferry boy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin", John C. Tate, referred to several times in Yardley Warner's writings, and specifically mentioned as a Tract suitable for circulation amongst Friends interested in the Negro cause. Its main purpose was to show how education and training could mould and influence character.

A group of influential Friends at this time, mostly in the Birmingham area, published a periodical entitled "The Monthly Record". The editor and his contributors seem to have had a lively sense of humour, and from time to time poked gentle fun at some of their more conservative fellow members.

The article entitled "What's o'clock" * shows them at their best. Here we see how Quaker thought was divided between those who loved the old ways and the traditional procedure and those who were not afraid of change and progress.

Quaker Belief.

A writer in "The Friend" of about this period says "In our Society today there are two distinct shades of religious thought, with, in each, many shades of religious opinion". The bases of these two schools were thus :—

"i. The power of Christianity in the visitation, indwelling and guidance of the Spirit"

"ii. The manifestation of the Gospel as seen in the sacrifices of Christ."

"The first," the writer goes on to state, "is said to be the supreme theme of the early Friends, the second, the great fundamental tenet of the evangelical Friends of the present generation and with whom a considerable and influential part of the Society is in agreement".

The question is then posed, what is the secret of the great success of the evangelical movement? and answered it thus "Christian Activity", reminding readers that "the early Friends were the most energetic people that ever lived".

At the time this article appeared the Yearly Meeting was approaching and the writer goes on to say "the enemy of souls is ever waiting to sow discord among brethren, may this be remembered in the coming Yearly Meeting".

This recalls a passage in one of the letters of my father where he says :—

"If a lot of Christian people were in a coach on their way to the Gates of Paradise, if the Devil were to step in he could not better frustrate their journey than by setting them to quarrelling among themselves".

These two distinct schools of Quaker thought still had their followers through many subsequent years, though with ever increasing tolerance

* "What's o'clock" is a report on a discussion in Y.M. of 1875 as to "whether a clock should be placed in the Meeting House", reproduced in the Appendix.

for each others opinions. Nearly 30 years later, in 1916 when I was then editing "Teachers & Taught" a Sunday School Monthly, the organ of the Friends First-day School Association (later to become the Children's Work Section of the Friends' Central Education Council) I received a playful note from a much loved and highly respected Friend, one of the old school, accompanied by a copy of "Teachers & Taught" explaining why he had changed the title in his handwriting to "Blind Leaders of the Blind" !

Quaker Practice.

So much for matters of belief, what about conduct ? In former times while claiming considerable freedom in matters of creed and belief, Friends bound themselves very straightly in regard to their conduct, and any behaviour of a member reported to the Monthly Meetings found not to be in line with the principles laid down in the pages of the "Book of Discipline" might result in disownment.

In the stricter Quaker homes of my childhood's days many things now allowed were strictly forbidden, not that they were harmful in themselves, but because they might lead to the making of worldly acquaintances and to the formation of evil habits and indulgence in idle pursuits. Music, games of chance and novel reading and the like were discouraged ; as for dancing theatre going and even the pantomime, these were at the gateway to the broad down hill road which led to destruction ; to keep to the narrow path which led uphill all the way (older Friends will recall the pictorial presentation of these two diverse routes)—was not only to avoid the grosser evils of drinking, betting and gambling and even smoking, but to abstain from all appearance of evil, hence the use of playing cards was not permitted. The game of patience was allowed—but special cards were used for the purpose, cards with no kings and queens and knaves !

From the end of the 17th century Meetings throughout the country had been required to answer every year certain queries, the scope of which had gradually been extended to cover almost every aspect of life. There were after 1833, 17 such Queries, addressed to men Friends, also Queries for Women's Meetings, and for Meetings of Ministers and Elders.

The fourth Query ran as follows :—

Do Friends endeavour by example and precept to train up their children, servants, and those under their care, in a religious life and conversation,

consistent with our Christian profession ; and in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel ?

Yearly Meeting in 1858, in view of the large number of exceptions reported, took up "the subject of the construction of the query, more especially with regard to the latter part of it, and whether it be susceptible of improvement" and referred it to a Conference called by the Meeting for Sufferings. The following year it was concluded to revise all the Queries and in 1860 a new draft was brought in and debated at great length and in much detail, several Yearly Meeting sittings being devoted to it. During the discussion it was suggested that the Clerks should take note of the numbers of Friends speaking for or against any proposed change. This was fortunately not taken seriously.

At one stage of the discussion the Clerk cautioned Friends as inconsistent with the dignity and solemnity of the occasion to use any words likely either to interfere with the harmonious proceeding of the Meeting, or even to raise a smile !

One argument put forward by those who wish to retain the words "plainness in speech, behaviour and apparel" was that Monthly Meetings would be plunged into difficulties through no longer being able to insist on the peculiar dress and language which had hitherto been a useful 'test' in the case of applications for Membership.

At the end of a very lengthy discussion lasting over two days, the words regarding speech, behaviour and apparel were deleted from the Query—but "in order to keep before Friends the importance of the subject those words or words of similar import were to be added to the "General Advices". Note the distinction. Until that date all the queries had to be answered by Monthly Meetings—whereas the Advices were addressed to Friends in general, and it was left to the individual conscience of each individual Friend as to what should be done.

The following are the rest of the Queries as in use immediately prior to 1860 :—

QUERIES.

1. Are meetings for worship and discipline kept up, and do friends attend them duly, and at the time appointed ; and do they avoid all unbecoming behaviour therein ?
2. Is there among you any growth in the truth ?
3. Are friends preserved in love one towards another ; if differences arise, is due care taken speedily to end them ; and are friends careful to avoid and discourage tale-bearing and detraction ?

5. Is it the care of all friends to be frequent in reading the Holy Scriptures ; and do those who have children, servants and others under their care, train them up in the practice of this religious duty ?
6. Are friends just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements ?
7. Do friends avoid all vain sports, and places of diversion, gaming, all unnecessary frequenting of taverns and other public-houses, excess in drinking, and other intemperance ?
8. Are friends faithful in bearing our Christian testimony, against receiving and paying tithes, priests' demands, rent-charges in lieu of tithes and those called church-rates ?
9. Are friends faithful in our testimony against bearing arms, and being in any manner concerned in the militia, in privateers, or armed vessels, or dealing in prize-goods ?
10. Are the necessities of the poor among you properly inspected and relieved ; and is good care taken of the education of their offspring ?
11. Is due care taken, when any thing appears to require it, that the rules of our discipline be timely and impartially put in practice ?
12. Is there any appearance of conviction among you, and have any been joined to our society on that ground since last year ?
13. Is care taken early to admonish such as appear inclined to marry in a manner contrary to the rules of our society ; and in due time to deal with such as persist in refusing to take counsel ?
14. Have you two or more faithful friends, appointed by the monthly meeting, as overseers in each particular meeting ; are the rules respecting removals duly observed ; are the general advices read as directed ?
15. Are friends annually advised to keep correct and clear accounts, and carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year ? Also to make their wills and settle their outward affairs in time of health ?
16. Are friends clear of defrauding the queen of her customs, duties, and excise, and of using or dealing in goods suspected to be run ?
17. Do you keep a record of the prosecutions and sufferings of your members ; is due care taken to register all marriages, and to record on the Minutes of the Month Meeting all births and burials ; and are the lists of your members revised and corrected once in the year ?
18. Are the titles of your meeting-houses, burial-grounds, etc. duly preserved and recorded ; are the rules respecting registers and trust property observed ; and are all legacies and donations properly secured and recorded, and duly applied ?

A perusal of the Queries addressed to all Friends in former times shows how the day-to-day behaviour of its individual members was the concern of the Society as a whole.

Written answers to all these Queries were required until 1860. From then until 1875 only certain Queries needed written replies, and thereafter none required answering except as regards the regular holding of Meetings, even those being abolished in 1909.

Book of Discipline.

The queries sought to give the Yearly Meeting specific information on some of the subjects on which it had offered counsel and advice to

Friends. This counsel was collected in the various editions of the Book of Discipline.

The 1834 edition of "Christian Discipline" devotes many pages offering "advice" that Friends should avoid the use of "heathen names" for the days of the months and years. The 1861 revision contained only the admonition of the Yearly Meeting of 1697. "It is the advice of this Meeting that all Friends keep to the simplicity of truth, and our ancient testimony in calling the months and days by scripture names, and not by heathen". The next edition, that of 1883, omits even this paragraph, and soon after this date the use of what were called "scripture names" began to give way to those ordinarily common today, and in the Minutes of the Hereford and Radnor M.M. Committee of the Pales School and Mission, by the year 1885 occasional use was made of the ordinary name for the months and days.

This same 1883 edition of "Christian Discipline" contains many references to the use of intoxicating liquors and the unnecessary use of public houses and taverns. It quotes from the Yearly Epistle of 1797, which cautioned Friends against remaining in public houses after the purpose of business or refreshment is accomplished and advised them "not to make them a resort for any other purpose; may it never need to be named among nor proper to those who profess the practice of Christian sobriety". This is followed by an injunction to refrain from the use of distilled spirits and advised not to go to balls, gaming places, horse races, playhouses 'those nurseries of debauchery', such is wholly unbecoming. Then follows an expression of sympathy with those who by inheritance have acquired such interests:—"We are not unmindful that some amongst us are engaged in the manufacture or sale of intoxicants. These dear Friends may be assured that our exhortations are offered in no harsh and judging spirit". The same book also contains a caution against hunting and shooting for diversion.

From the foregoing it will be seen how fundamental was this principle of total abstinence and Yardley Warner's writings both in America and in England constantly refer to his personal knowledge of the evil effects of alcoholic indulgence.

Marriage and Quaker Usage.

The successive steps taken by the Society in the relaxation of its marriage regulations were slow, and extended over many years. By

Lord Hardwicke's Act of 1754 it was provided that the restriction of marriage to the usage of the Established Church should not apply to Quakers or Jews where both parties were of those faiths. If a Friend wished to marry a non-Friend, it therefore involved marriage before priest, and this of course was fundamentally opposed to the Quaker view of "the priesthood of all believers". For this reason all the Monthly Meetings for generations had been disowning Friends for marrying out ; it was the recognised and established custom about which there could be no question.

The Pauline injunction "Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers" was also taken seriously by Friends, and Yearly Meeting would not have been in 1836 prepared to seek legal sanction for the marriage of Friend to non-Friend according to Quaker usage. The Marriage Act of 1836 provided for marriage before Superintendent Registrars but Friends considered this objectionable as denying the spiritual nature of the marriage ordinance. Yearly Meeting 1848, for instance, recorded its judgement "that marriages of our members before the Superintendent Registrar, though not open to the special religious objections connected with marriages by a priest, are, nevertheless, inconsistent with the good order of our discipline and with our testimony to the true nature and character of the marriage ordinance".

But as we have seen Friends generally by the 1850's had begun to lament the loss that their disownments meant to our membership and to the spiritual life of the Society. The objections to mixed marriages began to lose weight, leading to the decision of Yearly Meeting 1859 when a cautious expression was officially adopted "allowing marriage at our meetings, subject to the discretion of the Monthly Meeting, of persons professing with us, though neither of them may be members of our Society".

In 1872 the regulations were further relaxed by the withdrawal of the limiting phrase "professing with us", a phrase whose interpretation had caused considerable heart-burning and difference of opinion.

The following year Yearly Meeting took official cognisance of marriages not according to Friends usage by deciding to include in the Annual Statistics of the Society (known then as now as "The Tabular Statement and instituted in 1861) return of such marriages ; in the following year 1874 the number so recorded was 30. 1873 was the year of Yardley Warner's first visit to London Yearly Meeting.

Other modifications in regard concerned parental consent. Up to 1888 written parental consent had to be obtained before the contracting parties could proceed and liberation could be granted only by a Monthly Meeting in session, which frequently occasioned delay. After 1888 the Clerk and an Overseer of the Monthly Meeting were empowered to liberate the parties on its behalf.

The foregoing account of the aforetime Quaker attitude respecting "marrying out" and "parental consent" will throw some light on the passages herein regarding the marriages of Yardley Warner and the Right Honourable W. E. Forster (see references in the index).

PART FOUR

The following two Chapters tell of Yardley Warner's second visit to England and relate his experiences as a village school-master in Wales and of his return to America where he spent the closing years of his life living with and caring for the coloured people of East Tennessee and North Carolina.

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The steps of a good man are
ordered by the Lord; and he
delighteth in his way.

Though he fall, he shall not
be utterly cast down; for the
Lord upholdeth him with his
hand.

The Book of Psalms.

CHAPTER XIII

1876—1881 AN AMERICAN IN ENGLAND

Five years in England still continuing to collect money from English Friends for forwarding to America. Working from a home in Radnorshire at the Pales Meeting House and cottage adjoining. Here he kept a school for sons of farmers and farm labourers alike ; visiting remote dwellings, sitting beside the dying, comforting the bereaved, and befriending the needy.

In an earlier chapter an attempt was made to picture the state of the Society of Friends when Yardley Warner first came to this country. At that time very many Friends were Members by birth-right and tradition and more than half of them were content with things as they were and as they had always been, though there was an influential minority who were anxious to evangelize the country, and if in the process, some joined the Society, so much the better, though that was not the chief concern.

Very soon after Yardley arrived back in England in 1865 we find him working in close association with some of the most active leaders of this evangelistic movement. During the next five years, although outwardly still a strict Quaker as regards speech and dress, he joined with the local Primitive Methodists in conducting "mission meetings" where hymns were sung and "souls converted". The quietism of his youth was only a memory and the ways of his early manhood in Ohio, which so shocked Joshua Maule, had changed still further and there was now little that was distinctly Pennsylvanian about them. In the matter of Quaker belief and concerning the Sacraments, however, Yardley Warner, in common with all the Friends of his time, would have had unity with a recent pronouncement * on this matter which states that "in common with the Christian Church as a whole, in which in varying forms the Sacraments occupy so central a place, we desire to learn a deeper sense of that dedication and incorporation and witness which are symbolised in the rite of Baptism. In this way we believe that our conception of the meaning of Membership of our Society would be

* From the concluding paragraph of a recent Quaker pamphlet on the Sacraments.

greatly enriched and deepened. We desire, also, that there should be found amongst us a fuller recognition of all that we owe to the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and of our need spiritually to feed upon him, as these are expressed for our fellow Christians in the Eucharist. We desire to bear a corporate testimony to the fact that, while to be made a member of Christ's Body does not necessarily involve any outward rite, it does inescapably require an inner transformation of the whole self by the indwelling Spirit of God. And we would bear witness to the certain fact that, in a gathered company of worshippers, and apart from the use of the outward elements of bread and wine, the real presence of Christ is to be truly and effectually known, bringing us into unity with one another and with himself."

The present chapter deals with a period of Yardley Warner's life in which we see him, as self-revealed in his letters, working with missionary zeal in what he himself described as an "un evangelized region".

Arrival in England.

In contrast with the full and detailed description of Yardley Warner's first crossing in the "Calabria", as described in his Journal and in the pages of "The Maryville Monitor", we do not know the date of his sailing, nor the name of the boat nor how it came to pass. The only slight clue we have is in the Letters of 1874, when writing on November 12th from Knoxville, Tennessee, in company with William Edward Forster and Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton he says, in reply to their suggestion that he should make another visit to England, "It will not be a money mission", adding they had not suggested it should be. Yardley then continues, in a letter to Anne Horne, "It would not be a hard thing to do as they desired. I am writing to Joseph Bevan Braithwaite and Stafford Allen today". The outcome of this correspondence may well have been this second English visit. We do not know where Yardley Warner went when he first arrived on this his second visit to England and all we are certain of is that he was accompanied by his brother George, an invalid. Two years his senior, his doctors had advised a few months abroad with a companion; thus it was that Yardley did not feel to come and go as he pleased as his expenses were at that time being paid partly by George. They visited Devon, Scotland and Wales, it being thought that "mountain air" would be good for the invalid. We do know however that Yardley Warner attended London Yearly



I the undersigned Secretary of State of the United States of America

DESCRIPTION.

Age 57 Years
 Height 5 Feet 6 Inches English
 Forehead broad
 Eyes blue
 Nose medium
 Mouth small
 Chin round
 Hair ash
 Complexion fair
 Face round

Signature of the Bearer

Yardley Warner

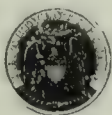
herby request all whom it may concern

to permit safely and freely to pass

Yardley Warner

a Citizen of the United States

and in case of need to give him all
 lawful Aid and Protection



Given under my hand and
 the impression of the Seal of
 the Department of State at the

City of Washington the 24th
 Day of April 1873
 in the 9th Year of the Independence
 of the United States

No. 29146

H. W. Warner

(Fig. 5). Yardley Warner's Passport reduced from original size, 22" x 18", on parchment, with water mark of the American Eagle.

Meeting for 1876 and took some part in the London Yearly Meeting of 1876 as shown by the reports in "The Friend" and "British Friend" at that time.

The Epistle from New England Yearly Meeting held at Rhode Island 11th to 18th 6 mo. 1875 was received at this time. It said that the needs of their fellow countrymen continued to claim their attention and stating that arrangements had recently been made by that meeting with Friends in Indiana Yearly Meeting to join them in support of the school for coloured freedmen in Maryville, Tennessee. Yardley Warner was reported in "The Friend" as speaking to this matter, stating that from 150 to 200 teachers, coloured of both sexes, had gone out from that training centre into State schools as teachers. He also reported that at Maryville the teaching of agriculture was not so successful, so great was the demand for teachers of the ordinary subjects. On the question of help for Indiana Yearly Meeting, Yardley Warner said, "What do we see as the result of the education of the Indians? Where we used to see a buffalo skin hutment and a blanket garment, we now see a school house, a cornfield and civilized clothing". He also gave the meeting a message of greeting from Stanley Pumphrey, (then in America). He said that Stanley Pumphrey had visited a community of Freedmen living in a Township of their own, owned by themselves, (he was of course referring to Warnersville, though not mentioning it by name), a town which had been developed on a plot of ground bought by Friends, divided up and built upon and paid for by them at the exact original cost. It was now completed, occupied and there were paths and rose beds.

Later in that same Yearly Meeting Yardley Warner repeated one of his most loved sayings, "Truth is not local" adding that everywhere its holders have the privileges of the Gospel; he thought English Friends were in the most favourable circumstances. And at a later sitting said "If I were to ask Friends what had been achieved during the past 12 years they could not say but that it was the result of prayer. If we want to receive much we must pray much. Pray *strong* with faith, burning with love *luminous* with hope".

But the illness of his brother could not have been the sole reason for his return to England. He does not record having brought with him any Minute or Certificate of recommendation from any American Yearly Meeting as on the former occasion nor a Certificate of removal from his Monthly Meeting. Indeed, the relationship in which he stood

with Philadelphia Yearly Meeting is to this day a little ambiguous. His orthodoxy with regard to speech and dress would have satisfied the most strict members of that community, but his evangelical ways, his tolerance of hymn-singing, and his "creaturely activity" was much at variance with the views of his American friends and even of his own brother, concerning whom he writes to A. E. Horne, "George thoroughly disapproves of my views on religious matters".

Not long after Yardley Warner's return to this country, he seems to have had the prospect of employment in some agricultural capacity at Chelmsford, and as we shall see in a letter to A. E. Horne he tells her that he had a choice of that position or to return as Headmaster of the Jonesboro Normal School, where he would be paid by the State of Tennessee.

The Leominster Visit.

In 1876 the little town of Leominster in Herefordshire had a settlep and well established Meeting. Here were the homes of the Newmans, the Southalls and the Alexanders, whose names occur in the pages which follow. And when next we hear of Yardley Warner again, we find him here, a visitor among these Leominster Friends.

As we have seen, ever since his visit to England in 1873 Yardley Warner had been in regular correspondence with Anne Elizabeth Horne, Matron of the Hospital for Children in the Hackney Road, London. It is from these letters that all we know of Yardley and his movements at this time derive. Before training at St. Thomas's Hospital and becoming Matron at The North Eastern Anne Elizabeth Horne had been governess in one of the Southall families in Leominster, and her life long friendship with Mary Ann Southall is proved by a long series of letters to that Friend, which have survived. I can recall a story my mother told me of a visit to the Southall family when on a holiday from the Hackney Road Hospital she was in Leominster and called on the Newmans. The boy George, later to become Sir George, Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health and one of the founders of the Friends Ambulance Unit at the time of the first World War, was then ill with the Mumps. "Matron Horne" quite unaware of this gave him a farewell kiss, pending her immediate return to the hospital, only to be told that what she had done had put her in quarantine for a time. Her return to London was therefore postponed for a while. It seems probable that

Yardley Warner's introduction to Leominster Friends came about through some such connection.

And so we come to the years above written, and the letters of this period some of which are fragmentary, some bear no indication of the actual date and place of posting, which is most unusual. The following was written at this time but it is on a scrap of paper undated.

All this stay at Leominster has been against my will. As I did not tell my brother to write elsewhere and as I know not where to address him I have from day to day held over, thinking the next would surely bring me news from him. This with other matters fasten me down here. I must now go *to work*, seeing to my Freedmen's business. I like the Alexanders well though we don't see eye to eye in some things.

Samuel Alexander's name occurs again later in this work, when Yardley Warner is commenting on the need for Christian charity and forbearance if differences of opinion occur between members of religious organizations.

Yardley also writes at this time —

I find it convenient when here to contract with the Orphans' Printing Press, concerning the printing of "The Monitor", Henry Stanley Newman and Samuel Alexander and other Friends are in charge, and "The Friend" is printed here also.

Reading between the lines, and from stray sentences interposed, sometimes in parenthesis, there were other reasons for this return to England. These were related to Y.W.'s status as a member of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. I have already stated, when writing of his former visit in 1873, that we are not clear as to whether his 'orthodoxy' in his own Yearly Meeting had been officially 'investigated', but it is clear from an undated fragment of a letter of his not long after his arrival in this country that he was awaiting with no little concern, yet with confidence and a clear conscience some decision shortly to be arrived at by the Elders of Germantown Meeting. What that decision was or what was the issue under discussion, was never revealed.

While still at Leominster, and when Yardley Warner was staying either with the Southall or Newman families, it is uncertain which, he wrote the following—apologising for his use of lead pencil because he would not take ink up to his bedroom for fear of mishap! Work at Pales was in prospect and he had just paid a visit to the place.

In every way I look at my coming to England this time it appears more and more Providential necessity. Had I not come I would in all probability have been entangled in Florida and kept in one place. As it is my work for the Freedmen is likely to be continued here with greater freedom with opportunity for continuing my collections for the Freedmen's Schools.



(Plate 11). Joseph Cooper's wedding at Pales, 1856.



(Plate 12). Inkstand from Little Davie School where Yardley Warner taught in 1885 and School Bell in use in the Pales School 1876-1881, subsequently lost and recovered in 1939, when clearing out a ditch; the wooden handle, then rotted away, was replaced by the boys in St. Birinus School, Didcot, Berks. in 1954.

I design to do teaching at Pales and expect to contract to do so for a time, and as things look now I may be in England a year yet. The situation at Pales seems to offer me what I need, a restful occupation in religious sympathy with others engaged in religious work. By publishing "The Monitor" here it makes a home in this neighbourhood desirable. It helps the Orphans Press, makes contact with Freedmen and keeps Friends in England informed of what is done in Tennessee.

Where was this place, Pales, which is now so casually introduced to our story and why should these Leominster Friends suggest that Yardley Warner might find there an outlet for his evangelizing zeal? Before continuing our narrative, and in order to better understand the circumstances in which Yardley Warner was now placed, the following brief history of the Pales Meeting is inserted.

Pales—A Brief Historical Account 1673-1874.

To the Friends in Leominster Pales meant at that time an almost deserted very dilapidated old thatched Meeting House, about 27 miles to their west beyond the heights of Radnor Forest.

It is a little to the east of Penybont Common, the reputed site of the great concourse of people who assembled on the occasion of the visit of George Fox in 1657 which is recorded in his Journal.

So far as can be ascertained the only contemporary records of this ancient burial ground and Meeting House and the more modern cottage adjoining it are to be found in the four following places :—

- i. A brown paper bundle of 15 old deeds in the strong room at Friends House, London, held by the Friends Trust Ltd.
- ii. The Minute Books of Hereford and Radnor Monthly Meeting and the Minutes of the Pales School and Mission, (1867 to 1886), —in the Meeting House safe at Leominster.
- iii. "The Journal of Susannah Wilding, of St. Michaels Hall, Radnorshire", (a copy of which is in the Friends Reference Library, London) and
- iv. The letters of Yardley Warner, to Anne E. Horne, extracts of which are published herein.

The Deeds. There are fifteen documents at Friends House relating to the property at Pales. The earliest of these is a parchment deed about 22 inches by 12, the writing a faded yellow almost indecipherable with the marks and seals but not the signatures of five people, bearing date, in the Quaker style, the 17th of 6th month, 1673—free lease of a $\frac{1}{4}$ acre

of land for 1,000 years to be let at a peppercorn rent, in the Lordship of Coed Swydd in the parish of Llandegley from Davis Powell the Elder and David Powell the Younger to John Lewis, Robert Watkins and Edward Moore and others, for use as a Burial Ground.

The next is dated 8/10/1717, this was for a lease of 999 years of a small adjoining plot of land, about one sixth of an acre, for the erection of a Meeting House ; the names in this deed are Nathan Woodliffe the Elder and Nathan Woodliffe the Younger, the grantors of the lease to Phillips Griffiths and Joel Jones and others not named.

Let us consider the implications of these dates. By the year 1673, there must have been a community of Friends of sufficient size to warrant the purchase of a "parcel of ground for the burial of their dead". In the earliest days of the Society, Friends were mostly buried in their own land or those of other Members, as of course burial by a priest and in so-called 'consecrated land' would have been out of the question. When communities grew in size, burial grounds were acquired, as in this case, the Meetings being still held in Friends' houses, mostly farms in the countryside or business houses or private dwellings in the towns. Then came, as in the case of Pales, some 41 years later, the building of a Meeting House. It must have meant that quite a gathering of Friends used to assemble for worship in those days from the widely scattered farms and homesteads among these hills and vales of Radnorshire.

It is very interesting to note that one of the names of these first appointed Trustees, was a Watkins. And it is also a safe assumption that both the Powells, elder and younger, were Friends, for their generous gift, (it was no less for a lease of one thousand years at a pepper corn rent meant in fact just that), is evidence of their concern for the welfare of their fellow members.

Two years later still, in 1716, there was a further deed in respect of an adjoining field, and the Meeting House which by this time had been erected upon the plot previously acquired. This also was for 999 years at the same nominal peppercorn rents as the two previous agreements, the lessors being John Phillips and Evan Hughes.

These three old deeds of the late 17th and early 18th centuries established the Pales Trust, and the remaining twelve documents, all but one, relate to the appointment of new Trustees from time to time through the 282 years since land was first acquired by Friends on that ancient site,

The exception is a document bearing date 1856, records the registration of the Meeting House, under the Act of 1855 as a recognised place of worship for the solemnising of marriages. It is signed by the local Registrar, Francis Tucker of Prestigne, and the location is given as Pales Rhonllwyn, in the parish of Llandegley.

The wedding of Sidney Cooper and E. C. Edwards must have been one of the first held after that date, for the photograph herein reproduced of the Friends assembled on that occasion is taken from the Wilding Journal which commenced in 11th of 10th month 1858. It will be seen that a very large number of Friends and others attended it.

Susan Wilding's Journal.

Susannah Wilding was a daughter of Joseph Watkins of Llanevan in the parish of Llandegley, and sister of Richard Watkins of the Rhonllwyn, and of Thomas Watkins of Fronlas and Ann, who married William Morris of Llangullo. These families of Watkins and Wilding, and later by marriage with the Jenkins family of Llwynmellyn were the leading Friends of Pales Meeting in the days when Susannah put on record her memoirs. She writes :—

My dear children, when I am gone, as there have been several of the Lord's messengers there of late, (at the Pales), from very far away, I trust if their missions have not rightly entered our hearts, it may be as bread cast upon the water and will still be found.

Then follows an account covering the next 16 years of the visits of travelling Friends. The first record runs as under :—

10th mo. 11. 1858. Susan Howland and Mary and James Leck were at Pales. Your father, you and myself sat with them at the Rhonllwyn ; their message was encouraging and refreshing.

The writer then proceeds to recall time after time the visits of various travelling Friends to Pales, and to occasions such as recorded on 1 mo. 27. 1860 :—

Jonathan Grubb and M. S. Edwards were at Pales. We all sat with J.G. in the parlour at the Rhonllwyn, and his doctrine was healing to my tempest tossed mind.

The names of well known Friends occur among those who visited Pales during these 16 years, Hannah Burlingham of Evesham and S. Pumphrey, Edwin Brewer from Leicester, John Eddy from America, Thomas Thomasson from Worcester, Samuel Alexander, Daniel Pickard, Matilda Hickman, Josiah Newman, Frank Dymond, and in 1873, four

Friends, (the surnames only are given) who seem to have attended by appointment from the previous Yearly Meeting,—Pumphrey, Pease, Robson and Gilks, and in that same year two un-named Friends from America.

Hereford and Radnor M.M. Records and Yardley Warner's Letters.

We turn next to the Monthly Meeting records. From the Minutes of the Pales School and Mission Committee, much detailed information is available. Into the first page of this Minute Book is pasted the following circular :—

Many persons having expressed the conviction that there is a great want of further accommodation for the good education of Children in the neighbourhood of Llandegley and Penybont, we have thought it right to commence a day school at the Pales Meeting House. Arrangements have therefore been made with William Knowles to come and reside among you as schoolmaster. We believe him to be an upright and conscientious man who will carefully watch over and instruct the children entrusted to his care.

The branches of education to be taught in the school are Reading, Writing, History, Bible and General Geography, Grammar and Spelling.

The permanence of the school must a good deal depend upon the amount of support he receives and we therefore hope that he will obtain a hearty welcome ---

We are, Your sincere Friends

Edward P. Southall
Samuel Alexander
Josiah Newman
John E. Southall
Henry S. Newman.

Without any preamble or explanation as to when the Committee was appointed, and there is nothing to indicate that it was set up by the Monthly Meeting, the earliest record of the school at Pales starts off thus, being the first Minute of a Committee held in Leominster 18.2.1867 :—

A young man of the name of William Knowles of Bentham near Lancaster has offered to act as schoolmaster for the sum of £50 a year (including the school pence) and we agreed to accept his offer.

Printed reports for this and every succeeding year are appended. The first report recorded the opening of the School in Spring of 1867. The subjects were—Holy Scriptures, Reading, Writing, Grammar, Spelling, Arithmetic, Geography and History. Then followed these statistics :—

		Average	Highest	School pence		
				£	s.	d.
Attendances	3rd Qr. 1867	22	28	3	9	5
	4th " " 1867	27	31	5	17	10
	1st Qr. 1868	27	31	4	19	3
	2nd " "	24	40	5	7	5

These were the Accounts for the first year i.e. from 3rd mo. 1867 to 6 mo. 1868 :—

Salary of School Master at £50	.....	.....	.....	64	8	5
Books and Stationery	.....	.....	.....	9	10	9
Fuel	.....	.....	.....	1	19	1
Furniture and repairs	.....	.....	.....	5	11	0
Cleaning etc.	.....	.....	.....	1	5	2
				<hr/>		
				£82	14	5
School pence	.....	.....	.....	23	1	1
Copy books	.....	.....	.....	1	18	3
Subs. from Friends	.....	.....	.....	40	11	0
Profits on teas	.....	.....	.....		2	4
Balance due to - - -	.....	.....	.....	17	1	9
				<hr/>		
Samuel Alexander—Treasurer.				£82	14	5

The Committee obviously took their duties and responsibilities very seriously, and we find that at their first Annual Meeting it was put on record that—

“they wish to impress on William Knowles the need for training the children in quickness of giving out and making use of the information they receive and a more thorough acquaintance with the routine of their studies.”

The Committee decided that “in order to maintain a continuous oversight of and interest in the School, appoints certain of its members to visit and examine the children.” This continued throughout the history of the school, as we shall see.

By the year 1873, when the school had been in existence about seven years, the attendances had nearly doubled. But the Minutes of 3rd mo. 18. 1874 recorded the resignation of William Knowles. The Secretary at this time was Samuel Alexander.

The concluding Minutes of the Committee reads as follows. No reason for this decision of William Knowles is given.

At a Meeting of the Pales School Committee held at Leominster 3rd mo. 18. 1874.

1. A notice from William Knowles dated 3rd mo. 9. 1874 to leave his post as master at the expiration of the next quarter having been received we hereby accept the same. In order to further consider the subject of the advisability of carrying on the school we adjourn half past four on 6th day next the 20th inst.
2. Met according to adjournment. As it appears that after 12 months the establishment of Government Schools will release Friends from the responsibility they have felt for the education of the district it is concluded that unless some suitable person should offer to take the post of Master at that time, it will be right for the Committee to recommend to the M.M. to discontinue the school at Mid-summer,

The Minutes throughout these seven years refer to a School at Pales. No mention whatever is made of the religious aspect of the work—there appears to have been no sense of “vocation” in the appointment of the young man William Knowles—and we do not know where he lived, but probably he was in lodgings in Llandegley.*

The school however, was most successful. It was established before the passing of the Forster Education Act 1870 and some of its pupils became prominent men in the neighbourhood in later life. But so far as can be seen from the Minutes the work of the Committee was more of a general nature for the public welfare than that undertaken under religious concern.

This then, in brief is the history of Pales, and the situation in 1874, only two years before Yardley Warner appeared on the scene, and of all this he could have known little or nothing.

The Letters and Minutes.

We come now to the fourth source of our information as to the course of Yardley Warner's life at this period, the letters he wrote to Anne E. Horne and those he sent for publication in Friends' Journals at the time. Just as for the year 1873 when on his first English visit, (*see the Journal*) and for 1874-5 when again in America, (*see the letters in the Appendix*), so here, as far as possible we will let the writings speak for themselves.

Some of the Letters without date or address of posting, probably are from the year 1876, and before taking up the appointment at Pales.

They are in a way equivalent to or a continuation of the Journal, which ended so abruptly in 1873. The Journal was written for no-one in particular, but these letters, all addressed to one person, have a peculiar interest of their own—for the reason Yardley Warner married Anne Elizabeth Horne in 12 mo. 1877.

The following is typical—

Probably from Leominster 1876.

Among my blessings is this ungrudging hospitality of Friends in Bristol where I have lately visited. I do thank our Father in Heaven for it all.

* * * * *

Another of these sheets commences in the middle of a sentence—Obviously written before the project of teaching at the Pales had taken

* The population of Llandegley at this time was but 400 which figure included part of the village of Penybont, the latter village had no Parish Church. The census figure for 1951 was 216.

shape. No further references to this Colchester affair have come to light and we are left quite in the dark as to what was afoot.

Probably from Leominster 1877.

undue hope *there*. I am not a *partner* in the stock nor in the farm at Colchester. I have nothing invested, can lose nothing. The arrangement was altogether prospective, except for advice and labor rendered for which I was more than paid. I am quite clear of all liabilities and promises in regard to the business. I had in charge the purchase of stock, cows, sheep here in England and some money was advanced to me in consequence. I shall this day write to Chelmsford that I will not be proceeding further in this matter. I had the choice of that position and also that of Head Master of the Jonesboro Normal School where I would be paid by the State of Tennessee and would have had a very commodious and desirable home and household in the midst of my work. Again, the Athens School, though only a mere nucleus as to buildings and accomodation, would be more in the midst of the work and more congenial in most respects; the pay at the latter place would be very small, but the comforts large.

As things look now I may be in England for a year yet. The prospects at Pales offer me what I need, a restful occupation in the midst of religious work. Friends have been pestering for it more than I.

The work for "The Monitor" also makes a home near here desirable. By printing it here I would help the Orphans, maintain contact with the Freedmen and keep Friends in England informed of what is being done in Tennessee.

Just see how my thoughts fly to Florida, Tennessee, Washington and to Germantown and to Scotland, and my brother there from whom no letter recently. He is my main uncertainty now.

* * * * *

We are fortunate at this point in our narrative to have the contemporary records of the Committee with which, or for which, Yardley was now to work. We are thus able to see as it were the two sides of the picture at the same time.

The five days from September 26th to 30th 1876 must have been momentuous ones for Yardley Warner. The following letters give us an intimate and detailed account of these events in Leominster, and he seems to have to take up his new post as a schoolmaster in Wales on Monday, October the 2nd, the day following his appointment.

Leominster

9 mo. 26, 1876 10½ p.m.

This is a place for work. Another Meeting this evening—a good one—Henry Stanley Newman being the Mover and I the helper. How I would have enjoyed thy company! A meeting for the people—several Friends attending—Tomorrow is their regular Meeting Day. I hope ere long to tell thee all about these Meetings, about Leominster work and Leominster people, I am almost a Leominster man.

I am pretty well—My brother I hope will be heard from in the morning.

I was very trembling before I went to the Meeting this eve. Now I can say "Why art thou cast down Oh my soul and why art thou so disquieted in me? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise Him who is the health of my countenance and my God." "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly

in all wisdom ; teaching and admonishing one another in the Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your heart to the Lord ”.

Excuse pencil again, I dont like to carry ink upstairs—Our dear friends here are overrunning with the most genuine hospitality.

I cannot exactly foresee the end of negotiations about the *Pales Mission*. Terms may be reached and I might get to work immediately and not leave time for more than a run up to London to see thee, then back to Pales and to Dublin on the 14th prox. And back again to Pales on the 16th or perhaps a few days later, if I should go on to Queenstown to see my brother aboard which I should surely try to do.

9 mo. 27th 1876.

$\frac{1}{4}$ to 9 a.m.

My beginning of this day was with some strugglings which began with the dawn. I opened to Rom. 1 in which there is much to comfort, and much to convict. I want to be bare hearted to both. The 7th verse I would appropriate if I could ; also the 17th. There is comfort indeed in feeling that we truly desire to be searched and tried to the bottom.

Leominster

9 mo. 27. 1876.

20 mins. to 11 p.m.

I have sent thee a letter this eve hurriedly, for I had a meeting in view. We, i.e. Henry Stanley Newman and his wife, Josiah and his wife, and I, took tea at Henry Newman's and attended the peoples' cottage meeting after. Now it is raining delightfully, musically, to soothe my wakeful eyelids. Oh how the good people, the old woman especially, prayed for me ! it was melting ! such fervour in such hearts. It puts me to shame. Now I am tired and must seek rest, “Blessed is the man whom thou chastenest O Lord, and teachest him out of thy law ; that thou mayst give him rest from the days of adversity” etc. Psl. Xclv.

With regard to the Pales business and the prospect of my settling there, it began with prayer it was considered in company with my friends in prayer and I hold myself as ready to go back as forward and as ready to stand still in the Lord's will.

Leominster

9 mo. 28. 1876

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ p.m.

Evening affords a quiet time for answering thy questions. I return thy letter with the questions numbered.

1st question.— answered I think today. If not repeat the points not answered.

2nd “ They (the Schools) are no expense to me ; i.e. not to my private estate. They are supported by the Government of Tennessee, by Freedmen and by “Subscriptions” (donations from Friends and others) and by Yearly Meetings. My remuneration was 100 dollars per month paid by Indiana Yearly Meeting. But is discontinued now since I resigned the Presidency of Maryville College. If I returned to the care of the schools I could get a salary from the State as Head of Jonesboro School I do not know just what that would be.

3rd “ Pales seems a real business prospect. My principle wish in looking toward Pales is to *gather* and feed the sheep and lambs among the Welsh hills.

The School is managed by a Committee of *Friends* and they are all very desirous of my undertaking. One member of the Committee Henry Stanley Newman is expected back tomorrow and a meeting to be held next day to deliberate upon the business. But they talk of it as a fixed thing

here. We have considered and weighed it well. It is a Monthly Meeting School and I have no doubt will enlist much interest.

29th — 8.20 a.m.

My candle (a little piece) dropped down into the bottom of the candlestick and left me to go to bed in the dark. Now I have thy letter of yesterday for which I thank thee heartily.

Here came Henry Stanley Newman saying "I hope thou art going to stop in England, and do lots of things and get married. Thou art sure to get married if thou stays in England."

My first consideration is the support of Freedmen's Schools. There is nothing more needed for that than what I am doing now. My presence might be of use to be sure. But it is nothing without money. American Friends have been bled to death almost. It is far easier to get it here and I feel it to be the Lord's work; so that my own conscience is easy while I am working here.

My experience makes me so familiar with every point and turn of the field in America among the Schools that I can direct the funds and the advice to the most needy places, but I will let nothing turn my hands and heart from the Freedmen's work in America. I must manage that the best way I can, but *manage it with Best Help* I will.

P.S. The clock struck two (I go to a school nearby soon after 2.0, a local British School to see how English teachers carry through their class work). I rather *hope* to be at your Quarter Meeting. I have a lot of wearing apparel at Lings * which I will want if I go to Pales. and several *errands* that might warrant my presence in London. Where shall we meet? I am thankful for thy verses and the tracts.

Leominster

9 mo. 29. 1876.

I am invited to tea at Josiah Newman's—intend calling at Anna Southall's.

9½ p.m.

The probabilities are against my going to London next week. In a matter like this I feel that my movements should be ruled by the wishes of my friends. They speak as if it will be important to work up at the School immediately; and of course it will be my part to do that. If it should so turn out I will be content. I am quite content, badly as I would like to see thee.

After tea I called again at the Southall's—the mother is not as well as usual. Mary Ann pleasant and *solid* as ever. I think it would be no inconsiderable *motive* to look forward to living in a neighbourhood with such people as the Southalls and the Newmans.

As I was writing this sentence H. S. Newman came in and said "thou knows Anne E. Horne? We know her well; she is a grand Christian worker. She was a long while among us". But he did not get out of me the thoughts that his talk raised in me. But I asked a few questions so as to appear natural and not hypocritical.

30th

Near 9 a.m.

The day is begun! and I hope in fervent honest-hearted prayer. The committee are to meet me at 10 a.m. for the consideration of the Pales Business. May we be upheld in the right.

I have just received and gone through a batch of letters—two from America. Family and friends are all well.

* a Temperance Hotel near Devonshire House, London.

½ to 5 p.m.

The thing is done. I am engaged to teach "The Pales School" and to begin day after tomorrow. London is off for a while, but that don't put thee any *further off*. So the vicissitudes of the present are a new lesson in constancy and faith to abide Our Heavenly Father's discipline.

10 p.m.

My soul salutes thee in the language of Isaiah XI 1. 4. 17. 18. 19. 20. "I". "I will hear them" "I, the God of Israel will not forsake them," "the *hand of the Lord* hath done this".

Leominster

10 mo. 1. 1876

10 p.m.

About to retire for the last night in Leominster perhaps in a good while, I must acknowledge the favors of this day. A day to be remembered. A day filled with Loving Kindness and tender Mercies—plenteous in showers of Heavenly love and abundant in the outpourings of Divine Grace. A day rich in memories of my early visitations, and my preservations all along the chequered paths of my life.

Oh how good and how gracious is our Father above! And I must not omit to speak of His goodness. Leominster has become a sign-post in my journey—a *Bethel rebuilt*. I seem to have begun life again—to have started a new life. I think I shall aim at London the night of the 20th inst. and return the next night. I must be at my "fold" on First Day.

These letters tell us of the negotiations and the prayers which were preliminary to Yardley Warner's appointment to teach at Pales, and it would also appear that while living as a welcomed visitor in friendly Quaker homes in Leominster he was invited to consider the prospect of a temporary engagement to teach at a new Monthly Meeting School in Radnorshire. The situation seems to have developed along the well established Quaker lines of those days. The following document found amongst Yardley Warner's papers—in the handwriting of Henry Stanley Newman, purports to show that the initiative, the 'concern', was Yardley's and that the Committee endorsed it.

The Minutes of the School Committee, dated 7th day, 30th, 9th mo, 1876 which recorded the appointment are here reproduced.

Etnam Street,

Leominster.

30th 9 mo. 1876.

Yardley Warner has informed us, he has felt in the openings of Providence, that it is right for him to offer to engage for a time as Schoolmaster at the Pales, and proposes to open the school on the 9th of 10th mo.

We have great pleasure in stating, that we have thorough unity with our Friend Yardley Warner in this proposal, and desire as a Committee to render him what help we can.

Yardley Warner is a Minister of the Gospel, and a Member of the Society of Friends, from Philadelphia in America.

We trust that his services in your neighbourhood will be owned and blessed of the Lord, and tend to your prosperity, and that he will receive your hearty co-operation and support !

Samuel Alexander
Josiah Newman
F. Southall
Henry Newman
Henry Stanley Newman

It was exactly in this way during the decades which followed, 'well concerned' Friends were appointed by the Friends' Foreign Mission Association (of which H. S. Newman was one of the founders, and for many years its Secretary), and later by the Friends' Home Mission Committee. The former body is now, of course, the Friends Service Council, and the latter the Friends Home Service Committee.

Much planning must have preceded the decision of the Friends of Hereford and Radnor Monthly Meeting in 1876 to invite Yardley Warner to teach re-open a School at the old thatched Meeting House at Pales, formerly taught by William Knowles.

As in contrast to the account described in the foregoing letters, the following Minutes of the Pales School and Mission Committee give us a somewhat different picture. They read more like the resolutions of a modern board of directors, than Minutes of a Monthly Meeting Committee. The whole arrangement seems to have been very much as on a business basis, with a master and servant attitude and just as in the days of William Knowles, the Committee took its duties very seriously indeed and kept very strict oversight of the affairs of the school.

Up to now we have seen the matter of Yardley Warner's appointment as school master at Pales as from the point of view of Yardley himself. His letter from Leominster, telling of the meetings for prayerful consideration read like those of Friends engaged under a sense of religious concern.

We shall see another aspect of the matter as we proceed to supplement the letters Y.W. wrote at this time with extracts from the Minute book of the Pales School and Mission Committee.

The numerous letters which were written during October 1876, his first month at Pales, shows us how he was settling in amongst his new found friends. His nearest neighbour was Richard Watkins and we have several intimate pictures of life at his farm the Rhonllwyn, which was situated only three minutes walk away, down a lane with steep sides, and so narrow that two carts could not possibly have passed

each other had they met. The lane was originally the bed of a water-course and in rainy weather again becomes a stream, and except in times of drought is nearly always muddy. The surface water of much of Coed Swydd finds its way down into the Llandegley valley in this direction.

The following letters were written by Yardley Warner to Anne Horne during his first four weeks at Pales. Although so occupied with arrangements for opening the school he seems also to have found time to plan a visit to Manchester and to go to Dublin (to see his brother off for America) and to London.

2nd Day

10 mo. 2. — 7½ a.m.

"Once more upon thy Mercy Oh my God"! Thus my soul ejaculates as I leave my chamber for an untried path. I have often been in straits before! I trust the same unfailing Arm!

In my lodging room

Near Llangullo, Wales.

9.30 p.m.

A dear little resting place have I for the night before me! May the Lord our Tender Shepherd have thee all the time in His keeping. Sweet it is to lie down reposing on His love and on His Providence and feeling a fresh assurance of His forgiveness.

10 mo. 3. — 9 a.m.

*Home of the Wildings,
Radnorshire.*

A refreshing night, but a misty morning. I shall have to abide in this family till tomorrow. Cant drive nor jerk people into my mission! They must be *drawn* into it. You will be in your Quarterly Meeting this morn I shall think of you there. Give me some particulars to show how thy Meeting fares.

The Dolau

10 mo. 4. 1876.

I think (or I hope) it is not presuming when I say that thy expression in thy letter of 2nd inst. "God be with thee keep thee, bless thee, and comfort thee" etc. have been answered and I have just come through a dreary walk over heath, moor, slough and tangled paths like Tennessee for dreariness and blindness—I could not have thought such places were to be found in this country. I was landed from the train to find Ann Morris' * house in the night away off over the hills. I have; but I am sure by Divine help I write under difficulties almost equal to those in Freedmen's Units—I did not tell thee that my business this week is to go over these hills and hunt up the lambs (i.e. the scholars). The weather has been wet, but I have been so far wonderfully successful. I am sitting by the kitchen fire with my coat off and back to the fire drying myself full of comfort. I was at Penybont this morn and most of the day. Expect to be there tomorrow and to my School in the evening. Work is piling up on me.

12½ p.m. — 5th.

Weary and somewhat sad I sit me here on a crag in the bright sunshine and the balmy breezes with the laughing and sparkling little cascades, to throw off corroding care, rest my limbs and be with thee in spirit. This

* Ann Morris nee Watkins, daughter of Joseph Watkins of Llanevan, was one of a family of five children. Her sister Susannah married Thomas Wilding. She was the writer of the Journal referred to on an earlier page.

very bright noon is so cheering after my night tramp ! a few minutes pause is perhaps my right, for very busy have I been footing it over the moors, bogs and heather in many wild and devious ways to waken up the people for the School. The news has got ahead of me and I hope the roughest of the pioneer work is over. I do cast my burdens (Ah so many and so heavy) on the Lord. My only fear is that I may be deceived by the subtle workings of the Enemy. I am on my way over hill and dell from Ann Morris' to Penybont taking the people *in course*. About 4 miles not much to do if one only were familiar with the paths and crooks. As I look upon the majesty and loveliness of the surroundings and the distant hills and clouds all teeming with evidences of Divine Goodness.

Rhonllwyn
Richard Watkins House
near "The Pales".
10 mo. 5. — 4½ p.m.

Here actually on the spot. Thy letter of yesterday I picked up at the P.O. Penybont from which (1½ miles S.W. of here) the mail is sent to Llandegley our village and Sub P.O.

Penybont Station is the nearest Railway Station 1¼ miles further towards Leominster than Penybont itself.

20 mins. to 4 p.m.

In the intervals of my visits to the families around Llandegley I find a scrap of time for thee. Thou wilt soon find the answer to thy question as to the time of *post transit* between "The Pales" and 327 Hackney Road. Our post box here (which is a receiving box, the delivery is from Penybont by a pony cart to Llandegley i.e. Pales) closes, or is cleared at 6 p.m. I presume thou wilt get this tomorrow morning by the first delivery.

I have had many tokens today of my Heavenly Father's guiding love, answering our prayers and H. Stanley Newman's "*Land him in a plain path*" I am "living by the day" and trying hard to live a day *completely* and as if it were to be my last. My engagement is for six months *at the least*.

Rhonllwyn
Near The Pales.
10 mo. 5. 1876.

The only member of our Society near here is Richard Watkins who lives close by the school house ; with him I am making my home. I wished to do this for two reasons. First to be with him as companion and to have his company, second to be near the school and the work which lies all around. How I shall stand it I don't know. Poor man has no one to sympathize only a young niece ; and a young maid servant. He is over 70, house in the utmost confusion, fearfully damp—Plaster falling from the ceilings, and as likely to fall on my bed in large cakes as anywhere else. Fires hard to start. Such a time this eve. My friend's helpers were out. He tried to get up a fire with green brush wet turf and coal. I helped as best I could without making myself officious or obtrusive. We finally after ¾ an hour with bellows and paper we got a start ; and a comfortable supper ¾ to 10 p.m.

Upstairs the air is quite different. My bed has been visited with the warming pan (bed warmer) all care possible taken to make things straight and nice. I think I shall be able to help my friend put his house in better order. I feel that I had better to set my own in order as becometh a stranger and pilgrim on earth.

The household will be moving by break of the day ; and I must be on the stir to put my school house in order and get *fuel* and *kindling*.

P.S. I have posted several notices to persons around here this evening—The moon is shining (smiling) into my chamber.

*At Rhonllwyn
Near the Pales.
10 mo. 6th. 7½ a.m.*

A good night in this house. There are present all the elements of a very comfortable home ; but they need development.

" Mine Host " is up and *out and about*, Opposite me in the garden as I write is a large *monthly* rose bush in profusion of bloom a splendid Epilobium by the door which opens to the garden. The outspread scenery mountain and valley is rich and grand.

An Ordnance Map will show the Coed Swydd, Llandegley lying below it on the S.E. The Pales School house is on the S.E. slope of this hill or Mount Coid or Coed Swydd, beautifully embowered with oak, limes, sycamores and a profusion of timber large and small. The school house and meeting house are in the same building—thatched in Welsh fashion and very good—and gives a more commanding view than from this dwelling, which is only two or three minutes walk.

*Llandegley
Close by The Pales.
10 mo. 12. 1876
Near noon.*

I am pushing my business and think it will do. I find the Welsh farming families are very interesting people—primitive in the extreme—almost slavishly clinging to old methods for want of instruction in modern ways and conveniences. All implements are laboriously cumbersome, indoors and out.

Most of the bedrooms lead from one into another so to get to your dormitory you pass through others, which must be unpeopled in the morning before you can go out. Both the *Friend's* families (Ann Morris' and Susan and John Wildings') with whom I have lodged three nights this week endure this blockade.

*Rhonllwyn
10 mo. 7. 1876.*

I had a letter from my brother this day, it fills me with joy. He cordially sympathizes with and approves of my decision to remain in England. I was very uncertain how he would receive the information.

*Llandegley
Near The Pales.
10 mo. 12. 1876. 8 a.m.*

I expect to go for Dublin tomorrow at 3.18 from Penybont and return 2nd day after parting with my brother.

7½ p.m. Thankful for the help of this day. The business shows more promise now and the prospect is that I shall have as many scholars as I can teach.

I am again at the Rhonllwyn looking at a group around R. Watkins' kitchen fire. At a round table in front of me a boy is taking writing lessons while I am writing this letter. R. Watkins is in his big armchair in one chimney corner, and R. Marpole, the man, is in the opposite corner ; the maid Naomi standing sewing and laughing at Tom writing and having a notion to come up to the Pales School and learn about some other things. Amid such diversions it is difficult to write at all. It is very pleasant to see R.W. so brotherly and so genial to his people. A long time since I have allowed myself so much indulgence in cottage pleasantries.

10 mo. 13. 1876.

See Psl. Xcl v. 12. especially ! Very comforting ! See v. 15th too.
12 n. Busy getting off from School for Dublin.

Llandegley
 10 mo. 17. 1876
 5½ p.m.

Nicely to Dublin and back—all well over. Not been to P.O. today. I have been very busy with new scholars etc. and have written 10 letters since close of school—3 to America.

6 p.m.

I spent 7th and 1st Days delightfully with my brother and Dublin Friends. He sailed 5th Day from Queenstown after visiting Killarney. He nobly left me nearly half the balance of his letter of credit. R.W. kindly offered to take the mare down to the station to meet me and bring up my two bundles. Of course I would not let him try to do that alone on her back. We went like brothers. He took the shawl bundle and I the other, with his cane thrust through the handle, and thus, I shouldering the staff and the carpet bag behind my shoulders, we trudged wearily up to the Rhonllwyn (Rouklyn). I can't mouth these Welsh names any better than I can spell them.

After depositing my two bundles on the floor of my chamber could I do other than fall on my knees to thank Our dear kind Heavenly Father for his many favours and mercies? I then assorted and put away clothes; and brought books etc. to my school room where I am now writing by a bright fire and have had a call from three genteel ladies going to the Anniversary Meeting. I have five unopened letters before me.

"The Pales"
 10 mo. 22.
 1 p.m.

I write in the school room (which opens by shutters into the meeting room) after meeting; a few are remaining with their lunch between this and the 3 o'clock Meeting. The heights, the sunshine, the clouds, the mists lifted by the wind and sweeping over the hill tops, the greenness, the vastness, are all shedding glory around me.

The several close pinches in which we were caught during those last few minutes in London warn me to take care. That was a very near thing when the wheels of a cab struck my satchel. London streets are perilous to an American who is used to plenty of room and to the precedence of man over brute.

We had a good morning Meeting. The roof is nicely thatched (patched) to keep out the wet, and the two rooms (school and meeting) are quite comfortable.

5 p.m.

After Meeting closed at 4½—a large one and showers of blessing. Clean warm house—clean earnest people. As it was cold we used the School Room which was filled with men, women and children from 60 to 80. I did not count them. The First Day School was proposed with the understanding it was only for consideration in future—Meetings in future are to be at 11 and 2½. The religious work looks promising. I feel it is to be the main thing—the gathering of souls. All this natural and spiritual fullness here fires my soul and thrills me with enthusiastic fervency. The birds flit close to my window as I write in the schoolroom which opens to a magnificent out spread of vale and mountain scenery. The dear little confiding creatures almost salute me as they hang on the under side of the eave of the thatch close to my window. It is now growing dark I must go to the Ronwillm (Ronklin)—R. Watkins' to tea.

Clock by the chimney corner has just struck 6—tea over, and I am alone, thanking our Great Preserver Who helped us in London and protected us—though we did have one narrow encounter in the London traffic, so much more crowded than New York.

Was it on the 25th of this 10th month 1873 I first saw thee—at the Hospital?

Here I stopped and read in the Bible to R. Watkins and myself. He having left his spectacles upstairs and mine being too young for him I read for us both, and now I must write to Leominster.—

$\frac{1}{2}$ to 9.

2nd Day morning.

Bright and beautiful is the opening of this day. I am in my school room children flocking in for school. Blazing fire before me—all comfort within and without.

$4\frac{1}{2}$ p.m.

I am wanted at the Lodge of Good Templars on a matter of some urgency. P.S. I have talked with the man for whose sake I was wanted at the Lodge—and have concluded to walk with him to Penybont, and post this and my other letters there.

Leaving the Craven Arms Station

10 mo. 22. 6 p.m.

The train has been rather too crowded for me to salute thee ere now—We had a very practical time I think and I feel it to have been a favoured one.

I have been reviewing the past—how I dimly saw myself moving towards England while yet by my brother's side, watching him with his hand in mine; how I saw him beginning to improve in Devonshire—then the hope he might go along to Switzerland—or perhaps to Scotland, and at last return to America leaving me in England?

And now I remember the Freedmen and our common interest in them.

c/o R. Watkins

The Rhonllwyn.

10th mo. 23. 1876.

10 p.m.

The Anniversary Meeting takes place tomorrow. They have me advertised on the list. These labors are to me full of blessing. I am content to place myself beside struggling souls and to make their rough lot my own and so it becomes to me a smooth one,—a delightful one.

12th mo. 20. 1876.

We had two restored members last night. I greatly marvel that a field so abounding in opportunity for gospel labor and moral reform should have been so long unharvested.

The Pales.

10th mo. 29. 1876

$\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 p.m.

Just back from a visit to Manchester. I had quite as good a rest in the cottage bed of my new home in Llandegley as I had in the sumptuous one in Manchester. A cheery fire which my host had kept going all day was bright as I went into my chamber.

This morning at 7 I started up here and as I walked in the freshness of the early morning was enlivened and inspirited by the music of the birds and the melody of the swift running waters.

I have a trunk coming from Leominster to be called for at Penybont Station.

I had rather a busy time this morning overhauling trumpery in the loft of the stable adjoining this house hunting for boards to saw up and chop for kindling my fire.

My health continues improving steadily for which and all my blessings I thank our kind Heavenly Father.

* Probably returning from a visit to Leominster,—Craven Arms is the Junction from Penybont.

20 mins. of 10 p.m.

Two good meetings today larger than any heretofore. I visited a farmer this eve. Oh these cottagers and farmers ! they draw out one's sympathies. Life is very low among some. Some have to fight sheer poverty, some poverty and liquor, some liquor alone.

I gave notice for the organizing of a Sabbath School next week at 2 p.m. I think it will be acceptable.

School Room

10th mo. 30. 1876.

7½ a.m.

I left my lodgings early to get forward divers affairs which may facilitate my going to London. As I reached the last hill top just at the gate of my school house yard the sun yet hid behind the N.E. hills threw his beams on the clouds to the S.W. ones which reflected back the glory of the sunshine. Just at that moment a dear little squirrel (the first I have seen wild in England) sprang from bough to bough,—then with wonted grace and perfectness of attitude sat up and barked at me, so solving the doubt I had whether this barking (which I had heard before), was that or the squirrel or the chatting of woodpeckers among the Sycamores that surround the building. Then came the thought. This is a spot of surpassing beauty ; yet one cant live on beauty be it ever so satisfying. But what is the difference if one has a salary of £500 a year in London and consumes it all in rent, and living, and servants wages, and numerous artificial wants, which the conventional ways of society demand, or if one has a salary of £100 a year at The Pales and enjoyment of Nature in her quietness and beauty, added to the high satisfaction of spending and being spent for the good of souls and gathering them towards the Shepherd's fold ? The difference is that moderation and virtue pay better than extravagance and even better than much striving and much spending. *Competence is wealth.*

"A man he was to all the country dear
And passing rich with forty pounds a year "

The following, also without date, written shortly after going to Pales is what Yardley himself put on record respecting the question of his status as a Minister of the Germantown Meeting.

On looking round how much I owe to others and to my Father above and how little to my own efforts humbling gratitude sunk me down. I took up my Bible and opening it saw Bless the Lord Oh my Soul and all that is within me bless His Holy Name, and "forget not all The benefits" ! So does He confirm our faith. My heart was also enlarged in love to many. This is Lodge * night. I shall have much to do at Penybont. Things look sadly around here, pastures cropped too close too much stock for the grass—bare and poverty looking fields but the mountains, dells and vales are attractive scenery. A sensible Pennsylvania farmer would put a different face on the land. I would try to do so on the little Pales lot if I go there to abide.

Tho' I am not as completely master of the situation as I wish, yet am I comfortable, cheerful, hopeful ; feel strong and prepared for the worst from the Germantown Elders. To all who will be concerned in their action I can make out a case which will rather set me up than down. A rare piece of pastoral care and a signal history were it all told !

A thick white frost over hill and valley this morning, " Winter chills the lap of May." 'Tis now near midnight.

* The Independent Order of Good Templars—recently started—one of the first things.

Here are two more fragments, and by their date, written shortly after the removal to Pales :—

9 p.m.
5 mo. 8. 1876.

Again I am about the close of another day—determined to prove the gain of early retiring, early rising and early working ; supper consists of a little cup of cocoa only.

Besides from the Peases of Darlington I have recently forwarded remittances to Samuel Bewley from R. Littleboy £29 ; James Peck, Torquay £20 ; Wm. Rathbone of Liverpool £10 ; Walter Perry £10 ; J. Gurney Barclay £100 (direct to R. Cadbury) E. Backhouse £25 ; T. W. Backhouse £10 ; Theodore Harris £10 ; W. D. Sims £10. T. Fowell Buxton gave £50 while in America and W. E. Forster presented apparatus to one of the Schools.

For the same reason and the same purpose I limit my expenses for Apartments and Boarding to less than one shilling a day. I try not to exceed 7 shillings per week.

7 a.m. (Breakfast)
5/29.

A bright morn, but very cold for the season yet the sun shines. Fine all day and night—yet my thermometer records only 54 degrees. Dost thou keep one ? What is the usual temperature in the sitting rooms of people generally ? Will fresh flowers open at both ends of the wrapper go for book post ? I send thee some for identification.

* * * * *

The following written evidently to give A. E. H. some background as to the family in America.

Our coming to Germantown was in answer to a call to teach the children of certain families who wished their children to have a select training and thorough. This held till '67 when I being so much with the Freedmen I gave up my school to my two daughters (Anne * (1) and Rebecca) Aunt Lizzy came to us an invalid in '64 I think. I made her as comfortable as possible. When my daughter Rebecca * (2) married the school was abandoned and we took (rented) a smaller house. My wife's health demanding more room Aunt Lizzy bought one and we rented it of her. It was here that dear Hannah breathed her last in prayer for us all around her bedside. There my family still live, Aunt L. still owns the house. Anne is the house-keeper, the boys pay their board and Aunt Lizzy as well.

When I came over here it was settled between us that they should shoulder the home and they can do it well.

The date of the following "Friday" cannot be ascertained but this extract is typical of the way in which Yardley Warner combined his visits to London and occasional meetings with Anne Elizabeth Horne with calls upon Friends, asking their help for the Freedmen. This undated scrap was evidently written after the appointment to Pales.

Friday morn.

I am at Stafford Allen's for 5th Day night next week. In order that we may shape our business and interviews for the best to both, let us first

* (1) later became Anne Warner Marsh, and settled in England after her marriage with Thomas William Marsh of Dorking, later living in Tite Street, Chelsea.

* (2) To John W. Cadbury of Philadelphia,

meet at 12 noon in the Institute Library Room * Then as my clothing is important I can go to Lings (a Temperance Boarding House nearby,— S.A.W.) and pack up etc. After that as the way opens or closes I want to see Smith Harrison and Robert Barclay of Dorking 6th Day if possible. I do intend returning to Pales for Meeting on First Day and suppose I must leave London early in the p.m. of 7th day.

The thatcher is rethatching the roof of my school house in the rain—a wet difficult thing—and only in small patches at a time.

School is very satisfactory—a receptive people and great interest in School and Meetings. I have consented to their request for two Meetings on First Day. Also to address a Temperance Meeting at Penybont on the 24th and one at Knighton 7th prox. So I am drawn into work that suits me.

The genial warmth and wet have quickened the mosses and ferns into luxuriant growth and freshness. Violets too are pushing on their leaves and buds. A lovely and animating spread of verdure clothes all the face of nature here, inviting our hearts to intimate communion with the Author and Builder of all this scene of glory.

Another fragment—also from the Pales.

9½ p.m.

Rejoice with me ! I have company Oh such sweet voice ! and all to memory dear ! My mother's gentle tones come over my breast as I lean to catch the memory of *my crickets* song * in this solitude. I brought a pair of them last night, through the storm, kindly caught by a sister of the wife (the stricken wife) of one of my inebriates ; she put the captives nicely in a paper cage in my coat pocket. On arriving here I put the many folded paper on the mantel behind my Bible ; but as I could not see these crickets I thought I had lost them. Tonight, imagine my joy at the music they are making.

The following was also written at about this time :—

Coming away from a Meeting called by the Vicar, a lady offered me her company with her light, and wanted to walk on home with me. She is the Vicar's *right hand man*. Brother J. Wilding says " whoever evangelizes Llandegley will encounter opposition "—and no wonder, women like a dram when from the pulpit they hear that the " Elementary bread and wine are as necessary to be taken in a Sacrament for the soul as *bread and wine are necessary for the strength of the body* ", Oh it is fearful this liquor pest ! To think of this lady teacher just arrived asking me if I was a teetotaler—She was not—and Mrs. J. is not ! For I smelt it on her the other day coming home earlier than usual. How many woman can think of being anything else than a teetotal ! Why should they touch liquor ?

Well, after coming back I filled my lamp and *spilt oil* in the dim light ; this took all my spare supply of rags to clean all up and get *rigged* for supper. This over I mended my own chimney by cutting a ring out of the metallic sheet lead that was fastened over the mouth of the jar of extract of beef sent me from Leominster at the first of my school and just now opened.

The School Committee decided to meet, as formerly in the time of William Knowles, on the last fifth day in each month and at their first

* those who remember Devonshire House will recall it—upstairs from the long dark passage leading into the Yard.

* This recalls Yardley Warner's reverie one afternoon near Louisville (see page 283),

meeting after Yardley Warner's appointment in October the following entry occurs in the Minute Book.

A defective roof is reported and R. Watkins is to see to it and a letter from Yardley Warner was read, the following part of which is copied into the Minutes :—

"I greatly wonder that a field, abounding so in opportunity for gospel labour and moral reforms should have been unharvested as it seems to have been and I am very thankful that my lot has fallen in it."

For each year of its existence the Pales School and Mission Committee issued a printed report and balance sheet and a list of the Subscribers. The report for the first year after Yardley Warner's appointment, reproduced by photostat, will be found on page 163.

No letters written by Yardley Warner during November 1876 have been found, and not until Christmas Day have we any record of events at Pales, but under that date we read from a letter commenced at 6.0 a.m. :

12 mo. 25. 1876.

My thoughts on rising this morning are of great thankfulness. I had an invitation to tea at the Rhonllwyn, (the first visit there for some time) ; I had been thinking that everything was up with my work here since Richard Watkins stormed at me so, now he is very near to me and I mean to keep him so, dear old "Hotspur". How bright now the prospects how gloomy before ; everything about the Pales wears a different aspect, I cant live near anybody and be on bad terms with them.

Thus early in his career at Pales, Y.W. had found that it was not always going to be easy to live peaceably with his friend and neighbour at the Rhonllwyn.

What was the reason for this breach in good fellowship nor how the reconciliation came about we shall never know. And as we shall see later it was not by any means the only time when clashes of personalities occurred between my father and those for whom and amongst whom he was working.

So we come to New Year's Eve 1876. We find Yardley Warner writing as follows :—

*The Last First Day of the
Old Year — 1876.
7.20 a.m.*

It has been my wont to make this week one of retrospect ; and thanksgiving for all mercies.

One can get good company from everybody by expecting it. The vicar remarked to me the other night it is a great thing you have good eyes, writing as much as you do. I feel his visit was worth much thus to stir my gratitude and my prayer, for what would I do without my eyes ?

First Day — 6.20 p.m.
What shall I render—what homage and thanks ! Unexpected and unmerited blessings.

The afternoon Meeting was one of the largest and best.

Yardley Warner would have been greatly cheered at this time to see in "The Friends' Review" for 1st mo. 29. 1877. the following letter from his successor at Maryville :—

*Maryville, Tenn.
First mo. 29th. 1877.*

Dear Friend —

We had seventeen inches of snow here, that lay on the ground for ten days, or two weeks ; the like has not been known before in the memory of the oldest inhabitants. The mercury one morning stood at 22 degrees below zero, the lowest on record since this region was inhabited by white men. We have had about two months of severe winter weather. The suffering has been fearful among the poorer classes. There are so many without clothing suitable for such weather, especially shoes, and in their open houses it was almost impossible to prevent much suffering. I knew of a number that had their limbs frosted, so badly that they had, in a few instances, to have them amputated. In the farthest, or Smoky Mountains, there were some frozen to death in endeavouring to cross the mountains in the deep snow. The snow was said to be four feet deep on the northern slope of the Smoky Mountains. One young man, a stranger, was found frozen in Spence's cabin, near the top of the high mountains back or south-east from Cade's Cove, about seven miles from the Cove. I have been doing what I could to alleviate suffering this winter, but it has been out of my power to meet the necessities here. I laid in a larger stock of material than usual last Fall, when in Philadelphia and New York, and have bought almost as much more here, and still have failed to meet one-tenth of the pressing demands, yet, I am thankful to our Heavenly Father that I was enabled to relieve some.

My schools have been more prosperous than I could have expected. I have four under my charge now, all doing nicely, and expect to organize another in Cade's Cove shortly.

Benjamin Coppock is teaching for me here at Maryville, and has an excellent school. I have twenty scholars in it at my expense. William P. Trueblood is teaching at Chillhowee, where we strike the river on going down to Tallassee from Happy Valley ; he is also having a nice school. I have quite a number of pupils there at my expense, also at J. N. Parker's school. There is a normal class in all three of those schools. If thou can find one or two second hand unabridged dictionaries or new, if any one will make a donation of part of the price, please send them, as I need them badly for my normal schools. Stanley Pumphrey is here, also Charles S. Taylor. We intend starting tomorrow for the mountains, and expect to visit Happy Valley, Cade's Cove, Tallassee and Hopewell Springs. S.P. is feeling quite well, and in good spirits. We are having quite a revival in our schools. There are but few unconverted ones in the two schools, and we hope there will be none in a little time. There are several students in the normal class here at Maryville, who came from N.C., some of them from 100 miles distant. They are quite a promising company of young people.

Thy friend and brother in Christ
J. D. GARNER.

His letters between January 14th and 2nd February 1877 tell of pleasant contacts with the local vicar, pleasant visits to the Rhonllwyn and London, and satisfaction felt in the progress of his work for temperance. This can be seen from the following :—

1st mo. 14. 1877.

7 p.m.

I have spent such a do-little day and feel I should sing a lamentation for sloth. Were I to measure up my doings by some other men's standard I might perhaps pass pretty fair. But my own standards I *fail*; and must seek strength to husband the moments. I took too long at my rest and lost precious time. I dined at the Rhonllwyn by invitation and stayed too long. Sabbath School was at work when I went back. Supper took too much time. Had to get it myself it is true. I went to the Vicar's * worship from 6 to 7. Brought away two ideas worth going for viz. God will tolerate no dissembling. He says "come" in tones of boundless Pity Love and Mercy—Boundless Pity Love and Mercy.

10½ p.m.

If I go to London I must try to make a good lump for the Freedmen. P.S. Two or three of my teeth need to be renewed and rivetted. Dost thou think thy dentist would be the man or the one I called on. Could we spend the time together? My teeth are becoming very troublesome. I rather liked the man we saw, but I think he would charge high. If I knew his name and address I could write and ask him to have teeth ready for me by next 6th day—And with that much of a call perhaps I could stay over First Day *when I do come*. I found they got along nicely today without me in the Sabbath School.

Llandegley

2nd mo. 6. 1877.

11 p.m.

And how grateful I am for a restored leg which after my late effort in walking. I could not express the fact better than by saying (as I did to my *reclaimed* friend who walked home with me) "I have my lost leg back". For the ligaments were so wrenched and pressed that I ceased at times to have a leg but only a lump of something to be dragged along with me. I suppose footballers are often in danger of such wrenches.

First Day eve.

I attended in Exeter Hall London, the great Meeting on the Temperance question last 6th mo. and heard Wilfred Lawson and other Members of Parliament. I was initiated into Good Templarism in Tennessee for the sake of the young Freedmen and reinitiated here and think if not the best sort of organization, at least as good an *existing one* and involving nothing incompatible with religion and patriotism. I think best to work with it.

I think Templarism is a "power for good in drawing people from drinking places" it combines social *conviviality* with *Brotherhood*. We have 94 members all in good standing and a large proportion ladies. To be a member of the Penybont Lodge *means a good deal*.

My leg goes on from strength to strength—My patient at the Pearl Rock is better and there is a better spirit in the school.

Llandegley

2nd mo. 14. 1877.

7 p.m.

9—5 p.m. Respecting "*Communion*"! and the ministration of the Spirit, we want not so much to reconcile Scripture to our views as to *feel* for ourselves that "It is the Spirit that giveth Life". What can the *material* bread give? He that believeth hath the witness to himself.

A *Real* Christ; not one *talked* of only; a *realized presence*; and that *between souls that are His*. This is the Communion that blends and builds up the members of His Church in our Most Holy Faith. How plain! How heavenly!

* Note the avoidance of the word Church,—and compare the early Quaker use of the description "Steeple House."

Compare this brief comment on the Communion with the letter to the congregational pastor at Oklahoma, on page 97.

Let us now see what the School Committee had to record at this stage :—The April 1877 Minutes read as under :—

4th mo. 11th 1877.

Yardley Warner having come from Pales to meet us reports :—

1. His feeling that a periodical visit from Friends at the Meeting at Pales would afford much good.
A work is commenced among those who attend the meeting, and with due encouragement, this work would grow, the people need the fostering care of the Church.
2. Yardley Warner, without the sanction of the Committee, having given a holiday and the children being already dismissed, it is concluded that the recess shall be considered to have begun on 2nd day last (9th of 4th mo.) and shall continue until 23rd of 4 mo.
3. The sanitary condition of the premises require attention.
4. Respecting the books now in Richard Watkins care, seeing that the subject of Yardley Warner being allowed to use them as a Meeting House Library having been brought under Richard Watkins notice by Samuel Alexander the Committee thinks that Yardley Warner might now arrange the matter for himself as there appears to be a good feeling towards him in the mind of Richard Watkins.

After an apparent break of three months the correspondence continues again as follows :—These letters written in May 1877 give us a detailed picture of Yardley Warner's life and work at that time.

The Pales.

5th mo. 2. 1877.

7 a.m.

I hear it said of me "He is no business man" I feel the truth of that ; yet I like the first Napoleon's test for men to hold a position of trust viz. "What has he done" ? But without being a business man I have done a great deal of business which has given satisfaction to business men ; in the prosecution of which I have handled a great deal of money, educated and trained a great many children and young people, whose prayers still follow me.

The Pales

5th mo. 3. 1877.

7 a.m.

The Fair business i.e. our work for Jesus on Fair Day is cordially entered into by the Lodge and I have another letter from H. S. Newman promising further arrangements. Breakfast is almost ready but I not quite ; but my heart and soul go out in prayer that the Lord may keep us and all we love in "The Sacred Place of the Most High".

The Pales

5th mo. 8. 1877.

4.50 p.m.

Affairs throng me so—everything round here is so dismal—the cold and frost—the cattle plague and Fair and temperance work and piles of letters—some not opened.

In answer to my prayer I hear the consoling words "cast thy burden on the Lord"—"He shall sustain thee".

*Penybont**5th mo. 3. 1877.**11½ a.m.*

Am now for Dublin for the Yearly Meeting and leave again on 2nd Day to arrive in Penybont 3rd Day morn by 9.20.

*The Pales**5th mo. 11. 1877.**5.10 p.m.*

I hope nothing by post or that no local affairs tomorrow will hinder me from giving the whole of tomorrow to American correspondence on account of Freedmen's affairs.

*The Pales**5th mo. 12. 1877.**7½ a.m.*

The Arrangements at Penybont for the Fair work and a call on the way back made me late getting home. I hastened to the Rhonllwyn and indulged in bed this morn till too late. But one must have rest.

My prayer is that the Good Lord may lead or restrain, guide and guard and in this heart searching frame of mind I went into the graveyard which adjoins the Meeting House not without purpose but to fasten up the delapidated gateway into it. I walked over and read what someone has called "Chisel's slender help to fame"—the various inscriptions on the tombstones.

Just at this time when Yardley Warner was so fully occupied at Pales, Stanley Pumphrey was still continuing his extensive travels in the United States. Yardley would be interested to read in "The Friends' Review," an American Quaker Journal of the period, how his beloved work in Tennessee was progressing and the paper by Stanley Pumphrey—this article is reproduced in Appendix, must have given Yardley just the information needed, and added joy.

Yardley Warner writes in May of this year that Henry Stanley Newman sends him Stanley Pumphrey's "dear and particular love" and says "I am now writing to S.P." and in my reading of contemporary Quaker biography I came upon the following from a book by H. S. Newman entitled "The Young Man of God"* in which Stanley Pumphrey writes as follows :—

"I spent the afternoon at Warnersville. At the close of the war Yardley Warner started this colony, where the coloured people have a fair chance, and are located. We walked down the long street of the settlement, and gladly noticed the comfortable dwellings, with an acre or so of land attached, all of them occupied, and most of them possessed by 'darkies'. Most of the people here can read and write ; and they have a capital school. I stopped to talk to one of these, who is living in his own house.

" 'They tell me,' I said, 'that some of your people are worse off than they used to be when they were slaves.'

" 'There may be some badly off,' he replied, 'without enough food or clothing : but so there were in the old times ; and more so than now. Generally speaking, we are much better off.'

" 'Then it is not true,' I queried, 'that you wish yourselves back in slavery ?'



(Plate 13). Penybont Common; a footpath from this point to the plantation in the distance, leads to the Pales, about a quarter of a mile beyond.

"True !' he exclaimed ; ' ha, ha, ha ! Let them put it to the vote. They wouldn't find one in all Carolina !'

" ' I suppose you were both slaves,' I said to another couple.

" ' Yes, Sir.'

" ' Well, they tell me that husband and wife were not often parted in those days.'

" ' Indeed, sir, they were, it happened every day,' answered the woman ; ' I was sold several times myself, and my little child of eight years old was sold away from me, and I never saw him more.'

" Yet there is no doubt that many of the Freedmen are shiftless and improvident ; others are lazy and seem to have no ambition to do better. In other places they mortgage their houses and their agricultural implements, get into debt, and move from place to place. Never trained to take care of themselves, many of them have little notion how to do it. But with judicious help and education noble results are being achieved ".

It is more than probable that the letter from Stanley Pumphrey to Stanley Newman referred to this visit and it is interesting to note that a few years later H. S. Newman made a visit to Warnersville himself. This visit is referred to in our records for 1889 where H. S. N's account of his visit is published in " The Monthly Record " for September.

Yardley's employers seem to have allowed him to attend the Dublin Yearly Meeting this month. His letter of the 13th and his comments on " music " and we see his pleasure at the relaxation of censure upon those who indulged in it.

The Pales

5th mo. 13. 1877.

12½ p.m.

A poor time at this morning's Meeting. The Fair spoils every good thing. Strange that people should be wed to an institution so prolific in mischief and yielding so few advantages ! Dublin Yearly Meeting gave me more hope than it did four years ago ; the Church seemed to move more steadily and to shine more clearly ; the temper and spirit of members more united more alive to the real merits of Temperance ; a great advance in this direction.

The joint session on Education was a very spiritual and interesting occasion. The music question did not come quite in due order before us and the discussion was therefore somewhat wide of the point intended to be submitted by the two Quarterly Meetings. However practically the object was attained viz. the *Yearly Meetings feeling* in general on the subject of music. It was evident that a general modification of opinion on that subject now prevails—and to an extent which not only renders it clear of being dealt with as an offence, but tolerable to all who incline to practice it—nay to all who can bring the patrons or committee of schools to have it taught in them. I feel that it is one of those things which must be controlled by liberty of conscience, and exempted from Church censure.

I have sent a letter to the Committee about the Fair, and tramps through mud and rain, putting up the tent and book stall, cleaning of satchels, clothes and books—and drying them and getting suppers and beds for visiting Friends.

* A biography of Stanley Pumphrey 1837-1881 by Henry Stanley Newman.

I have a lot of flowers to press. If they come to thee without damage, keep them for educational purposes,—name them if thou canst and correct my naming if wrong. I have thought it practical to make an Herbarium of which these may be the commencement.

H. S. Newman says he is coming to The Pales for a Meeting on the next First Day and hopes I can accompany him to Yearly Meeting. This is cheering is it not ?

*At the Penybont Tract Stand.
5th mo. 15. 1877.
5½ p.m.*

Stafford and Hannah Allen invite me to their house at Y.M. We are doing splendidly with the Bibles and Tracts. I intend to rest on the new bed this night, the one of which you write—it came and is safe in the Pales today—also a trunk from Philadelphia, per the steamer Ohio.

The following is a fragment of a letter from Yardley Warner dated 5th mo. 14th 1877 from Pales to an unnamed correspondent :—

I am inclined to give an account of one day's work in connection with the Penybont Fair. At 9 a.m. went with religious reading, tracts, Bibles and Testaments calling on the way at the home of a reclaimed drunkard, to induce him to remain at home from the Fair, which he did. He is very firm and serious and has not indulged in the last 8 weeks. Then to the fair ground, distributing tracts, chiefly in the Temperance Booth, Henry Stanley Newman, (of Leominster) and a team coming over, and joined him in evangelistic speaking. Over £5 worth of Bibles and testaments sold at the stand, (Bibles sold for 6d. testaments at 2d. each).

Everyone who came into the Temperance Booth, went out with a batch of assorted tracts. We distributed them also on the promenade. Taking my stand mostly in the booth which was filled with guests, I could here hand tracts round and talk to them much better than if I were in the street. The plan worked admirably. I could also have my tracts in assorted piles and pick one of each as I wanted.

Went four times to Pales * for more copies and helped my co-workers with tea etc. then returned to Pales attended to a horse there, door had become unlatched and two hours spent in recovering him and tidying up feeding and securely fastened up, and this brought me to bed at 5 o'clock in the morning.—YARDLEY WARNER.

The Ponybont Fair was an annual event attracting crowds from very great distances and there was much drinking and dissolute behaviour and Friends and Methodists used to set up stalls and booths and do what they could to counteract the evil influence of the occasion.

Welsh Shepherds and their Sheep and Dogs.

Radnorshire farmers in the middle 1870's owned extensive flocks. My father often spoke of the scholars as his lambs and the Pales school as the fold. Talk of sheep and dogs and shepherds was general. Shepherds sometimes loved and prized their dogs more than their own kith and kin. It is on record that on one occasion because a farmer's dog

* Where presumably stocks were kept, about two miles each way.

had attacked and bitten a dog belonging to a relative, the aggrieved owner of the injured animal altered the terms of his Will thereby disinheriting his kinsman whose dog had been the aggressor.

The Quaker preachers invited by my father who came from Leominster, Birmingham and London from time to time, and always when the Penybont Fairs were in progress, sought to bring in the 'lost sheep' of the neighbourhood,—those who went neither to church nor chapel—and with some considerable success.

At these times great crowds attended the Quaker Mission in the Iron Room at Penybont, a corrugated hall which still stands next door to and is now part of The Severn Arms Hotel. Many gave up drinking, gambling and swearing; they led changed lives, were less selfish and became indeed reformed characters; there was in short a religious awakening, A Welsh Revival, on a small scale.

But the simple Quaker way of admission into Church Membership on conviction only and without any outward sign of an inward and spiritual grace, such as baptism, left many with the feeling that something was missing. Consequently some sought affinity with the local Welsh Baptists, others, later, acquiring a measure of worldly prosperity, joined the Anglican communion, so that it became a saying in the time of my youth that "The Quakers brought in the lost sheep from off the mountains, the Baptists washed them and the Church of England sheared them".

The letters next following show more of Yardley's day-to-day interests and concerns.

*The Pales,
5th mo. 13. 1877.
11 p.m.*

Heavy hearted came I from the dying man. Through a tempest of wind, rain, a little hail, and much mire I persevered to see John Hughes. Very glad I did! he was dying! a season to be remembered. The 8 miles walk was *easy with nothing* to carry but myself and the love of Jesus. I compared it with the *Fair* trudge; and quite enjoyed it, in spite of the pelting and mud. I shall now be very busy writing to the friends of J. Hughes and others besides on Freedmens' letters.

I am still a little uncertain as to Yearly Meeting although another very cordial invitation comes from Stafford Allen. It was very good of H. S. Newman to say as we walked down from The Pales to Penybont, "When thou brings A. E. Horne here thou must take her over yonder to Pearl Rock," saying how wondrous are the views from thence in all directions.

Pearl Rock is the mountain to be seen from Pales.

10½ p.m.

Buoyant again ! Contrasted with last night ! How delightful now is my lot. Wet, weary, cold, disconsolate. Now able to grasp and to hold things which are real. Greatly encouraged by a letter from A. H. Stearne teacher at Morristown, Tennessee. H.S.N. and his two helpers supped here but went to bed at the Rhonllwyn ! One of them broke through the floor of the bedroom and but for the rug on which he stood one of his legs would have gone clean down into the parlour. I could have taken one, but as they were all invited cordially, I thought it best they should go. I breakfasted with them. I find the maid Naomi is gone. I fear for her and I shall try to keep my eye on her.*

I think I shall not go to London Yearly Meeting I feel like keeping out of crowds just now unless for the sake of my mission and I think from my experience last year and in Dublin this year that the time is not auspicious.

I visited two families this eve, on my way home from Penybont. Alas ! Alas for Welsh life—and the *hardships of women* ! resulting from relics of Feudalism, ignorance, drink and entailed lands. It is sad to see the process of baking under unhealthy conditions, to hear the cries of sick goslings, squealing pigs and shivering cows :—A girl of 15 sits nursing a gosling by the hour in her lap. A woman managing a kicking cow in inclement weather with no shelter—milking into an old iron black bucket.

The Pales.

5th mo. 17. 1877.

The Monthly Meeting to which my request for a certificate of removal will come, is due to be held on 31st inst. (5th Day). To the same meeting will come, if any, a minute from the Meeting of Ministers and Elders—an important day to me †

10½ a.m.

Just home from the bedside of a dying Friend. Although I felt sadly out of time and out of tune after trudging through mud and rain to see this sick man. I found him a humble minded Christian. How good to have the mind turned toward the light on the approach of death, then when thought is wandering—and the helm of reason is unstable, the Best Things come uppermost, and they do so then because they were wont to be uppermost—in days of health and vigour.

The Pales.

5th mo. 18. 1877.

About 8 a.m.

Though still very stormy, I must try to see my sick man again today. The children have captured some of my zeal for plants and we are busy pressing some of the beautiful wild orchids and campanulas, and many others which will be in our school herbarium.

5th mo. 20. 1877.

We are to have a tea Meeting and a school examination here on the 19th prox.—Monthly Meeting Day also. But the school examination will I fear be a small affair on account of many of them helping their parents, and their parents employers on this land at this busy time. I have just written at length to the Committee a report on this.

The Pales.

5th mo. 22. 1877.

11 p.m.

I have been on another tramp today canvassing for scholars.

* See also letter of 10 mo. 8. 1877.

† This is another reference to the meeting of the Germantown Elders, whose decisions respecting Yardley Warner's status have not so far been unearthed.

5th mo. 15. 1877.

There has been a death in our little community. I have been busy with the gravedigger, who has come upon three skeletons in the digging of this grave *. I took the children to see the pieces of skulls vertabrae etc. A sad commentary on the transient nature of man's life on earth.

It may have been noted that the methods of dating letters and minutes on these pages is not uniform. This is because my father followed the American style, month-day-year, whereas the Minutes of the School Committee read day-month-year, thus, 6th 6 mo. 1877, on which date the Committee met and adopted the following minute :—

Arrangements were made for the annual tea at the time of Monthly Meeting at Pales one of the sources of income. It is agreed all scholars have a free ticket.

It is also agreed to conduct an annual examination. Yardley Warner is to make the needful arrangements.

At the July meeting of the Committee we see the result of the tea meeting and the decisions respecting school holidays. The following is from the minutes :

14. 7 mo. 1877.

The tea was enjoyed by a considerable gathering. Yardley Warner examined the children. £4.2.2 was received for tickets for 165. The cost was £2.12.10 profit £1.9.4. In reply to Yardley Warner's request for a holiday, he is advised to commence the summer vacation next 2nd day the 16th of 7th for four weeks and the Committee wishes it to be distinctly understood that holidays are to be given only twice in the year viz. at Harvest in the summer and at Xmas. The Committee in each case will arrange for the date of these holidays.

The next letter from Y.W. in order of date which has been preserved is written exactly four weeks after the date fixed for the commencement of the summer holiday, and written from Bristol. It would be interesting to know how long he spent there, and with whom he stayed, but it is certain that he went there in connection with the work for the Freedmen, always in his thoughts. One wonders whom he saw in that famous old sea-port town where lived so many wealthy and influential Friends.

Written here in Bristol

8 mo. 16. 1877.

9 a.m.

where I have been visiting Friends in the interests of my work.

I bless the day that saw my feet first on "*The Calabria*" bound for British soil. Come to the darkest and the worst I thank my Heavenly Father for putting me in bad for when calm comes, it brings tokens of His care. I

* In many a country churchyard where interments have taken place through the centuries fragments of human bones can be often found under the bushes and in unfrequented parts of the ground.

have arranged to leave here at 8.22 a.m. tomorrow for Leominster at 1.15 p.m. Pales next day. Do go and see Stafford Allen when thou hast the opportunity.

In my walk from Cotham to the Downs a wonderful display of magnificent clouds piling up and splendour of sunlight on them held me a few moments. Adoration went up, and a fragment came to mind—

“ In this all truth to find,

To know but this, that Thou art good,

And that myself am blind ”

Have I the lines correctly—dost thou know them ?

By September 4th Yardley was back again at Pales, about a week before he was due to send to the Committee his monthly report. They were due to meet again on the 10th—here his comments on reaching home.

The Pales.

9th mo. 4th. 1877.

Home again and now the low descending sun throws a gorgeous raiment of beauty and glory over earth and sky. I cannot put the scene before thee as I would it is too grand for words ; and far beyond the pencil's skill !

As I was finishing another letter to Stanley Pumphrey several children, one by one, brought me the plants they have been pressing between the leaves of library books.

The children pulled the plants I now enclose (what are they ?), on the very top of Coed Swydd and gave them me with some triumph. They are interesting proofs of the influence of altitude and temperature on dwarfing. The one looks like a Cedar of Lebanon ; is the other a rare thistle ?

I am in correspondence with Washington and Tennessee on the legislation proposed for the coming session of Congress which begins the “ *first Monday in December* ”.

I am not satisfied with the draft leader for the “ *Monitor* ” I sent thee recently. It is too bold—I must try to put the same in a more modest way. The letter from T. Whitwell is in answer to a question whether that company had work for me. I thought it best to let him know that if he had a post of labor such as I could give I would be willing to *at least consider it*.

I thank thee for the copy from Whittier.

Today a letter from W. E. Gladstone and one from Stafford Allen. If I had nothing to do but work up The Pales School it would be a full job ; correspondence with my Freedmen and matters relative to “ *The Monitor* ”, the pastoral care here, temperance, and tract distribution, these make large draft on my time by the present negotiations. Oh that I may have the help to do all aright as I should !

I have just finished a letter to General Grant on the Geneva Award asking for grant for the Freedmen, and one to Stafford Allen on the same, besides a long one to Leominster by way of report.

Along came little Welsh feet with much clatter and I find myself saying “ no rest till after 4 o'clock ! ” or mostly so. They are elastic and buoyant beyond all children I ever had to do with ; and my resources are taxed to keep them supplied with work ; that is the only way to keep order and to manage them without “ the cane ”—to which they have been used, but which I will never use, nor can use.

The foregoing letter contains much of more than usual interest. In it we see a strange lapse from the use of the “ *Plain Speech* ” when December takes the place of “ *Twelfth month* ”. The reference to the receipt of a letter from Gladstone too, is something to call for comment.

How unfortunate that Yardley kept so few of the letters addressed to him ; it was the letters which he wrote to others which have fortunately been preserved.

There is, however, but little doubt that the letter from Gladstone and the one to General Grant referred to above were both concerned with the Geneva Award, in respect of the *Alabama* depredations.

The *Alabama* was a British built ship, fighting in the Service of the rebel states of the U.S.A. during the civil war. She was a little vessel of 1040 tons register and did an immense amount of damage to the shipping and ports of the Northern States. Within 11 days of her campaign she had captured and burned property the value of which exceeded her own cost. In all she captured 65 U.S. vessels and the property she destroyed was estimated at 4 million dollars. Her breaches of international law were referred to a tribunal which met at Geneva in 1871 and by its final award Great Britain was ordered to pay to the U.S. government £3,229,166.

The following letter was received by Yardley Warner at just this time. It shows the interest he took in some of the projects with which he was concerned, but it also shows how, though so closely tied by his school duties, he was able by correspondence to further the claims of his coloured fellow countrymen across the seas.

Darlington,
9 mo. 1. 1877.

My Dear Friend,

I am glad thou art engaged with suggestions and correspondence as to the appropriation of the balance of the Geneva Award. I think it ought not to be retained, and its return would obliterate any remaining soreness on the subject among our people especially the Tory aristocracy.

As to its final appropriation, until I received thy letter I had heard no suggestions whatever, but I prefer W. Richards' proposal, only I am afraid this Tory Government of ours is not capable of taking such an enlightened view. Lord Derby might, but I am afraid it would be very unpopular with his Party. *Failing this I think it would be well for our Government to propose its being handed over for the education of the Freedmen.*

We are going down this afternoon to Wm. Jones, Great Ayton, intending to stay till second day morning.

Our very dear love to thee and I am,

Thy affectionate Friend,
Wm. Parker.

To :—Y. Warner,
Pales, in Penybont, Rads.

The first meeting of the School Committee after the summer holiday of 1877 was held as usual at Leominster. The six following minutes were adopted, and a note was added to minute 3, explaining its purport.

10th 9th mo. 1877.

1. Yardley Warner's request for a book case agreed to. To be made by a local carpenter.
2. Re lands and garden Yardley Warner's request not agreed. He appears to think some of the adjacent land—untended—is Friends' property, but he is mistaken !
3. The Committee wishes to impress upon Yardley Warner that the afternoon Meeting on First Day though of an open character should be under his control, as a Meeting for which the Society of Friends is responsible, and which is under his care.

Note—This minute results from a report which reach us that the Primitive Methodists have assumed the direction of this afternoon meeting, have printed it on their "Plan", appoint their ministers to preach at it, and ask at the close of the meeting for contributions to their Society.

4. The Committee asks M.M. to consider erecting a dwelling house adjoining for use of the Schoolmaster—Josiah Newman to put the matter before the M.M. at Hereford 11th 9 mo. 1877 i.e. the following day.
5. Repairs to gate. Yardley Warner's request sanctioned.
6. Yardley Warner's request to draft a circular intended to spread the interest already felt by Friends in Western Q.M. in Pales School to stimulate Friends elsewhere to aid the funds, was read, and it was felt by all the members of the Committee that it would be unlikely to effect the desired object.

Fortunately when Yardley Warner had anything on his mind, if he were in a letter writing mood, some reference to it would be found in his letters. So it is not surprising at this time when the Pales School Committee were discussing the activities of the local Primitive Methodists we find reference to them in his letters of the period. Four days after the meeting of the Pales Committee which considered the matter we find this letter dated 9th mo. 14. 1877.

Notwithstanding the recent stormy weather we have enjoyed very favoured Meetings with the Primitive Methodists.—when a Primitive Methodist gives out the hymn *in a whisper* as was the case today you may be sure *he feels conscious* that there is a higher power than his own calling for man's co-operation.

I fear that mischief is brewing between Samuel Alexander and the Primitives. I hope he may not sour them towards the Pales. If a lot of Christian people were in a coach for the Gates of Paradise, and the Devil were to step in he could not better frustrate their end than by setting them to quarrelling. *

I was fearing that my crickets were dead and that the owl had forsaken me. But they have both charmed me this evening ! the former is now fiddling in fine style. I always had a keen ear to music. This fellow is the finest cricket singer by far of any I ever heard ; He is a cricket wonder. I imported him from "The Coombes". While I was away at Leominster and Hereford it was cool and there was no fire here so I did not hear him the night I came back therefore feared for him. I suppose thou knowest *why* I call him a *fiddler*.

* An effort has been made to trace the origin of this saying, but without success. Was it Y.W.'s own comment?

The sun looked down upon Wales today as in a balmy June morning ; bright teeming with heat and moisture, but how soon does this Welsh weather change. The wind nowhere so fierce as up here ; and nowhere is the air so pure, so health giving and so satisfying.

Here we see one side of the picture, the other was depicted in the minutes of the recently held School Committee. We shall meet with the Primitive Methodist problem before long.

Be it noted that in this letter again as in the one he wrote on the fourth of the same month when he spoke of December, the writer used the common speech of his time, when he spoke " of a balmy morning in June ". But this was worse, *December* was but the latin for *tenth* month, but did not *June* mean *Juno*, one of the supposed goddesses of the heathen ?

These things may seem too small to deserve comment, but yet insignificant as were these outward signs of change they were surely indicative of still greater inward changes, changes in spiritual outlook and growing toleration for the religious opinions of others. I am convinced that if my father had remained always in the quietude of his own Philadelphian Meeting he would have remained as ' orthodox ' as any, but that was not to be.

The last minutes of the Pales School Committee which we saw were those of the 10th month 1877. The minutes for the following month were as under :—

12th 11 mo. 1877.

1. W. J. Fearnside appointed as a member of the Committee.
2. Report is made that Samuel Alexander has formally announced his resignation from the office of Treasurer, and " his inability to take any further part in the proceedings of Pales ".
3. Sanction Yardley Warner's request for a Gazeteer and English Dictionary and a Biblical Dictionary—but cannot comply with the other demands.
(no hint as to what these were).
4. £66.10.6. reported as received as subscriptions from Friends in the Q.M.
5. Agreed to send for publication in one of the Serials (the Monthly Record or others) a statement of our efforts.
6. The Committee has read with interest the detailed reports from Yardley Warner of the School and Mission showing the growth in numbers and interest of both these attempts to benefit the Pales district.

As no Treasurer was yet appointed the following note is appended by H. Newman, the Secretary.

For the following statement of our indebtedness to Yardley Warner I have to thank my cousin J. T. Southall, who has examined the cash book of the late Treasurer and balanced it to 13th 11 mo. 1877.

Yardley Warner has filled the office of schoolmaster at Pales from

30th 9 mo. 1876 to 10th 11 mo. 1877 making 88 weeks of these, for the first 26 weeks he was to receive 20/- weekly for the remaining 32 weeks 25/- weekly.

26 at 20/-	.....	£26	0	0
32 at 25/-	.....	40	0	0

£64 0 0

At sundry dates he has been paid, the last being the 17th 8. 1877. 39 0 0

which leaves in his favour a balance of £27 0 0

14.11.1877 Paid Y. Warner by cheque £5.0.0.

In the following letter the "pool just above our gate" refers to a small pond in a disused quarry beside which my brothers and I used to play. It was only a few yards from our home at Pales. The gate referred to is still there. At that point the lane ended and beyond it the common of Coed Swydd stretched onwards and upwards. An accompanying photograph gives a view of Coed Swydd just above the quarry. To turn and go down the lane, past the entrance to Pales, was to descend the narrow track once a stream, described earlier in this chapter.

The Pales

10 mo. 8. 1877.

9 p.m. (First Day)

A busy day ! yesterday. A good morning Meeting and pretty lively one in the afternoon. Ann Morris, a Friend, at the close of the morning Meeting said to me "It does me much good to come to the Pales ! I must come oftener."

The grouping of the birds, and their social singing around the Pales, is very cheering. There is more of this grouping in Great Britain than in the vicinity of Philadelphia because there is less migration from here to other climes ; more birds stay the winter through, and shelter in dell and groves. I wish for an opera glass—I think the one thy aunt or uncle at Torquay gave thee will be nice, when thou comes, for us to spy out the variations. I witnessed a grand goose-frolic off this hill today, and two days ago a large flock took a liking to the pool just above our gate in which grows pretty white *floating water buttercups*. The children and I were at first for driving them off for fear they would submerge the flowers. But we saw that their soft breasts only pressed them under, to rise again, and as the master of the Rhonllwyn might think us presuming if we drove them off we suffered them to regale themselves. But after a while they took to a general splash-dash in and out, round about from the bottom mud to the surface and edges of the pool then with a concert of goose quacks and wild screams off they sailed across the valley towards Llandegley glorying together mightily and wheeling round sublimely as though in triumph at their own manouverings.

Some time previously a half grown lamb had tumbled in the pool from the steeps of Coed Swydd, for lately the boys in dragging for a lost gum cricket ball came upon it.

The sad lot of Naomi, formerly a maid at The Rhonllwyn, is now just fresh in my mind. I hear of her recent accouchment. I shall look after her, and have already made enquiries,

On 7th day: 30th of June 1876.

- a Com^{tee} of Samuel Alexander, Josiah Newman, Henry Newman & H. S. Newman. sent Gardley Warner of Philadelphia - who proposed to re-open the School at the Pales, - believing that in making this offer he was following Divine guidance
- 1 The Com^{tee} accepted the offer, and agreed to engage him for six months.
 - 2 Agreed that his salary should be £50⁰ per week.
 - 3 — — — — — he take all the school fees — — —.
 - 4 — — — — — purchase such additional school appliances as he thinks he needs, from a sum of £48⁰ raised by Tea drinkings at the Pales.
 - 5 Agreed that a holiday of two weeks be given to the scholars during the winter.
 - 6 Agreed that the School be open on 2^d, 3^d, 4th, 5th & 6th days of each week.
 7. Agreed that Gardley Warner shall consider it a part of his duty to attend the Meeting at Pales on First days.
 - 8 Agreed that if G. Warner continues to fill the office of Schoolmaster &c at Pales, for 12 months from this date, - that after the first six months, his salary shall

(Fig. 6). Facsimile of Minutes from the Pales School Mission and Committee appointing Yardley Warner as teacher in 1876.

the 27th of each month instead of 20th. He gives us leave
to expect that he may remain at his post for 12 months.
9th Agreed that G. Warner writes a report of the School,
of his work generally, which report he is to post,
so that we may have it at Convention on or before
the last 11th day of each mo.

10th Agreed that the Com^{tee} do meet at the house of
H. S. Newman in St. Ann St. after meeting on
the last 11th day in each Mo. to read the reports.

11. Samuel Alexander kindly consents to be
the Treasurer, which office is to include the
collection of subscriptions, the payment of
G. Warner's salary.

Mem. The word "agreed" in the preceding minutes,
carries the agreement of Gardley Warner as well
as that of the Com^{tee}.

	£	s.	d.	
Joseph Newman subscribed	5	0	0	paid 27 th mo.
Henry Newman	5	0	0	paid 27 th mo.
Signed J. Newman				
Secretary pro tem.				

The following letter has been sent to Gardley Warner
in the hope that it may help him to make his

way amongst those on whom he calls in & about
Pales. Sunday and Fennybont. N^y.

"Gardley Worcester has informed us that he has
felt in the openings of Providence, that it is
right for him to offer to engage for a time as
Schoolmaster at the Pales. and proposed to
open the School on the 7th of 10th mo. 1876.

We have great pleasure in stating, that we
have through unity with our friend Gardley
Worcester in this project, and desire as a
Committee, to render him what help we can.

Gardley Worcester is a Minister of the Gospel,
is a Member of the Society of Friends from
Philadelphia. North America, and we
trust that his services in your neighbourhood
will be owned and blessed of the Lord, and
lead to your best prosperity, — and that he
will receive your hearty co-operation and
support.

signed Samuel Alexander.

Josiah Norman

John T. Southall

Amosian

H. S. Norman.

In the storm and rush of daily necessities how rarely are we properly sensible of the priority of the spiritual.

10 mo. 9. 1877.

The morning "twilight grey" is just dispelling darkness ! I have been up some time. The fire went out and I rebuilt it. Then inclining to turn into bed and watch it kindling and glowing, the query was presented why cannot I pray as well in bed—But that would be *lazy* prayer ! Whereupon the bed was spurned ; and I knelt and prayed—" The Lord grant thee the desire of thine heart ", fulfil all thy counsel " and " all thy petitions " even " according to thine own heart ".

The fields are clothed with frost work ; the groves are green ; the Robin, the Starling and Thrush and other birds are showing their exhilaration of the hour, by pouring out melody though the temperature is one degree below the freezing point.

I had a letter yesterday from a cousin in Philadelphia stating that my brother dined with them recently and seemed quite well.

Hast thou noticed the brilliancy of Mars of late ? now on the wane !

I have a broken day ; there is a celebration of the Poor Peoples' Club Dinner with music etc. etc. I have almost no scholars today.

I remember it is a year today since I came into this house as teacher—how I knelt then and how I prayed, and how I trusted for the future.

A year's life in Wales ! About 31,536,000 has my life ticked onwards towards Eternity. Counting a pendulum tick as one per second.

How came I in Wales ? How does this lot agree with my life-plan ? It agrees exactly ! but by means the most unforeseen and wonderful. For which thanks be to our Father in Heaven.

10 mo. 22. 1877.

5.15 p.m.

I dont know whether thou wilt be disappointed in what I call " good " or " blessed " meetings or " favoured " Meetings such as we had yesterday ! I fear my dear Methodist friends will shock thee. Thou wilt not be prepared as I am, by the long experience I have enjoyed among the non-Friend the Freedmen in America and during the past year here with the Methodists to be deaf and blind to that which is obstructive and alive to that which is edifying. Their ways of worship are decidedly different from that to which we have been accustomed, and we feel strange at the first, but they are spiritually minded people.

I must go to visit a poor, and I fear a dying, woman.

The Pales,

11 mo. 2. 1877.

6.40 p.m.

As I came back from Penybont, I went some out of my way dark and dreary pathway to call for some lime to make mortar and so stop up crevices and holes in the wall in the Cloak Room. I find the wind drives in there and so along the inside of the wall.

So I mean to go over the breaches tomorrow and stop them.

My Birth Day ! Memorable indeed as the start of another year—My soul doth magnify the Lord for past Mercies ! Whilst I still behold favours all around me. " Bless the Lord Oh my Soul All that is within me bless His Holy Name ".

There are people in the world who, for lack of a purpose in life have to ask this question. " What shall I do now ". If I should have to ask it, Oh the misery of it. And connected with this thought oppressed, as I am with cares for others, comes another that I am nearing the end of my struggles for the Freedmen instead of the beginnings. What if I had to build up Danville, Maryville and Warnersville and Jonesboro in the next five years instead of looking back on them ? Think of that !

12.30 p.m.

Done is my masonry, and washed up are my tools. I had some ado with the plastering for want of dry sand ; had to make an experiment with coal dust. I saw that done in London. We will see how it will hold. I should have rejected the idea in America.

There are other needed repairs. I shall touch the Committee gently on this later topic soon. I am behind in my cottage visits. Mrs. Lloyd is worse and I must see her shortly.

11 mo. 18. 1877.

I am so buoyant today and enjoying life intensely and I feel all the vigour of hope of youth combined with the experience of age. I know that I am nearing the evening—or the twilight of my life but how oftimes bright is the Western Sky !

When I remember how, in my 17th year I wished to know something of English Society and a sight of English homes, and now realising that I have spent more than two years in the midst of them and am soon to be blessed with the companionship of an English wife, and I recall it was Helen Balkwill who introduced me to thee at the hospital in 10th mo. 25th 1873. I thank the Good Lord and Father of us all.

11 mo. 21st. 1877.

I have enjoyed a good walk from top of Coed Swydd, and now in all England since I left my home in Germantown, till I came to Pales have I ever had the chance to wash and dress before a glowing fire. I dont wonder foot washing was an act of hospitality among the Jews. There is so much comfort and although some little difficulty in the act, which makes the injunction spiritually appropriate—"Ye ought also to wash one another's feet !"

12 mo. 8th. 1877.

Just home from a wonted tramp to some of the cottagers. At the last place, we had a tender and blessed time in prayer—never before found an open door for in that particular family tho I have been there so often. The people very kind at parting. A wet walk but joyous—back to the Pales.

At this point the correspondence comes to a close, for this was the last recorded letter that my father wrote to my mother before their marriage which took place a week later. On the same day, December 8th 1877 a Friend in Torquay wrote to Yardley Warner as follows :—

Torquay

12 mo. 8. 1877.

My Dear Friend, Yardley Warner,

The receipt of the letter, and its enclosure addressed to our Devon & Cornwall Quarterly Meeting, may now be acknowledged, and, it has not been left thus long unanswered from forgetfulness. The reading of the enclosure took place and was felt by the Quarterly Meeting very instructive and acceptable, and it was ordered to be copied among the Minutes. The Freedmen's Monitor has been regularly received and I had fully intended paying our subscription for it to the Friend in London indicated in one of the numbers, but I have quite mislaid it, so that until I find it I do not know where to remit the account.

We have been from home 6 weeks, my wife having service in London among the Poor and some of the Meetings. This she has comfortably completed and we begin to resume home engagements. When in the neighbourhood of London we stayed two nights under Stafford and Hannah Allen's roof at Upper Clapton, where they have recently removed.

It is with satisfaction that thy being restored to usual health is shown by thy intended visit to the South, as noticed in the Monitor, and I hope that some of the anxiety for the members of the family has been lessened. We have good accounts from my wife's brother D. A. Fry of Birkenhead. Also of my Parents and our family circle at Plymouth. We felt that our Quarterly Meeting here in the autumn was an especially nice one, although the attendance was not so large as in most central localities. A large Temperance Meeting was held at the Bath Saloon in Torquay last evening, called by the Good Templars, but supported by the Temperance Friends, and the information and advocacy was encouraging. Thy "Monitor" article on the subject is very fresh and interesting; and I expect all the indirect teaching in the "Monitor" will have its place among the Freedmen who must need raising to a higher state of self denial and self control. We think that a poem received from Philadelphia of much beauty and instruction must have been from thyself, and we are obliged for this kindly thinking of us. Wm. Pengeley and family are well and a Testimonial in the form of about £700 was last summer presented to him in acknowledgment of his great services for the scientific public in investigations at Kent's Cavern near this town.

Mary and Louisa Allen of Liskeard recently stayed at our home during our absence, as well as visited us before we left, and the latter is now acceptably engaged with Helen Balkwill in holding Meetings within the neighbourhood of Plymouth. Samuel Elliott of Plymouth has been very unwell, probably overdone by the exertions connected with the Yearly Meeting Committees visit in Yorkshire.

We frequently met Edmund Sturge when at the Friends Institute in London. Alfred Balkwill whom thou mayst recollect at Plymouth is engaged to be married, we are told, to a sister of H. S. Newman of Leominster, whom thou saw at her home in Princess Square, Plymouth.

Hoping thou wilt excuse this matter of fact letter.

I am thy friend affectionately,

Frederic H. Fox.

I was particularly pleased to find the foregoing letter at West Grove, Pennsylvania last year, in my mother's collection of papers, for I have family connections with the writer, Frederic H. Fox, and I have pleasant memories of Alfred Balkwill, to whom I refer in a later chapter in this book entitled "An Evesham Reminiscence". The reference to the then recently discovered Kent's Cavern is also interesting. Torquay must have been much smaller then for it is described as being "near" that town.

Helen Balkwill, a sister of Alfred Balkwill was interested in the work of the N.E. Hospital at this time, and she it was who introduced Yardley Warner to A. E. Horne at the Hospital in 9 mo. 1873.

The following letter from Anne E. Horne gives us a delightful picture of one who was soon to become her husband. The letter was addressed to Mary Ann Southall of Leominster.

This Horne-Southall correspondence had then been in progress for a long time and was kept up for many years subsequently. On the death

The Freedman's Friend.



"FREELY YE HAVE RECEIVED, FREELY GIVE."

(Fig. 8). Heading of the Freedman's Friend, the monthly journal to which Yardley Warner frequently contributed in the 1860's. Schools were established in all the places named.

of Mary Ann Southall, the letters were, fortunately, sent back to their original writer. A custom which might to advantage be continued. What a help to future historians this would be.

*Children's Hospital,
Hackney Road, London.
7.2.1877.*

Dearest Polly,

There are several remarks in both thy last letters I want to reply to, and I must try to do so now. One was, thou saidst, thou wondered how Y. Warner could give up working for the freedmen and settle in Wales? There is no doubt that the very best way he can help the freedmen now, is by obtaining funds to carry on the schools, which are all in the hands of efficient teachers at present, and he is better able now to get *fresh* subscribers in England than he would be in America where friends and others, have been, as he says, "almost bled to death" in the cause of the freedmen. English people know less about them than the Americans, and when once thoroughly informed and interested are very willing to give. Y.W. is really as earnestly devoted to the cause as ever he was, and is spending *every moment of his spare time* in writing on behalf of the coloured people, to folks in England, and writing to America directing what shall be done in the various schools; replying to the reports of the teachers etc. Many of these letters he sends me to read, and they are extremely interesting. His object in settling at Pales, is *the home* he there makes for himself and the congenial occupation it affords him, bringing him in a small income, besides being, he hopes, a means of usefulness to the village, and at the same time allowing him sufficient quiet moments to carry on this freedmen's correspondence etc., whereas he says he must have either returned to America without first obtaining *nearly* all the interest he wanted from English people, or have continued *visiting* amongst friends here (and feeling always fearful of being a *burden* to them) because he could not afford constant lodgings or hotel accomodation for long together. All the while his brother was in England he was quite unable to work at all, in that (freedmen's) mission, as his brother had no sympathy, but on the contrary, some aversion to hearing the freedmen's cause advocated—and Yardley was travelling over here entirely on account of his brother's health, of course he had to give up to him, and not attend to what his own inclination would have prompted. Therefore he was exceedingly pleased when he found that his brother was so much better, to hear that he was willing to return *alone* to America and leave Yardley behind for his own private mission. Then he met with the opening for work at Pales which seemed "*just the very thing*" he told me—he *enjoys* the seclusion—he has all the more time for writing etc. If his school was in a town, or amongst many friends, he says he should have *social* duties to perform, visiting receiving visits etc., which now he is free from, and he can devote his whole time now to *mission work*—his *two* missions,—the *one* being the freedmen's good, the other the school and the evangelization of Llandegley and neighbourhood;—and he certainly *is* working hard;—in fact I am sometimes afraid he will wear himself right out.

He has hurt his hip very seriously I fear—playing with the Pales boys during school recess, so that for days it has pained him to walk up and down stairs, and one night he could not sleep for the pain, and yet in spite of that, he walked on 2nd day up the hill *opposite Pales* to a height as great as the Pales, to call on a poor sick friend in the early morning, then down again to the valley, and up the other hill to Pales in time for school at 9 a.m.—after school was done in afternoon same day, he went off with only a hasty

tea, up the hill once more to call on the same friend a 2nd time, then back and across to Pennybont to speak at a temperance meeting, then home again to his Llandegley dwelling. He is most indefatigable.

With love.

Thy friend,

Anne E. Horne.

1877.

The Warner-Horne Wedding.

It was not until the outbreak of the first World War that I became aware that my parents were not married according to Friends Usages, but at a Registry Office, subsequent to which, at a Meeting for Worship held after the manner of Friends, the religious ceremony was enacted.

In 1914 I was of military age, and was anxious to establish my nationality. Of American parentage, I went to the United States Embassy and discovered that although a born citizen of the U.S.A. I had lost all rights to American nationality by failing to claim it earlier in life.

I was at that time working at Devonshire House, and I recall the day when I went to Isaac Sharp's office (he was then the Recording Clerk), and asked to see the record of my parents marriage. William Frederick Wells was present at the time. Friends of my generation will remember him, he seemed a very part of the premises, and I recall him saying to Isaac Sharp that it would be a "waste of time to search, because Allen Warner's parents were not married after the manner of Friends". And so it turned out ! W. F. Wells had good reason for recalling this, because his own wedding at about the same time was not according to Friends' usage, he having married a cousin, a thing not then allowed !

At the present time if both parties to a marriage are of full age, permission to marry under the Society's Regulations can be given by the Monthly Meeting Clerk and one Overseer, but when my parents were married, the Monthly Meeting as a whole had to be asked for its approval and this would not normally be given without written parental consent, and this Robert Horne (my mother's father) was unwilling to give.

The grounds for this refusal I have never discovered, it probably arose from more than one circumstance—there was a disparity in their age—and Yardley Warner was an American, though having no home in America, and might any day return there to live again as penuriously as before, and the prospects if he remained in this country were equally precarious—being only employed on a temporary basis, housed on bleak mountainside in a wild and barren region, far removed from the

comforts of modern life, nor was this all, and this may have weighed more than the other considerations,—although Yardley Warner was a Pennsylvanian Friend, he was sometimes quite unlike Whittier's

“Quaker of the olden time
How calm !”

The exact reverse was the case—how excitable and impulsive ! It is small wonder that Robert Horne, a merchant and citizen of London felt some hesitancy in approving of the marriage.

During the year in which my parents were married the pews in the Llandegley Church were taken out and a modern accommodation was installed. Reference to this is made in the Appendix—see “The Monitors” p. 316. The old oak which for many years had been used for seating the villagers was used by the local carpenter and wheel-wright, William Evans of the Mill, to make three handsome pieces of furniture. One of these was purchased by my father and found its place at the Pales. One of the others was bought by Richard Beversley Watkins, father of R. Beversley Watkins now of The Rhonllwyn, Llandrindod Wells, and the third cannot certainly be traced. They were most substantial pieces of furniture, the work of a real craftsman, and no two were exactly alike.

When we moved from Penybont to Jonesboro, Tennessee, in 1881, most of our household effects were sold at auction including the oak drawers and cupboards (see the illustration facing page 159). But that is not the end of the story, for when it was known after the death of my father that my mother was proposing to return to these shores and again take up residence at The Pales, on the day before her return, the farmer who had bought the chest at our sale four years before, brought it to the house, and my mother found it there awaiting her arrival. It has of course been in our family ever since.

It has already been stated that Yardley Warner's address during his first English visit was c/o the business premises of his friend Stafford Allen and the letter reproduced in part hereunder, was one of those sent by my mother to Mary Ann Southall directly after her wedding. This gives us an intimate and pleasing picture of the day when the Allen's and other friends of the two contracting parties gave their blessing to the union.



(Plate 14). Anne Elizabeth (Horne) Warner 1845-1928 (photo of about 1920).
One time matron of the North Eastern Hospital for Children,
now The Queen Elizabeth Hospital, Hackney Road, London.



(Plate 15). The Llandegley Chest.

Penybont,
Radnorshire.
19. 12. 1877.

My very dear Mary Anne,

I thank thee very much for so kindly sending me F. R. Havergal's beautiful little book "Royal Commandments" as a welcome to Penybont—at least I feel sure it was thou (thy handwriting) though I do not see thy name attached to it. We had a very comfortable satisfactory time on 6th day,—and were able comfortably to believe that the Lord himself was present to bless us on the occasion. The ceremony before the Registrar was as quiet and solemn as that in a Friends' Meeting and we had a nice party of our friends with us—amongst them was Barnabas C. Hobbs from America and his companion William Smith of Rochester. We have had scarlet fever in the hospital for the last two or three weeks so that most of my relations were afraid to have me visit them on account of infection, but I lodged out of the hospital 2 nights before the wedding—on 4th day at R. Allen's house, (and then returned and spent 5th day again working in the hospital) and went late on 5th day night to Stafford Allen's at Clapton to sleep. On 6th day morning S. Allen drove me, with his niece Ada Ransome to the Registrar's office—there we met Yardley who had lodged in Charles Square, and who came with Richard Allen. After the legal part of the business was over Stafford Allen's carriage took us to Charles Square where we had a solemn little meeting. Barnabas C. Hobbs, Sarah J. J. Fox and Richard Allen all sweetly engaged in vocal prayer, and a portion of scripture was read. Yardley and I then went through exactly the usual form of words used at Friends' Marriages, and Stafford Allen read the certificate embodying the whole, to which was annexed the legal document; the only difference in the wording of the certificate to what would have been used in a regular meeting was that the sentence as per "Act of Parliament" etc. and the address, and name of the Registrar's Office were substituted for the names of the Monthly Meetings etc. Then the document was signed by all present as witnesses. A good many came to see us married and some attended the meeting who did not stop to dine. Dinner was most tasty and elegant. Cold fowls, partridges, veal etc. etc. and coffee, sweets, jellies and blanc-manges and flowers—all so kindly provided by Richard and M. A. Allen, except that Martha Braithwaite * kindly made and sent some little shapes of blancmanges etc. Was it not kind? Richard Allen was a most generous and hospitable father to Y.W. and Stafford Allen to me—or rather they *both* were to us *both*. M. E. Phillips, A. Ransome, Miss Davies matron of our Croydon Convalescent Home, Sarah J. J. Fox, Chas. Allen Fox, Barnabas C. Hobbs, Emily Ashby, Miss Edmunds (who is living at Richard Allen's) Stafford Allen, R. and M. A. Allen, and our two selves sat down to dinner together.

Soon after the repast was over Yardley and I went in a cab to Moorgate Street thence by Metropolitan to Paddington, where we deposited the luggage we had with us, whilst we went out for a short walk shopping, to purchase various articles which we needed and which could not so easily be procured here—including amongst sundry other things, a pair of blankets, some celery, prunes, a double saucepan porcelain lined etc. etc. Then we returned to the station at Paddington where I had arranged to have a parting interview with poor Charlotte Benman (whom thou wilt remember hearing M. E. Beck speak of)—she is now by the bye doing *very well* and earning good high wages as nurse in the Metropolitan Poor-Law Fever Hospital at Homerton, where she seems to have found plenty of hard work, and to be much respected. She was nearly broken hearted at my leaving London, to be at such a distance from her, (she has absolutely *no* friends with whom she can profitably associate); and when our train started she gave us a very

affectionate farewell and we left her sobbing in tears, on the platform. We reached Shrewsbury late that night, and on 7th day morning sallied out for a walk down to the river, through the market, and to do some more shopping. We also had our photos taken together, to send to America, and then after an early dinner in Mrs. Thomas's temperance boarding house we started by 2.25 for Penybont, where we arrived in good time for a comfortable tea, and to get ourselves settled nicely into our new quarters before First Day.

First Day morning we started early for the Pales and had an *extremely* wet muddy but very nice walk across the moor to get there. We had two very nice meetings and the people all gave me a very warm welcome, and all wanted to come and shake hands with "Mrs. Warner" and I received numerous invitations to go and see them. There was a friend present at both meetings from Liverpool. I think his name is George Clover—he was staying in the Llandegley Inn. Yardley and I dined at the Pales between meetings,—and in the evening went to tea by invitation with a poor farmer's family who entertained us most hospitably and sent two of their daughters afterwards to lead us by the cleanest (or rather by the *least mirey*) way in the dark, into Llandegley, where we called upon two or three other families, including the friend at the Inn, before returning to our own home for supper. We are *most comfortably* accommodated here, and have everything we want, except that the house is excessively damp.

Perhaps the place may improve in this respect, when we have kept up a good fire in the parlour for some time; there is no stove in the upstairs room so it is more difficult to warm and dry things there. Most of 2nd day while Yardley was up at Pales at the school I was busy unpacking and arranging things—and yesterday and today have been glad of the quiet time to walk round a little, do odd bits of needlework, writing etc. Most of my luggage comprising sundry articles of furniture, books etc. has come by goods train and we do not intend to unpack that until 7th day when we shall have more time to assort things as there is no school that day, and it will take a good while to get all settled as I had 17 packages sent on, some of them quite large crates. We shall have everything quite in order *soon*, and shall be wanting our friends to come and see us—*thou* must come over and pay us a visit. I have had a splendid present of a complete dinner service, tea service, knives, electro plate spoons, forks, etc, etc. from the hospital committee which will quite sumptuously set us up for housekeeping. Then I had a beautiful little clock, from our doctors, and a quantity of house and table linen from Hannah S. Allen—these have still all to be sent to us from London—they have not yet arrived amongst the 17 packages.

I must now conclude in haste—with dear love to thyself and dear A. Southall, in which my husband unites.

Thine affectionately,

Anne E. Warner.

In the days of which we are speaking, indoor sanitation was almost absent excepting in the larger towns. Piped water supplies in villages were unknown, and the general lack of hygiene was about the same as it had been for hundreds of years.

The privies were situated some little distance from the school and house and one of them was of the family type of three seater described by Reginald Reynolds in "Cleanliness and Godliness".

* Wife of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite.



The Old Meeting House, Pales, Radnorshire, G. B.

(Fig. 9). From a sketch which appeared in the "Maryville Monitor" for June, 1873.

PALES DAY-SCHOOL AND MISSION.

AMONG the hills of Radnorshire stands an ancient Meeting House, known in the district as "The Pales." It is about eight-and-twenty miles to the west of Leominster; near the village of Llandegley, and some three miles from Penybont station, on the Central Wales Railway. The Meeting House is beautifully situated, high on the steep slope of Coed Swydd, on the very verge of cultivation, and overlooking the valley of Llandegley, where there are excellent sulphur and chalybeate springs.

A Friends' Meeting has been established here for 132 years; and many of the inhabitants of the district are descended from Friends, although several Friends' families emigrated years ago, to America, to escape the imposition of Tithes and Church Rates. Very few members remain, but there is a cordial feeling towards the Society throughout the District, and many flock to the meetings, when special notice is given.

A Day-School is established at the Meeting House, for boys and girls—under the care of Herefordshire and Radnorshire Meeting for Discipline—and Yardley Warner, the Schoolmaster, is actively engaged in the work of the Mission. The present average attendance at the School is twenty-four.

Besides the Meeting for Worship on First-day morning, there is a well-attended Meeting for Scriptural instruction every First-day afternoon, which is preceded by a Bible Class,—both of them under the care of Yardley Warner. These efforts are much appreciated, and there is often an attendance on First-day afternoons of sixty to seventy persons.

Temperance work and Tract distribution also claim a large share of attention. A number of temperance meetings have been addressed, and more than 5,200 tracts have been distributed during the past year.

Another important branch of the Mission is the District Visiting; which Yardley Warner feels much upon his heart, and respecting which he writes:—

"These visits make me wish for many tongues, and many years, to work for Jesus in these cottages. In one house I visited, the poor world-ridden woman said,—“From morning rising, to bed-time, and from Monday night to Monday night again, we hear of nothing in this house, before all these sons and daughters, but about money, and cattle, sheep and dogs: ‘where have you been, and what did they say about the crops’? And if any people come in, it is all about the same.” Then, turning to her husband, she added,—“As to going to the Pales, you say you

(Fig. 10). Facsimile of one of the Annual Reports of the Pales School and Mission Committee and a List of Subscribers.

have 'a bad knee.' You can get about your fields! The time is coming to us both, when these excuses won't be heard." The man was very loving. I held his trembling hand in my right, and her right in my left; all of us looking each other in the face alternately, as we talked.

"At the next house I visited, the children came running to the door, from the brook, as I entered, and, as I sat down by the fire, the father was minding a ten-month's-old baby, by a little, smoky turf-fire, also a three-years-old boy, with his rags so greasy and dirty, and his under-garments so tagging out of position, I could hardly bear to look at him; so I shut my eyes, and took him on my lap, and patted his dirty cheeks, and stroked his good round head, cheering the family with kind words; in which I was interrupted by—"Quack, quack!" from a bevy of hungry ducks that followed the children into the hovel. Two of the children are my scholars, and real clever ones,—gifted, I may say, and charmingly modest. There is no intoxicating liquor in that cot; only grinding poverty. Twenty years the father and mother have lived in this dirty shell; such I should have thought could not have been found in this land.

"This quality of cottage-life is not the only field for pastoral work here. There are worldly-minded sober men, and rich inebriates, in whose case the words of the woman, above quoted, are equally fit and true as they were in hers. Many of the children come from such homes. Practical Gospel living, and true domestic Christian enjoyment and fellowship—such as we understand—are a strange and rare experience to them. But we are thoroughly and heartily welcome in their cottage homes. A great opportunity lies before us for carrying good *from* the School and the Pales Meetings, into these homes, and bringing good *thence* back *to* the School, and the Pales. But, to this end, we want something more of Mission Head-quarters here; and this is now the culmination of my concern. If a family could reside here, of the right stamp, there would be a central attraction which would go far to enlist the affections and the confidence of the people."

It will be seen, from the foregoing extract, that there is a large amount of work to be done; and the accompanying Treasurer's Account, with a deficit of £20 15 6 at the close of the financial year, shews that an increased number of subscribers is necessary. We therefore commend the Mission to the thoughtful assistance and consideration of Friends, believing that good fruit will result.

Signed, on behalf of the Committee,

HENRY NEWMAN, *Secretary*.

ETRAM STREET, LONDON, E.C.
9th mo. 20th, 1877.

(Fig. 11).

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT,

From 9 mo., 1876, to 9 mo., 1877.

DR.				CR.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Schoolmaster's Salary	58	10	0	Subscriptions	41	0	0
Coal, &c.	3	5	6	Balance due to the Treasurer.....	20	15	6
	61	15	6		61	15	6

LEOMINSTER.

~~SAMUEL ALEXANDER~~

Treasurer.

(Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer.)

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

	£	s.	d.
Edward P. Southall	5	0	6
Henry Newman	5	0	0
Josiah Newman	5	0	0
William Brewin, for Cirencester Friends	4	0	0
Samuel Alexander	3	0	0
Henry Southall, for Ross Friends	3	0	0
Henry Pease	3	0	0
Anne Southall	3	0	0
J. Tertius Southall	3	0	0
Hannah J. Sturge	2	0	0
Elizabeth and Hannah Southall	1	10	0
Henry Burlingham	1	0	0
Christiana Price	1	0	0
Ritson Southall	1	0	0
Henry Stanley Newman	1	0	0
Mary Ann Southall	1	0	0
Alfred Brown	0	10	0
	41	0	0

(Fig. 12).

At Pales there was then no well, nor pump, and drinking water had to be fetched from a spring in a field some distance away.

Motor cars had not been thought of, even bicycles were few and far between, and were of the penny-farthing type, and the roads were without the metal surfaces with which we are familiar to-day. In the winter the roads were thick in mud, and in the summer covered with dust which blew up in clouds whenever vehicles passed.

A long series of letters from Anne Horne to M. A. Southall contains some from this period which gives a vivid picture of the conditions in the countryside around Pales where Anne Warner now found herself.

Ignorance and superstition were rife. Belief in the powers of evil, fear of the dark and the terrors of meeting with a "corpse candle" * after sundown were widespread. Insanitary hovels with leaking roofs and frequently with earth floors were the abodes of many, even in the last stages of illness. The universal abhorrence of being taken or sent to the workhouse kept many people from having any kind of comfort at all, even when on their death beds.

My mother has told me of occasions when being sent for to see a sick person suffering from the all too prevalent inflammation of the lungs, she found the patient swathed in a sheet which had recently been smeared with semi-liquid cow dung ! Linseed meal, and bronchitis kettles and other 'modern' remedies of the time were almost entirely absent, even among some of the more well to do. Small wonder that on it being known that the newcomer to the Pales was a "London Nurse," her services were in frequent and universal demand. Let us see what the new "district nurse" told her friend Mary Ann Southall in Leominster about her experiences in those days.

Pales
4 mo. 7. 1880.

M. A. Southall,
Leominster.
Dear Polly,

Those of us who are well, and willing to work, are kept more than doubly busy running about waiting on the sick, besides doing all our own regular work. The scarcity of people able to nurse the sick properly or do any *extra* work, is very striking and it makes it come heavy on those who can. There are very few houses in this neighbourhood just now where there is not one or more patients who require *night and day* watching. I have sat up *4 nights* in the last 10 days, sent for yesterday *twice in a hurry*, to help in case of *death*,—in the morning went to see the youngest child of the Lower

* A light, like a will o' the wisp, carried by an unseen hand through the village and glowing brighter as it neared the church yard,

Cwm who had just died. His mother is lying in the same room dangerously ill with Rheumatic Fever, and his sister Fanny has the Quinsy. After washing and settling the little corpse I ran as quickly as possible back to the Pales, changed my clothes in the air washed and used disinfectants before going out again for more visiting. Friends at Pentregarn, where we had a good time with the *very few* who were able to attend because of illness, and on my way home met messengers seeking me to go to old John Davies (at Little Cwm), who had been just then *found dead*, lying alone, on his kitchen floor, I told thee of him lately as the man whose poor legs I had been dressing during illness.

By the time we reached his house, he was quite cold and stiff ; lying with his head against his front door inside so that we had to step over his body before we could enter his house. Several men came to help move him and I had to assist 2 other women (who would have been *afraid* to touch him alone) to prepare his body for burial. By the time I reached the Pales after this melancholy job it was 1.30 a.m. this morning. I am going to start again directly after a 4 o'clock tea to visit 2 other sick aged people, unless I am sent for in another direction meanwhile. The people live so far apart I can't visit very many in one day.

I shall be glad to hear from thee when thou hast time to write.

Thine affectionately,

Anne E. Warner.

At the first meeting of the Committee in the New Year and consequently the first time after the marriage of Yardley Warner, it is not surprising to find that some references are made to this change in circumstances. The Minutes read as follows :—

5. 1 mo. 1878.

1. H. S. Newman, having been to Pales and reporting that he found 24 children present and with Yardley Warner and Anne his wife (these two living in the Meeting House) the Committee feel pressed onwards towards providing a dwelling for the master and his wife on the spot seeing that the walk from the village to the school is impracticable, in addition to their daily duties.
2. The Committee also decide that in consideration of Anne Warner taking some share in the school and mission duties the (joint), salary shall be 30/- a week the Master shall also take the childrens pence as before.
3. Henry Newman is encouraged to visit Pales and measure the ground etc. and make a suggestion for a dwelling house of two rooms on the ground floor, an ante-room and two chambers above, he is also encouraged to make enquiries in the locality as to the probable cost of such a building, the best material etc.

P.S. There is at the present time a balance in hand of £76.0.3.

To Meeting on Horseback.

Mention of the costs of new “upping-stones” or horse-block and repairs and extension to the stable adjoining the old Meeting House in the accounts of the Pales School Committee at this date, is evidence that many of those attending the Meeting at that time came on horseback. Through the silent periods of the Meeting would be heard the occasional

noise of horses champing their bits and pawing with their hooves the stone floor of the stable, and visiting Friends from the towns could not fail to notice the smell of leather and the presence of sheep dogs, watchful and alert, each motionless beside his master. These linger in my memory when as a boy of 8 or 9, I was again, with my mother, and two younger brothers, living at The Pales.

Such a scene recalls the description of a visit of George Fox to the neighbourhood when 300 years ago he spoke to a multitude, many of whom were sitting around on horseback listening to his message.

It was probably on Penybont Common that George Fox spoke to the people of Radnorshire in 1657, standing on a chair for about three hours. Penybont Common has been a place of assembly for very many years and was known for miles around as such. Here were held fairs and public celebrations of all kinds. The following from the Journal of George Fox gives us a graphic picture of the scene. His journey from Montgomeryshire to Leominster would almost inevitably have taken him across Penybont Common.

“And so we passed into Wales through Montgomeryshire into Radnorshire, where there was a meeting like a leaguer for multitude. And I walked a little off from the meeting whilst the people were a-gathering and there came up to me John-ap-John, a Welshman, and I bid him go up to the people, and if he had anything upon him from the Lord to speak to the people in Welsh he might gather them more together—Then there came Morgan Watkins to me, who was loving to Friends, says he The people lie like a leaguer and the gentry of the country are coming in. So I bid him go up to the Meeting for I had a great travail upon me for the salvation of the people and so I passed up to the Meeting and stood a-top of a chair about three hours and sometimes leaned my hand on a man's head and a pretty while before I began to speak, and many people were on horseback.

And at last I felt the power of the Lord went over them and all the Lord's everlasting life and truth shine over them. And the scriptures were opened to them and their objections answered in their minds and everyone of them turned to the light of Christ, the heavenly man, that they might all see their sins and see their saviour their redeemer their mediator and feed upon him their bread from heaven. And many were turned that day.

A priest and his wife sat on horseback and heard patiently and made no objection and said they had never heard such a discourse in their lives and the scriptures so opened. Thence to Leominster.

As we have seen when Yardley Warner first took up duties at Pales he stayed with Richard Watkins at the Rhonllwyn, later he was in lodgings in the village of Llandegley, but at the time of his marriage was practically living in the Meeting House. It was a fairly commodious building with two rooms, divided with a partition in the manner of Meeting Houses in those days when there were separate rooms for the men's and

women's business meetings to be conducted separately. We read of attendances at some of the meetings being from 50 to 60, but even so, there was not much comfort, living on the same premises as were used for a school-room and a Meeting House. Minute one of the meeting just recorded relative to this matter was in due course implemented. Subsequent events can be seen in the Minutes of the next four meetings of the committee.

A sketch of the Meeting House before the cottage was added appeared in an issue of "The Freedmen's Monitor and Working Man's Looking Glass", and it is reproduced herein. This was one of the English editions of the Monitor, and was printed at Leominster and published as from Pales, Nr. Penybont, Rads. (see further reference further thereto in the Appendix.)

6th 2 mo. 1878.

1. In consequence of a letter received from Richard Watkins referring to certain difficulties, Henry Newman has consented to go to Pales to try to effect an amicable arrangement with Richard Watkins respecting sundry points on which he is dissatisfied.
2. The Committee sanctions the purchase of a wheelbarrow and shovel needed by the School.
3. The Committee instructs Henry Newman to pay Yardley Warner his wages at 25/- per week to the end of 1 mo. 1878, viz. the £27 due to him on the 10th 11 mo. 1877 (see Minute of Committee) less £5 paid on 14th 11 mo. 1877 and £13.15.0 due to him on account of the 11 weeks since that balance was shown—together being £40.15.0 (less £5 mentioned above) £35.15.0.
4. A fresh report having reached us that afternoon meeting on 1st day is so essentially a Primitive Methodist meeting that Pales Friends have to ask the permission of the Primitive Methodist Minister before they feel at liberty to address the meeting. This Committee again presses upon Yardley Warner the necessity of faithfully carrying out the instructions he has received from us (see 10th 9 mo. 1877).
5. The condition of the decayed state of the floor is deferred until examined and reported upon.

Respecting Minute 1, above, this doubtless refers to some such occurrence as recorded by Yardley Warner when writing of his near-by neighbours "old Hotspur" and here we can see "the other side of the picture" regarding the differences which arose between the Friends and the local Methodists already referred to.

13th 4 mo. 1878.

1. Henry S. Newman has visited the Pales and was found able to restore good feelings between Richard Watkins and Yardley Warner, the former since that visit having shown much kindness to the Warners.
2. H. Newman measured the ground and buildings at Pales (see Minute 3 of 5th 1st mo.) and has drawn out plans for the proposed cottage.

He reports that contributions to the amount of £193 have been received towards the cost of its erection, and a further sum of £73 has been promised, making a total of £266.

3. The Committee authorised him to proceed to draw out a plan and specifications and offer the same for contract, to be brought to our next meeting for its approval and selection of builders etc.
4. The £35.15.0 (see Minute 3 of 6th of 12 mo.) has been paid to Yardley Warner by cheque also 18/- for printing and 20/- for work at the garden allotted to Y.W. out of the meadow belonging to Friends and £6 wages (4 weeks at 30/- per week, up to and including 23. 2 mo. 1878). Those payments were sanctioned by the members of the Committee before they were paid.
5. The fourth Minute of the Committee Meeting of 6th 2 mo. was copied and posted to Yardley Warner who assures us that the afternoon Meetings have never been under the control of the Primitive Methodist Minister but that the Society of Friends is acknowledged as the controlling body.

12th 6 mo. 1878.

1. Accepted tender of George Davis of Llanfihangel and H. Newman is to inform him of the decision.
2. M.M. applied to for £25 towards the renewal of the wall and of the Meeting House (it being used as a party wall).

24th 7 mo. 1878.

1. Refers to the length of midsummer holidays.
2. Y. and A. Warner accept the proposal to pay them quarterly.
3. £25 sanctioned and some further repairs and alterations to the older part of the Meeting House.
4. £3 paid for coal, but when new house is up the Warners to pay a proportion of the coal bill, say $\frac{1}{3}$ rd when there will be any fire, but in the summer, when no coal used in school, they pay all the coal bills.
5. The Committee have considered the scale of charges for bed and board when Friends occupy the "Guest Chamber" and agree for a bed 1/-d. for a breakfast (with egg) 9d. for a dinner 1/-d. and for tea 6d.
6. Y. and A.W. agree that 4 weeks vacation in the year is all they would claim and they propose it should be divided into 2 weeks in the summer 1 week in the winter and 1 week at "Penybont Fair," their experiences having shown them that the children take a week's holiday at the fair and other schools in the district close for that week.
7. The Warners agree that a three months notice should be given on either side to terminate their engagement.

Whatever were the problems discussed at these meetings, and we have nothing to enlighten us on the details, they must have been resolved shortly afterwards, for no meetings of the Pales School Committee were held for about two years after this.

The Committee could scarcely have undertaken a more difficult task than to keep the day to day oversight of the school 25 miles away, with travelling arrangements so different from those of to-day, and with a school master in their employ who for twenty five years had been accustomed to come and go pretty much as he pleased up and down the length of the United States, and with his sympathies at this time very much

drawn to Methodism. Though why that should ever have been the cause of concern to Friends is hard to understand because up and down the country by 1880 many Friends were conducting "Mission Meetings" which could in no way be distinguished from other non-conformist bodies, save that Quaker preachers were not paid for preaching as such.

We have seen up to now what the Committee has placed on record concerning their Pales School, and have read the day to day comments of the school master during the same period. And it is very fortunate that we have found in the pages of the English "Friend" for December 1878, an account by an observer from the outside, Barnabas C. Hobbs, the American Friend whose name has already once or twice come into this story. He writes thus :—

Birmingham
10th mo. 1878.

To the Editor of The Friend.

Not long since I made a very pleasant visit to Pales. It is a quiet country place, about twenty-five miles west of Leominster, amongst the mountains of Wales, and about 1,200 feet above sea level. It has an air and scenery that invalids may rejoice to find. The farmer and shepherd live here in great seclusion, two miles from any railway station.

This was once the theatre of much very practical Christian work, in the day when Friends turned the battle to the gate, and were a pre-eminently proselyting people. John Griffith was a native of this locality. His labours have been blessed on both continents. The Evanses, Lloyds, Llewellyns, Coppins and many other familiar American names, went from this land. The emigration, near two hundred years ago, well-nigh stripped Wales of Friends. A few are found in some half-dozen localities, faithful supporters of the doctrines of their fathers.

The meeting had well-nigh died out at Pales, where the descendants of Friends still feed their flocks in these mountain passes. The good old meeting-house, where the ancient and honourable in the olden time used to be heard telling the precious "Story of the Cross," still stands there on the mountain side, and another generation gather week by week to drink at the fountain where their fathers watered the flocks.

A few months ago, Yardley Warner, while attending an invalid brother in this mountain retreat, became much interested in the people here, who were as sheep without a shepherd, but still cherishing the love of their ancestors. His sympathies were so much drawn out in their behalf that he became willing to act as a missionary among them. He was encouraged in the work by the Monthly Meeting of Leominster, who have taken the burden of sustaining his work upon their own shoulders.

No missionary work can go on well in any place without a woman's help, and the Good Master has prepared a kindred heart to join him in his mission, and these two are now doing a laborious, patient, devoted and self-sacrificing work.

Yardley Warner is a successful professional teacher, a good scholar, and an earnest Christian. He has devoted much of his life to practical school instruction in Germantown, Pennsylvania. The last ten years have been given in a very practical way to the education of freedmen, and he is here now to devote his riper years in this accepted field.



(Plate 16). This is Coed Swydd, 1094ft. above sea level, viewed from Llandegley. The Pales is situate in the patch of sunlight in the centre of the picture among the trees.



(Plate 17). View from the Pales looking south to Pearl Rock and the range of hills beyond Llandegley; on extreme right are seen the wall and overhanging eaves of the old Meeting House.

Yardley Warner, I discovered, mingles a great variety of subjects with the usual routine of common school instruction. Birds, quadrupeds, insects, fishes, good manners, health, cleanliness etc. etc. on all fitting opportunities, are illustrated in a practical way. The young learner is thus led to desire more knowledge, and healthy desires and aspirations are induced for useful learning.

He began with a small number, which has increased to forty or more, some of whom came three miles on foot. He draws them beyond more inferior schools. Some come for Latin and Greek.

The parents feel the force of this influence, and like to come here to worship. They are fed when they come, and desire more. Yardley Warner and wife spend their spare hours from school in visiting families who need sympathy and counsel. Intemperance finds victims, even here. He informs me that their travel on foot weekly, on these pastoral errands, is not less than thirty miles.

A new residence will soon be in readiness to make them a comfortable home. They have endured much privation in the anticipation of this promised comfort, and a little 'metallic * sympathy' in furnishing it would come nicely in place when it shall be finished. Home missionary work deserves, sometimes, our goodwill, as well as the more distant. A friendly personal visitation gives a cheer to those who are the objects of their solicitude, as well as to themselves. Who knows but that a people may yet be gathered here, who may praise the Lord as their fathers did !

Leominster Monthly Meeting is doing a worthy work—a work in which there may be many days between the seed-sowing and the harvest ; but they will yet reap if they faint not.

BARNABAS C. HOBBS.

This is a pleasing picture of those days. B. C. Hobbs was a very well known and highly esteemed American Friend, then travelling under religious concern in this country and on the continent. He and Y.W. had known each other well in America, and we can picture with what interest Barnabas made the journey into remote Radnorshire to see how his friend was getting on.

Here is another letter from this period but of uncertain date, from which it will be seen that Yardley Warner was still able to interest well concerned Friends in his work for the coloured race and to remit to America funds raised in this way.

Most urgently do I feel the necessity in America just now. I am very thankful to find the Friends appreciating and endowing our work, but all cannot be done in a very few years, nor can we slide from under it. A cause for my reluctance to press my claims in all directions is the need just now for Turkish relief. But then I must remember that the cause is not mine. I should not be ashamed of it, and more than all, it is by the habit of giving we learn the blessedness of giving.

If there is any man or men of means in thy convenient reach to whom thou would feel free to show these papers (some appeals for financial aid in the Freedmen's cause) I would feel greatly obliged—I am tied down here closely.

* A phrase originally coined by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite when appealing for this same good cause some months before. Metallic sympathy really meant something when our currency was in gold,

Besides money from the Peases of Darlington I have been able to forward remittances as under :—

From R. Littleboy £28 ; James Beck Torquay £20 ; William Rathbone of Liverpool £10 ; Walter Perry £10 ; J. Gurney Barclay £100 (direct to R. Cadbury) ; E. Backhouse £25 ; T. W. Backhouse £10 ; Theodore Harris £10 ; W. D. Sims £10 and T. Fowell Buxton gave £50 just before I left America and W. E. Forster presented some apparatus to one of my schools. For the same reasons and for the same purpose I limit my expenses for apartment and boarding to less than one shilling a day try not to exceed 7 shillings per week.

The foregoing was written when Friends were feeling the urgency of helping the Armenians and other Christian Communities who were the victims of the Turkish massacres, and the following of about the same shows my father's concern for the work in the Southern States.

I am struggling with all my might to recover the prestige for the Tennessee work, which was lost to it by the coming over of the North Carolina appeal. This struggle has to be kept up with the pen. Because I am fastened to this spot to make this business (the school) a success ; this is a primary necessity for the final success of the Freedmen's cause. I must not be running about in uncertain efforts for the Freedmen keeping their mission an expense in supporting me. It takes time to put the claims acceptably before the people who are able to give. I have also to await the subsiding of *the all absorbing appeals from the war victims in the East*. These appeals come heavily upon the Friends as *peace men*, who were foremost in carrying the War Victims Fund into the very scene of suffering and bloodshed. The heaviest brunt of this crisis falls just where I have been accustomed to go for help to the Freedmen.

All the troubles of my life past and present are small in comparison with the present pinching needs.

The complaints of the Southern whites against the Freedmen which strikes the most sadness through my heart is that they say the liberated blacks do not keep their word. People who make this complaint should bear in mind that formerly the slave lived by his *instincts*, now he must live by his *wits*. He had over 200 years of teaching how to do nothing—i.e. how to get along with doing as little as possible, unaccustomed to handling money and never was trusted enough to make him trustworthy ; How can we expect him to jump from these conditions into self reliant ways and into positions of trust when all his antecedents *were* and were *designed* (those long years of successive generations) to make him a creature dependent on another's will and another's pleasure ? I comfort myself under these reflections and consider that he is doing wonderfully well considering his opportunities and his present means.

1878

Further evidence of the generosity of "The Friend" in publishing good causes is seen in the following long article by Yardley Warner published therein in December 1878. This shows how closely Y.W. kept in touch with the American situation. It gives us also fresh light on Yardley's American experiences.

*FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.
THE FREEDMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.*

By Yardley Warner.

To know what the Freedmen are doing and enduring one must be amongst them; the testimony of witnesses on the spot is so much better than hearsay. I send a few letters and extracts from Tennessee. The letters are the more telling because written with no view to publication. The colored boy, William H. Richards would be surprised to see his first note from Howard University in print. It is thus used as a link in "the story of his life". If all the struggles of that boy were written out by a faithful hand they would form a thrilling biography. Born a slave, near Athens, Tennessee, he could not go far for an education, and came under Julia B. Nelson's care in my school at that place. Distinguished for gentleness, a keen sense of honor, affection for his mother, and persevering industry, he was soon the leader of the classes. Studying at night he could carry on a course embracing Latin, moral philosophy, and the sciences. His yearnings for an opportunity to work for his people developed first in acting as tutor, then as master, and shortly in aiming at being a solicitor. After some hesitation in answering him on this prospect, and finding his abilities commensurate with his aspirations, I put "Blackstone's Commentaries" before him. It was delightful to see how he applied himself, and grasped its principles. Then came the question, where to prosecute his studies. The following will show his difficulty, and the letter of J. B. Nelson will show how it was overcome, and what a little money may be made to do.

There is a well known correspondence of J. Gen. O. O. Howard, of the Freedmen's Bureau, and of Bishop Haven, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, also a letter from the Secretary of the War Department, showing that 3,000 dols. had been obtained of the Freedmen's Bureau, and 2,500 dols. from the Methodist Episcopal Church, upon the stipulation that the Freedmen were to be admitted to the University at Athens, Tennessee. Yet when colored students presented themselves they were told that there was an Institution at Nashville to which they could not go.

With the college doors of Athens thus shut against him on account of his color, he determined (although supporting his poor old mother at Athens) to get into Howard University, Washington City, for one year—he "sees no further", his letter says. He had already followed J.B.N. to Jonesborough and taught a colored school near, in order to get her instruction and make his way on; and he had formerly done the same at Athens, for which I paid him from the Freedmen's fund about £1 a month—and now J. B. Nelson denies to herself promotion and emolument for his sake, and that of others like him, and sticks to the work at Jonesborough through many adversities; and, out of the pittance as teacher there and out of her private home income, spares enough to put him through three years' University course, in the capital of the United States, where, a few years ago, such boys as he, and such girls as Fanny Jackson (the gifted and successful head teacher of Friends' training school in Philadelphia), were sold on the auction block as cattle to the highest bidder.

The £50 referred to in J.B.N.'s letter, as contributing to put him into Howard University, was sent direct from the donors (a few Friends in the north of England), without any of us knowing W.H.R.'s wish to get into the University. It is proper to state that most of the young men work their way along while there in some employment. I have seen companies of them during the intervals of college hours, in working dress, hard at it grading the streets of Washington for the Government; the same youths afterwards, well dressed, and in the dignity of earnest students, plying their books or shining in reciting-rooms. Such characters as W.H.R. are not so rare as

the "previous condition" of the negro would indicate. Side by side with him at Athens sat Austin Hamilton, about the same age, and equal in the promise of usefulness for his race. Once a slave, his highest ambition was to teach and elevate the Freedmen. As a Christian, his example was bright, but his career was cut short by the breaking of a well-rope as he was descending in a bucket to deepen the well. His injuries, from a fall of thirty or forty feet upon solid rock, were terrible. After many weeks it was found that his shoulder was dislocated in such a way as to interfere with the action of his lungs. He died in the full triumph of the redeemed.

Another example of success under adversity is that of William Yardley. Born a slave in Virginia, he was whipped whenever caught with his primer. After emancipation he soon began teaching, studied law, and was admitted to the Bar in Knoxville, Tennessee, where I found him by seeing his signplate, "William Yardley, Attorney-at-Law"; but I never could find any trace of his having been held as slave by any of my own kin, or connected with them. This coincidence of name opened some strange experiences in the new life of the Freedmen, very characteristic of the changed relationship of master and slave. On one occasion we both had business at Memphis, Tennessee, and, returning, met on the train for Knoxville. W. Yardley being a negro, was denied by the guard his right to sit by me. The white man's car being crowded with vulgar white people, I chose to leave it, and ride with black gentlemen; and did so. But by this I lost my respectability in the estimation of the whites, all along that line, in a ride of near two hundred miles. After conversing with a clever young man and his wife (Negroes), I was accosted by a white Southerner thus: "What is your position?" "Teacher", I replied. "Nigger teacher,—ha, ha, ha!" (in chorus). "We'll show you how to teach niggers". Here he was joined by four others in a tirade of abuse and threats too vulgar for repetition. After a lull of the invectives, one said, "Well, honestly, Mr. - - -, what would you think of a man who went and talked to them niggers as you did?" "I would think he had some business with them". "What business could he have with them?" "More than you have with me". An excited crowd was soon listening to a pretty sharp talk. It was plain that the design was to intimidate me; but the tables were soon turned, and after a hearty laugh from the bystanders at the discomfiture of the assailants, the latter very cordially pressed me to dine with them. Arriving at Knoxville again, William Yardley's position as a lawyer, and also as a member of the City Council, and as one of the Board of Education, gave him a standing which there placed him beyond the general contempt attached to color. He acquired all this advancement without receiving a penny beside his own earnings. He has a wife and three children. On my last trip south, in 1876, I saw only one colored person riding in a "white car," during a journey of about 2,200 miles. At Washington, and north of that city, the odious exclusiveness ceases. The old animus, however, remains in the late slave states, with little change in their laws and regulations on this point.

Educated to regard the Negro as "a man and a brother", a sigh for my country ran through me when I found myself unexpectedly sitting beside "Uncle Tom", two years ago, in a London omnibus. The surprise of seeing him, the contrast of his former with his present position, the flood of sympathy, too, all brought vividly to mind the still existing oppression of the race in America, where such familiarity of white and colored man brands both with reproach. We have seen what a glow of philanthropy warmed the hearts of Englishmen at the resurrection of Uncle Tom, when, in their very midst, he gave the story of his wonderful life, and proved that H. B. Stowe had not overdrawn the picture of his "cabin". How would Englishmen feel, then, on the very spot where he toiled and suffered? But a true man can hardly fail to see Uncle Toms and Topsy all through the

Southern States in galling chains—not chains of iron, but of prejudice—manacled and fettered by the stigma of color. Yes! see such men and women now! nobly pressing on against the roughest billows of adversity. "Uncle Jesse" McTeer, of Cedar Bluff, is one; John C. Tate of Clinton, Tennessee, "the negro ferry boy", is another. I could name many more. I know them well. I rejoice that Josiah Henson ("Uncle Tom") came over to England. His own "Story of his life" will do much for humanity.

"Why don't you take Tate along"? said an ardent friend of the Freedmen to me, on my first coming over to England on their behalf. The reason was that Tate was worth too much at home. He could not be spared from his people, and he loved them too well. He is working hard, teaching, preaching and managing schools.

As this paper aims at showing some of the difficulties in the way of the Freedmen's education, one more instance of injustice occurs. The State of Tennessee had invested 2,500,000 dols. (about £50,000) in securities for education. The whole of this was abducted by the Confederate officials, and spent in paying Confederate soldiers. Though it was not originally invested for the Freedmen exclusively, yet had it remained faithfully intact it would have gone to support their schools now.

Y. WARNER.

Penybont, Radnorshire, Eleventh Month 16th, 1878.

The following are the letters referred to in the above. The first is an extract from that of Julia B. Nelson; the third is a note of later date from the same pen:—

"Yardley Warner,

Jonesborough, Tennessee, September 6th 1878.

"Dear Friend—Yesterday brought your favor of 24th ult., and this morning a cheque came to me from E. Cadbury, Philadelphia, for 243.50 dols.—the £50 mentioned in your letter. Accept thanks for myself and the freedmen, for whose education you have labored so earnestly. Do not think you cannot write to the teachers unless you have money to send to them. Sometimes sympathy helps more than money. I enclose a letter from Mr. L. B. Searle. You will see by this that I turned away from a position which I might have secured, at the rate of 50 dols. per month, because I could not leave this point, where so much has been done, and where with the best work and management I will do well to collect 20 dols. per month from the freedmen. When I tell you that my business interests in Minnesota suffer by my long-continued absence, you will see under how great a strain I have labored to prevent this school from going down—trying to act as your agent.

"School will open September 16th, tuition 50 per cent or 75 cents per month according to studies. This is hardly one-fourth of what is paid to very indifferent teachers in select schools among the whites, yet it is all the freedmen are able to pay at present—that is all they feel able to pay. Higher rates would keep many away. By another year I think the interest in the school will have grown and widened so that the tuition may be increased. I think if the work can be carried on as it should be for two years, a fine self-sustaining school may be established. If we had dormitories we would have more students from abroad. I shall have seven young men in two rooms, which will be tolerably close quarters, besides not being in accordance with hygienic principles; but when we cannot do as we would we must do as we can. Some of the pupils who have been with me longest are going out to teach. W. H. Richards is so far in advance of the rest that I think he ought to be in Howard University. He will accordingly start

on Monday for Washington, D.C., to enter that institution at the beginning of the Fall Session, September 11th. I am going to assist him through a three years' course, hoping that it will be of great benefit to him and to his race. This is between ourselves, neither my friends nor his know who is assisting him in obtaining an education. I mention it to show you how quickly I make use of some of the money which you paid me on my last year's salary, which came unexpectedly, and it is the more gladly received. W.H.R. is very studious".

*"Howard University,
Washington City.
Sept. 17. 1878.*

"Yardley Warner.

"Dear Friend,—I am here as a student in the University through the kindness of Mrs. Nelson. She is doing a splendid work at Jonesborough. You may consider yourself fortunate to have such a manager at that point, which is one calculated to exert much influence for good on the surrounding country. As to my remaining here, nothing is settled upon beyond one year; I see no further at present.

"Your affectionate friend,

"William Henry Richards".

*"Jonesboro'
Tennessee.
Oct. 21st. 1878.*

"Yardley Warner,

"Dear Friend,—Did I not make a close calculation in saying I should be able to make the tuition average 25 dols. per month this Fall term? Have collected 24 dols. 75 cents the first month; and, as the school is growing, it will be more this month and next. By the time free school opens, so many will have come from abroad that I shall be able to pay my half-day assistant out of tuition collected from pupils over age and out of the district. Will also give tuition to two or three to hear classes. Have had letters within a week from young men in Athens, Cleveland, Fuller's Station, and Elizabethton, all of whom hope to come here to school soon. The school is building up, and with good material.

Yours hopefully,

Julia B. Nelson.

Again in this same month, December 1878, "The Friend" published the following appeal—inserted here to show how a case such as this, in the interests of total abstinence, racial equality made a special appeal to Yardley Warner.

The following is an abbreviated Statement on behalf of the coloured people of America, by a few Members of the Society of Friends who are Members of the Good Templar Order.

The undersigned Members of the Society of Friends, who are attached to the above Order, having travelled among the ex-slaves of the United States, and familiarised themselves with their condition and necessities, have been strongly advised by several well-known workers in the Anti-Slavery cause in England to appeal to the public for help in a work in which the Order are engaged among the colored people in the United States.

Few people in England seem to realise the cruel injustice of American color prejudice, and, indeed, it is almost incredible that cultivated and

noble men and women, who are devoting their lives to the elevation of their race, should, equally with the most degraded, be excluded on account of their colour from all social intercourse with their white neighbours.

This social slavery is so widespread in America, that it seems needful to seize every movement tending in the right direction, rather than wait for "some great deed to do", and to the objection so often raised that these things need time, we would quote the words of a colored gentleman, uttered only a few weeks since, "True but such things never die of themselves; they have to be killed".

Before stating our position, and the objects of our appeal, we may mention that Edmund Sturge, George Sturge, Professor F. W. Newman, Yardley Warner, F. W. Chesson, Rev. Dawson Burns, James Clark, John Morland, I. Metford, and other persons, are co-operating with us.

The Good Templar Order, whose declared object is to unite all elements of society in an unceasing warfare against intemperance, is an International organization, founded on a practical recognition of the brotherhood of all mankind.

This fraternal recognition of all its members especially adapts it to the most pressing needs of the colored race. Having emerged from physical bondage, they find themselves still socially enslaved, and crave, not for patronage, but for that fraternal recognition and fair and equal chance in life which is as yet denied them by most of the whites.

Veterans of the Anti-slavery movement, like Garrison and Phillips, who view with alarm the oppressed condition of the freedmen—are rejoicing in the stand thus taken by our Order—regarding it as the raising of an "unsullied banner" round which the friends of social freedom in America may rally.

The need of such organisations has been long felt by them, and in every State into which the Order has yet been introduced it has been warmly welcomed by their leading people. Colored bishops, ministers of all denominations, senators and teachers, both men and women, are working with us, as well as a slightly increasing number of white people; for even in the South there are a few brave men and women who "dare to stand alone" and defy the social customs which surround them.

If it is asked why the funds necessary to carry out this good work are not raised in the Northern States we reply that much less practical sympathy with the emancipated population is now exhibited in those States than during the period which immediately succeeded the war. The help which we propose to afford is therefore really needed; and we hope that if a good example is set by those Englishmen who sympathise with the colored people in their efforts to raise themselves in the social scale, it will not only be a source of encouragement to them, but will stimulate the Northern people to increased exertions on their behalf.

We earnestly appeal for help either in subscriptions, extending over two or three years, or donations.

Catherine Impey,
Street, Somerset.
Jane E. Metford,
Halesleigh, Bridgewater.
Margaret Lucas,
7, Charlotte Street,
Bedford Square, London.

Yardley Warner,
Penybont, Radnorshire.

Contributions may be sent to the above, or to either of the following:—
Edmund Sturge, 86 Houndsditch, London; John Hilton, Langvell House,

Burdett Road, London, E ; Rev. Dawson Burns, M.A., 99, King Henry's Road, Haverstock Hill, London, N.W. ; Joseph Mallins, Congrave Street, Birmingham ; or can be paid to the account of R. Impey, at Glyn, Mills & Co., Bankers, London, advising C. Impey as above.

The following subscriptions, among others, have been received or promised :—

	£	s.	d.
W. J. Palmer	25	0	0
Edward L. Tynedale (over 3 years)	15	0	0
James Clark	10	0	0
George Sturge	10	0	0
Joel Cadbury	10	0	0
Arthur Pease	10	0	0
Edward Pease	10	0	0
Lydia and W. J. Sturge, and H. Cadbury on behalf of Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society	5	0	0
Professor F. W. Newman	5	0	0
Elizabeth F. Nichol	5	0	0
John Shorthouse	5	0	0
A Friend promises (if 12 others will give a similar amount)	5	0	0
Robert Impey	5	0	0
Robert L. Impey (over 2 years)	5	0	0
J. and J. E. Metford	5	0	0
F. J. Thompson	3	0	0
David Richardson	3	0	0
Andrew Dunn	2	2	0
Alfred Shipley (for Dr. Richardsons' lesson-book)	2	2	0
Alfred Southall (annually)	2	2	0
James Huntley	2	0	0
F. W. Fox	1	1	0

The following account in "The Friend" for August 1879, shows the kind of Quaker Mission work carried on by Friends in Hereford and Radnor M.M. at that date.

PALES GENERAL MEETING.

Under the direction of Western Quarterly Meeting, a General Meeting was held in Pales and Penybont, from the 10th to the 23rd of Sixth Month.

A tent was erected on Penybont Common, in which every evening, large and valuable meetings were held. We felt that the Lord Himself was with us, upholding our hands and working mightily in the hearts of the people, drawing many precious souls unto Him. Many appear to have found salvation through Jesus Christ at these meetings ; and we believe that a permanent blessing will result to the neighbourhood. On Third Day, the 17th, the usual Monthly Meeting and annual examination of the school children took place at the Pales, and a large number of the friends of the children attended the tea meeting in the afternoon. Each morning a meeting for Bible Study and devotion was held, when we received much strength and encouragement for the labours of the day. Two meetings for children were well attended, one at the Pales, and the other in the tent at Penybont. A special meeting for young women was held on Sixth day afternoon, and young men were specially addressed on First day afternoon. Meetings were also held at Llandewy and Cwm-y-Gaist chapels. The attendance of young men and young women at the meetings was unusually large,

and a number of them appear to have given their hearts unto Christ. At the farewell meeting held on Second-day morning, many deeply interesting testimonies were borne from persons of the neighbourhood to the great good they had received in their own souls during the series of meetings. One old man, who had not attended a place of worship for years, stood up and informed us how he had been reached by the Spirit of God in the meetings. He appealed to "Friends", and said; "I am reminded of the ostrich, who lays her eggs in the desert and watches them not!" and entreated that some means might be devised for shepherding those who have been so much blessed. Another man spoke impressively of the Divine influence that had been so abundantly present with us; and we felt, as we commended them to the care of the Good Shepherd, how very important it is that there should be, not only the preparing of the ground, the sowing of the seed, and the reaping, but also the harvesting, and the ingathering of the sheaves.

Henry Stanley Newman, Frank Dymond, and Sarah S. Bell were the principle labourers; and we also had the assistance of William Thompson, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, for part of the time.

Signed on behalf of the Committee

J. J. THOMASSON. Secretary.

At the time this report was written I was a month old—having been born shortly after the completion of the cottage adjoining the Meeting House. And in the following year this further report appeared in "The Friend" (June 1880).

Western Quarterly Meeting sent forward a Report from Hereford and Radnor Monthly Meeting, which stated that it had received forty persons by conviction in the past year (37 of these at Pales). The General Meeting held at Pales last year was the means of leading many to the point of deciding for Christ. These converts are filled with love and zeal. Some of them are descendants of former Friends; the school at Pales has also influenced the district for good. Tent-meetings have been held at Leominster, and have proved times of awakening. Three village meetings are held on First-days, under the care of the Preparative Meeting; three meetings are valued by the people, and are a blessing both to them and to those who go out to attend them.

H. S. Newman said he was acquainted with all the thirty-seven new members at Pales. The Monthly Meeting had devoted much care to the applications. They had not been received in bulk, but dealt with each case separately. This had not been any sudden movement. There had been for many years a leaning towards Friends; the work had been gradually growing up, and the General Meeting brought it to a point. We have to ask when applications for membership are made. Are they giving evidence of true conversion of heart! Many of us could not tell the day of our spiritual birth, but with these new converts it is different. Any Friend who will take the trouble to go round to the farmhouses and judge for himself will be satisfied that it is a real work. Yardley and A. Warner are working at Pales. These new converts are filled with zeal; it is not necessary for us to continue visiting them in order to keep the meetings alive. Several of them are already ministering at times in the meetings.

I have been told that as an infant, warmly wrapt in a carpenter's tool basket, I used to be carried by my parents across Penybont Common, there was no road or even a well trodden path to, the Mission Meetings in the Iron Room, and there hung up on the pegs with the hats and overcoats of the congregation,

At a meeting of the Committee on 25th 6 mo. 1880, on the return of some Friends from Pales M.M. and after examination of the children, the following Minute was agreed to :—

The Committee has had under its consideration the present condition of the Day School at the Pales, as brought before it by the report of the recent examination. It is evident that the education of the children is suffering from the want of more systematic instruction on the part of Y. and A. E. Warner.

This Minute was posted to Yardley Warner on the 26th 6 mo. 1880 with his Quarter's salary. Comparing the above minute with the letter from Barnabas C. Hobbs, quoted above, (which showed how far from "systematic" was Yardley Warner's method of teaching), it will be seen why the Committee felt that the children were not then getting the kind of education described in the original circular of 1867 !

Shortly after these events Yardley Warner tendered his resignation as school master at Pales.

It could not have been an easy post to hold. And it was no wonder that a return to the scenes of his former labours in America, and personal contact with his fellow workers in the Negro cause should have naturally followed his relinquishment of the Pales appointment. The minutes of the next two Meetings of the Committee read as follows :—

6th Day 24th 9 mo. 1880.

Y. and A. E. Warner having resigned their situation at the Pales we have carefully considered the application of Hugh Perkins of Sibford, G. K. Braithwaite of Rawden and James Abbott of Preston and have decided to appoint the latter.

James Abbott is therefore appointed resident Superintendent of Pales, School and Mission with the understanding that his wife and her sister, Allis Lamb, assist in the duties.

J.A. is requested to occupy the post, with as little delay as possible, the Warners being anxious to leave for America.

H. Newman
Clerk.

18th 10 mo. 1880.

1. Sanctioned payment of Braithwaite fare 30/-d.
2. Informed Abbott Warners were leaving 29th inst.
3. Tenders accepted supplemental work, building stable £37.10.0. slating the west end of the cottage and converting present stable into a Kitchen. £21.17.0. building a closet with steps to descend from the graveyard £12.3.6. and consider erection of a porch above the cottage door—much needed—but money hard to get.
4. Ask M.M. to allow the meadow adjoining to be used by the occupant of the cottage and have it under his control.

Memo. The Warners left Pales 25. 10 mo. 1880.

James Abbott and his wife May H. and her sister Allis Lamb took possession of the cottage on 17. 12 mo. 1880.

Richard Evans of the Faldy and his sister Nellie kept the school for the 8 weeks interim i.e. from 1st 1 mo. until the Xmas holidays—i.e.

till the Warners left and the Abbotts came. For this the Committee gave them £8.0.0.

Yardley Warner's last public pronouncement before leaving this country and returning to America in 1881—was an article in "The Friend" in July 1880 as follows :—

THE FREEDMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

HEAR BOTH SIDES.

The Methodist Advocate states that "Before the war there were only 24,000 coloured members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Now there are 198,000, a gain of 174,000 since that event, most of whom have been converted at its altars and under the ministry. Then those 24,000 were mostly in bonds, without the enjoyment of the rights of citizens or Christians ; without schools or Bibles. Now they have Churches, conferences, pastors, and presiding elders of their own choice, representation in the General Conference, equal rights with their brethren, schools, books and the Bible in their houses by scores of thousands. Such facts should be borne in mind by those who are disposed to assert that freedom has brought few blessings to the coloured people of the country"—From the Philadelphia Friends' Review.

The above, with many other reliable statements from workers among the freedmen, should keep our minds open to the truth of the history.

The outrages on the Negro and the denial of his rights, by the people and authorities of the late slave States, fall alarmingly on the sympathies of our brotherhood, and prompt us to ask, If he is "a man and a brother," why is he denied a man's chance ? This denial is far less general than is feared by many ; and I cannot feel true to my own government and fellow-countrymen without submitting to those persons in this country who have so generously aided in the uplifting of the freed people, the following facts and considerations :—

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States decided and declared in the celebrated Dred Scott case, not long before the election of Lincoln, that the "Negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect". Now that Court accords to him, in every case yet carried up on appeal, all the rights of a citizen before the law. And even the circuit courts, so far as I have been able to learn, have done the same in every case ; thus not only securing to him seats in railway cars, hotels etc., with white people, in many places in the South where he formerly was excluded, but forming precedents for future decisions to his favor.

In my travels, soon after the war (1865), I often saw Freedmen kicked, cuffed, and ejected from seats. In my last journey (1876) from Launchbury, Virginia to Washington, they were in the "White cars" unmolested. A planter asked another, "What do you think of things now ?" He replied, "Only think", you can't kick a nigger now !" accompanying the words with a vengeful kick into the air. Another said, "Look out ; the Nigger can learn !" Not long before the war for the Union Charles Summer was dubbed down upon the floor of Congress for claiming equal rights for the colored man. Now we have at least seven colored members on the same floor ; we have colored justices, colored lawyers, and members of school boards in almost every Southern State. They freely walk the floors of our legislatures, and share equally in the deliberations of public assemblies.

The leprosy of caste is fading out before the light of Christian instruction, and the influence of our Freedmen's schools. The Principal of the Warner Institute at Jonesborough, Tennessee, has been applied to for the

admission of white children of the upper classes. John C. Tate (once the "Negro ferry boy") informed me that several white children "wish the privilege of your school at this place" Clinton, Knox County, Tennessee. These applications are from native Southerners. All along the line of our schools in North Carolina and Virginia, arises the response of peaceful co-operation and cordial approval of our work; the town-council of Danville, headquarters of our Mission, having voted an appropriation to assist in building new accommodations for the Freedmen's School of several hundred children. I have no doubt we could have white children in the Maryville Institute if, we had room. The letters of Charles Schaeffer, teacher at Christiansburg, Virginia, and acting for Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Association, show a wonderfully pacific temper among the natives of that once hostile region. The community of Freedmen settled on lots (adjoining Greensborough N.C.) which we bought for them, and laid out as homes soon after the fall of Richmond,—by their vote in the State election secured the required majority in the county of Guilford against tavern licenses, and are contented and prospering. The same may be said of the Tennessee circuit; and, though I was threatened with the "halter" in Virginia by men who had the power to inflict it, fired at with shot-guns (the men saying, "Goodbye-Nigger Teacher") in Hillsborough, N. Carolina, assailed with stones near Chapel Hill, N.C.; and waylaid near Stevenson, Alabama; yet, ere the end of one year I traversed all those parts, cordially welcomed; and could go back there now to be received as the friend of both races. I believe we have not lost a scholar from any of our numerous schools by the "exodus" to Kansas; nor have I heard of any of the people going from those localities. Whittier's prophetic words in "Howard of Atlanta"

"The one curse of the two races
Held both in tether;
They are rising, all are rising,
Black and white together!"

are becoming every day a reality; and I am sure no one who goes among them in the interests of a common humanity, making politics secondary, will go on a "Fool's errand".

When I had written the above, the apprehensions arose that other testimony might not corroborate this. Just then came to hand The Journal of the American Missionary Association for the present month, abounding in similar statements. To it and the preceding number I refer for unusually interesting accounts. I quote only, "The influences multiply, and reach out in every direction, which are destined soon to bring a total and wholesome change of sentiment North and South". Again, "He must be a blind observer and a dull reasoner who does not see that old things are passing away, and all things becoming new in a regenerated South". There is also a significant article on the "exodus", and a paragraph from The Episcopal Record, Philadelphia (organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church), on the "Fool's Errand", which accords with my knowledge of the author in N. Carolina as early as 1865. A most able and interesting review of that book is in the April number of The Southern Workman, which should be read by all who wish to know the truth of both sides.

16th of Sixth Month 1880.

Y. WARNER.

P.S.—My motive for writing the above is to counteract the galling sentiment that nothing, or little, has been gained to the Negro in the United States by the emancipation under Lincoln's administration and the subsequent legislation of Congress. "War is a game", says Cowper, truly and nobly, "which, were their subjects wise, kings would not play at". Let us be thankful when the Almighty and All-Wise over-rules, causing even the wrath of man to praise Him", and restraining "the remainder of truth".

Y.W.

CHAPTER XIV

1881—1885—THE CLOSING YEARS

Back in Jonesboro Tennessee at "The House on the Hill", still known as the Warner Institute—so called in the absence of its founder while in England, a teacher training school for Negro men and women,—After two years Y.W. removed with his family to Bush Hill, now Archdale, North Carolina, where he was teaching at the time of his death in 1885. It was during these years that two younger children, my brothers Joseph Yardley and Charles Horne were born.

The closing chapter of the life of Yardley Warner opens in 1881, when we find him once more in America.

In 1880 he was at Pales, where he had been working since September 1876. We find nothing in his writings to indicate that a return to the scenes of his former activities in the Southern States was contemplated. The chief source of our information concerning the last 14 years of his life was his Journal, which ceased in 1873, and his letters to Anne E. Horne, which ended with their marriage in 1877. All that we have to tell of his acts and plans for the period 1881 to 1885, is found in his published letters to Quaker periodicals, and in such leaflets and reports and statements of account as have survived.

Before giving an account of the last five years in America, let this be said by way of finishing the story of an American in England.

At that time my uncle, F. Percy Horne, (formerly Editor of "The Bombay Guardian"), half brother of my mother, was a boy of about six, living in the home of his father Robert Horne, (my grandfather), at Dulwich. He recently told me that he remembers a visit to them by my parents and myself as an infant of about 2 years.

It is gratifying to know of this visit. It was doubtless undertaken because of the impending departure of my parents from these shores and nice to think that it indicated that my grandfather's disapproval



A WINTER'S SCENE, 1955.

(Plate 18). "The House on the Hill", Jonesboro, Tennessee, U.S.A. Still spoken of as "The Warner Institute". Established by Y.W. as a college for training coloured students.

of my mother's marriage, referred to earlier herein, had to some extent given way. Percy Horne also recalls that at breakfast on the morning of our departure Yardley Warner, pointing to various things on the table said how much we in this country were indebted to people of other countries for many of the articles we enjoyed tea, sugar, coffee and all the fruits and products of the tropics.

Another memory of that morning my uncle recalls. My parents excused themselves for making an early start as they wished before leaving London to go to the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. I have been there many times since, but of that first visit, I have of course, no recollection. The N.H. Museum was one of the places where Yardley Warner and Anne Elizabeth Horne used to meet occasionally on the former's visits to London.

The winter of 1881 was long after spoken of as one of the worst in living memory. Yardley Warner's crossings, both ways in 1873 were described in his Journal as terrifying, but I recall my mother's description of their 1881 passage as even worse. It took 19 days from Liverpool to New York, as compared with my father's passage in the Philadelphia in 1873 from Queenstown to the same port in 15 days. In normal weather the crossing only took about 11 days at that time.

Writing now, nearly 75 years afterwards, it is difficult to realise that those little boats on that trans-atlantic service were smaller and less powerful than the steamers which make the Dover-Calais, or Holyhead-Dublin crossings of the present time.

What were the motives which led my parents to leave their work in Pales? What were the influences at work which were responsible for so sudden and unexpected a change? No definite answer has been forthcoming. Was it the ever insistent urge to help the people of the coloured race? That probably is the answer. All that can be said is that this step must have been taken in obedience to some call which could not be disregarded.

IN EAST TENNESSEE AGAIN.

And now let us follow the Warner family to Tennessee. Appended is a copy of the report of the School at Jonesboro, founded by Yardley Warner before his first visit to England and to which he returned directly after landing again in America.

REPORT AND CATALOGUE

of

The Warner Institute

a

NORMAL AND TRAINING SCHOOL

Jonesborough, Tennessee

1881—1882

Printed by the Jonesboro, Tenn. Herald & Tribune Printing Work
1882.

HISTORY AND PROSPECTS

*

Warner Institute is designed to be a training school for coloured teachers and a centre of elevating influences for the coloured people of upper East Tennessee.

The property, formerly known as Holston Male Institute, was purchased at a cost of \$3,600 by me, of Germantown, Pa., the greater part of this amount being contributed at my solicitation by members of the Society of Friends, in Philadelphia and England.

The building is of brick, and is pleasantly situated on a hill overlooking the town of Jonesborough. The school rooms are furnished with patent desks, charts, blackboards etc., and the grounds are well supplied with shade and fruit trees.

Jonesboro is the county seat of Washington county Tennessee. It is on the line of the East Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia Railroad, and is thirty five miles from Virginia, and about the same distance from North Carolina.

This Institute is within the reach of many who would be wholly barred from Educational privileges but for the benevolence of its patrons. The need in this section of a school, reaching down to the alphabet and up to a thorough education in the common English branches was very great. Not only does our school supply this need, but thus far students desirous of preparing for college have been allowed to pursue academic studies without extra charge. The extent to which instruction in classical studies will be given in the future will depend upon the number of teachers employed, and this will be determined by the receipts of the school. In no case will the College Preparatory Course be continued to the detriment of the primary and normal work.

Oral instruction on various subjects is given daily. Moral Philosophy receives the attention which its importance demands. Temperance and the principles of piety and philanthropy are carefully inculcated.

On coming from England we resolved to reside here among the Freedmen, and make this school a home for them as well as for ourselves, and thus impress upon them the *home life* and, our paramount aim is to exemplify the Christian character in the various relations of society. Economy,

* So named by the People in the absence of its Founder. Note the lack of consistency in the spelling of "Jonesboro",

total abstaining from tobacco and all intoxicants, and from all those *indulgences* which degrade humanity, are insisted on. Theory and practice in gardening, farming, and mechanics, diligently taught, with good morals in the many ways of family life and duties. Our beds, rooms and boarding are such as we would provide in a good boarding school. We all eat at the same table. The charges are Five Dollars per month, pupils finding their towels, soap etc., and bed clothes. Fifty or 75 cents per month for tuition.

Our few rules are those of a well ordered household, and each boarder assists in labor to the extent of an hour a day, on the average, to keep the price of board at a lower rate than could otherwise be done.

The experience of the term just closed has been very encouraging as to the influence of family boarding, in morality, cleanliness, good manners, housekeeping, gardening etc.

Every girl in the school has the opportunity to learn plain sewing and all the useful sorts of needlework.

A Sabbath school is regularly held in the Institute, and is well attended both by adults and children.

The normal work is daily carried out and one entire month in vacation last summer was devoted to it; the colored teachers from the county, and some others being enrolled and graded.

The property is unencumbered with debt except to the Superintendent for recent improvements.

For information, address

YARDLEY WARNER,

Jonesborough

Washington Co., Tenn.

5 mo. 20. 1882.

STATEMENT OF FINANCES.

From the Date of Y. Warner's Arrival in
2 mo. 28. 1881 to 5 mo. 16. 1882.

RECEIPTS.

Donation from J. G. Barclay £20	.....	.....	\$ 96.20
" Sarah M. Taylor	.....	.....	50.00
" H. W. Richardson	.....	.....	50.00
" Sarah Marshall	.....	.....	25.00
" Israel H. Johnson	.....	.....	25.00
" Mary M. Johnson	.....	.....	25.00
" Charles Barder	.....	.....	20.00
" Moses Brown	.....	.....	15.00
" D. J. Morrell	.....	.....	20.00
" E. H. Farnum	.....	.....	20.00
" per J. W. Leeds from his mother	.....	.....	20.00
Cash	.....	.....	5.00
Tuition fees (1881)	.....	.....	53.95
" (1882) (Free school)	.....	.....	8.30
Public Fund (1881)	.....	.....	40.95
" (1882)	.....	.....	162.32
Rent of rooms (to students)	.....	.....	8.30
Board	.....	.....	51.75
Balance due Y. Warner	.....	.....	1,653.87
			<hr/>
			\$2,350.64

EXPENDITURES.

Building materials for new barn and repairing the two houses	\$ 300.00
Carpenter's wages	243.94
Gardeners' and Labourers' wages	30.00
Fencing and improving the grounds	45.00
Manure, seeds and seed potatoes	55.80
Purchase of land	350.00
Shed and cow trough	10.00
Cows and dairy fixtures	37.00
Cart	45.00
Teachers' salaries	103.00
Ditto due prior to the above dates	239.00
School books, charts etc.	45.60
Bedsteads and other furniture	99.85
Groceries and provisions	305.45
Stoves and heaters	17.00
Fuel and chopping	50.00
Loan to a student in Fisk University	70.00
Travelling, and other personal expenses, Y.W., as salary of self and wife during fifteen months lacking 12 days.	304.00
	<hr/> \$2,350.64

Soon after the return to Jonesboro the "Friends Review" (in August 1882) published the following letter.

To My Friends of Philadelphia Y.M.

It is known to most of you who are conversant with Freedmen's affairs that I am still closely engaged in them. The Institute here under my care was purchased and put in working order, with a teacher, and assistants, seven years ago. Soon after, I was obliged to embark for Liverpool, to travel with my brother on account of his health, and since, have until quite recently found no way of putting it under the care of any Association of Yearly Meeting. It will be two years next 2nd month, since we arrived here from Radnorshire, Great Britain, to take charge personally, and endeavour to increase the efficiency of the concern for the original purposes, viz: *Training colored Teachers and encouraging them, and the people, in all ways of right living.* During the years I have been forced by circumstances to manage the Institute unaided by any Association, and especially in the last two years, it has grown in success, and importance, along with the advancement of the people, and kept pace with their increasing desire for thoroughness in schoolwork. On this account I have been very solicitous, of latter time, to take such steps, and make such arrangements, as will assure to the Colored People, the permanence and prosperity of the work of the Institute, after my decease.* Upon looking over the probabilities very carefully, we (my wife and I) thought it best at our last Yearly Meeting in North Carolina to lay the matter before Friends there; and they agreed to accept the trust, and to appoint a Committee of Management, on condition that it should for the present entail no pecuniary expense upon members of their Yearly Meeting. They have already appointed 5 Friends as Trustees, viz. Rufus P. King, Mahlon Bales, Fernando G. Cartland, Benjamin F. Blair and David Worth—to whom the late Trustees (Richard Cadbury, M. S.

* Was this a premonition that he had only three more years to live?

Mahoney and myself) have conveyed by deed in fee, the property, which is paid for, and unencumbered, to the new trustees. There is a deficit on the balance sheet transactions for the last 20 months, for the purchase of additional land, instruction in gardening etc., and for indispensable repairs and improvements, and the building of a new barn, an account of which will be sent and explained to any correspondents who desire it. The Yearly Meeting left the business of organizing the Committee to the Meeting for Sufferings, which will not meet until 4th month next, as soon as this Committee is appointed, the whole concern, and the friends, will be under its care and direction, who will report concerning the same to the Yearly Meeting and to all contributors. My wife and I are still managing the concern, and are very desirous to clear it of all debts as soon as possible, so that the Friends of N.C. Yearly Meeting † (who since the war have so much needed, and received, the help of other Friends), may be able to take possession here, under the very best auspices, finding the departments and appliances of the school, in the best order for them.

By our particular wish the Committee will be composed, in part, of women Friends; because the objects contemplated embrace training in domestic and industrial affairs, as well as teaching the youngest and oldest of both sexes.

Information concerning the condition, prospects, and responsibilities of the concern will be freely communicated.

The urgency of the present situation in the South may be estimated by the following. John Eaton (Head of the Bureau of Education in Washington) writes to me under date of 7 mo. 13th 1882—"There are 1,003,906 Coloured children in the late slave states, not attending school; which number is 55 7/10ths per cent of the total school population".

From an address by J. R. Thurston at the last Annual Meeting of the American Missionary Association, is the following extract: "We have six and a quarter millions of Freedmen at the South and three-quarters of a million at the North. They belong to a strong and prolific race, that does not waste at the contact of civilization; neither does it waste under oppression. They numbered but four millions in 1860, and have increased 55 per cent in the past 20 years. Since 1870, if the statistics are correct, they have increased 33 per cent. If this rate of increase goes on, at 55 per cent for 20 years, in 1900 which many of us expect to see, they will be nearly ten millions; and if the increase of the last ten years continues, they will be more than eleven millions. It becomes then a matter of exceeding moment, for us as a nation, to consider their condition, and their future. Several things are at least now clear; that for a long series of generations they will remain a distinct people. They will not amalgamate so much at the South, Dr. Haygood and others say, as they did before the war. The other elements that come to us from abroad,—the German, the Celtic and all—we expect soon to be lost, and they will not retain their individuality, but this race will remain for generations a distinct coloured race, so that it becomes a problem of peculiar difficulty how we are to deal with them. *We may think we are strong enough to throw them off. We cannot.* God Almighty is on their side; and with the welfare of these growing millions our welfare is interlocked. Again they will remain, too, doubtless at the South. We thought that they might scatter over the North. The failure of the migration to the North last year, does not favor that theory. What is to bring them up to a Christian civilization? We all say, at once, a Christian Education".

YARDLEY WARNER.

† The unfortunate sequel to this is seen in the "Special Appeal" issued in the following year.

The following short circular was widely issued from the Jonesboro School at this time, and the longer special appeal about two years later. This gives some idea in retrospect of the extent of the work in which YW. has been engaged over the year.

ABOUT OUR SCHOOLS.

At the close of the war—1865—the Executive Committee of Friends' Freedmen's Association of Phila. were reluctant to extend their work into N. Carolina hoping the late Slave States would soon taken upon themselves their duty in educating the Freedmen; and not knowing how ready Friends might be to sustain schools so far South, it was through such difficulty they were undertaken. How needful was the extension, how far, and how nobly sustained is now matter of history and cause for gratitude. Those who have been engaged in the work thus extended and those who have contributed to its support have had many occasions to recount the goodness of our Heavenly Father in signal interpositions for the help and encouragement of the struggling Freed people under their care.

At the closing up of the Freedmen's Bureau 1871 (by limitation of the Act of Congress which organized it) the pay of 2,000 teachers in the South was stopped. In several of the States funds supposed to be secure for public education were wrested away from that use, and paid to Confederate soldiers. The people of Tennessee lost in this way \$2,500,000. The sweeping away of greater part of the business capital of the South by the War, the general distribution and difficulty of raising taxes to keep open schools even for 2 or 3 months in the year showed, that if any headway was to be made in lifting up the Freedmen to the platform of intelligent citizenship, it must be in great measure by the help of the North; and that schools must be organized not for a year or two only, but that systematic efforts were required for common education for Normal training and religious instruction for a long time to come.

Thus the American Missionary Association, our Friends' Freedmen's Association, the Yearly Meetings of Friends generally, and most other religious Societies and organizations for the help of the Freedmen, have been vigorously working up to this requirement.

The Methodist Book Concern embraces a wide and very efficient educational field, and has recently occupied new ground in Tennessee, having purchased and built extensively for Normal training at Morristown a point first worked by the United Presbyterians and after for about six years by the undersigned aided by the Indiana Committee and Philadelphia Friends and taught by Almira King and Almira Stearns with signal self-sacrifice and the most faithful and patient labors for the spiritual and the literary advancement of the coloured people.

The great blessing and success of Southland and Maryville are pretty well known to all familiar with Friends work among the Freedmen. The former in Temperance effort especially has been as a city set on a hill. Maryville has an enrolment of about 60 and has turned out many teachers who have been spread out into several States and highly valued for their efficiency. These are but a part of the results due to the continued beneficence of the North and Friends abroad who are so perseveringly engaged in what has now settled upon the Christian heart and the patriots as a National and imminent necessity in view of self preservation. For notwithstanding all the good results and success recounted above we are confronted by the facts that there are vast numbers of colored children of school age who are not being educated at all.

A SPECIAL APPEAL.

*Freedman's Normal School,
Jonesborough, Tennessee,
U.S. America.
1883.*

Dear Friends—

I am now as much in need of funds for my work as when I first went to England. I then had Indiana Yearly Meeting to back me ;—now, I bear the burden of this school alone, as to human help. But it will, I believe, prosper in time as Maryville and others have done. In view of the perils of illiteracy, the intrigues of Politicians and of Rumsellers, and the unexpected increase in the number of the Colored people, aid is sought from individuals and churches, to meet fresh necessities.

Formerly I managed to keep my friends in England pretty well informed of the condition of the Freedmen, and of my work among them; but since returning to this country in charge of this Institute, my time has been so completely engrossed by the management and routine work, that I have had scarcely any opportunity to attend to anything else.

We have just closed our winter term, with a large attendance of pupils of all ages ranging from 6 to 30 years. With a larger income the usefulness of the school might be very much increased. The present building will accommodate 40 boarders, besides over 100 day scholars. My wife's Uncle Samuel Darton has been helping in the work of the schoolroom, besides three colored assistants, who as pupil teachers devote half their time to study and half to teaching on half-pay. Other students help teach the elementary classes, as required without pay, and thus acquire experimental knowledge of the theory and practice of teaching in preparation for the time when they will have the charge of schools of their own, among their own people. To render the school as nearly as possible self-supporting, in the future, and introduce agricultural and industrial training for the students, we have had to buy additional land, build a new barn, and make many needful repairs to the school building etc. An adjoining property (lying between two portions of the school land) having a house with unfinished rooms standing upon it, is just now for sale on very reasonable terms, and it would be highly advantageous to the school, if we could afford to purchase it. The house would give the much needed room for kitchen and dining-room for the students who board in the establishment, as well as sleeping-rooms for a more efficient corps of teachers, without which it is impossible the school can do all the good it is capable of. We have already advanced much more than we can rightly afford of our own means, on account of the urgent needs of the school, and it is important that we raise £,1000 at once, in order to secure the efficiency of the concern, through the present year, in addition to making these much needed improvements, besides clearing off the remaining indebtedness. In order to attract the young people from the cabin-life and its demoralizations, we are compelled, (in common with other similar Institutions in the Southern States) to fix the price of board at a losing rate; viz. \$5 a month, and depend upon the help of friends and our own means to make up the deficiency. The boarders come to us from the neighbouring counties of Tennessee, and some from Virginia and N. Carolina; there is no similar Institution for Colored people, nearer than Maryville which is about 117 miles distant. Our aim is to train teachers; to qualify them by a sound education, and to teach them the best methods of imparting the same to their pupils; but especially we endeavour to train them in good morals, and Christian culture, in cleanliness, economy, in housekeeping, gardening, the care of cows etc. The only way to do this well is to induce them to come into our household and be civilised, by close contact with

better informed people than themselves. This is the best and most likely means to help to bring about the much talked of, and much to be desired "social equality" of the two races in the Southern States; for it is unreasonable to expect the proud Southern people, to recognise their black brethren as fully their equals, in the social scale, until the tastes, habits, and modes of life and of thought of the latter are more refined and altogether more congenial to the feelings and customs of well-bred society. It takes a long time, and patient teaching, to eradicate the inbred wildness, rudeness, and prejudices, of those who have only come up out of their native African savage condition, through generations of cruel slavery.

I had made arrangements to transfer the care of this school to a committee appointed by N. Carolina Yearly Meeting: Trustees and Treasurer were appointed, and the new Deeds actually made out; but now that as N. Carolina Friends are about to build a new Yearly Meeting House, and enlarging their Yearly Meeting School, this added concern would be too heavy a financial burden for them at the present time, so the Deeds conveying the property to them have to be cancelled. My wife and I therefore are still managing the whole business but I want to make a complete thing of the concern so long as I have it in my hands.

If Friends who are interested in the Freedmen's cause, will now contribute as liberally as heretofore, I shall have all I need to turn over the Institute to the "American Missionary Association" free from encumbrances.

My accounts and collections while I was engaged in the Maryville and other Tennessee work, were audited by the Missionary Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting for whom I raised \$34,584. 34/100; plus \$3,869. 29/100 collected and expended up to the time of contracting for this property at Jonesborough. Since then I have struggled along single-handed, but have turned out 19 teachers, 4 of whom now hold honorable positions in various government offices in Washington. One, a fine young orator, graduated last year in Howard University, is an attorney-at-law, and a man of great promise.

Funds kindly contributed for this object, may be sent to the "Friends' Provident Life & Trust Company", 409, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Penna., to my account there, Richard Cadbury who is Treasurer is also a co-Trustee with me in this Institute.

The price asked for the house and land mentioned above, is \$950. — about £120, — and as the house is almost new, and a commodiously arranged dwelling, it would be invaluable to the school. At present our own family, teachers, and boarding students all take our meals in the smaller school-room, which opens into the large schoolroom, and is used for classes, all the while during school hours. This seriously interferes with the work of the school, especially as the cooking has to be done in one corner of the same room, and besides the noise thus necessarily made the heat of the cooking stove is too great for the school's comfort in warm weather. No other room however is available, for either purpose. We ourselves with our children occupy only one small room, making it serve for parlor, office, bedroom, nursery and workroom, all in one. The only other room not used for schoolrooms or boarders' bedroom, has 2 beds in it and is appropriated to the use of our teacher or teachers, and any occasional visitor to the school.

New York Yearly Meeting has charge of 12 of the North Carolina Schools; and North Carolina Yearly Meeting has 3: (i.e. besides 11 schools for poor white children, in care of New York Yearly Meeting). The "Methodist Book Concern" has taken and greatly extended one of my Tennessee Schools (at Morristown); the remainder in that State, in Alabama, and in Mississippi having been taken under care of the School boards of the States respectively; and those schools also in Virginia and North Carolina, except the Normal School at Christiansburg, Virginia, and a few others, which

remain as I originally organized them under the auspices of the Philadelphia Association of Friends, and are still supported by them. In this way, have all my schools been eased off my hands, and satisfactorily confided to the trust of agencies competent to maintain them. I have to acknowledge with the warmest emotions of gratitude, the sympathy and material aid of my friends in England and America. I have received none of the Peabody money, the Slater money, nor money of any of the munificent gifts of private persons to this cause ; for the reason that I have always been too much pressed with work on the spot, (in the field) to do anything at begging except of those whose sympathy, and beneficence, I could depend on, for immediate relief. I did apply for Peabody help ; but Dr. Sears (the Almoner) died just before the request was put into proper shape ; so that I was like the man healed by our Saviour, at the Pool of Siloam—too late, till a better came.

I never had any Government aid,—By that term is meant funds out of the National Federal Treasury at Washington. In each of my appeals, (by circular), in England, I stated the prospect of such aid ; and showed how it was promised ; viz. in the Bill before Congress for the Distribution, for education, of the proceeds of the Public Lands, (then about four millions annually) and which is now about to become law for the distribution of ten millions at least. It is only within the last three years that we could bring the Democratic Congressmen from the South to take this pill thus coated with Silver to the amount of 4 to 10 millions ; their tenacious rejection of everything likely to abate their hold to the State Right dogma, kept them, till recently, alike stubborn and blind to their own interests. Now, however, they will swallow the 10 millions, the 60 millions, (talked of), or the 120 millions ; if the free States will offer the Bill, with such enlargement. No doubt the Government aid is, at last, at hand ; and all the common schools, and some Normal ones will get a share. I interviewed (General) then President Grant, for this bill, soon after it was brought in by Geo. F. Hoar, then a member of the lower house, (now Senator) Grant strongly recommended it, in his next message to Congress. Hayes did the same. I again appealed to Garfield, and lastly, to our present Chief Magistrate, both of whom again commended it for final passage. I have been thus minute in order to vindicate my government (in reference to a remark in a letter recently received from an English Friend about the prosperity of our country and the rapid extinguishment of the National Debt) from every appearance of indifference toward the education of the Freedmen. The first noble set of relief to them done by our Government was the Creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, with all its varied, and expensive appliances, for food, medicine, clothing, barracks, homesteads and schooling—supporting for the entire term of its existence (limited to 7 years) 2,000 teachers, and expending over 33 millions in money, for educational purposes. * At the end of the 7 years (in 1871) when the Bureau died, the pro-slavery sentiment had so far regained its wonted ascendancy, in the late Slave States, that anything in place of that Bureau, looking to applying Government Money to education in the South, was stoutly cried down. A few strong men, as G. F. Hoar, and Washington Townsend, however, worked steadily for that end. I often visited Washington and had interviews with members of both houses, for the same. Public opinion in the South, in regard to this measure, and to the relations of the General Government to the States and the public education generally, has now undergone a healthy reaction ; and, hopeful as the prospect now is

* This sum was for buildings, teachers' salaries, and general costs ; teachers' pay amounting to 5,262,511 dollars. One Building alone—Howard University, cost over one million dols. and remains a grand monument of the Nation's liberality to the Freedmen. It is within the corporate limits of the City of Washington ; and being thus on National soil was not open to the objections raised by the late Slave States, viz. that Congress had no right to give money to States severally for education.

for Government help to common schools, I trust that not one of my numerous helpers in England, will make it my misfortune (as respects raising money for Freedmen's schools) to have lived under a Government, which, (true to its promises) is rapidly extinguishing its public debt. For beside the relief in money which has been slowly and surely augmenting, while this extinguishment has been going on, we cannot consider a public debt a public blessing when the people are not blessed thereby. One question occasionally asked me about the Freedmen while I was at work in Radnorshire for Friends, in the Pales mission, cut deeply into the sensitiveness of my nature, it was in substance "What are you doing yourselves?" "Your powerful Government, and your rich people?" To answer fairly was rarely possible. In the first place, the federal character of our National Government, by the Constitution, restrains Congress from legislating for any State or States and from money appropriations, in the States, severally, except for purposes evidently for the general good, or defence of the whole as a Union. Each State is expected to provide for her own; and how to legislate away, by act of Congress Union Money, for education in certain sections,—however badly needed, (as by the Freedmen of the South)—was the difficulty. George F. Hoar met the objection by providing in the original draft of his bill, that the distribution of the money should be made among the States in the ratio of the illiteracy of their population, as shown by the last taken census. As I have explained, it has taken over 10 years to work up this measure to even an approximate calculation of the needs of the nation. Many obstructing considerations arose; as the claims of Normal Schools, Agricultural Schools, buildings etc. Then, to answer the said question, fairly, I must tell, too, what our Churches, as such have done. It is estimated that they have spent 10,000,000 dols on teachers for the Freedmen. They are too, almost without exception, now, as active as ever; (some more so) in that cause. I must tell also what the numerous Freedmen's—Relief—Associations; The Sanitary Commission; the Freedmen's Commission (supplement to the Sanitary) and what many benevolent persons (some of them colored) have done. A close estimate I cannot give. But, of the last named (i.e. individuals) we know to a certainty of 9,100,000 dols.; —the 100,000 being the gift of one colored man! As to the other above named aids, I think, judging by statistics given me by General Edward Whittlesey of Howard University, Washington City, the amount disbursed by those organizations, was, at least, (during the war, and since) 60,000,000 dols. One of them, alone, of the first class, above named, has, this year, collected and disbursed from 40 to 50 thousand dollars every month. That is the American Missionary Association; the same to which I have recently transferred my school and work at Jonesborough. They will no doubt get a share of that school, of the Slater Fund, alluded to in *Friends' Review* for 5 mo. 26th. 1883—page 671. Passing on to other agencies acting independently and not above unnumbered, I must allude to my own mite of an offering upon the same beneficence; and when I say that I sent about half of my very little salary at the Pales, England, to my Freedmen's School at Jonesborough, Tennessee, I give the most pointed reply to the question "What are you doing yourselves?" and prove also that I would not ask of any man, could I give enough of my own, without taking bread out of my children's mouths, of which I know, I have already done too much. As already stated, all my school work is off my hands now; and I am clear of all financial responsibility toward that work. All money for its support must, in future, go through other hands and by other solicitation. I can only, if need be, recommend such work, by what I actually know as an eye-witness. My labors, in future, will be only in visitations (over the interesting fields of my former and earlier efforts), in the way of religious teaching, or other teaching, for the building up of things already laid out, in order to foster a sound morality and fit the Freedmen for citizen-

ship. Not until now, since 1865, could I say this. The financial statement of my work at Jonesborough is not yet completed but will be shortly, and will show that we have spent of our private means \$2,500 more or less for repairs, improvements and running expenses, chiefly for the purpose of putting the concern in the best order for future efficiency, before turning it over to the American Missionary Association.

I have been rather elaborate in statements as to what has been done hitherto, for the purpose of responding to the questions usually asked by English people, and of making a clear showing to Trans-Atlantic eyes. If my friends feel inclined to respond to this last request they may address me here. If they wish to help me on the work by further donations they may be sent to M. E. Strieby, Corresponding Secretary of the American Missionary Association, 56, Reade Street, New York City—or to Richard Cadbury, the Treasurer of the "Friends Freedmen's Association", 409, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Penn.

I would like to invite attention to a series of articles in *Friends' Review* which I have prepared under the title "Illiteracy", as "shown by the census of 1880". The first part appeared two weeks ago; it treats of its effects "social, political, and industrial, upon the country".

Truly Thy Friend,

YARDLEY WARNER.

That this appeal met with success is seen from the fact that (to quote again from a letter from A.E.W. to M. A. Southall) the Jonesborough premises, "free from debt.—two substantial brick and stone buildings were disposed of and handed to the care of stronger shoulders and competent committees in 1884".

That Yardley Warner lost no opportunity to publicise the Jonesborough School is seen by the use he made of his own local paper in which appeared the following appeal to the coloured readers of that Journal.

To the Editor of the "Jonesborough Herald and Tribune".

THE WARNER INSTITUTE.

It is important for the coloured people to consider well the object for which this Institute was organized, viz. the education of the younger children, the training of teachers, and the improvement of adults. It is important that they should consider three subjects, in view of the present, the permanent and future welfare and prosperity of their race, as citizens of the United States. We want the young scholars for the purpose of practising the older ones, who may become teachers. We want the Normals, (that is, the older ones who are to be teachers, sometime), to work day by day for learning the proper branches of study and for practising the proper methods of teaching.

What above all things now needed, is a supply of thorough, practical teachers; in place of incompetent and superficial ones. The people are getting money and property, faster than they are getting wisdom. It is high time they should learn how to save money and use it for their best interests and comforts. Oh, that they would only drop their ignorance along with their rags and bury both together forever. We must have good teachers and interested parents, or your people are doomed to go to the wall—to be the offal of society; hewers of wood and drawers of water. We want good mechanics, good farmers, etc., but we want them to know how to live and take care of themselves and families.

The State of Tennessee has made noble and liberal provision for this, in many ways. Among others is the offer of scholarships in several High Schools to such young men and women as are worthy and persevering. This Senatorial District has sent two (A. D. Cate and Cornelius Fitzgerald) to the Fisk University from this School. We want to send more. The State wants more, in order to supply the crying need of good teachers. But these applicants must be prepared ; and that can be done only by study and practice. Even the quite young ones must be interested and early learn by actually helping in school, the others who are near their own age and classes, so that the least possible time may be lost in becoming familiar with the theory and practice of teaching ; while they are still improving themselves in dealing with those studies which are fresh to their minds, and which they need to brush up and make fast in their memories. Herein is the great secret of success to the young teacher.

Now, I wish to put before you and your parents this fact ; and beseech you to mind it, and lay to it your whole energies, viz. : if you are caught up with the idea of running out to get a school and make money either for yourselves or your parents, and neglect such a chance as A. D. Cate got, and any tolerably smart one may get by study and practice ; or, if you seek to get schools before you are competent, in hope of making a little money without understanding your business, although the people may persuade you to take their schools—being too ignorant themselves to know who are competent and who are incompetent—you will before long have to “ fall back and go to the rear ” in disgrace.

And even if you are pretty well qualified and have the means anyhow to get to Nashville or the other places, and do not embrace the chance of improving your talents which will secure for you prestige and position, you will do yourselves, your race and your country a grievous wrong.

In order to make this school still more efficient for the purposes above, it is necessary for me to go North, and as cold weather in Spring is a poor time for vacation, and so there is no free money to hand, I propose to have a vacation now, and open free school soon after Christmas, and continue school till hot weather, next year.

Finally, I must say to parents and all, what the Bible says, viz. : “ Beware of covetousness which is idolatry ”, a truth, which, I have seen enough of mankind to believe, without the Bible saying so.

YARDLEY WARNER.

June 18, 1882.

Other interesting records bear the date 1883, one is a letter written by Charlie Williams a twelve year old Negro boy.

The following is from “ The Freedmen’s Friend ”—May 1883.

To The Editor, “ The Freedmen’s Friend ”.

We send you verbatim, a very creditable letter from a twelve-year-old pupil at Salem, concerning whom his teacher, L.T.R., writes that “ although young he seems to have a firm determination to become a scholar in every sense of the word ; is trying to improve in every way, and seems to avoid the society of bad boys, and seeks what is good ”. We think that Charlie Williams has made a good beginning towards being himself a useful teacher, and that, if he continues on the faithful and conscientious course which he appears to have marked out, he may, under God’s providence, possess that best thing in life which is beyond all price, whilst the promised “ all things needful ” will not be lacking.

His little letter, which he addresses to the Association, is as follows :

“ *Salem, N.C. April 14th, 1883.*

“ I take the liberty to write you a letter, as I have been going to school nearly all the term, and now as I have to leave school, I feel how much I need an education. How I am to get it I cannot tell. My father was killed two years ago last July, and there are four children of us. My mother works very hard to support us, and I try to do all I can to help her. I have sawed wood on Saturdays and done chores after school at night, and now I am to leave school to work in the tobacco factory. I have studied arithmetic, history, grammar and geography, besides reading and spelling.

“ I will work very hard and do all I can, but I feel that what I can do will be but a little toward getting an education, but as Mr. Wood said when he visited our school, I am willing to climb to the highest limb of the chestnut tree, and shake it hard if I can only have some of the best chestnuts.

“ Can you tell me any way that I can do more, or any way to help myself to get what I want most in life ?

The fact that the Negro population of the South is increasing at a much faster ratio than the white, and that the ratio of illiteracy is more than commensurate with this advance, has given occasion for serious, well grounded apprehensions as to what will be the ultimate result of so undesirable a condition of affairs. The facilities afforded by the public school system of the South, have by no means kept pace with the increase of population, whilst the various philanthropic agencies, not a few in number, established or supported by private individuals or associations, come very far short of making good the educational deficiencies of the public schools of the present. There is, however, a way out of the trouble ; that our law makers in the National Legislature shall so far rise in the scale of enlightened statesmanship, as to enact into a law the reasonable relief measure which has been, during so many successive sessions brought to their notice, to wit, the “ Educational Fund Bill ”. In view, then, of this well known rapid increase in the colored population, and the too prevalent ignorance among them, it were surely unwise as well as unrighteous, not to provide the means for more general education, when it can so readily be done ; because, so deplorable may be the consequences both to the local committees and the nation, of allowing a large proportion of the population to grow up into manhood totally illiterate, that at last disfranchisement because of lack of knowledge may present itself as the only escape from the difficulty.

Another and more personal matter concerns the membership of the Warner family in the Quaker community in 1883.

My late brother Charles Horne Warner, M.D. (deceased 1943) was born in Burlington, New Jersey in 1884. No other family connection with that city is known—save the unexplained fact that in 1883 the following Minutes were adopted by the Burlington Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends.

Copies of Minutes of Burlington Monthly Meeting,
as written in Vol. X. 1849-1905.

5 mo. 10. 1883.

“ A Certificate of New Hope Monthly Meeting, Tennessee, dated 3 mo. 17. 1883, recommending Yardley Warner, a minister, his wife Ann Elizabeth Warner and their minor children Stafford Allen and Joseph Warner,

was presented and read ; but the minds of some Friends, not being quite prepared for its acceptance, Charles M. Allen, Samuel Williams, Samuel Haines, Richard F. Mott and James Taylor were appointed to inquire further respecting it, and report to the next meeting ”.

6 mo. 7. 1883.

“ The Committee on the certificate presented by Yardley Warner, reported that they had given the subject some attention, but were not prepared to make a full report. They were continued ”.

7 mo. 5. 1883.

“ The committee on the certificate of Yardley Warner and family, reported that they had further considered the subject, and that an obstruction appeared to exist in the minds of some of their members as to the propriety of accepting it. They also recommended that it be returned to the Meeting from whence it came.

The Meeting accepted the report, and the clerk was directed to forward the certificate to New Hope Monthly Meeting, with a copy of this Minute ”.

What lay behind the discussion of the worthy Burlington Friends who felt “ some obstruction to exist ” in their minds will probably never be known.

The Minutes show the extreme care taken in those days to ensure that orthodoxy in all matters of conduct and belief must at all costs be maintained.

The final minute of record as to Yardley’s membership in the Society is a sequel to the decision of the Burlington Monthly Meeting to return his Certificate to “ whence it came ”—for a Minute of Springfield Monthly Meeting North Carolina records the acceptance of Yardley and Anne Warner and their children as minors under date 2 mo. 6. 1884 and it was here in Bush Hill, now Archdale, near Springfield that the closing scenes were enacted.

It will be seen that one ever-recurring theme is dwelt upon in all these Tennessee appeals—the need to deal with the widespread illiteracy of the Southern Negroes. Their rate of increase was higher than ever and the proportion of those who could read and write was smaller than ever.

In 1884 Yardley Warner wrote for “ The Friends Review ” an article entitled “ Illiteracy in the South ” and this was reprinted as a pamphlet in December of that year, and issued from Bush Hill, Randolph Co. North Carolina. On the proof sheets, in A. E. Warner’s handwriting is a note to say that they were revised by Yardley Warner during the short illness which ended in his death. The printed copies reached him at about that time.

The pamphlet is reproduced below ; it very adequately sums up the position at that time. It was printed for him by his friend Josiah Leeds.

ILLITERACY IN THE SOUTH.

It was only apparent to the Friends of Philadelphia who were interested in educational work among the Freedmen, that the training for colored teachers for service among their own people, would be urgently demanded.

With this in view, Normal School centres were chosen. First the Greensboro settlement (now Warnersville), Guilford County, North Carolina, then Maryville, Blount County, Tennessee, then Jonesboro (now the "Warner Institute"), Washington County, Tennessee. At these points young men and women find ample provision for qualifying themselves for the profession of the teacher. The Maryville Institute is now sustained by New England Yearly Meeting ; and the Warner Institute by the American Missionary Association. From these two schools have gone out over 300 well qualified colored teachers, who have given the highest satisfaction,—one counsellor-at-law in Washington City, and several who are appointed to situations there by the late President Garfield.

It is pretty generally known by those who have contributed to sustain these schools, that I have, during the last fifteen years, directed my efforts among the colored people, mainly to normal training, and to that, because of the obstructions which were daily forcing themselves in front of my work, arising from the growing illiteracy of the colored people, and from their complacency and carelessness in regard to efficiency in their teaching and the common industries of life. I have steadily pressed this great need upon my friends, and am now still more than ever impressed with the urgency of this want, and more than ever in earnest to avert the calamities which must follow not only upon the freed people themselves, but upon the nation, if adequate means are not speedily placed within the reach of those people (white and colored) which shall tend to reduce the illiteracy of the country.

To all the motives which influenced Christian hearts to help the Freedmen during "the War for the Union", and at its close in peace to the nation, now are added (in view of the following statements) the motives of self preservation, patriotism, and the safety of our posterity. Some persons try to divert our minds from the right view of the crisis, and from the proper way to meet it, by saying ; "'Educate them and you will make rogues and counterfeiters of them.' This is not philosophical, nor patriotic. The history of one family alone, among thousands of others, proves the fallacy of it ; viz. from the story of 'Margaret, the mother of criminals', we learn that the neglect to care for that single Juke family, living on the outskirts of a New York village, resulted in a most marvellous multiplication of criminals and paupers. Mr. Dugdale traced 1,200 descendants ; of these 280 were adult paupers, and 140 criminals and offenders, guilty of seven murders, and of numerous thefts, highway robberies, and nearly every offence known in the calendar of crime ; and cost society for their support or punishment, \$1,308,000. 'Without reckoning', as Mr. Dugdale observes, 'the cash paid for whiskey, or the entailment of these evils upon posterity, or the incurable diseases, idiocy and insanity, growing out of their debaucheries, and reaching further than we can calculate'." *

There is abundant evidence in the statistics of crime to show that the percentage of criminals in the more heinous offences, as well as in minor grades, is heaviest among illiterates. "In view of these facts, need we ask

* John Eaton's address on Illiteracy delivered by invitation before the Union League Club of New York City.

why have the benevolent of all classes, the friends of humanity, of order, of law and of progress, been so profoundly moved by anxiety? Why have the consciences of so many been urging the provision of education for these people? One thing is clear; these earnest patriots have sought no harm to either race; they have not acted in antagonism to any of the great agencies for the reformation and blessing of society, the family, or the church, or the cities or States of that region. They have labored to secure for the youth of the the South that instruction and training which by precept and example inspire to a higher and better life. They believe profoundly, that lust, and avarice, and anger, creep in the dark jungles of man's ignorance"†

In regard to the "Blair Bill", the American Missionary justly remarks: "The Educational Bill in Congress still hangs fire. This we greatly regret when we think of the dense illiteracy in the South, and of the absolute need of the resources of the whole nation to meet it. But we wish to remind our readers that if the bill should pass, it will in no sense diminish the work of this Association, or its need of funds—nay, it will only increase our great opportunity for preparing teachers, and extending the advantages of a higher Christian education to the illiterate masses of both races in the South, who will need to be prepared for their great duties in life". The Blair Bill gives only one-tenth of the money to normal school training; whereas, after twenty years experience in educational work in the South, I am earnest in recommending that at least one-fourth of it should be thus applied, and, as in the bill; not for buildings etc. The same journal says in respect of the sum named (77 millions) in the bill, "the proportion of this sum to come to North Carolina will be \$5,725,371 4/100ths, which (according to her percentage of illiteracy), is higher than the amount to come to any other state in the Union, except Georgia; this will enable North Carolina to employ more teachers for longer school terms, and thus enhance by almost fifty percent. every dollar now expended by the American Missionary Association and other Societies engaged in educational work, in the South. There will be not less, but greater demand for the trained teachers sent from Hampton, Fisk, Atlanta, and all the schools engaged in this great work; and the patrons of these schools, and of the American Missionary Association, when this bill becomes a law, should thank God, now that the Government has taken this work off our hands; but that now every dollar given by them will have its full value, and will tell by its whole force on the work, because every teacher they can train will be in demand to the limit of his whole time and energy."

To some of us who are at present engaged among the Freedmen, and intimately observant of the teaching now done by their own people, and the morality tolerated and practised among them, the above remarks are especially significant. The struggle and scheme among ignorant school commissioners and ignorant teachers, was not to become better qualified to teach, but to get the best grab of this five millions of "Public Money".

I wish to put the case in three alternatives deducible from the data presented herein and compared with the truth "that righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin is a reproach to any people," and with the truth of history that anarchy germinates in ignorance. The three alternatives are either to educate, to subjugate, or to colonize. What it will cost to subjugate by force of law may be judged by the history of the Juke family. To colonize requires the will and consent of the colonists. They cannot be bought and packed away now as chattels. They are with us—upon us and of us—they are fellow citizens and voters. A man counts a man in force of character for good or for evil. If you meet a Southern man on the road in the border States—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri—or in North

† From J. Eaton's pamphlet above quoted.

Carolina and Tennessee, where negro labor is not in demand as in the Gulf States, and ask him how we shall solve the great problem, "What to do with the negro?" likely he will say, "get them away off to themselves". But the providence of the Almighty has made them the nation's wards; and the nation must acquit herself of her responsibility in their guardianship speedily, generously, and in a Christian manner.

To educate by the help of the nation's money, therefore, is the only practicable alternative. Religion, philanthropy, patriotism and prudence, say it is the right and effectual one. Now, how stands the case? What is the urgency? It is clearly shown by another quotation from J. Eaton's valuable pamphlet.

"Nearly twenty years have passed since the declaration of universal freedom; yet the slavery of ignorance remains with all its perils. Joy is increasing in all the land that man no longer has property in his fellow man; yet we must confess that the evils threatened by African slavery, are only partly averted. The millions in ignorance are not free as American liberty must make free; their ignorance invites vice, crime and petty demagogism to become their masters, and by ruling them to assail the foundations upon which rests the very citadel of our liberties.

"The colored persons, ten years of age and upwards unable to write, as returned by the late census, number 3,220,878, or a number equal to the entire population when the original thirteen States were first united under one form of government. The foreign white population of ten years of age and upward, unable to write, number 763,620; and the number of native white persons of the same age, unable to write, is 2,255,460. The total number ten years old and upward, unable to write, in all the States and Territories, and the District of Columbia, is 6,239,958, showing, as compared with similar figures the census of 1870, relatively an advance of three per cent. in intelligence, but an actual gain in the number of illiterates of 581,814, in spite of all the educational activities of the intermediate ten years." The American Missionary Association's Journal says 200,000 of this number are colored.

This being the case, what is the call of duty? It is to send men to Congress who will vote away 77 millions of money to reduce the illiteracy of the country! That may sound a grand and liberal thing, not hard to do, but it is not the only thing needed to be done. Inasmuch as the Education Bill makes so inadequate a provision for training teachers, what is needed is "for every one to lay by him in store as God hath prospered him", in order that he may be ready to do what his hands find to do in this great necessity, of a kind similar to that in which Paul made use of the above exhortation to the Corinthians and to the Galatians, and let him give accordingly, every one to his utmost ability, for the purchase of training teachers for their business; so that this 77 millions of the people's money may be efficiently applied; not squandered on incompetent teachers; illiteracy with its hideous threatenings is staring us in the face at the end of this decade as alarmingly as in the last.

On page 12 of J. Eaton's pamphlet, already quoted from, we see stated; "the non-attendance (at schools is) 5,754,759. Allowing that of these the odd hundred thousands are in private schools, which are not reported, there remains 5,000,000 of children of school age, white and colored, untaught. To furnish these children with sittings in buildings at the usual average of \$20 per sitting, would cost a hundred millions in money; to furnish them teachers would require an increase of 30,000 to the teaching corps, and a single year's preparation of these teachers at the average rate, would cost ten millions of dollars.

"The pay of these 30,000 additional teachers for one year of ten months, at the rate of thirty-two dollars a month, which is about the average through-

out the country, would amount to \$9,600,000 ; add to this the items for preparation and school house sittings necessary for these non-attending school children, and you have the grand total required for the first year of \$120,000,000.

"There has been an attempt to raise a laugh at the proposition of the Hon. Senator Logan to appropriate \$60,000,000 in aid of education, but I give you here figures which cannot be invalidated, showing that his proposition falls \$60,000,000 short of the sum which would be required to furnish for a single year all our school children now without school sittings and teachers".

Again, the present incompetency of teachers is so glaring and important a fact, it deserves to be put side by side with the illiteracy of the country. Under my own eye, are men who are in positions as teachers and school commissioners, who can't read the Bible intelligently ; for instance, a boy read correctly thus, "Can the fig tree, my brethren, bear olive-berries, either the vine, figs ?" "Not so, said the teacher, who, correcting the boy, read thus ; "Can the fig tree my brethren bear olive briars, either the vain figs". And down in Texas a school girl spelled mosquito thus, "mosquito". Her teacher approving, but a school commissioner present (the father of the pupil) interrupted, saying, "My child shan't be taught by a woman who spells skeeter with an 'M.'"

Bad morals, however, are far more in the way than bad reading and spelling. So the great problem is not how much money shall we vote away for education ; but how shall we get good teachers and enough of them ? Looking at it in the light of Senator Blair's figures, which show, "that if the annual school period were properly lengthened, the number above reported without school accommodations, and without teachers, would be increased by three millions—how shall we, so far back in the dark shadow cast by eight millions of boys and girls without seats, without teachers, and without school accommodations—how shall we push on ahead and invite them into rooms with seats ; and have them taught by God-fearing, man-loving teachers ? We want normal schools, and normal classes in other schools, multiplied rapidly. We want such persistent and thorough work as is being done by the American Missionary Association. In 1882 they had missionaries 93 ; teachers and helpers, 237 ; total number of workers, 330 ; churches, 76 ; church members, 5,084 ; Sabbath school teachers, 8,073 ; educational institutions, 71 ; pupils 10,020 ; Schools in the South taught by former pupils, 150,000. Now the figures would be higher. We want men like minded with George Peabody, John Slater, George Sturge and others, who have honored humanity with their wisdom and their beneficence. Pick up the report of the American Missionary Association, and see about \$45,000 received in monthly donations from every State in the Union, for an example of a working organization ; and then give your money ; give now ; give largely to that Association, or wherever it is sure to tell on the working ability and the morality of the coming teacher in the South.

This whole subject is earnestly commended to the consideration of all to whom American institutions are dear.

YARDLEY WARNER.

Bush Hill,
Randolph Co., N.C.
Twelfth month, 1884.

As typical of the way in which Yardley and Anne Warner sought to relieve suffering and help restore the afflicted is seen in this appeal written by A.E.W.

*Bush Hill,
Guilford County,
N.C.
9th mo. 1884.*

CAN ANY FRIENDS HELP?

Charles Warren Brown is an orphan boy :—born in Virginia in or near Richmond. After his parents died, the colored man who kept him, “gave” him to a white man in Southampton County, Va; the bargain being, that this man should feed and clothe the boy, in return for such work as he should be able to do. He employed him chiefly to look after his cows; and treated him often, with great cruelty and neglect. One cold night in the depth of winter, the boy Charles, (then probably about 12 or 14 years old) was sent out to find and bring home the cows who had strayed into the woods. Deep snow lay on the ground, and fresh snow was falling, which effaced the cows tracks, making it impossible to follow them, especially in the darkness. Charles returned to his master twice, saying he could not find them, and was sent out again, with an oath, each time, and finally told that he should not be admitted to the house again until morning unless the cows were brought home; and the door was then locked against him. He remained in the snow all the night; being *barefoot*, and very thinly clad, his feet were frozen before day light came, and in the morning he was unable to crawl along. He was taken back to his master’s house, by a colored man. The master said he would shoot him, if he did not go away; The colored man therefore carried him to the poor house, where the doctors, to save his life, immediately amputated both his feet several inches above the ankles. He remained in the poor house, we suppose for about two years, walking upon his knees, and there was taught to wash clothes and do work about the house. Rufus P. King met him there, and being much interested in his sad history and condition, begged us to take him to educate and care for. We consented to receive him—a cripple—into our family, and try to teach him to read and write, and to train him to domestic work. He spent last winter in our house and the spring of this year (1884) we sent him to Philadelphia where Dr. McCollin having undertaken the care of his case professionally and Anna B. Crewe very kindly raising the needful funds to defray all other expenses, he was fitted out with a handsome and complete pair of artificial legs. After two months spent in Philadelphia during the process of preparing his poor contracted limbs to receive artificials, (which was somewhat tedious and painful owing to the length of time he has used them in so unnatural a position), he returned to us walking erect and easily, on his new feet; and he can now go quite a considerable distance, and carry loaded bags and baskets without the help of a cane. He is still living with us, but we are wishing now to find him another home as we think he ought to be either where he can earn wages to make himself a living, or be taught some trade which will be a means of support to him in time to come. We cannot afford to keep him and our house is too small to furnish him with work to properly compensate for the expense of making him a home. We would like to place him at the Einlen Institute or some other training school, unless some friend would be willing to take him as a hired help, and give him work in the house or farmyard. We can give a sufficient supply of useful clothing to start with, and he will shortly be able to earn enough for his own needs. Can any friend help?

ANNE E. WARNER.

It was in 1884 that our family settled at Bush Hill, North Carolina, a small white settlement near Springfield. Here my father taught in a small private school for the children of our Negro neighbours.



(Plate 19). A modern School in Warnersville.
See Appendix.



(Plate 20). The Author and his wife at the Little Davie School, North Carolina, 1954—rebuilt and enlarged since Yardley Warner taught here in 1885 (Photo by Herbert Petty).

And here it was, on the 7th of January 1885 that Yardley Warner died aged 70. The following obituary notice appeared a few days later in a local paper.

"Yardley Warner has been laboring among the colored people of this neighbourhood for more than a year. He was a kind hearted Christian man, thoroughly devoted to his work which he enjoyed from a sense of duty, always ready to befriend the poor and oppressed and ready to give of his means to every laudable cause".

In the Friends Burial Ground beside the Meeting House at Springfield, surrounded by many tombstones more ornate and costly than seem compatible with Quaker simplicity, there is a small simple stone with the following inscription :—

YARDLEY WARNER,

born—11 mo. 12. 1815.
Bucks Co. Pa.

died—Bush Hill, N.C.
1 mo. 7. 1885.

Were epitaphs appropriate on Quaker grave stones, none could be more appropriate than the words —

As sorrowful yet always rejoicing
As poor yet making many rich
As having nothing yet possessing all things

I have already put on record in the introductory chapters of this book all that I can recollect of the life and of the death of my father. It remains to conclude with some words by my mother, who writing to her sister, Isabella Horne, endeavours to sketch in outline the life story of the beloved husband with whom she had been a fellow worker for only about eight years. Writing to her sister this is what she said :—

*Bush Hill,
N.C.
Jan. 1885.*

My Dear Isabella,

I think I have mentioned to thee before that in his childhood his father's house and home had always been open as a place of refuge for the runaway slave ; a harbourage and food being always freely given to fugitives hidden under straw or hay could lie all day and at night the Warner family would harness the horses into the farm waggon and carry a load of poor negro men and women and children, often through the snow and darkness, to the next Quaker's hospitable door—(the next "station" of the "Underground railway" as Levi Coffin called it) on the line from Slavery to Freedom ;—from the South to Canada.—This was Yardley's childhood—40 years later he carried the "pass" of the government "Secretary of War" to cross to and fro, through the army lines, often in danger near the battle fields, to help the poor slaves in their dire distress during the civil war which ended in Emancipation.

Afterwards Yardley started, almost by his own unaided exertions, about 30 schools in Tennessee and North Carolina and some more in Virginia and Georgia, Kentucky, travelling from school to school superintending and directing all the teachers. These included two colleges or "Normal Schools",—for teacher training both the latter now in flourishing condition for which he raised nearly all the funds from Northern American and English friends; he paid two visits to England and Ireland on the account of this Freedmen's cause. In order to find a home and employment that would enable him to live for a few years independently of the freedmen's funds whilst collecting more funds he took a situation at the Pales, where, until he married me, he lived on an average of 9d. a day and sent all the rest of his salary to the Freedmen, as well as the subscriptions he collected by correspondence from English Friends during the period. This was sufficient to support the teachers in very many of the Freedmen's schools. He opened the school at Pales with only 2 scholars—he worked on until there were 50 to 60 regularly on the books. There were only three members of Pales Meeting when he went there and when he left for America these had grown to 45 or 50. Finally we transferred all the Pales work to James Abbott's hands and I went with Yardley back to Tennessee when ultimately the work there was put on a solid basis all out of debt, and having disposed of all that responsibility by laying it on the stronger shoulders of competent committees and organizations, we retired with our children to a small private freedmen's school, Bush Hill, N.C. and there ended his days "in harness" in North Carolina. Those who knew him best are those who loved him most.

And so I conclude with love to all.

Very affectionately,

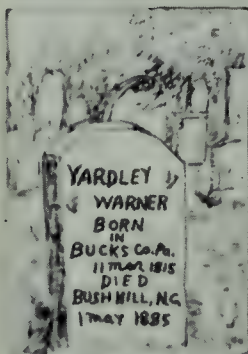
Thy sister,

ANNE E. WARNER

What subsequent writers have had to say concerning the life and work of Yardley Warner will be found seriatim in the concluding chapter.



*Springfield Friends' Meeting House
near High Point
N. Carolina*



*IN SPRINGFIELD Friends
GRAVEYARD, NC.*

*The Meeting for Worship was started
in Springfield, in 1773- and for
154 years has been regularly maintained,
though the terrors of the Civil War
raged all around that neighborhood.
And we saw Cannon balls and
other signs of battle ^{still} lying about
in the Meeting house yard, when
we lived in Bush Hill in 1883-1885
A.E.W.*

(Plate 21). The Old Meeting House at Springfield.

PART FIVE

What subsequent writers have had to say concerning the life and work of Yardley Warner are told in chapter fifteen and a Post Script written while this book was nearing completion, tells of some discoveries made in America—(related in more detail in Appendix G)—and puts on record some recent additions to the story of one who was indeed “The Freedman’s Friend”.

"If aught be worth the doing, I
will do it, and others, if they will,
may tell the tale."

Wilfrid Scawon Blunt.

CHAPTER XV

WHAT OTHERS HAVE SAID

It now remains but to put on record what successive writers have said concerning the life and work of Yardley Warner. Here follow copies of published records from a variety of sources, and one, a personal reminiscence, recounting the recollections of an Evesham Friend whose memories of Yardley Warner were fresh in his mind in 1895.

1883. Hannah M. Wigham.

Writing in 1883, while Yardley was in North Carolina and still engaged in teaching, Richard Allen, an Irish Friend was visiting Tennessee and North Carolina, and the following is taken from an account of his life written by Hannah Maria Wigham.

From Concord we were driven in a waggon to Friendsville, where we also held some meetings, and visited the grave of William Forster (the father of the late Right Honourable William Edward Forster, M.P.) who died here when on a visit to the slaveholders on behalf of their slaves in 1854. * Thence we proceeded again in a spring waggon through the woods, now rich in autumnal tints (such as can only be seen in America), to Maryville, staying with Professor William P. Hastings, and were greatly interested in the coloured college under his superintendence, one day visiting with him an old negro who was one hundred and seven years of age, being eighty-seven when set free, and such a bright Christian, his little curls of white woolly hair making a strange contrast with his black features. On leaving Maryville we had a lovely railway journey up the slopes of the Great Smoky Mountains (a spur of the Alleghanies) to Ashville, where we stayed a few days, revelling in the fine scenery and gorgeous autumnal tints, driving ourselves in a buggy to some of the charming spots that abound in this locality. Richard Allen would speak in glowing terms of the grandeur of the scenery, visited in its perfection of autumnal glory. The varied tints of the many species of oak, the bright yellow of the hickory, the maple, and many other trees and shrubs of the sunny south, appearing in the distance like some of the effective foliage beds laid out in our parks, only far more gorgeous—the sunsets, too, with their long and brilliant after-glows, left a deep impression. This charming region was an interesting contrast from the rich though somewhat monotonous luxuriance of the prairie states of the West. On leaving Ashville we stayed a few days at High Point, North Carolina, visiting the meetings of 'The Friends' in this locality, and also, as was our wont, having religious services with the coloured people. At a large meeting to which all classes were invited to hear an account of our visit to the Holy Land, on noticing

the white people in the audience seated on one side, and then some forms nearly empty, while the coloured people were seated in the far corner, Richard Allen invited them to come and fill up the benches, but was much pained at noticing all the white people immediately move to the further side, sooner than sit by their coloured neighbours.

On the Sunday evening, as Richard Allen took the arm of the coloured minister to accompany him to his place of worship, the landlord and guests at the hotel assembled in the passage to watch them as they passed out. This colour prejudice was very trying to him, and as he spoke that evening in the crowded church, to an orderly, well-dressed, and devout audience (with only four white persons present), it was a comfort to know that 'God is no respecter of persons', but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him. We proceeded from Maryville to Greensboro, where addresses were again given at the coloured college, schools, and church, and were greatly interested in visiting Warnersville, a suburb of the town, well built, and inhabited by a thriving number of coloured people. Shortly after the war it was difficult for the freed people to procure land on which to build and settle, but Yardley Warner, a remarkably active and philanthropic Friend, whose sympathies, like so many of his community, were drawn out for the oppressed, raised money and bought land here, which he afterwards sold in lots to them, letting them pay for it by instalments; a flourishing village or town is the result, and his memory is spoken of in terms of gratitude and respect. We proceeded thence through Richmond, Virginia, to Washington, where Richard Allen was greatly pleased to meet again Frederick Douglass, who had been his guest nearly forty years before when a fugitive from American slavery. He is now a man of mark, and a prominent figure among the most distinguished citizens of the Republic. He was born a slave, and suffered its unspeakable horrors till his twenty-first year, when he made his escape. He became an ardent advocate for emancipation, pleading with the fervour of one into whose soul the iron had entered, and with an eloquence and genius all his own. For many years he occupied the position of Marshal of the United States for the District of Columbia—which, strange to say, is the very office to which in slave-holding times was attached the duty of sending back escaped slaves to the dread prison-house of southern slavery. Personally and mentally alike, Frederick Douglass is a magnificent specimen of the genus homo, although for more than twenty years he was denied the name and the rights of man.

1889. Henry Stanley Newman on Warnersville.

An extract from his letters published in *The Monthly Record* for September in that year.

The climate in North Carolina is delightful. We are a thousand feet above the sea, and although so far south that we are in the same latitude as Indian territory and New Mexico, the heat has not been nearly so oppressive as in the great cities to the north. Among the hills in North Carolina there are numbers of illicit stills hid away in the little valleys for the manufacture of worse intoxicating liquors. One friend told me that the people in these parts were so wild, that a man who kept a still levelled a musket at him as soon as he approached, because he took him for a revenue officer. It is in the region of these stills that Allen Moffatt has felt called to work, and has himself been the means during the last few years of reclaiming over fifty drunkards. "I like to work among the stills", he said to us. "There were eighteen stills where I was holding meetings. One man who kept a still came forward to the penitent form, gave his heart to the Lord, and shut up his still next day".

Archdale is named from one of the local governors, but is interesting to Friends as the Bush Hill, where Yardley and Anne E. Warner resided after the war, and where Rufus P. King, Moses Hammond, Dr. Tomlinson, and a number of other Friends, live. Bush Hill was one of the celebrated headquarters of the Confederate army during the war. The Southern officers had their tents pitched in the Friend's garden where we dined, and cannon balls are still lying about there. These were hard times for Friends, but the Lord marvellously protected them, and the Tomlinsons and many other families nobly stood firm with regard to the unlawfulness of all war.

I find Yardley Warner's memory held in honour for the self-denying business manner in which he worked for the coloured people. As Allan Jay drove me through the woods we passed the residences of noted old slaveholders, with the square central house where the coarse landlord lived still surrounded with the wooden shanties where the coloured people had their miserable quarters. The trees have grown very tall in these old places, for vegetation is rapid and prolific in the south ; but the former owners have all passed away to the life beyond, and the broad acres that formed their estates now lie barren and worn out. The appearance of these worn-out farms, that were worked in slave days on a most expensive system, is as though a curse was resting today on the very ground that the slaveholders held. On other plots tobacco flourishes, and the "poor whites" are seen out in the fields cultivating it. The roads through the woods are very uneven, and we go up and down with many a bump. My driver engineers with great skill to avoid a spill, and to save the wheels from the old tree stumps that still stand in the middle of the muddy roads. Through swampy ground, and on many a hillside, where it seems as if the buggy must tip over on oneside, we make our way mile after mile till we reach a lonely place in the woods called Marlborough. I did not see any house near the meeting-house, and yet Friends have just erected a much larger house, and we were come to be present at the opening. It is a large wooden building with shingle roof, on the edge of a swamp, of whose proximity we were soon made aware by the multitudes of mosquitoes. After we had been preaching for some time, we saw from the movement of the people, that some unusual event had occurred. It was a funeral, which here takes place soon after death. The corpse lay in one of the huge red and green waggons, with white awnings, such as are common in North Carolina. The mourners were sitting in a group near the wagon, and a great throng of people gathered round. The Friends handed me a Bible, and in the midst of that large circle of people, in the open air, I read from the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians : "It is sown in weakness ; it is raised in power : it is sown a natural body : it is raised a spiritual body". Rufus King knelt by the coffin and offered prayer, and Allan Jay spoke a few words at the grave-side. We went direct from the graveyard to the meeting-house, where about 250 people assembled. We afterwards went to the house of Thomas and Lilian M. Lowe. She is a daughter of Walter Marriage of Chelmsford, and went south to work as a missionary among the freedmen after the war.

As we cross the country we come to "coloured settlements". You can hardly understand how systematically the white and coloured people keep themselves distinct from each other. The coloured people very much prefer living with coloured people. The consequence is we find one district white, and then an adjoining district coloured, while in the towns they mix together. As you enter one of these coloured settlements you can see the little curly black heads of the children riding in the back of the low carts amid a heap of big water melons, with the dark father and mother sitting in front. The children tumble in anywhere and anyhow, and, like their parents, seem utterly devoid of care. They do not carry the anxious look of Anglo-Saxons,

have little ambition, and are contentedly easy-going. They look sleek and well fed, and rapidly fulfil the divine command to "increase and multiply".

At the close of the war, when the slaves were free, one of the most important questions that came to the front was whether the coloured people should be allowed to own land. The proposal was that they should only hold land on five years' leases, so that the white people might be able to keep them in some subjection. Yardley Warner quickly saw that if the coloured people held land on short tenure, they could be dispossessed of the houses they built, and lose the value of their own improvements, and that the result would be they would have but little stimulus to exertion, or reward for their industry. He therefore determined to purchase an estate, and sell it in little freeholds to the coloured people, that they might have the right to it permanently. He obtained a plot out in the woods near Greensborough, in the centre of the State. The property was about a quarter of a mile square. He laid it out in roads and small holdings, and some of the friends of the freed men in Philadelphia helped him with funds. The plan succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations. The coloured people purchased one plot after another, till at the present time every plot has been purchased, and the money paid down, and the whole estate belongs to the coloured people themselves. It forms a coloured settlement that has found many counterparts in other districts in the Southern States. It has had this remarkable effect. Other landholders, when they found that Yardley Warner had made this provision for the coloured people, changed their tactics, and sold their land irrespective of the colour of the purchaser, and the five years' leasehold system was abandoned throughout the country. Thus he won a victory for the coloured people that has made his name a household word amongst them. The effect of the good deed goes rolling on, assuming vaster proportions year after year, until in some of the Southern States, such as Louisiana, Alabama, and South Carolina, it seems probable that in ten years' time the coloured people will own almost as much land as the white people.

I have to-day been to Warnersville, visited the coloured people in their own houses, examined their garden plots, seen their school-house and their church, and can bear testimony to the thriving character of the population. They number between 500 and 600 people, all coloured. Warnersville has extended far beyond the original purchase of Yardley Warner when he commenced the project about 1869. They have about 200 coloured children attending their school. They have a good house as a residence for the school teacher, who has two well-qualified assistants. I find that in the adjoining city of Greensborough, there is a very friendly spirit between the white people and the coloured. Coloured men are occupying several public offices, and a number of them are successful men of business managing their own stores.

As I entered Warnersville I spoke to a middle-aged coloured man, and found it was Harman Unthank, an old slave, and special friend of Yardley Warner, who has had the management of the property from the first, and ever since the "surrender" has been a member of the County School Board. One day he was asked what was the name of the coloured settlement, and he did not know what to say. But when he went home it occurred to him to call it Warnersville, and next day, being himself a carpenter, he got a board, and asked one of the school teachers to print on it in large letters Warnersville. The board was then fixed on a pole at the school-house. The name got into the newspapers, and the town has since held fast to the name in honour of its founder. In the centre of the front line of houses stands the mission house, where George and Emmie Dixon and Miss Swinborne of England, resided as teachers of the freedmen after the war. Their names are still held in grateful remembrance. On the walls of the little parlour are portraits of coloured philanthropists like Frederick Douglass. The coloured

people are not reckless spendthrifts, but many of them are very saving, and one man who has saved up enough money to purchase four of these lots is described as "miserly". The fruit trees are now in abundant bearing, and the tall Indian corn freights with heavy ears. The gardening is what we in England should consider rough, but this is by no means peculiar to the coloured people.

In the evening I had a meeting with the coloured people in their own church in Warnersville. Dr. Benbow kindly introduced me, remarking that I represented the Friends in England, who subscribed so much after the war to help to educate the freedmen. The people themselves welcomed me as "Yardley's friend". The singing was exquisite. They have marvellously beautiful voices, and it reminded me of the Jubilee Singers from Fisk University we used to listen to in England. I then gave my address. "You made one good point that just suited our people", said a shining African afterwards. "What was that?" "You told us about Jesus being a carpenter and that He had made all labour honourable, and this is just what our people need to understand." Their coloured pastor, Rev. R. C. Campbell, offered a fervent prayer at the end for the Society of Friends: "O Lord, they stood by us in the hour of our sorrow and distress and difficulty, do Thou, dear Lord, stand by them now, and prosper them in all their efforts. They helped and taught us when we did not know what to do; do Thou help them and give them good success in all they are doing throughout the world for the welfare of their fellow-men". As I bowed and listened I thought that the benediction and prayer of the great coloured race on our behalf was availing before the Throne in Heaven. The service concluded with a beautiful rendering of the well-known hymn, "God be with you till we meet again;" and I felt that the efforts that had been made for these people had not been in vain.

A ride through the woods brought me to Guilford College, and within a few minutes of my arrival I was giving a lecture on the "Religions of India", in the large lecture hall at the college. A new college term has just commenced. There are already 115 students present, and more are expected. It is much the best college in the whole State. There are three large buildings—one for boys and another for girls to live in, and the third for the classroom and central hall. The Friends' Meeting House is near, and the whole stands on some 200 acres of land belonging to the college. Dotted about are one or two little wooden houses, where students of very limited means can board themselves cheaply, club together and fare hard. The students are some of them very nice fellows, and the college is probably doing more than anything else to raise the character and tone of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

1895. An Evesham remembrance.

Keeping to the main purpose of this work which is to give an account of those contacts made with Yardley Warner by those who knew him, and to set them in the order in which the incidents occurred, we come to the years 1894-98.

In 1894 I went to the little town of Evesham in Worcestershire, then a small market town of about 5836 inhabitants,—today 12,110. In that year I became an apprentice to John Henry Pumphrey a Pharmaceutical Chemist. Over the door of his shop were the words "Chemist by Examination". His father had been in business on the same premises for

many years, one of those who were carrying on the craft of Chemist and Druggist in the days before examinations had been thought of.

John Henry Pumphrey told me that he remembered a visit of my father to Evesham about 20 years previously. It was on the Avon, in a rowing boat, and John Pumphrey, initiating me into the use of oars on that lovely stretch of water, told me how he recalled Yardley Warner and the manner in which he sat in the boat rowing with short jerky little strokes as one more accustomed to paddles than oars.

I was surprised when recalling this story of John Henry Pumphrey to find that no reference in any of my father's letters or in his Journal to this Evesham visit.

Alfred Balkwill's name appears from time to time in these pages, and it was my pleasure to meet with that Friend when he was on a visit to Evesham to stay with his niece, who was the wife of John Henry Pumphrey. I recall the manner in which this Friend, a chemist in Plymouth, held in his right hand a Winchester, (a half gallon bottle) of Cod Liver Oil just arrived from the old Quaker firm of Wholesale Chemists, Southall Bros. & Barclay of Birmingham and pouring a few drops on to the back of his left hand, tasted it and smacking his lips, said "that's the way one tells tweedle-dum from tweedle-dee". Had I known what I know now, how well Alfred Balkwill knew my father, I would have asked him to tell me of his meetings with him.

While still at Evesham, returning from a day at London Yearly Meeting, I recall being in the same carriage as Henry Stanley Newman. Had I then known of his close and intimate association with my father, how much I would have enjoyed hearing from him all he would have to say. These were happenings of many years ago, and I never thought I should be writing the history of my father and his times when making these contacts with some of the people who knew him.

1907. From "Glimpses of the Life of Samuel Morris"

Warnersville is a settlement just outside Greensboro with a population of some 500 coloured people. Many of the houses are neat and comfortable. Nearly all the money paid for the purchase of the land has been repaid. We were interested to find that the memory of Yardley Warner as the acknowledged founder is held in lively gratitude for his earnest and effective labours.

1921. Rufus Jones writes as follows in "The Second Period of Quakerism"—1921, (Macmillans).

In 1868 Alfred H. Jones of China, Maine, became superintendent of the educational work of the Philadelphia Association which had now greatly developed and had extended southward, covering large sections of Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee, with Danville, Virginia, as the central headquarters. This important southern extension of the work was in large measure due to the devoted labours of Yardley Warner of Philadelphia, who travelled through southern Virginia and North Carolina in 1865, and studied the condition of the coloured people there at the close of the war. This visit led to the appointment of Nereus Mendenhall, the foremost Friend in the South at this time, and a leading educator in his State, as superintendent of the schools for coloured people in North Carolina, with nine teachers under his direction. At the period of climax in the work of the Philadelphia Association, which was reached in 1870, it maintained and managed 47 schools, with no less than 6,000 coloured people in attendance, under 67 teachers. Those who could earn the money to pay in part for their schooling were charged a small tuition fee; the main supply of funds however, came in through the liberal contributions of Friends at home and abroad, which, in 1870, had amounted to \$253415. *

After the battle of Chatanooga, in the winter of 1863-1864, a great work of relief in Tennessee was laid upon the Indiana Association. Ten thousand women and children collected along the railroad between Chattanooga and Gallatin, and there were seven thousand refugees in the city of Nashville. Walter T. Carpenter was sent down to direct the work in this new field. Daniel Hill, Oliver White, and many other prominent young Friends joined in this work of relief, which was immediately followed by the organization of schools.

Yardley Warner of Philadelphia, always full of devotion and energy went out to Tennessee to study the situation there and came back to give vivid accounts of the greatness of the needs of the opportunities for service. Keen interest was aroused throughout the east, and many contributions were sent to assist the western work. Friends in Great Britain and Ireland were also very generous in their support of the Tennessee work, as they were of all the American work.

In addition to the schools already mentioned, others were started and maintained at Little Rock, Arkansas, and at Lauderdale, Mississippi where there was also an orphan's home in a building that had been used for army hospital, and a normal school at Maryville, Tennessee. The Maryville school was primarily due to the faithful labours of Yardley Warner, who visited Tennessee at times and spent long periods there. He secured a large amount of money for this work, and one time had a group of nine schools beside the normal school in the Maryville region. The Maryville Normal School remained under the care of Indiana Friends until it was transferred to New England Yearly Meeting in 1875.

Meantime the other Yearly Meetings of the middle west were heartily co-operating in the common task. Many of the Quarterly Meetings in Ohio appointed committees to work with the freedmen as soon as the need appeared, and Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1864 appropriated \$10,000 to found a coloured school in Jackson Mississippi.

During the first two years work of the Association two thousand coloured people received instruction through the efforts of Friends. While these schools were being formed the Association was organizing and directing extensive farming operations. Bands of coloured people were supplied with seeds and tools, and were given the use of horses, and were taught to do agricultural work. The government assisted and co-operated with

* Seventh Annual Report of the Association. By 1882 the total subscriptions had amounted to 349,090 dols., of which amount 87,759 dols. had been given by Friends in Great Britain and Ireland.

Friends in this enterprise, furnishing funds to buy stock and implements for the little farms where necessary, supplying the land, as we have seen, and providing that the blacks who did the work should have half of the crop which they raised. The Friends in charge of this interesting experiment were, however, frequently hampered in their work by nearby military operations, and they were continually forced to see their coloured labourers taken from them to be used as soldiers by the government. Edward W. Holway of New England was the first field superintendent of the work of the Association. Dr. James E. Rhoads of Philadelphia succeeded him for a short interim period and then James Van Blarcom, a prominent Minister of New England Yearly Meeting, took up the work as superintendent, but he soon died from fever, owing to the unhealthy conditions which prevailed at the time in eastern Virginia. In 1868 Alfred H. Jones of China, Maine, became superintendent of the educational work of the Philadelphia Association which had now greatly developed and had extended southward, covering large sections of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, with Danville, Virginia, as the central headquarters. Through the critical years of the "carpet baggers", i.e. northern people who settled temporarily in the South and endeavoured to control political and financial affairs, and the terrors of the "Ku-Klux-Klan", a secret society organized to prevent negroes and northerners from obtaining political influence in the South, the teachers of the Friends Association were often in danger, and their position was an extremely delicate one. They were sometimes warned and threatened, but they laboured on unmoved, attended strictly to their duties, and never received any harm.

- 1926 Extract from a paper read by Cyrus P. Frazier at a meeting of the Springfield North Carolina Memorial Society in 1926. The manuscript of this is in the Library of Guilford College, North Carolina. C. P. Frazier was the father of the present Mayor of Greensboro, who as a boy recalls the time when his father used to speak of Yardley Warner. C. P. Frazier was a supporter of a North Carolina paper called "The Prohibitionist"—published in the interests of total abstinence and social righteousness.

At the close of the Civil War (1865) nearly four million coloured people were sent free from the bondage of slavery.

The larger part of them went out from their former masters without a dollar and without a foot of land on the earth.

In their poverty and rags and homelessness they were pitiful indeed, and almost worse than this, they had no knowledge of letters or figures or the power of initiative, and still worse, their former owners not only despised them but also despised those who sympathized with them.

This was the condition of the coloured people in many parts of the South when Yardley Warner of Philadelphia came to Greensboro N.C. in 1866 to aid the coloured freedmen.

In choosing Greensboro for operation he found more sympathisers than in most of the other sections of the South.

Guilford county and the counties adjoining were more tolerant and less prejudiced, due probably to the Quakers of this section who believed in the doctrine of human freedom. The first thing Yardley Warner did after feeding and clothing the destitute freedmen and their families was to

secure homes for them. He wanted every coloured family to feel that they had a home that they could call their own.

As an experiment he (with the aid of The Freedmen's Aid Society of Philadelphia) purchased 60 acres of land south of Greensboro—He laid this land out into streets, and *one acre lots*. He made them *one acre* so each family could have a garden large enough to help in the supply of food. He assisted about 55 coloured men with their families and enabled them by long time payments to build small houses and get settled. He then built a school house and started a school.

Sixty years have passed since Yardley Warner bought this land and settled coloured people upon it.

Today—1926—there are more than 500 houses on this land, two large brick school buildings, with Churches and Stores and Lodges, and 3,000 coloured people. This section is known as Warnersville and lies in the limits of Greensboro.

Twenty years after making this settlement of coloured people at Greensboro (1886) Yardley Warner was living at Bush Hill (now Archdale) and teaching a coloured school of a little settlement of coloured people called Little Davie. He believed that the 4,000,000 coloured in the South in 1863 would in the course of time be 10,000,000 then later 15 or 20,000,000 and the only solution of the negro problem would be in the end to either subjugate educate or exterminate the race and that the cheapest and safest and most righteous way would be to educate them and make good citizens of them.

Yardley Warner is gone but his works live after him.

It requires moral courage and heroism to do a righteous thing, ignored and ostracised than to go with a big crowd with bands and banners into the charge of a battle.

1928. Zorah Klain.

In the year 1928 Zorah Klain wrote his important book "Educational Activities of New England Quakers". It was published in Philadelphia. On pages 182 to 186 there is a brief account of the Maryville Normal School for training Coloured Teachers under various sponsoring bodies from 1872 to 1904. The school is thus described as in 1877. At that time its founder Yardley Warner was in England.

A large brick building 120 ft. long, 40 ft. wide two stories high in front and three in the rear. There are two fine school rooms at each end of the building well furnished with desks modern. Each room would very comfortably seat 150 scholars. There is a large barn 40 ft. by 40 ft. with a basement which would make a fine boarding house at little expense. There are 28 acres of good land, all cleared.

In 1878 the Committee recommended that William P. Hastings be the Superintendent of the institution, a man very well qualified to have the management of the school and property, which is very valuable for the work planned, costing 20,000 dollars.

In 1904, the property then owned by New England Yearly Meeting at Maryville, Tennessee, called the Normal School for the Education of the Youth of the African Race, and estimated to be valued at 20,000 dollars, has been sold to William and Letitia Garner, former teachers at the Institution,

1939. The State Guide to North Carolina refers to Warnersville.

The following appears in "North Carolina—A Guide to the Old North State—1939". An important work in the series compiled by the Federal Writers Project and sponsored by the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development.

After the war between the States, the Negro district known as Warnersville, was founded by Yardley Warner, a Quaker, who purchased 32 acres divided the land into half-acre tracts, and sold them to the Freedmen on liberal terms. In later years the land has been divided, added to and re-sold.

The city's 14,050 Negroes, 26 per cent of the total population, live in more or less scattered segregated areas. Warnersville, in the south-west part of the city, has hundreds of commonplace houses occupied by Negroes of the labouring class. The largest Negro section is in the eastern part of the city, where the professional and cultural occupy attractive homes. Negroes of the city maintain their own library, theatre, dramatic and literary societies, and have recreational facilities such as ball parks, swimming pools and playgrounds.

1941. An article on Warnersville in the Greensboro North Carolina Daily News (printed in the Appendix).

In this year the Greensboro Daily News published a full length account of the Warnersville Scheme for housing coloured families. It was the largest and most complete record of that project ever before to be written. The article is reprinted *in extenso* in the Appendix.

1942. Hercules D. Phillips in "The Wayfarer" for March.

"A QUAKER SAINT AND PIONEER"—

Hercules Phillips of Llandrindod Wells, recalled the story of Yardley Warner, a Friend who did pioneer work amongst the freed slaves after the American Civil War ; (condensed) from "The Wayfarer"—March 1942.

To English Friends of today, the name of Yardley Warner is largely unknown. Nevertheless, his story is not unworthy of a place beside that of the deservedly well-known and greatly beloved John Woolman. Before the Civil War was at an end he gained such confidence with those in authority that in 1863 he was granted a pass by the Secretary for War which enabled him to go through the lines of the Armies in order to study the plight of the negroes and to arrange for some of them to go into the Northern States, where Friends helped them to begin newer and happier lives. When the war was over, he began what proved to be a great work as a pioneer of the housing and education of the freed men. With the support of the Association of Friends of Philadelphia and its vicinity, he established a housing scheme near to Greensboro, North Carolina. The scheme made it possible for the freed men to secure homesteads and gardens on very easy terms, and thus establish themselves by industry, character, and thrift on the road to larger and higher ways of living.

1952

A "Round the World Quaker Letter" in January this year a parable by Freda M. Hadley, based on the toy Noah's Ark and little animals now in the Quaker Museum, Springfield, North Carolina, which was made by Yardley Warner when at Bush Hill. See also the closing paragraph of "Warnersville," in Appendix C.

*601 Springfield Rd.,
High Point,
North Carolina,
U.S.A.
January 1952.*

Dear Reader,

"There—you see, the animals are lined up two by two, ready to go into the ark! This ark is made something like the way God told Noah to make his, though much smaller, of course. I carved the animals from wood for my sons. I wanted you to see them, too". Thus might Yardley Warner have talked to a group of black boys and girls in 1884 in "Little Davie School" near Archdale, North Carolina. The ark and its animals now rest in Springfield Museum, near that school.

Nearly four million slaves were suddenly set free in the southern states of the United States at the close of a civil war in 1865. They had no money, no education, not a foot of land, no place to go. The majority of white people were very bitter about losing their slaves. And so they felt hate for the negroes, and also for the white people who befriended the negroes. The poor black people were more lost than wandering animals. Men, both good and bad, came forward to be their leaders. One of these good men was Yardley Warner. He and his English wife came to North Carolina soon after the war ended. With money from Friends in the North, Warner started an experiment near Greensboro, North Carolina, to help the negroes who had been freed to own their own homes.

As soon as Warner had fed and clothed the freed men and their families, he bought sixty acres of land. He divided this into one-acre lots and finally persuaded 55 bewildered ex-slaves to take an acre each, with promise to pay a small amount over a long period of time. On an acre, a family could raise its own food. Records are in the courthouse today, showing that these lots sold for \$25 to over \$400. Many of the negroes got work in a factory making wagon spokes and handles. Others learned trades, especially as carpenters. Many Friends lived in this section, and so there were some who sympathised with their efforts.

The next thing Yardley Warner did was to build a schoolhouse and start a school for the children. At first there were white teachers, who braved the scorn of many white people, but later coloured teachers who had been sent north for training came back to help their race. The religious life of the people was so well looked after that when an English Friend visited their church 20 years later, the coloured pastor prayed for the Friends in this way; "O Lord, they helped and taught us when we did not know what to do. Do thou help them in all they are doing for the welfare of their fellowmen". Today, this settlement of negroes is still known as "Warnersville". It was named, years ago, by an ex-slave. Now there are hundreds of homes on this land, thousands of negroes, large school buildings and churches. It is now part of the city of Greensboro, a peaceful, prosperous community.

After seeing Warnersville going well, Yardley Warner spent the next twenty years raising money in England, Ireland and the United States, and establishing forty negro normal schools in Tennessee and North Carolina. Then he settled near Springfield Meeting, sixteen miles from Warnersville, and began to teach the children of ex-slaves in "Little Davie School". He died two years later, leaving his wife and two sons. The Warners used very little money for themselves. They had no buggy or horse, but walked to Springfield Meeting and school. They were passed by more prosperous Friends in their carriages, as they trudged through the red mud—probably with heavy hearts, for their cause was still very unpopular.

The shadow of this good man is a long one, reaching down through these many years. Thousands of people benefit from living in that shadow today. Yardley Warner's shadow is long and broad because he kept his face toward the light of God which led him into many adventures of friendship.

Your friend

Freda M. Hadley.

CHAPTER XVI

1954—1956. A POSTSCRIPT.

It has been said that the most important part of some letters are the post scripts,—opportunities to make good any omissions noticed on re-reading or to add fresh information. So with this post script. This book, to which it is appended, began to take shape in June 1954 directly the writer and his wife returned from America, where they had been in order to collect material for its pages. A more detailed account of that visit will be found in Appendix "G."

Extracts of a diary kept from April 30th to June 13th will be found in the Appendix. It will show how this book could not have been written if those visits had never been undertaken.

It will be seen that the plan outlined in the Preface has been adhered to whereby the foregoing records have been presented in the order in which they were originally written, and this Post Script will bring the story up to date.

One of the Friends my wife and I met in America was Jané Taylor Brey of Philadelphia, of whom I had never heard before, and whose family is linked both by marriage and descent from the Warners and the Yardleys of America.

It seems more than mere coincidence that this American Friend should have been to the Pales, where I was born, exactly one year prior to my wife and I meeting her in America, while we were there gathering material for this biography; more than this, from her own genealogical records she was able to add further information respecting our common ancestry. An account of her visit to the Pales will be found on page 227.

1954. IN GUILFORD COLLEGE RECORDS.

The journey was undertaken to visit our relations in the United States and to obtain material for this book. Our success will be seen from a perusal of the record made during our stay with my late brother Joseph Yardley at West Grove.

One of our most interesting visits was to Guilford College, North Carolina, and while there, we were privileged to see the Journal of John Collins, a manuscript in copper plate, entitled "Among Friends in North Carolina". It bears date 1868, another document also in manuscript, by John and Anna C. Collins is entitled "Our Mission in East Tennessee, 1870 to 1877". Extracts from these works are given below. The references to Stafford Allen are interesting, being of date prior to any known record of his contacts with Yardley Warner, but it is probable that they met for the first time during this visit to America of that Friend who did so much to help the cause in which my father was so deeply concerned. The following paragraphs refer to some meeting at which Stafford Allen was one of the speakers.

Thos. B. Nichols alluded to the presence of Stafford Allen from London and his deep interest in the condition of the Freedmen. He was invited to be present at the meeting of the said Committee. Isham Cox was added to it. Stafford Allen made some statements with regard to the high state of agriculture in England. His own cultivation of lavender was 13 acres, the whole of which was recently destroyed by frost in one night. He said there was a great demand for grain, and Americans can always find in England a market for any amount they can raise.

Stafford Allen of London also stated that English Friends had felt much sympathy with and aided Friends in North Carolina during the war. He had been much interested in the report of Allen Jay and would mention these things in England where they would be listened to with much interest.

The same speaker told that by chance a collector of medicinal plants was seated in the train in which he came. He said that he was an agent for Wyeth and Bros. of Phila. That firm obtains from various sections of the Union 2300 varieties of plants for their pharmacy. Last year they bought half a million pounds of dessicated blackberries.

The Account of the Maryville Normal School given by John and Anna B. Collins is given below. The sepia sketch by John Collins is reproduced on another page. A remarkable feature of these manuscript works by J. and A. Collins, is the number of such illustrations which appear in these volumes.

This spacious building stands upon an elevated site about half a mile from the Court House in Maryville on the road to Niles Ferry. It is constructed of brick made on the spot by voluntary labour. The whole length is 120 ft. and its width is 36 ft. the middle part as seen in the sketch being 30 ft. and projecting 10 ft. from the main building.

It is to be regretted that this house should stand, as it does, so very near the road, instead of being placed on a hill further to the south, where its proportions could be seen to more advantage as in the case with Maryville College. (Refer to page 87 in the same book). To the labours of Yardley Warner and the liberal subscriptions of Friends in Indiana, Philadelphia, England and Ireland, the coloured race in Tennessee is indebted for the establishment of this institution.

May 15th, 1954. Copied at Guilford College.

The house was commenced in April 1872 and finished in 1874, but the grounds at the present date, 1876, are not laid out nor any shade trees planted around. It was the intention of Yardley Warner after visiting manual labour schools in England and on the Continent to adopt the same system which he described in glowing terms on his return. For some reasons, however, this feature did not go into operation and most of the 30 acres belonging to the school and costing 1000 may lie uncultivated for many a year. William P. Hastings assisted by his wife and daughter have had charge of the tuition since the time that Yardley Warner had charge of it in the humble frame building used as a Methodist Meeting House.

The rooms in the new edifice are large and well ventilated and the furniture of the best modern style. There is ample accommodation for a number of boarding pupils but there is only one at present. It is probable that under existing arrangements there will not be more than 50 scholars in attendance, (as is now the case) and the expectations of some who contributed largely to this enterprise may not be realised.

In the latter part of 1875, Yardley Warner closed his connections with the Institution and having obtained funds for the purpose purchased grounds and buildings at Jonesboro in Washington County, for 3500 dollars where he established another Normal School. Soon after he went to Pennebunk * Wales, where he married a second time. After being engaged there in teaching for several years he returned to Jonesboro and resumed his labours with the school. (He died at Archdale near High Point, N.C. 1st mo. 1885).

Another manuscript we found in the Guilford College Library was a paper read by Emma King at the Springfield Memorial Association in 1923.

She was one of the daughters of Rufus P. King, our nearest neighbour when we lived at Archdale, (called Bush Hill, in 1885). I remember her as a girl when she and her sisters were playmates of myself and my two small brothers.

She wrote as follows,

In 1863 Yardley Warner of Philadelphia had been given a pass by the Secretary of War to go through the lines of the Northern armies "to investigate the condition of the negroes for the Friends Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia for the Relief of Coloured Freedmen and he was instrumental in establishing schools in Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky as well as in N.C. He visited this state in the summer of 1865 and established a school in Greensboro in the fall of that year.

The Association of Phila. bought 34 acres in Greensboro which was sold or leased to coloured people in small lots and this section still bears the name of Warnersville. Yardley Warner was the Friend who was responsible for the settlement of these recently Freed men on to lands they could truly call their own".

To find all these records in the Guilford College Library in North Carolina, was most interesting. It was in this State and in the adjoining state of Tennessee, beyond the ridge known as the Smoky Mountains

* Mis-spelling for Pen-y-bont.

that much of my father's work was done. An account of our journey into the latter State and our wonderful reception in Jonesboro where was situated the Warner Institute in 1881, is recorded elsewhere herein.

Subjoined is a financial statement respecting the affairs of the Maryville Normal School as recorded in the Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1874, transcribed into the J. and A. Collins records before mentioned.

RECEIPTS.

				\$
From Friends in America	.....	.....	.....	12358.83
„ Missionary Board	.....	.....	.....	1240.00
„ Friends in England	.....	.....	.....	16797.91
				<hr/> 30575.74

EXPENDITURE.

				\$
Lot at Maryville	.....	.....	.....	1000.00
Buildings	.....	.....	.....	18679.14
Expenses of Y.W. to and in Europe	.....	.....	.....	790.00
Previous building work	.....	.....	.....	5086.11
Freight bills	.....	.....	.....	215.61
Allowance to Y.W. for from 4 mo. 1871—5 mo. 1874				400.00
Balance paid to C. S. Hubbard	.....	.....	.....	212.24
				<hr/> 30575.74

By a strange coincidence, it was while in Greensboro, North Carolina, visiting some of the schools established by my father for Negro children, that the news reached us and the rest of the world that the United States Supreme Court had given its unanimous decision that in the future there is to be no segregation of white and black children in state schools.

To some it seemed a matter of surprise, and particularly that this decision was reached without a dissenting minority.

85 years earlier the passing of the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution gave equal rights of citizenship to the white and coloured races and Yardley Warner's writings at that date were witness to the aspirations entertained at that time. "We are pinning our hopes" he said, "to the Fifteenth Amendment whereby the rights of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race or color or previous conditions of servitude".

It was then confidently expected that once equality of citizenship was established the existing prejudice against the Negro would die down and high hopes were entertained that an end would come to the racial discrimination which had hitherto marred the relationship between black and white.

That nearly a century later this decision on desegregation should be so unacceptable to many of the Southern States as it now appears, is evidence of the reluctance of millions of Americans today to appreciate the implication in the opening paragraphs of the American Declaration of Independence which declares that—

“All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

Here are some more recent additions to our story. A copy of the “Maryville—Alcoa Times” for 29th June 1955 comes to hand reporting the visit of the present writer of that town in Tennessee in 1954 and the subsequent presentation to the Harper Memorial Library in that city of photostat copies of the three extant issues of “The Maryville Monitor”. The article recounts the story of how the money was raised for the building of the Maryville Normal School for training coloured teachers. \$20,000 was contributed in all—mostly collected by Yardley Warner (of this amount \$12,000 came from Members of the Society of Friends in England and Ireland).

The writer Elizabeth Baugh, quotes Inez Burns, an authority on Blount County history (a book by her on the subject is due to appear shortly) who refers to an old paper “The Maryville Weekly Index” for March 5. 1880, which says “Yardley Warner came to Maryville looking like a story-book character, having walked 900 miles from Indiana”.

The same paper published two pictures of the Freedmen's Normal Institute, one of at about the same period as the picture herein, and the other at a later date, after “Bill Joe” Henry had bought and remodelled it. The same authority states that in 1879-80 approximately 80 teachers had been sent out from the Freedmen's Normal School, 48 teaching in Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia, with approximately 2,500 pupils under their instruction. Students from this school were in great demand and able to hold their own in competition with graduates of Fisk Univeristy. Booker Washington is quoted as saying “When I first went to Tuskegee I felt that perhaps no other school in the South was doing better work than The Freedmen's Normal”.

One of the persons named by Elizabeth Baugh, is Mr. Bert Garner of Maryville—and from him a letter has just been received, which says that his father, Dr. J. D. Garner regarded Yardley Warner very highly, and recalled a memory of William P. Hastings ; Bert Garner's brother William married W. P. Hastings' daughter Letitia, who died in 1954 aged 96. The letter repeats the story of how as a boy he heard the story that Yardley Warner came into Tennessee on foot having walked 900 miles from his northern home. No account of any such walk, however, was recorded by Yardley himself.

Another recent discovery comes as the result of a letter published by the present writer in the "Friends Journal" asking for facts concerning the life of Yardley Warner. A letter from Mr. William P. Brockermann Jr. of New York, enclosed a photostat of a Diploma issued to his father, signed by Yardley Warner as Principal of a school in Germantown in 1869.

In continuation of this Post Script, as I write I have heard from Margaret Ashby (with whom I was at Sidcot School during the time her father, Edmund Ashby, was headmaster). She states that she remembers the interest her mother, Eliza Ashby, took in the cause of the Freedmen and recalls that her mother sent out garments in response to the appeals made in those days from Friends in America, of whom my father was one, for the destitute sufferers at the close of the Civil War.

Another interesting record comes in a recent letter from one of Yardley Warner's surviving grand-daughters. Writing from America she encloses a scrap of a letter written by her grandfather to her mother, dated 10th 2 mo. 1884 (one year before his death), in which he explains the delay since last he wrote by saying —

Temperance work, and affairs of the colored people and my own have pressed me very closely. Our chickory does not do as well as formerly. It may be on account of the extreme heat and drought so long continued. The country is literally parched. We sleep with all our windows and doors open at night. We have however plenty of good water in our well and tomatoes, Lima beans and scarlet runners continue to yield. Allen has nursed up a tomato plant on the north side of the house and it is doing well and pleases him and us. As we cannot buy Castile soap, will you favour us again by a piece by post. In much love again,

Your father Y.W.

This was written from Bush Hill in North Carolina to Philadelphia when I was a little under five years old.

The following is an account of a visit to Radnorshire written by Jane Taylor Brey who in company with Olive Lucas and Elsie Jenkins, the latter the daughter of the late John Owen Jenkins of Llwynmellyn, were at Pales in 1953; it is a fitting sequel to what Yardley Warner wrote about it during his time of residence on this lonely mountainside.

As we had found the main roads excellent all over England, so was the one towards Pales. But the side roads, so-called lanes, were often merely dirt cart tracks filled with loose stones. The lane, originally the bed of a mountain stream leading up to Pales was steep and narrow and the ruts were jagged stone, while down its centre ran a shallow stream of clear spring water. The car managed to climb up this unusual surface very well and landed us in a marshy level field near the top of the hill from where the thatched-roofed buildings of Pales were easily reached. There we found the one-storied stone Meeting House, the school house and the caretaker's cottage attached in a row, having been built at different periods; the Meeting House first in 1719.

The view from Pales, was indeed, worth seeing, I stood there feeling far removed from the modern world and looked out in wonder across the miles of apparently uninhabited mountainous country. We were then shown the old school room. There the books, the benches and tables were still intact, as if they expected to begin another term soon. But we were told it had been many years since a proper school had been kept at Pales.

Next we went through a stone-porched entrance and into the old thatched-roofed Meeting House. There before us in serene simplicity stood the single square room with its high ceiling and clean whitewashed walls. The old Quaker Meeting room was daylighted only; two shadeless windows placed high above the wooden-panelled back of the "facing bench" let in a strong morning light over the gallery rising three steps higher than floor level. Two rows of books on religious subjects were set evenly along wooden shelves between the windows. An aged wooden stand, obviously hand-made, jutted lectern-like from the exact center of a gallery railing of pine (the nearest likeness to a pulpit to be found in a Friend's Meeting House). The "Ministers and Elders" of the Meeting generally sat in the "gallery seats" as "Heads of the Meeting" and here they faced several rows of wooden benches set parallel before them. These benches handhewn of pine, dark with age, carried a soft patina on their broad rail backs and low arms no doubt worn there by the smoothing touch of generations of warm, active hands of many old and young Friends who had time after time settled themselves "in the body of the Meeting" to worship there.

A large ancient Bible lay, closed, on the wooden stand in the gallery. With no words spoken between us we seated ourselves—Elsie, Olive and I—each on a separate bench, entered into the immediate quiet of Friends' worship. Presently out of the deep silence Elsie Jenkins rose and walked slowly to the gallery. There she carefully lifted the old Bible from its stand. Then holding the Book in both hands she brought it forward saying as she did so, "Will our Friend from America please read us a passage?" The Twenty-third Psalm was chosen: "The Lord is my shepherd I shall not want **** He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake **** Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord forever".

Then, in the vital silence that followed, was made plain the meaning of those unforgettable verses sung so long ago by David the shepherd-boy while tending his sheep among the green hills of Palestine.

Rising refreshed and renewed in Spirit and Faith, we walked together outdoors to find the sun high overhead, shining through the warm haze of an August mid-day. As we made our way toward the car and down the steep hillside from old Pales Meeting, all the world seemed beautiful. The green grass, greener ; the trees in the sunshine had golden tints, and the tiny roadside flowers, the wayside weeds and bare rocks and dirt ruts stood out with new significance.

And so I close this narrative. It has been my endeavour to recount through the years the story of my father's life and subsequent to his death to collect and put on record what later writers thought of him.

As this work was nearing completion, news arrived of the passing of my brother Joseph Yárdley, and it is recorded with regret that he did not live to see the issue of this work commemorative of the life and labours of our father.

THE APPENDICES

These include, in addition to what remains of Yardley Warner's Journal and his Letters, the fullest extent account of Warnersville, and the story of "The Monitors" with some extracts from them, together with a report of London Yearly Meeting in 1875 when a weighty problem was under consideration and in conclusion, another "Journal, —May to June 1954", recording a visit to some of the places where Yardley Warner lived and worked more than 100 years ago.

From 'A Quaker of the Olden Times',
J. G. Whittier, 1838.

With that deep insight which detects
All great things in the small,
And knows how each man's life affects
The spiritual life of all,
He walked by faith and not by sight,
By love and not by law;
The presence of the wrong or right
He rather felt than saw.

O Spirit of that early day,
So pure and strong and true,
Be with us in the narrow way,
Our faithful fathers knew,
Give strength the evil to forsake.
The cross of Truth to bear,
And love and reverent fear to make
Our daily lives a prayer!

APPENDIX A.

A fragment of the JOURNAL OF YARDLEY WARNER 1870 to 1873

Throughout most of his life Yardley Warner kept a Journal, and references to this will be found in earlier chapters of the present work.

This is printed just as written as regards spelling, punctuation, the use of capital letters and grammatical construction.

A fragment of it is here reproduced, from 50 foolscap sheets, numbered 253 to 338, written on both sides, with pages 290 to 293 missing from the period of London Yearly Meeting in 1873.

There is no way of finding out when the Journal was commenced, or whether the missing pages from 1 to 252 were the only records of this nature ever penned. It is however clear that the Journal as we have it, came to an abrupt end when the storm tossed vessel landed her passengers safely sometime after 8.0 p.m. on the 19th December 1873. As we learn elsewhere, Yardley Warner had in his pocket at that time the sum of 9/7½.

It will be seen by the closing entry in the Journal that the little boat after a voyage of 13 days from Queenstown was making for the port of Philadelphia, the city whose name she bore, when the Henlopan light sent its welcoming beams to the shipping in the river Delaware.

This day to day story of his life when aged about 56, and the account of his first English visit together with the description of the dangerous Atlantic crossing in December of that year and the expressions of sentiment and religious belief found herein, are all typical of the man whose history is recorded in the foregoing pages.

7/28. 1870.

Have I His peace ? ! ! Oh if I have not my soul's craving is, break up my false peaces ! ! My cry is for help to live in the pure Charity

(*unfeigned love*) which is not easily provoked thinketh no evil, beareth all things, hopeth all endureth all things. Accepteth reproach, neglect, evil report, suffereth long, is kind ; delights to forgive and live above evil and envious spirits, having its record on high.

8 mo. 3.

In meeting of Min. & Eld. today I felt that all services, and deeds unless done for Christ are nothing. I must feel as if there were not a soul in the world beside mine : and the present hour the last. How would I spend it ? By quietly seeking to know my situation. This is common work : and I often feel thus : to know and to try my temper and my deeds.

7 mo. 15. 1871.

Since the former date I have seen much, suffered a pretty full share of trial, and spent the time as also several months previously in distribution of religious reading. Seven months of this time away from my family and friends, in Tennessee, Alabama and Missouri, organizing schools and teaching among the Freedmen. In this work I have been much engaged since Emancipation. And now in an honest and solemn retrospect of the last ten years of my life this is my consolation, viz. that although I have sought to "choose" the "Way" in which the Lord would have me serve Him, yet have I not sought, chosen or "ordered" my own "steps." So that the removal from Ohio, the sojourn at West-town, the engagement in Germantown, the spreading of my work in the South among the Freemen, and finally the assumption of this work by a Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting and their commissioning me as their Superintendent,—all these I cannot but look on, humbly and thankfully, as links in a chain of Providences to keep me in my place. And I am filled with awe in the reflection, that, if all this *weight* of affliction latterly permitted in regard to the ministry be needed *to keep me low*, what would have become of me in the times of popularity and prosperity,—the tide of success which carried me along in several engagements among the Freedmen and in the distribution of Bibles and Tracts ; and in religious and benevolent works generally, if my own vine-yard were not kept ! What will they avail in the day of account without Faith in Christ, and the obedience of that Faith ?, but "as smoke in my nostrils saith the Lord". Therefore do I seek to commit myself wholly to the Divine Keeping and guidance,

11 mo. 11th. 1871.

Maryville, Tennessee.

How can we neglect to pray ! Can a man neglect to breathe ? When we believe that there is a God, that we are not our own ; that we cannot act right but in obedience to the Saviour's voice and to the laws of the All Seeing One. Oh ! how cheering and how safe to ask his guidance and his help. Then how things fit together : and all work together for good. How darkness becomes light, confusion becomes order and stepping stones and tokens for good rise up just as we are ready for a fresh step.

Bonds and afflictions abide me still ! and still I am enabled to accept them as the permitted means of refinement. If they only effect the reduction of Self, stimulate me to concentrate my labors on the work now before me and deepen me in religious experience they will be joyous ; yielding the peaceable fruits of righteousness as I am exercised thereby. Therefore leaving the eventful future to The All Wise disposal of the Supreme and taking heed to the present monitions of His Grace, doing with my might what my hands find to do, I endeavour to feel resignation as the present clothing of my mind : leaving also to the same over-ruling disposal the issue whether or no this work is to be introductory to a more special dedication of myself to missions among the benighted downtrodden and long neglected.

2. mo. 5. 72. Phila.

It is time for me to record the Lord's goodness to me in the temporal. How often have I been literally pennyless. How often in straits wherein I knew not how to meet the demands of my schools : as a few days ago a note received saying " call at my house I have a contribution laid by ready for thee." I see it seems strange to my family—strange to all that see it—But I know in whom I have believed and in whom I trust ; and my faith is unshaken that I shall not be put to shame.

There were \$275 to be paid for teachers' wages week before last. I was unable to make such exertion for want of time. But my steps were turned to the right hearts and the money came to hand.

"The Lord is thy Keeper. The Lord is thy shade upon thy right hand." Bless Him O my soul :

2 mo. 6th. Phila.

Oh that my steps may today be ordered aright. My prayer is too that the Ruling of Him who can turn the hearts of men as one turneth

the water courses in his field may dispose the hearts of our legislators in Washington this day to do right in the matter before them for the education of the people. A law being proposed and now pending for that purpose.

Evening. Truly The Lord has today been my Keeper on going to the city without a cent (and having been for several days without) I passed a Friend's house and found my mind turned to go back : and though very early rang the bell to lay before him the claims of my schools he was at the door himself instantly entered warmly into the business gave me \$25 and said the interview itself was worth that to him. Another Friend whom I disliked to ask received me very courteously ; and besides 25 books she gave \$100 cheerfully. Thus for a time I am again perfectly eased and thankful. How sweet is help that comes in our need directly from the Lord.

2 mo. 9th. 72.

The Bill for the relief of the poor, degraded and ignorant, in the South, referred to in the memorandum of 6th inst. was yesterday passed by the House of Representatives in Washington. Should it become a law by passing the Senate, and receiving the signature of the President, even yet more of thanksgiving will be done. By this law my work in the South will be greatly helped.

20th.

Showers of mercies and of blessings again. On 7th Day last hardly knew which way to turn but went in cheerful faith of the N. Penn Railroad for Jay Cooke's : and there unspeakable comfort—every way—hospitality Christianity and Liberality to my work. Counsel also in the plan and management of buildings for the Freedmen. Yesterday also when I was in doubt found I must go to D. Scull's. There also the best treatment and results. Altogether about \$350 engaged yesterday.

3 mo. 31st.

Since the above date have been to Tenn. and returned kept by the Good Hand : and met with wonted mercies—when I seemed nearly exhausted asked fervently for means to keep my work going—next day received from Stafford Allen, a dear friend of London, \$107. Signal favors continue to swell the theme of gratitude.

4 mo. 13th. 72.

How shall I magnify the Name of the Lord for his goodness ! Supplies have been so wonderfully granted and yet sufficiently withheld to make me feel whence they come and to pray more deeply for the consummation of the Divine purposes. Sometimes I shudder at the little I know of my Redeemer. Then it seems a hope arises—enough for thy weak nature and thy limited attainments. So that I am consoled by the thought if I knew more I might not bear it. The dollars sent me by Stafford Allen of London came just in time to meet me in a strait and while I was praying for help of that kind. So I have been strengthened by committing all to Him. Thus I am the more wholly thrown into the Everlasting Arms. How I can remember the times of pinching doubt and of struggling for spiritual life, can recall also the quiet retirement of days in dear old Whiteland when we toiled on in our little way of farming and had therewith the blessing which maketh truly rich. How we had to leave all and follow the pointings of duty, to Ohio—What we learned and suffered and enjoyed there. How the Lord was pleased to open to my understanding the party feuds, and the evil workings of a dividing separating spirit. How thankful I now feel for deliverance from that judging prescribing disposition, which would not tolerate any who did not come up to a certain external form or accept standards of peculiarity.

6 mo. 15th. 1872.

The first duty and my first pleasure this day is to record the tender mercies of my God *Wonderful in counsel* ! ! How he hath led me about and instructed me yea and kept me from falling ! Kneeling down in the Bath Room—or any place—even more private—I oftentimes have felt that I know nothing of my Saviour ; that I could hardly call him mine. Oh what wrestling for a grain of faith, a ray of light. Suddenly there was shot through me the query “dost thou not see thou canst not pray cannot come to God availingly ?” Oh then the first time in my life so fully did I realise that “No man cometh unto the Father but by me”. Then indeed I seemed almost to *touch* Him. That day He led me to the places I ought to go to. Other days He has done the same. Yesterday I went a long way to see a Friend and with some distinct feeling of direction—Yet I said in my heart what if after this long ride I find him out : Still I *could but go*. He was away : I walked wearily back inclined to turn down to second st. but kept on up fourth : near Pine I met the

very Friend and as I saw him driving towards his house (I, mortified at my disappointment), he said with a beaming countenance "Come go home and dine with me," I said "Why should I do so?" he said "Thou lookest weary: come get in." I did. He inquired where I had been; but something just then interrupting I did not answer. At his house again he asked "where I was going from when we met". I said "*from here*". A most cordial time we had and after telling me to call at his office for \$50 for the Tennessee work he promised me \$100 more at the end of the year. So when we seek the Lord He is found of us.

6 mo. 15th.

This day is one to be marked in history—especially in the history of the progress of Peace. The International Arbitrators by "The Treaty of Washington" for the settlement of the Alabama claims meet today at Geneva. May the Prince of Peace make himself known among them and guide their deliberations so that their decisions may prove for the "increase of His government", of which we know "there shall be no end".

23rd.

Wearily I close this day. Heavily rest the responsibilities and cares accumulating in the Tennessee work. But as I looked toward the Help on High my heart was calmed with the secret assurance that I might rest all on the bosom of my God. In this feeling I seek my rest.

7th. mo. 28th.

Burdens—sinking burdens—multiply—and from week to week I scarcely know what to hope each for the next; but wonderfully comes the help and the work goes on. Led from place to place, and sometimes in straits of pinching doubt and heart depressing discouragement, I still find strength with the day. Expenses have grown from \$755 per week; and so far I am provided without going on hazardous ground.

8 mo. 25th.

It is good to be thrown wholly, utterly on the Lord! To feel helpless and gone without His interpositions. So I feel now. The health of my dear companion * is reduced to a consuming uncertainty.

The life thread, by months of exhaustion has become fearfully attenuated, and must ere long be severed by the touch of death.

* His wife Hannah (Allen) now nearing her life's end. S.A.W.

The Tennessee work has run up to the expenditure of \$850 a week. Many duties call me off from that, and from collections to sustain it ; so that with the intense heat of the weather, absence of patrons and difficulty of finding those who are not absent, my powers of mind and body seem taxed almost beyond the surviving surface. Yet it seems that the crisis is passed—the closest pinch over. The weekly estimate is now down from \$850 to 540. Oh how little some know what it is to be thrown entirely on Help from the Divine Source ! Necessity and utter want will make us cry for help. Thus we get it.

Germantown. 8/26. 1872.

“ In my distress I cried unto the Lord ”, I think He has heard me. On rising and going round a little and opening the Bible I paused saying “ How often have I found consolation in the Prophets on thus opening ? ” and pausing again for direction “ Is it to be so now ? ” Then the first that set my eye was this “ For then shalt thou lift up thy face without spot ; yea thou shalt be steadfast and shalt not fear ” :

“ Because thou shalt forget thy misery and remember it as waters that pass away ”.

“ And thine age shall be clearer than the noon day : thou shalt shine forth thou shalt be as the morning ” etc. Job. 11.15. etc. As waters that pass away ! how comforting, as they pass away into the ocean so our iniquities are through The Saviour’s love passed into the ocean of Everlasting Mercy. Oh for a token of this !

29th.

Marvellously helped ! Yet I rejoice with trembling lest there should be a dash of the cup of rejoicing. Imminent obstructions have been overcome. When I knew not at all where money was to come from to meet absolute contracts it came. The title for the Normal Institute land also has been wonderfully brought along. Various complications suddenly cleared up in a way that shows the wise working of the Infinite Mind, the tender dealings of Our Father in Heaven. My dear wife being all this time so ill and weak that her going to the Saint’s rest would not surprise us nor her at any moment. I carry her up and down stairs as she inclines—several times daily. These things have been so close and so vital in my standing that I dared not speak of them but to my great Helper. They seemed for the time to be the secret things that belonged to the Most High.

9 mo. 4.

More tokens ! and fresh cause of gratitude. Those last three days have, I hope, I have matured the crisis in my Tenn. business ; and the point passed in safety. What a Head ! what a Guide ! what a Believer !
5th.

What is wanting to make thee happy ? Nothing but dependence on God. Thou mayst think more money, more ease, more room, more health, would do it ? The lot is in the lap ! but who is the disposer thereof ? I have never been poorer never more cramped never more at the mercy (as the world would say) of circumstances never so entirely powerless to lay hold on earthly helps—yet never more happy. Because I have so much at stake—the responsibilities of the Normal Institute building all the hands there the schools the scholars the people—the farm its titles and improvements—my connexion with Indiana Y. Meeting in this matter and the uncertainty as to how soon funds will come from there—and here at home a sick wife whom I have to carry up and down stairs and whose suffering give me only half a heart for other affairs—the editorship of “The Maryville Monitor”—the collections for all the work and most incidental expenses depending on my personal exertions—all these being at stake make the relief correspondingly great—so much to throw upon the Divine Arm—so much off myself causes the dependence to bring so great happiness whilst evidence is afforded that that dependence is sure.

11th.

What will hold religious organizations together is not conventional agreements ; but mutual sympathies in the Christian life partaken of in the baptizing power of Truth.

17th.

He that lives up to his convictions fulfils his mission. He does more for Christ and has more to hope for than he who does many good works and is wanting in a scruple when weighed finally in the balance of The Sanctuary.

9th mo. 25th. 1872.

At about 10 o'clock this morn my faithful loving wife went to rest with the Lord. Oh what it is to have one's work done in the day time. Precious in the sight of The Lord is the death of His Saints—Nearly 31 years united and given to each other !—how good is God !

If our thoughts were Heavenly would not our talk be Heavenly ? If we really relished and enjoyed Spiritual Communion with our God and departed friends, would not our lips tell of it, and our longing break out in ejaculations, aspirations, consolatory and cheering words to souls bound Heavenward like ourselves ? Yes ! and I must wrest from the present time a few minutes to converse in this way with the past, and get strength for the future. Where did I miss my way ? What did it cost me to find the way back ? then Oh then let me be on the Watch ? Watch Oh my soul ! and behold the quietness of them in whom Christ governs ” !

I have also been looking over memoranda made years ago and saving some, destroying some—some vividly depict conflict, some victory. At times I seem unable to get access to the Sanctuary or to have strength to ask that my wife’s last prayer at least might for Jesus’ sake prevail for me,—“ show him where to go, where not to go ” : “ what to do, and what not to do ”.

Looking back at entries in my diary written years ago reference is made to impressions of “ duty towards the poor colored people ”. Years ago how little did I think then that such way would be made for the discharge of this duty as has been to me and others during the last nine years ! Truly we should “ learn righteousness ” when the “ Lord’s Judgements are thus in the earth.” In my 12th year and again in my 23rd I covenanted to give much of my time to the elevation of that race.

10/7. 72.

“ My soul fainteth for thy salvation but I hope in thy word ”. The Word of life. The Word of Truth. The Eternal Word of God which is quick and powerful sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit and of the joints and marrow and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart ”. I cleave unto it for life and guidance and protection. *So far have I not been confounded.*

How diverse is the lot of men in the things of this life ! Oh I ask not for wealth : only for support so that I may not dishonour The Truth and make many rich out of my poverty ! enough to bless the down-trodden and the long enslaved. A little portion of each of the wealthy around me ; Oh how it would be made to rejoice the heavy hearted. But so have I been—ever poor—and may I be.

8 mo. 10th. 72.

Thanks and deep gratitude go up to God for His care over this Nation in carrying us over another crisis in our affairs as a people of His. The Election went through in perhaps unprecedented quietness ; and terminated in a way that gives assurance of peace and a promise of prosperity during the next four years.

18th

Humbly trusting to the gradual unfolding of the Divine purposes concerning me and the work of my hands, I again resign myself into the Holy Keeping of Israel's Unslumbering Shepherd. The Normal School building weighing with \$520 per week to be got by my exertion ; home duties pressing. Correspondence with Committee of Indiana N. Meeting and intercourse with a member of the Committee of that Meeting appointed to visit our N.M. My own exercises regarding the Ministry—all these burdens I cast on the Lord.

19th Oct.

Oh it is good to number our blessings—new every morning—What shall I render but faithful humble walking before Him who doth bless.

20th Oct.

This morning I could supplicate only thus, Oh take money out of my thoughts and fill my heart with grace.

Evening.

I often converse with the past and find it good to commemorate the Lord's kind dealings with us. How we were sent to Ohio and how we were brought back. How I was once in danger of settling into a narrow selfish way in Whiteland as if I were so righteous—the only righteous man—Then how my ways have been ordered. Oh for more humility and dedication and above all for more watchfulness and more faith ! How has the over-shadowing cloud of our late affliction been edged with mercies and tinged with blessings. Now the heart goes out in love to those near and dear in friendship and in blood ties ! Humanity is stinted of half its social relish when the fountain of sympathy is sealed.

22nd

Unspeakable are the mercies and tender dealings of our God. Deliverance is at hand,—has come. That which I dared hardly hope for has come ! No longer I tremble as I have for weeks for the cause of Truth on account of pecuniary embarrassment. Oh that my watchfulness may but be corresponding with so great mercy.

23rd.

“The sacrifice (acceptable) of God are a broken and a contrite heart—a broken and a contrite heart O God thou wilt not despise.”

This morn a letter from Maryville brought oppressive feelings indicating that there were heavy liabilities which I might have difficulty in meeting—much heavier than I had reason to expect. I found on starting out to business I had not the elastic force common to me, a weariness and some giddiness before I had even fairly started on my rounds. At length passing the Young Men’s Christian Association Rooms I went up to the third storey and found a Bible and a solitary place for prayer. From that time the Lord seemed to show me where to go, where not to go, what to do, and what not to do—according to my beloved her prayer for me. A blessed and noble generosity seemed to pervade the people. One dear friend, Deborah Wharton, said that she had her family outlays reduced to the strictest economy in order that she might have wherewith to give to the Lord for his poor ; and oppressed.

25th

Not unto us—not unto us—but unto Thy name O God be the glory and the praise for deliverance and approaching peace. My Good Guide and Saviour was in great condescension near to turn my feet to the right places. Nearly 400 dollars today. On the opening of it I had to feel that \$600 must be got by the end of the week. Thus does Our God hear and answer prayer.

28th.

A day of favors and labors. Letters to write and family cares—Received statement from Maryville of \$2,000 indebtedness and from Richmond by same carrier \$1,000 which I immediately sent down to Maryville. Select Meeting at 10. Rode thence to city and finished writing letters. Then seemed blind and lost. Called on a friend and received \$7 for the Tennessee work then haltingly to my cousins to dine. They put me in mind to call at certain places where I received \$150. The Select Meeting was a solemn time and one of instruction. Fervent heart-felt gratitude for all the unmerited favors.

30th.

Oh for entire subjugation of self ; complete dedication of life and timely preparation for death. I feel that it is time for me to see my way more unclouded—to live nearer the messenger so as not to be surprised at his coming ; and above all nearer to Him who only can conduct

safely over Jordan. Severe have been my conflicts and my health somewhat shattered. I could go freely—Yes now.

11/2. 1872.

This day 57 years old. My cry is for “newness of life”. Oh how easily do the besetting sins gain ascendancy ; But thanks be to God who still gives the victory through Jesus Christ. By drawing nigh unto Him how are we made nigh unto the redeemed, and enjoy communion sweet with the pure in heart on both sides of Jordan.

11/3. 72.

I feel in awe of entering another day in a new year of my life. It is good to remember our frailties as well as to number our blessings. After distress and humiliation and affliction (unless the heart is kept with all diligence) come torpidity and levity. Lethargy, false rest—slumbering our minutes in lukewarmness and indifference—Oh for the watch unto prayer and the readiness of mind becoming a faithful follower of the Great Shepherd of the Sheep.

How wonderfully He can counterpoise one burden with another ! and thus make us able to bear both with more safety than with one. Had not my dear wife's death and the accumulated money troubles—(the burden of supplying funds to Maryville sufficient to meet the heavy outlay there) come on me, how could my mind have endured safely the religious strain which has been permitted to attend me ? “I thank thee for all—most for the severe”—In my calls among the rich how good to feel my heart kept clean of envy. Yes ! I have often said my poor lot is the best and feeling my dependence so directly that I dare not trust myself. What would I come to with wealth ! ! Poor yet making many rich. If this might be truly said it is better than much riches—Oh I feel that I am rich and loaded down with blessings.

11/4.

Attended Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting—A favored season in which our dear friends Joel and Hannah Bean ministered to our refreshment—exceedingly—but briefly. I had little message viz. “The Lord direct your hearts into the love of God and into the patient waiting for Christ. What I say unto you I say unto all watch” ; no addition thereto.

6th.

It is wonderful ! difficult to realize now what a load of wretched suspense I was under a few days back ! now all taken off—Everything

easy. "Send no more money to Maryville". Such word is almost too much to credit. Then how help has come to me here ! So many noble souls ready to offer valuable aid. Truly my Eternal Helper is to be magnified and so I say "My soul doth magnify The Lord."

11/12. 1872. 3rd Day.

Never weaker than just after most favor. Attended Concord Quarterly Meetings, West Chester morning Meeting, Westtown afternoon Meeting (on last first day) and this morning visited in the West Chester jail a convict, who is to be hung tomorrow at noon.—On all these occasions was I filled unexpectedly with the power of The Spirit. The lesson to myself is watch, watch, watch ! ! ! See that self is kept out of the Ministry. Oh how easy to be drawn to say what *I* did—*I* was—or *I* said ! Blessed be God Blessed and praised for his marvellous interposition delivering me from temptation. No merit of mine all merit His—All shame mine all mercy His ! Oh how tender how condescending ! In a moment of weakness to snatch me from compliance.

I again have seen the poor hardened murderer, George Grant, who a few days ago had also dealt heavy blow upon the head of his jailer nearly killing him and having defied all his keepers, almost escaping from them, and refusing to see the Minister of the Gospel previously sent to him, when I called he seemed broken and contrite—saying "my time is short and shortening". He parted with "God bless you".

I have just written the following telegram to him :—

"O George ! George ! think of no man : think only on God and eternity, and on a Saviour's love ! Call upon Him who may have mercy on thee, and who will abundantly pardon".

11/13. 1872. 12 min. to 12.

If I had but 12 minutes more in this life what would I employ them about ? Alas poor George ! his minutes for preparation to meet his Judge are but few—How do I know mine are more ? Redeem the time ! This is true wisdom.

11/14.

The papers today state that the above telegram was read to the prisoner about 8 a.m. that he behaved well on the scaffold, saying "amen" to the petition offered on his behalf.

Fresh mercies today—at Haverford Meeting and everywhere—unworthy—unworthy—but Oh how doth He delight in Mercy !

11/16. 72.

This day had renewed guidance and favors and success. From one step to another all seemed ordered almost to an hair's breadth. Besides getting means for the work in Tennessee, a man of influence with President Grant got me audience before dinner ; and as I had days before given up, and returned I said to myself I will go home and leave it till tomorrow ; but suddenly I felt that I must stay and wait till the opportunity offered ; which was soon : and I found that, had I not waited and followed up my conviction to persevere I should have been badly worsted ; I could not have seen him, (the President) that night, and all my plans for weeks ahead in appointments with C. S. Hubbard to traverse the school circuit in Tennessee would have been frustrated. I could not well have got means to pursue the journey.

19th Nov. 1872.

Received this morning a check by mail for \$100 from Ruth Johnson, West Chester. My first feeling was of thanks to my Heavenly Provider.

27th Nov. 1872.

Maryville, Tenn.

Many providences have followed me through the various engagements in Baltimore, Washington and Virginia—Another interview with President Grant, Senators Morrell and Pomeroy—for the interests of the Educational Bill in the Senate U.S.

Amid the incidents of travel so many proofs of human weakness and depravity come to notice that one having a heart attuned to human sympathy cannot wonder that Cowper should have exclaimed :—

“ Oh ! for a lodge in some vast wilderness
Some boundless contiguity of shade
Where rumor of oppression and deceit
Of unsuccessful or successful war
Might never reach me more ”

or that Byron with less piety and far different emotions wrote :—

“ Oh that the desert were my dwelling place
With one fair spirit for my minister !
That I might all forget the human race,
And hating no one, love but only her ”.

or that Goldsmith should lament thus :—

“ Where then, ah, where shall poverty reside,
To 'scape the pressure of contiguous pride ?
If to the city sped what waits him there ?
To see profusion which he must not share,
To see ten thousand baneful arts combined
To pamper luxury and thin mankind ”.

1. mo. 2nd. 1873.

Maryville.

The force of accumulated cares in Tennessee and other places has pushed me into another year with more on hand and in mind than is congenial to my desire for spiritual quietude, yet my trust seems renewed sweetly, but with a consciousness of utter unworthiness, in that Arm which has never yet failed in my extremity.

1 mo. 17. 1873.

From being very low I am firm again. Bowed and fainting with overwhelming cares I took my burden to Jesus and gave it to Him, craving His help. Oh what a sure thing is Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ ! How wonderfully He works with them who work for Him !

1/27. 1873.

Singing is dangerous to the Minister *—The danger is in his depending on the flow of his melody rather than on the flow of the sap of divine life.

3 mo. 25. 1873.

A few days since, arrived safely and in health from a visit to the Freedmen's Schools, 3,000 miles besides circuits of small extent immediately. For this blessing my heart swells with emotion of thankfulness.

3/26. 1873.

I feel renewedly and solemnly that, dealing with all these souls, and even for their external good will avail nothing for me without purity of heart, and individual walking with God. I was led to this reflection on seeing how much time some men have for the care of their investments and interests on them ; how very few of these I have and how little time to my own affairs whilst so large a share of it is spent for the poor Freedmen. But works are nothing without charity even if I give all my goods to feed the poor it profiteth me nothing without Charity—pure love to God.

4/3. 73.

This morning 19 letters awaited my unsealing : some of deep personal interest : most of them on Freedmen's business. As I began to read I prayed that nothing might be allowed to shake my confidence in the

* The reference is to the habit of " intoning " adopted by some speakers in those days.

Lord's help and guidance : and, that nothing might hurt the good cause through my imprudence or shortcomings. The first opened cheered me with the intelligence of the coming of my dear friend Chas. S. Hubbard to help me in the various parts of Freedmen's affairs and to settle them preparatory to my going to Europe. The next letter was from a friend bringing to view renewed apprehensions that my day of labor for the African is not nearly over if spared to live in health. Rather that I must be given up to separation from my connexions here if it be required to devote the remainder of my days to that cause. So from that topic I was brought into sweet unity with the Committee by three letters from them. And now after a day of toil and varied anxiety—I have to record that the sense of Divine favor still rests on my apirit. I have felt it in too many ways to doubt it. And more energy and life are bearing me forward to my mission in a foreign land—more openness to impressions and more stimulus to labor there if permitted to reach it in health and safety. May it be mine to say I have fought a good fight : I have finished my course : I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord will give me at that day.

4/4. 73.

The weights of the Earth ! Oh that they might be lifted off the spirit, to let it soar to Heaven and dwell among realities—enduring realities.

Just seen my dear aged friend Loyd Mifflin bright in adversity. I had a few words for him but how I dare to speak of the ineffable joys of Eternity ! I have so much in me and about me dragging to the earth. Almost on the eve of embarking for Europe on an important mission and the means not at hand. Embarrassments in the school finances. Yet nothing undertaken but what appeared right. Prayer, confidence and earnest labor are to be resorted to. My prayer is hold me back from presumptuous sins ; and establish my goings.

3/5. 1873.

Still are tokens for good granted in the midst of fiery trials—Many steps today proved of Divine ordering. I hear this morning of my dear friend Henry Douglas going to Dublin the same day I propose going.

4/6. 1873. *First Day.*

Pleading for reservation. Some hope gleams on my path. I leave it as my testimony that it is sweet to pray even as were in the portals of death. "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeys the voice

of his servants, that walketh in darkness and hath no light ? Let him trust in the name of the Lord and stay upon his God ". I also feel it to be a shame, on Christians when they make this day a lazy day by lying abed late, breakfasting late, and doing things late ; as if it were nothing to rob God of his due work and service on this day. Especially ought Friends (who hold nothing holy in the day itself but only for its uses) signalize those uses by diligence.

Evening.

How weak ; how very weak is man without a fresh and right sense of divine help. How wonderfully strong with it. Then he feels that he can do all things through Christ strengthening him. The load is wonderfully taken off—hope I am not deceived.

4/7.

Providences and favors have followed me all this day. It is safest to be thankful rather than presuming. I fear to rehearse all lest I be too confident. Clinging, trusting !

4/8. 1873.

Wonderful in Counsel—a tender Shepherd : Fresh favors awaiting me this morning. I was too prostrate and burdened to open my letters or even to look at them before retiring I slept sweetly on the Lord Jesus' arm : and have awakened this morning to see how He has been working in the hearts of his servants to supply the financial needs of the Business while I have taken up with the various moral and religious needs trembling lest I venture too far in neglecting the former, for the latter. Three different contributions, it supplies \$250 from R. A. Cope, \$200 from the Committee, 40£ sterling from Stafford Allen.

Evening.

How do things look ? how do I feel ? Am I at the bottom of things ? I cant hide them from myself ! I delight to be searched. More tokens today ; but I distrust self and must forbear expression.

4/9. 1873.

And what can I say for my dear Lord this evening ? He has kept me today leaning very closely on Himself : and that no doubt is safest though nature trembles. Yet I have found His countenance benignantly cheering me to trust Him as to an hair's breadth. Very near together are critical engagements and promises depending on the performances of

others : and nothing but quiet patient trust can steady me. Preparations for the voyage, "The Monitor", collecting and settling the School Affairs and many family concerns, and the re-making of my Will. All these press, but do not sink me.

4/11.

Two days of perils and Providences. I hardly yet know how to be sufficiently thankful, humbled and still confiding. Demands were due today to the amount of \$1,400. I had funds in Bank at Bristol \$983 and here in Bank \$956.35—a notice came to me last eve that money had been drawn in my name unknown to me from the Bristol Bank to what amount was not stated so that I had no means of knowing to what amount I might draw on Bristol. I also had a note 18th ult. from Stafford Allen, London, informing of \$200 in Benj. Totham's hands N.Y. for me, which I had daily expected—But the Bank here kindly honored my check on the Bristol Bank to the amount of \$450, relieving me of a breach of promise. My passage money and various Providential helps may be noted, hereafter. I rejoice with trembling yet. Many a time have I been straitened but not as within these last few days and never so signally relieved evidently by the Lord's hand. How good is He. Oh what man would praise Him for his wonderful work and trust in Him without wavering. I have marvelled how calm my mind has been kept—even as if thousands upon thousands were at my command. Oh how plainly appears the meaning of all this straitness of the siege—! It is to restrain over confidence and exultation—and keep me low and humble and confiding—to hold me back from presumptuous sins of the lip and imagination which are so offensive in the Divine sight.

4/13. 1873.

Schisms will not purify nor fortify. Schisms will not give strength they will not give unity, they will not give relief. They will bring only confusion : and God is not the author of confusion but of order as in all the churches of the Saints.

4/13. 1873.

No satisfaction nor comfort without the earnest of the spirit. I can only crave preservation and lie down in trust.

4/14.

In a strong press of business I must record deliverances. Oh how wonderfully does our dear Lord lead and keep those who call upon Him

in truth. Sometimes even when they hardly dare hope He hears them—when their call is so feeble to themselves. If I should get off comfortably what a favor.

4/20. 1873.

At sea on the S. Ship "Calabria".

At length it is a deed—embarked ! What close and trembling points of concurrence : What deliverances from embarrassments ! pecuniary and sanitary. It seemed almost as if I would not be off. The Friend who bought my ticket, failed to send it according to directions and he not being at his office at 9 a.m. and the Calabria to sail at 10, it required industry to get a duplicate ticket and be aboard in time. Though the most imperative affairs were attended to many minor ones were not. I had to write till two in the morning of the 18th and till 3 in the morning of the 19th to embark even with some letters unopened : and mailed (posted) 13 from the vessel. We had reached Sandy Hook yesterday when it was found our engine was disabled. Off this point we laid till 7 this eve. Now we are in good speed. I had thus the opportunity of writing back respecting affairs left unfinished and which could not have been left without serious embarrassment. The engineers were working without ceasing over 30 hours in repairs and had to send to N.Y. for new pieces of the parts broken. Castings had to be made, and dressed, and fitted, and bolted and burnished to work in the valves. It is a merciful Providence that this break was discovered before we were far out at sea. For all favors my soul doth magnify the Lord.

4/24. 1873.

"But watch thou in all things ; endure afflictions ; do the work of an evangelist ; make full proof of thy ministry". This was the first passage that met my eye this morning. May it be a watchword to "keep my heart with all diligence". It has been my lot to be placed at table with the gayest wittiest and youngest of the passengers. A watch is needed. Oh that my tongue may refrain from evil and my lips speak no guile. We have had high winds and heavy seas, but favourable : and have made unusual speed : yet I have not been sea sick : able to write and see to my business most of the time. Another favor. We are now nearly half way to Queenstown and some over four days from Sandy Hook. But adversities may be ahead of us. When I survey the past steps which have brought me just where I am my soul doth sink in

prostrate adoration at that under working power which maketh the most poignant griefs and the most opposing spirits work together with all things for good—(might I say) to them that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

4/25.

Heavenly Good still follows marvellously. We have made an average of about 300 miles a day since hoisting anchor off Sandy Hook.

4/28. 1873.

Adversities have been met and, I trust sanctified. The teaching was "to humble me and prove me". May I ever see the lesson to "watch in all things". On 7th Day another break disabled one of the engines, so that we could not make much headway : and, rough weather coming on, we made but little speed compared with the previous days. My future steppings as well as my past came before me with the monitions of Heavenly Wisdom. What a kind Guide ; how condescending to our weaknesses !

4/28.

This evening with all the light and warning of the past two days I have sinned again with my tongue, in uttering too much. Oh that this may serve as a renewed humbling lesson to keep me low ; and put me more than ever on the watch. I had a token of favor too just before that slide back into an old trap of the evil one viz. my vain love of approbation. But I seem to feel pardoning mercy extended to meet my efforts at watchfulness. "Oh for a closer walk with God a calm and Heavenly frame ; and light to shine upon the road that leads to the Lamb".

4/29.

Peace made again and enlargement therein—Land ahead also announced just as I had written that sentence.

5/3. 1873.

Dublin, Ireland.

How should the creature be humbled and the Name of the Lord exalted in that He hath led me and upheld me, and made way in the midst of perils and conflicts to bring me to this spot and to the communion close and sweet and reviving among the beloved Friends of this Y. Meeting. Oh praised for ever be that name ! "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses, and trust in chariots because

they are many ; and in horses because they are very strong ; but they look not to the Holy One of Israel, neither see the Lord". The voyage was one of varied trial, but at length the way cast up was indeed a high way, and the Grace of God did prevail mightily with the company on board, who at first despised it.

5/16. 1873.

Birmingham.

Favors innumerable attend still. Friends have strength and life here. Perhaps there is a real growth in the vital parts. Attended monthly meeting at Coventry on 4th day ; a time of favor. Some signs of lack of harmony ; but in a very few ; and a frank acknowledgement in the meeting (of men friends for discipline) from a friend who had spoken hastily and detractively of some others.

5/19.

Birmingham.

He shall be called Wonderful Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father and The Prince of Peace—How often the thankful watchful Christian heart is reminded of the deep meaning and the impressive fitness of these names for the Son of God—for Him who himself said that the Father should send in His Name The Comforter and who should teach all things—I have found him very near and very true—pointing out the way and following in it with blessings and tokens for good. I am on the train for London. The striking feature of the country is *space—space*—rural space ! the spread out fields and lawns covered with pastures groves flocks and herds—and grand old oaks and hedges and clumps of young forest trees.

A woman takes a dram of rum in the coach opposite me.

* Soiling pays—Kenilworth, Stoneleigh etc. Nightingale—Sky Larks, Stoke Reformatory, Farm, Plum and Raspberry—Washing and Bedding—Grasses, Nepeta Wren—Sheep—Spring Wheat—Clover—Hedges and thorn trees—Tunnels—Furze Thatching—Round Towers—Close nipping—Canals—Borders of Rural Roads—Couplings—Black Country—Beans as a crop for stock—Hay ricks—Very little soiling—Root culture.

6 mo. 2nd. 1873.

Yearly Meeting closed on 7th day under a solemn covering ; and an evidence that the Great Head of The Church had been in our midst—

* By "soiling" tillage is meant. This entry like that made at Rugby (7 mo. 21) was evidently intended to be an aid to memory, to be expanded later.

signally so at divers times. Oh how real is history ! We cant erase its record ! Time is a Censor too stern to be impugned. What is to be the record of our Church is fearfully problematical.

6 mo. 13th.

A note falling due on the first prox. in America on Freedmen's account of Maryville Building and no visible means to meet it. But my steps were directed to Wansted M. Meeting not knowing it to be Mo. Meeting day. From this came my relief through a dear Friend of that Meeting viz. J. Gurney Barclay. Deliverances tell not our dangers only, but who are our deliverers.

6 mo. 16th.

Continued favors tokens and guidings ! What shall I render but praise ? and what do more than watch and pray lest I enter into temptation or take flight on a Sabbath day ?

Fresh Mercies in Providences—Almost forlorn as to going to the North—I met with Friends and occurrences which were in common language purely accidental, both of which cleared my way wonderfully.

Passing one in the Reading Room I felt like speaking pleasantly as he sat—this drew him to me and offering him pleasantly accomodations for writing he addressed me, soon inquiring how I was getting on in my business. Now I can scarcely see how I could have got along without him. It seems as if I had just been held back in many ways trying to my expectations and patience, in order to meet with this friend to put me right at the start.

6 mo. 17th.

Again helped to get off for the North ; through some embarrassing disappointments. What rich blessings rest on this land. I have trusted my dear Lord so often that I must not doubt his care today—though I have just received letters from America which I almost fear to open. . . . Now after opening them I have to record the condescending goodness of my Heavenly Father in ordering my various heavy matters in America among the Freedmen so as to make my mind cheerfully—trustfully—at rest in His love and Providence.

21st.

Swarthmore.

Oh ! what soul stirring emotions crowd on me here ! The old Hall of the Fells—and the might and the glory and the lofty achievements

of the pristine period of Quakerism ! But I must stifle my rising feelings and drop into the calmer covering of gratitude for fresh mercies experienced every day since leaving London. More and more favors, and fresh blessings on my work ; minds of Friends opened to it ; and active sympathy in it—Oh for watchfulness into prayer, and prayer unto watchfulness. If I may but have, from day to day, and from season to season, new tokens and confidence that my old sins and my new are blotted out : My weaknesses borne with, and the harm that may have come to any or to the Blessed cause of my Redeemer by my misses may be happily overruled.

Evening.

Wonderful in Counsel, Plenteous in Mercy and ever to be adored is the Lord our God.

6 mo. 24th.

Clapham, Yorkshire.

I fear my mind has been given too much to the beauties and curiosities of travel. But it was not planned to be so : the weather and the scenery backed by the earnest kindness of Friends engaged me most of yesterday in viewing the heights around Windermere lake. I am now for Ackworth : and desire to be vigilant, fervent and watchful over my heart and over my work to use opportunities to push it on to completion. Attended the Quarterly Meeting at Swarthmore and the Meeting at Kenda all much to my comfort.

6 mo. 24th. Evening.

*Ackworth.**

Here, overcome with emotions of gratitude and yearning for ability to improve every Providential opportunity to advance the mission which brought me to this land I found my heart moved to cast myself down before the Lord and beseech his help to improve my time and be diligent in my work. With all these surroundings of loveliness and plenty, Oh I crave to be shown my place and duty both in respect of the business I represent, the interests of education and Philanthropy, as also in respect to Friends and the dear young people gathered here.

Instant in season, out of season. A model of cleanness is this place. The face of nature is lovely. The wind is high ; its deep moaning and its melodious falling, then its high rising in tremendous force together

* While here Y.W. did a considerable amount of writing.

with the calmness and cheerfulness of everything surrounding dispose my mind to commit my all to the Lord—and with this feeling I close another day.

30th.

Darlington.

Blind came I here. Now I see how many straits the Lord hath helped me through, making the darkness light about me and delivering from the Devourer.

7 mo. 2.

Darlington.

Tho the claims of my work are strong on me I feel my first duty this morning is to acknowledge the goodness and mercy that are still following me unworthy as I am. Bless the Lord O my soul ; All that is within me bless His Holy Name. He has raised up the kindest Friends here to help on my work and has sent me to them when I thought I was going blind and in the dark. May my heart ever cherish gratitude for such favors.

3rd.

Greater still and more signal are the mercies. Oh my soul magnify the Power that crowns with loving kindness and tender mercies.

9th.

Blessings on blessings heaped—Blessed be the Giver.

12th.

Life hath its mysteries—Oh how deep ! Science cannot fathom them.

Earth's meanest son a prostrate suppliant falls
And on the boundless of the goodness calls
Oh give the wind, all past offence to sweep,
To scatter wide or bury in the deep,
Thy power my weakness may I ever see
And with strong confidence lay hold on thee.
(or) And wholly dedicate my soul to thee.

A day ! a day ! Oh what a creation ! A day of Grace, what a dawn ! May I ever dwell in humble dependence on the teachings of the Holy Spirit in His Manifestations of the truth of Salvation. Surely Goodness and Mercy (Oh how unmerited) are following me all the days so far ! What shall I render ? What but humility and prayer and obedience.

What shall I do but watch and pray and work ? I have to cry unto my God even for strength of mind as well as for Spiritual Strength and

that to be renewed day by day for my work. Who giveth thee strength but the Lord ?

7 mo. 18th.

Bozeat Near Olney.

The wild storm-wind, chilly and drear is driving through the old apple trees. Dull and drizzly as the weather is I am quite near enough to Olney. Remembering my feelings at Swarthmore I cannot trust myself at Olney—(a place living in such a light of memory) I could not well bear the aspect of desolation which there impends the classic ground. I had an offer of a drive over there, but I said, “ why should I go to Olney ” ? and knowing that duty calls another way I gave it up. Yardley Oak is not far off ; that too I pass by ; but I doubt if it be existing, I have seen timber cut from Yardley Wood that is enough for my present antiquarian mood.

7 mo. 16. 1873.

At Bristol I saw a woman selling Ferns along the street and a colored man said “ born in Bristol father ” I answered “ no ”.

19th.

Newport Pagnell.

A *mis*-step (for want of more care in looking at times of Quarterly Meetings) put me down at Wellingboro. But, missing the Q. Meeting I found myself, on being kindly invited by Friends to their homes, close to Olney—and though I could not feel like visiting it, the various bits of interesting histories given me concerning it and the dear author of “ The Task ” put me into communication with persons who have lately been there.

*Rugby. **

Gowns ; Guns ; Co-op-pools ; Eating Saloons— ; Bath-tubs— ; Recitation Rooms— ; Chemicals, and Rooms ; —Work-Rooms, basins etc. for boys experimentals ; —Bed-rooms ; Linen and the room-Matron ; Baker and Kitchen etc.

Manchester—8 mo. 2nd.

I cannot longer delay to recount the continued goodness of the Lord. Marvellous is his loving kindness. Beyond expression in ways unexpected.

* For an explanation of this rather obscure entry relative to a visit to Rugby School see an earlier reference to Y.W.'s friendship with the Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster

8 mo. 8th. 1873.

Rochdale.

Having just gone through Lancaster, Yealand, Marsden etc. I have seen the dear places which formed the Nursery of the early Quaker Church. In all these, besides the gratification of mingling among such scenes in the best society, I have found my mission bountifully blessed. What renewed cause have I of magnifying the Goodness which led me hither and has from the first of my concluding to embark from America thrown light on my stepping stones and afforded such succeeding tokens for good.

8 mo. 11th.

Bolton.

Present help in time of need. Doubts dispersed and strength given to declare the counsel of my God to the people here. My steps directed and ordered to my admiration.

8 mo. 28th.

Malton.

A very horsey (horsey) place. This is a significant expression meaning that Brewing and horse-training and dog training are the common auxiliaries of the Devil in victimizing men by the power of the bottle.

Oh ! the depth of Mercy ! can it reach the iniquity of all my past life ? What a favor to be the subject of the monitions of the Good Remembrancer !

The continued following of the favors of my Heavenly Father how they are daily multiplied. Oh may I live in the waiting, watching, praying frame of mind. We need more of "praying always".

9 mo. 20th.

Sudbury.

The best cure for *unsanctified* activity is *sanctified* activity.

It may seem that the absence of record indicates a lack of trials labors and answered prayers. Ah no ! all—all—in abundance—And gratitude doth also abound. What goodness what mercy are following me whilst feeling so unworthy.

27th.

Ipswich.

Blessing and strength are added : Difficulties swept away ; and my path cleared for work and success far beyond my hopes. Friends

everywhere cordial and liberal. I am here a beggar for the poor uprising African, yet I am treated as a millionaire. Meetings with the working people for promoting temperance and holiness of life are frequent and favored times. All of the Lord's doing. One to be held tomorrow evening.

9 mo. 29th.

Ipswich.

Oh the danger for exceeding in the Ministry—In a meeting for the people of this town I failed there through a mixture. Ah ! my fervent prayer is that the condemnation and the woe of the Hypocrite may not be mine.

10th mo. 2. 1873.

London.

Such renewed conflicts and such renewed deliverances and support under peculiar embarrassments, call for another record of the condescending goodness of My God. Oh how sweet and how consoling it is to live near enough to him to feel his arm underneath. Such is now my experience. A difference in the accounts made up by my banker and those made up by my Secretary showing between the subscriptions and remittances not agreeing with balance in bank, brought me into much anxiety of mind and very perplexing investigations besides a waste of precious time keeping me so much the longer from my beloved home and country. Almost sleepless nights headache and loss of appetite. But I was enabled to trace my own share in the transactions to my satisfaction and trust the other parties will do the same.

10 mo. 4. 1873.

London.

On awakening to another day I was made to feel that hours and days of precious time are each bringing me so much nearer to the day of final reckoning.

The death of many of my friends in America (some aged some youthful) since I left, brings this truth closely home. Joseph Snowdon, Sam Hilles, Rachel Smith, Frances Garrett, Joseph Chambers, the two Leeds and the two Gould brothers and others. I have under the influence of these feelings written out a statement of my affairs to the committee and to my family, in order that there may be as little trouble as possible if I should not reach them safe in health. My work here is likely to close

in the next month : and many of my friends admonish me that that is not a favorable one for a voyage home. But I feel that I must move in that matter and in my efforts towards it, according to the openings and the leadings and the blessings of my dear Master on my labors. I think I can say that in this as in any other relation of my life I desire to be disposed of according to the wisdom and mercy of my God.

10 mo. 12th.

Reading.

Answered prayers ! how many even while I am calling—Wonderful condescension—Do you pray ?

Do you pray fervently—frequently—early—late—vocally—when you feel like it—when the power of the spirit is upon you giving you words for utterance ? Oh there is life in prayer ! There is strength in prayer there is happiness in prayer there is confidence in prayer. The Omnipotent One the All Present One ! how doth He delight to hear his children ask !

10 mo. 17.

Yesterday attended the Qr. Meeting of Bedfordshire here. A good one. But my special business did not get on so well as at Devon and Cornwall and at Berks and Oxon. In both of these as in most of the others it was minuted and appointments made to carry it forward. Here it was minuted but no appointment. Still Friends seemed interested. There is a precious evidence of loyalty to the King of Zion in every Quarterly Meeting. In some there is less strength of attachment to Friend's leading doctrines than in others. But it is hopeful to see everywhere love for the Truth and for Our Testimonies on Truth's behalf.

For my part this morning I feel to ask my dear Lord to supply my lack of wisdom to think and move acceptably to Him. Gracious and very near has he been to me ; even when I have not sought as I ought, to be near to Him.

“ To know that which before us lies, in daily life, is the prime wisdom ”.

10 mo. 31.

Torquay. England.

“ If any man among you lack wisdom let him ask of God . . . but let him ask in faith nothing wavering for he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea. . . . Let not that man think he shall receive any thing of the Lord ”. Youth renewed—“ So that my youth is renewed like the Eagles ”.

11 mo. 1.

Bath. England.

On the eve of my 59th year. Life is to me more joyous than ever before—because more of the fruition of faith is mine. The straits through which I have passed in the last two years both as to spirituals and temporals have happily driven me closer to the rock and though grievous to be borne while the dispensation of chastisement lasted, yet the mind having been exercised thereby with resignation, they have brought forth “the peaceable fruits of righteous”; So that I can say “these light afflictions which are for a moment are working out for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory”—that I have found the hardness which I have been called to endure as a good soldier of Jesus Christ tends to bring me closer to Him who is indeed a hiding place from the tempest, as the shadow of a great Rock in a weary land; whilst to the Church he is proving himself the “King” who is reigning “in righteousness”. I have this testimony to bear for Him that he is not an hard master, but in his service as in his presence is fulness of joy.

The Christians life of self denial is the happy life. Henceforth I can smile in the face of Adversity.

Though we are just entering the last month of Autumn yet so green and fresh are the lawns and the foliage that the country has the aspect and freshness of May.

What is wanting to make England a great Garden is Untying the lands titles, bright speech, deep plowing—improvements in sheep—in implements—in sewage.

11 mo. 10th 1873.

Brighton.

Oh for patience! What constant need we have for it—How at every turn of intercourse with the world and with men there is a demand for it. “Let patience have her perfect work that ye may be perfect and entire nothing wanting.”

Besides my mission many other thoughts engage my serious meditation—I see each day some part of the problem before me solved and cleared up, so that I can say so much settled—Oh that what remains may be clearly proved as the Lord’s will concerning me. Tempest tossed and yet saved so far, I may with deep and reverent gratitude acknowledge my Ebenezer set up, with the consoling and Fore-pointing testimony “hitherto hast thou helped me”.

11 mo. 24th

Birkenhead.

This is my last day in England according to plan ere I embark for home. Abundance of blessing has followed me. Oh what shall I render for all ! How kind and tender have been the leadings of my dear Saviour. How generous the care and help and sympathy of my friends. Bless the Lord O my soul ! All that is within me bless his Holy Name !

12/1. 1873.

Waterford, Ireland.

A continued outpouring of thanks would not even fill the demand for favors multiplied. A letter from my dear family to cheer me ere I embark ! beside many others.

2nd.

Clonmel.

Clonmel is "The Vale of Honey". *Clon, vale, mel honey.* The memories which hover round this place and those which have been awakened by mingling with Friends here are such as tender and subdue my spirit into reverent adoration under a sense of goodness and mercy which have followed me all the days of my life—Eliza Malcomson a dear Minister of this place was the companion of our dear friend Sarah Emlen in this land. Marvellous that events have carried me now over the same fields—An open door and the closest sympathy having been accorded in every place. What may yet grow out of this visit ?

At Clonmel I saw the building in which Sarah Grubb (formerly Sarah Tuke) established the school for Friends children—Her writings furnish one of the most instructive manuals for those who have the care of children and youth. Here too are cousins of the late Sarah Lynes Grubb. The country is redolent with the soft beauty of green meadows and gently rising hills overhung with sunlit clouds.

History has her truths ! they must be told ; and however successfully men may combat with men against the progress of right, they must submit to the censorship of time. Time is now vindicating the truth that the care for unsanctified activity in the Church of Christ, is *sanctified activity*. That "Individual faithfulness" does not mean *individual unfaithfulness* ; or, (which is too much the meaning given) *individual do nothing* ! The Lord of the harvest wants hands to work, to pray, to watch, to warn, to comfort, to nurse, to reap, to glean ; but he wants

all to *gather with Him* : to gather souls *with Him*. “ He that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad ”. Let us therefore be “ steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord : knowing that our labor shall not be in vain in the Lord ”.

12 mo. 12th. 1873.

On Board the S.S. Pennsylvania off N. Foundland about 400 miles : bound for home 8 days out.

The first use of the pen since embarking at Queenstown is to record the Providence of God so far on this voyage of perils. We have had gales and storms and head winds almost constantly, not a day of fair weather yet though often some sunshine and short calms. Resignation is often hard to come at so as to know the soul to be *stayed* on God. Oh this closeness to death and the realities of an Eternal world ! how it unveils self ! how it sets value on things ! how it brings to an honest reckoning ! breaks up false rests : reveals motives and reflects the clear light of immaculate Justice upon the deeds of a life time ! Oh I never was so near to God before ! What the end is to be I cannot even intimate—cannot suffer myself to speculate ! Minutes are fearfully precious and pregnant with thoughts as well as with events.

Every one seems to show to us some new feature of our perilous position. A ship just hove in sight from N. York, we signalled, but she passed on. The head of our steam box cracked during a gale night before last and we have been unable to go under any head of steam beyond just enough to keep the vessel in control. The Chief Engineer and men have been constantly plying all their forces to cut out and arrange appliances (of the materials on board) to brace the bonnet and keep it from cracking any further. All this while we have been exposed to occasional tempests of wind hail snow rain and cross seas. Once the rain came as from thousands of buckets—a phenomenon of the water spout in miniature—So it seemed to me, an inexperienced seaman. And it has been deemed safest to go steadily on with the bracing ; sparing the steam force and trying the strength of the weakened plates as little as possible. This bracing has involved cutting away heavy iron banisters etc. stroke by stroke with cold chisels worked to great disadvantage, drilling holes into iron plates to secure bolts which pass through heavy timbers placed in front of the bonnet and these bolts have nuts to be screwed up as the other pieces of timber are placed with similar bolts so as to draw all the

timbers in a regular uniform press evenly on the different points of the steam head plate.

But I feel that the unseen hand and the infinite Mind are our dependence. Yet it is good to sympathize with faithful men in their exertions for our rescue from the stress into which we are unexpectedly placed. The men have just hoisted sail—the first for any purpose since we started except first to steady the ship ; and even now I believe it is for little beside. The steam is being let off more to favor the operation of bracing the plate and trying the efficiency of the repairs so far.

It is now near 9½ a.m. Sailing or rolling against a head wind—likely to be 12 or 14 hours finishing the repairs of the steam box so as to be able to turn on steam for trial ; and then not much hope of more than 5 knots per hour. How futile is human counsel ! now to me ! and yet Oh how sweet would some human sympathy be—how utterly desolate and isolated my condition ! nothing around without but the forces of the elements irreverence and sensuality, of some on board. Ah how those at home will feel day after day without tidings of this ship or tidings worse than none. But I gave my cause to the Lord before I left home and even before I set foot on the “*Pennsylvania*”. Oh that His purposes may be subserved by the event ; his Glory be displayed in the midst of the confusion and the fearful ungodliness of the occupants of this vessel. But my own vineyard claims my care and my own heart is enough for my prayers, my ears and my rebukes. The sun brightly breaks over the foaming crests of the rolling waves.

What I now write may never come to the eyes of those who are now so much the companions of my thoughts.

But I will hope continually ; and will yet praise Him more and more. “*My mouth shall shew forth thy righteousness and thy salvation all the day ; for I know not the numbers thereof. I will go in the strength of the Lord God : I will make mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only. O God, thou hast taught me from my youth ; and hitherto have I declared thy wonderful works*”.

Oh that I may live so close to Him the remaining moments days or years of my chequered life, that His will may be my sanctification. Oh that clearness in apprehended duty may always find me faithful in surrendering thereto : as indifferent to the fear of man as quick of understanding in the fear of The Lord, as quick to obey as not to offend my presumption. Oh my fervent prayer is that this dispensation may be in

Great Mercy and instruction to my soul whether it terminate in life or in death.

May watchfulness, patience long suffering charity towards the erring, and deep reverence of devotion to the Author of Mercy continually link me in the Divine favor.

Now 1 o'clock.

We are mercifully favored and cheered with sunshine and calmness of weather. Yet we feel that without power from steam, the wind unfavorable and our canvass scanty we should be at the mercy of a long continued blow, which might carry us not only far from our track but upon shoals or reefs.

"I am as a wonder unto many ; but thou art my strong refuge". Oh I dare not write this in any feeling but that of consecration of body soul and spirit in the cause of my dear Redeemer. If *I know* He lives *for me*, I live also for Him and that is all to know. Sweet is now the thought of home and all the dear and loved ones there. May I but be kept in this quietude of soul ! It is almost too fearful to anticipate the coming night.

Here we are almost motionless—(a slight rocking) 1200 miles from Phila. 1200 from Queenstown, 300 from Cape Race and about as far from the Azores, powerless for motion.

I am sitting calmly writing and my mind pursuing the willings of ordinary life. In an hour we may be drawn before a gale, tempest sent and uncertain of our destination the next hour. Such is sea life. So different is a winter sea from a summer sea. We have had heat and cold rainbow and blackness, sunshine and driving mists all in a day. The wind veering from the S.W. to N.W. ; then heavily from S.W. with fierce beating rain all through the veering round. How can all be so bright, so lovely and so calm when danger is so nigh ? Alas so doth the soul find it which is given to Luxury ! How hidden is the sting and the retribution sure to follow the indulgence of unhallowed desire.

Every word would be a two edged sword to my bosom were I the mother, (such are the thoughts passing my mind) as I hear the shocking levity of the young men in the gentlemen's saloon near the one in which I am writing on deck. The mother of one of the company is sitting by me. Oh the sorrow of her heart. Another young man is the son of a valued Friend in N.Y. city, but I must not let such thoughts distress

me—only pray for them, that Grace may abound and triumph. If any opening is presented I must not flinch from duty. Perhaps First Day, if we survive, may find us in the Divine Hand for use therein.

12 mo. 13th.

Minute by minute we *always* live ! but with such perils around us we can more closely realize that it is constantly in Him we live and move and have all our being. Minute by minute indeed—every one fearful where the mind is not stayed on the Lord.

During the fore part of the night the workmen completed the bracing of the steam box and about mid-night the engine was set to work after 17 hours stop. During all those hours the sea was calm ; and the best opportunity afforded for the completion of the plans. The speed was soon up to about 8 knots. But whether on account of a head wind or a prudence in working the engine much under what her capacity was found to be or whether owing to some signs of giving way her speed is now much lessened. Some measurement which I saw taken around the breach by the carpenter excited an apprehension that the last was the cause. But here again I am met with the imperativeness of entire resignation. Especially while the sallies of levity and folly assail my ears and carry sorrow to my soul. Oh the thoughts of going off the scene in the desolation of no kindred ones no loving clinging sympathizing hearts to linger over one's closing eyes. But with—Ah I must not write it . . .

My life if thou preserve my life
Thy sacrifice shall be
And death if death shall be my doom,
Shall join my soul to thee.

Now are Thy Servants blessed O Lord !
Now sure is their defence
Eternal Wisdom is their Guide
Their help Omnipotence.

12th mo. 13th.

In looking calmly over the late movements of my life, serious self examination fastens on the late visit to England and its results. When I reflect on the emotions under which I wrote on board the Calabria bound out, and on the uncertainties then impending : the enterprise in Tennessee embarrassed for want of money and my own estate involved in these necessities to an extent which very seriously imperilled my children's welfare and comfort though I had not put every possible guard around their interests, though I had left sealed papers for the

Committee requesting them to appropriate the means at their command for the relief of my personal liabilities yet it could not be otherwise than very downpressing to my spirit. My will was written, all affairs as far as I could control them were made ready for any unexpected or sudden interruption of my mission. Yet was the burden unexpressibly heavy. After I had been in Dublin and London Y. Mgs. and seen how the subject needed prudence and power above my own to prosper it, I almost failed heart. I had sent on sealed papers from London giving an exhibit of affairs : in the event of my death. Now my peace is unspeakable in contemplating so far the situation of my worldly affairs and relationships. The prosperity of the Freedmen's work just now so critical and needing so much of sympathy and help is much on my mind ; all the preparations for extensive educational work, the affections of the people towards me personally and the deep interest awakened on their behalf wherever my late visit extended, all these and many other considerations of intense interest crowd my memory. The ship is making better speed and the sound of the engine is a little firmer and stronger in the piston stroke. I hope the Captain will aim for Boston. Ten days favorable weather and no drawbacks may carry us to port.

2½ p.m. The Reckoning has been made for the ship's speed and course. 77 miles run since we resumed steam last night at midnight. Another blow on us beating the front. The heavings and rollings and sickness however have ceased to effect my physical nature. Mental effort however needs superior power of the spirit to hold it in consonance with the Divine will.

The wind rages round the deck saloon with appalling fierceness. How little we know and think on land of the immense force given to wind by the variations in temperature to which the ocean becomes the controlling parental bosom ; where these opposing forces must be met and quieted. And then the thought of what we are and where we are and how we are held there, but a small helm and a little screw sculler driven by an invisible agent ; and that agent working inside of plates which we have propped up and fastened by expedients snatched out of lumber found at random. How these yawning gulfs appear when we know not how soon they would embrace the power of The Infinite One. Here rises the great prow of a ship of 3000 tons high up in air then dips again down, down, as it were below the lowest deep into a lower deep then rising again and seeming to quiver in the poising which way to swing

clean back careering—Ah such sights are good but they are humbling and teach us how little is human skill availing when not exerted in harmony with Providential permission. How humiliating in the presence of such majesty are the bursts of extravagant mirth and unbridled desire. Yet such are often the concomitants of ocean life. According to my observations (which is quite limited) the loosest rein is given to the impulses of the creature and the greatest latitude to carnal desires by voyagers and travellers abroad. It has been remarked by several who have gone over the Continent lately that young Americans are everywhere noted as spendthrifts and dissipationists. I fear it is true ; but I am satisfied that such are not by any means true types of American Society.

12 mo. 14th Noon.

Vicissitudes still attend. Wind hard against us with fog early—Took soundings on the Bank. All right, 32 fathoms. Machinery still holding out. We are wonderfully poised between forces, any one of which failing we cannot measure results.

I spoke to the Captain about a Meeting. He cordially joined, and it was held to satisfaction.

We are passing over the most stormy part of our track. 172 miles since noon yesterday.

15th. 9 a.m.

A very rough sea and stormy night : but we are mercifully borne along—all the braces in place : and we move at about 8 knots per hour.

Think Oh my soul devoutly think
How with affrighted eyes
Thou sawest the wide extended deep
With all its horrors rise
Confusion dwelt in every face
And fear in every heart
When waves on waves and gulfs in gulfs
O'ercame the pilot's art.
Yet then, from all my griefs O Lord
Thy mercy set me free
When in the confidence of prayer
My soul took hold on thee.

12 mo. 15th.

Tempestuous winds assail us still : and still we live by mercy. Oh that my Hope may be sure as well as steadfast. Truly one crises follows another in such quick succession that there is but time to fall prostrate

and implore continued preservation. The engine is being worked quick ; and under other circumstances the sound of the quickened thumps would be cheering : but the thought that each may be the last because too strong, is not comfortable. But things which we know we have nothing to do with we must leave to those who have to do with them.

Oh it is awful to endure this impending terrible threatening of the elements—And yet it would be even more so had I any of my dear ones with me : for then more would be threatened—Yet Oh how very sweet is sympathy ! especially when the surroundings of vanity and mirth and irreverence are almost as awful as the elements.

16th.

Continued mercies ! The roughest night yet passed. That fearful pulsation at the breach of our steam chest is still held in check. The sea rolls heavily after the night blow ; but I hope we are now (about 10 a.m.) having the gale instead of at night again as we have had with few exceptions since leaving Queenstown. But brief intervals for sleep and that so disturbed and dreamy as hardly to be called resting sleep.

The appearance, under the sun, soon after rising, known by sailors as “sun dogs” “water drawers” etc. and by some landsmen as water spouts have been noticed nearly every morning. They were as noticeable this morning.

Evening.

More signal interposition. The impending fury of the winds has been lifted away from us ; and mercy’s voice has pushed the blast—But Oh the giddy and presumptuous mind of man. Some are now betting or offering to bet we shall be in Phila. on 7th day. It is fearful.

17th 9 a.m.

Thy mercies are new every morning ! We have been 14 days from Liverpool and last night the first of quietness for refreshing sleep. The sea very quiet now and all bright and promising : speed about 10 knots. But Oh if we had our deserts !

“ Oh for a closer walk with God
A calm and Heavenly frame
A light to shine upon the road
That leads me to the Lamb ”.

This close walk and Heavenly frame—how they fortify one against the oppressiveness of the ways of wanton people. Yet one often exclaims and with more appropriateness than to Negro slavery. Then what is

man ! and what man having human feelings, Does not blush and hang his head to think himself a man ! On seeing and hearing these evidences of the Reign of Passion in the human heart.

2 p.m.

Bright weather—mild—beautiful sea. Side wind in our spread sails. 234 miles the last 24 hours : been heading some south to be the more safe (in case our engine gives out again) from being blown ashore in a storm from the south. It is reported that the Captain looks for a storm. We make about 11 knots : general cheerfulness and much less foolishness than a few days back.

5½ p.m.

As I look out upon the placid ocean now and see how I am wafted towards my dear ones at home and compare the gliding swiftly with the battling billows of a few days back, the swell of gratitude like that of terror becomes over-powering : and language ceases to relieve the pent up fount of feeling. Prostrate adoration silent and deep and long covers my mind.

18th. 7½ a.m.

Another resting night calm sea ; but foggy. Captain says only two things he is afraid of at sea Fog and fire—Danger of collisions and of burning ship.

What cause for thanksgiving !

The patent log—Fog bell twice in every five minutes.

18th. 1½ p.m.

A Black cloud rising in the north bursts upon us in a shower, so much wind—What are the dear ones at home now thinking of us ? They will have many anxious thoughts. But I trust their minds will be kept in good degree stayed on Heavenly confidence. We are now 254 miles further on than yesterday at this time ; and so far on West that the region of storms seems passed ; but we know nothing of that, only the proximity to the American Continent shelters us a little from the cumulative force of the sea ; whilst at the same time it exposes us to more dangers from shore wreck.

19th. 9 a.m.

Another quiet and prosperous night—Radiant and indescribably beautiful the morn ; but the weather and sea now both threatening—

The breach in the bonnet giving way a little but this may be owing to more pressure being put on in order to make The Capes by night. I feel that I must still commit myself and all to the same arm that has held us up so far. There is time enough for much of adversity and of disaster and destruction between us and our port.

The men are busy sounding—Jersey sand on the bottom of the plummet. But this means the approach of critical time and skilful sailing.

1½ p.m.

Again bright and mild and lovely ! How wonderful are the phases of ocean weather ! A bird man who has a variety on board and has lost most of them by reason of the length and trials of the voyage, had the grief this morning of seeing his last linnet fly off from the deck over the sea. It had escaped from the little cage in the night, and flew up on the opening of the storage room below deck.

6¼ p.m.

Just passed the Light Ship on the five fathom bank and coming sight of Cape May light, we wait for a pilot. Rockets are thrown as signals. A heavy Black cloud in the North which had hung with lightening and threatening gloom has now spread out, enveloping us in blackness. But as yet no heavy wind only rain. The stillness is awful—as if we were held in the very ark of storms ! The vessel moves now very slowly as if approaching impending peril. The officers do not wish to be very near to land in a heavy blow. After all the vicissitudes we have passed, to reach this point, here we are invested with dangers. For the beach is more dangerous to a sound vessel than the open sea. Our engine crippled and canvass insufficient puts us in peculiar jeopardy. Yet are we in the Hand which can deliver. The soul has no confidence but in prayer and trust.

As we approached the five fathom light, the glow and uproar of the passengers became intense mingled with profane and irreverent exclamations which caused me to seek my room. The stillness there was soul sustaining and after the scene around changed into one of threatening the silence everywhere became profound and impressive.

8 p.m.

After rocketing and waiting for pilots in vain, at about 7 our officers got sight of Henlopan Light, and immediately steamed off for it at a lively speed ; and are likely to get into the Breakwater in an hour or two.

What a mercy if we should ! The storm seemed to be lifted above us and scatter. The lightening being fitful, and unattended with thunder. When I think of the scoffers and the dissolute on board, it feels especially a mercy. And the solemn fact of constant accountability for the temper of our spirits the spending of our time and the occupancy of all our gifts gives no room for self gratulation in any one of us. “ Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall ”.

APPENDIX B

THE LETTERS

From Yardley Warner in America to Anne Elizabeth Horne, in London.

The last entry in Yardley Warner's Journal is dated December 19-1873 and it looks as though this lengthy record of his comings and goings for many previous years ended at this time.

When in England in 1873, as already recorded, Yardley Warner made the acquaintance of Anne Elizabeth Horne and some of the letters he addressed to her after his return to America have been preserved. The earliest is dated June 6-1874 about six months after the writer left England.

The letters are rather like a continuation of the Journal and they fall into two groups, those written in June while on a journey to and while attending Rhode Island Yearly Meeting and those written from North Carolina and Tennessee and Georgia in October and November.

6 mo. 10th to 19th 1874 from New England.

10 mo. 4th to 11 mo. 16th from the Eastern States.

100 miles from Germantown, Phila.

New York City.

6 mo. 10th 1874.

I have come to a satisfactory ending of my work over the Freedmen's accounts. After which I came hither on my way to New England Yearly Meeting. The figures looked so cloudy when I quit them last night ; and still so, on going at them this morning, I could only throw all before my Heavenly Father and implore His help ; and ask his guidance. He gave it : and to my admiration, the intricate became plain and the dark clear. So that now, retiring to a couch of rest and comparing my present feelings with those of last night the fervent bursting of gratitude is not to be expressed in words : yet I exclaim " What shall I render for all this benefits ! "

So my report is now finished and sent to the Committee.

New York City.
6 mo. 11th. 1874.

The morning bustle opens here even earlier than in Germantown. But how different the din of traffic, from the praises of the songsters in the groves ! Since 3½ a.m. the clatter has been so incessant that I could not sleep.

200 miles from N. Y.
Newport, Rhode Island.
6 a.m. 6 mo. 12th. 1874.

A night almost sleepless on the sea from New York—I am in a poor plight for anything—no chance for rest, as a Meeting for Ministers and Elders begins on arriving and other meetings follow close ; but my thoughts must have rest if the body has not ; A very large confluence of Ministers from other Y.M.'s present. I wonder how all will do together ! But then I remember that Ministers (true Ministers) are never in each other's ways. This is the excellence of our system of ministry ; viz. that everyone speaks only at his Master's bidding ; and as *He cannot bid wrong*, there can be no clashing, and no hindering of service.

Near 3 p.m. The first sitting of Ministers over ; and the next begins at 3 ; a very refreshing time ; no jarring nor obstructing ; all sweetness.

First Day
6 mo. 14th. 1874—7½ a.m.

As I write this I reflect that thou art now in meeting, or just have been there ; and I trust thy heart is comforted. The care of the little flock does not in thy hospital cease when a new day comes.

First Day
Near 1 p.m.

Just in at my lodgings from a meeting signally owned and blessed. No Ministers in each other's way. Caroline Talbott was twice engaged ; once in prayer, again in testimony ; and then near the close, repeated the sweet verse " Must Jesus bear the cross alone " etc. We have been in worship or meeting ever since 8½ a.m. and although they were much favored I think the effort in point of time has been overdone. American Friends are latterly going pretty great lengths in this way. *We have bodies !* They are the temple of the Holy Spirit ; and need prudent care.

We had an epistle read yesterday from Dublin, which was thought to be "almost a model one". The London epistle was short and savory. These were of course addressed to men's meetings. I have not heard an opinion of the epistles addressed to the women's meetings.

2½ p.m. We have half a day's work yet before us.

On going with a Minister friend to the Yearly Meeting grounds, which are ample and beautiful for a town site, the house was filled before the hour, the yard much *flocked over*. My friend halted with the crowd outside. I said this would suit me. The alternative proved to be either to abide with him, in that crowd, or take the head of the meeting inside. The latter falling to my lot and the room (about the size of the Devonshire House room) being filled; just after I had been seated, a woman Minister at my left hand moved close up to me, and intimated that as there was more room on the men's side, we might press a little more over that way. This was done, and repeated from time to time, till the last move brought me in view of the crowd outside, not far from the wide open door, through which I could see the people converging to a central spot, something after the manner of the *starlings*, celebrated by Homer; but familiar to the farmer and school boy. A speaker was holding forth out there, while, as yet the hum and whispering of the inside congregation had not subsided into anything like the solid decorum of a Meeting. The field orator speaking loudly was heard over most of the inside; and the effect became very threatening on the peace and solemnity of our part of the gathering, when I felt a sudden impulse to kneel, which I obeyed. The quietness which we so much desired then overspread the assembly, and continued pretty much to the close, though I could see the Ministers outside in earnest labour with the crowd there, and often overhear their appeals.

I like the preaching which goes straight to the soul but every grade and shade of priestcraft is abhorrent to my mind.

First Day

10.20 p.m.

Through with the fourth and last meeting of this day, a good one this eve from ½ of 8 to ½ of 10. There was just a good strong preaching of Christ as the Wisdom of God and the power of God and no attempt to draw out confession nor any call to youth to remain for confessional which is linked with priestcraft. This sketch I have drawn of New England Yearly Meeting would not be like anything in England I suppose?

6 a.m. 6 mo. 15th. 1874

At 3 p.m. The *tension* on our minds was strong. Two more meetings through by this hour and another at 4. the Good Master so far has given us much power—this has been the burden of the cry of the assembled church—more power : Oh give us more power. Give thy people power, give the Church power !

The same day 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ p.m. What a day's work ! the Meeting convened for 4 (with a conference previous) held till after 6. The Foreign Missionary Committee was at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ and held till 10 : all were seasons of great favor and refreshing.

7 a.m. 6 mo. 16th. 1874. Though I have been up, and at work two hours, yet when I look over toward the sea, *it seems very late*.

If things go as now laid out, I shall be off from here tonight after the public meeting for the Freedmen.

Aboard the Steamer, for New York.
6 mo. 18th. 1874. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ p.m.

The meetings and all my affairs connected with it, over now. I must hasten to conclude before I have to succumb to sea sickness : the ship is heaving round Point Judith.

We had a melting time and a solemn time, at the close of the Y.M. very quietly, and one by one, the messengers of the gospel offered their last words of love, and tokens of fellowship, or their fervent supplications for a continuance of the signal favors received at the Lord's hand. Everywhere we met the same spirit (a loving interest in each other, accompanied by much freedom in expression), this characterised both young and old.

The business of the meeting, was, in like manner, managed with much unity, and a great deal of zeal. Besides the ordinary local affairs we entered warmly into the mission which promises so much toward the disenthralment of Syria ; entered also with equal zeal into temperance work ; both as respects Friends and the people around us, and into the Freedmen's work, and into the Indian peace-policy, in which we are so warmly sustained by the President of the United States. Into this concern all the Yearly Meetings in America have entered. We have had assigned to us the care and education and civilization of some 10 or 15 thousand Indians ; various other deeply interesting philanthropic movements came under consideration and were acted on in a practical way,—the cause of peace was one of these.

The hospitable freedom shown to visitors was another marked feature of the occasion. I shall look back, as I am able, to these meetings as one marked with vivid colourings.

6 mo. 18th. 1874. 11 p.m.

I thought that I was to be sick—I am glad that that misery was diverted and that I could drink in the magnificence, and the brilliancy of this moonlight on the Sound—Long Island Sound—Oh how I would enjoy thy participation in such majesty of space, and such splendour of architecture as are combined in this ship and the sea she rides upon—She is 327 feet long ; three decks ; each furnished most elegantly—Gas all over ; gas fittings of the best style—a moving palace in the midst of the finest landscape view ; the only drawback to my enjoyment was that thou wast not standing on that deck.

6 mo. 19th. 1874—5½ a.m.

On board the steamer—bright and calm and beautiful opens this day, on a scene of loveliness unsurpassed in extent and variety by any I ever beheld—the Bay as we approach New York the brilliant outlying banks of green and rocks and bowers and forest ranges interspread with villas and mansions and minarets, and walks and drives.

We leave New England full of peace in retrospect and full of thankfulness to our God for His signal owning and crowning the transactions of this Yearly Meeting, Friends there speak of it as the most blest and favoured one in their memory.

This gliding palace ! in which I still write thou could find nothing equal to it, in size, beauty, strength and speed. It cost over one million dollars, and finished in a style superior to any of the ocean steamers. It plies between New York and Boston, carries the elite of travellers in America—does not go round to Boston but makes the water connexion (about 250 miles of the route) between New York and Fall River and Providence.

New York

6 mo. 19th—10½ a.m.

I have been busy here since my landing at 7 a.m.—parted with my colleague who goes West to meet the Committee in Richmond, Indiana ; and I now wait to see a person at 1 p.m. After which I wish to go home, after a short sojourn in the County of Chester to visit our Westtown School and the haunts of my early manhood while connected with that institution etc., then to see what is next in hand to do for the Freedmen.

My work on "The Monitor" takes much of my time.

Looking back I am impressed with the power of mind over matter displayed in this visit to N. England Y. Meeting; conferences and committees yesterday from 8½ a.m. to 7 p.m. with only intervals to eat.

6 mo. 19th 1874.

Trenton N.J. near to 5 p.m.

During the 20 minutes spent here to await my last connexion for home I have sought the shades of beech trees. Railways have greatly changed the face of the ground, but enough remains the same to prompt the rising tribute of admiration, thus: "Oh! How very fair is all the hand of God hath done".

5.20 p.m.

I now write on the train which is hurrying me home at unwonted speed. This trip to New England New York and back will have cost me about 15 dollars everything counted,—distance travelled over 600 miles. This I pay myself: not being willing to mix expenses incurred for Freedmen with religious ones incurred in pursuance of my own feelings: though in this case the main object was for the Freedmen. As the train is rather shaky I shall stop.

10 mo. 4. 1874.

Germantown.

Thy letters of 17th and 19th ult. found me at present under a cloud, but our Good Shepherd lead forth his own, and goes before them. When I read the outflow of gratitude expressed by the words "so that I can say with a truly grateful heart" "Hitherto hath the Lord helped me" and in spite of conflicts within and without, my faltering feet seemed nerved to effort again. Many things press me sore. An unexpected appointment by our last Mo. Meeting put another block in my way South—and many other affairs gathered as a thick cloud: and whilst I had just felt like cheering others I was suddenly made as a helpless child, unable to walk, none to guide, and no light ahead. Dost thou know where to put thy burdens? Once when I was carrying a heavy big satchel of books, afoot, through mire and briars, to one of my schools in Tennessee, it hurt my fingers so badly that at length I thrust my umbrella through the handle, and threw the burden over my shoulder—where it ought to be according to the law of matter and gravity. There it rested so well poised, and so relievingly, that, after a while I started

out of a Meditation, as I walked, and exclaimed, where is my burden ? Actually looking back (or turning to do so) to see if I had left it at my last resting place—when, behold, it was only just *where it ought to be*. This I felt a lesson to teach me to put my burdens—*spiritual mental and bodily*—all where they belonged. Give them to Him who would bear them for me.

10 mo. 15. 1874.

Arrived Johnson City.

It is now after 1—bed time—what a day ! So full of work and of blessings ! I came here (after getting through in Jonesboro) all in the dark as to the duties and work : but the Lord has been my light at every step—Little time to think . . .

People white and colored are very kind and much interested in our work. In company with B. F. Blair (who is a *Friend* well up every way and acts for New York Friends, in the interest of the Freedmen), I visited the school and congregation, the centre of my mission here, last First Day, after attending the Friends' Meeting in the morning. Things are low to be sure among the Colored : but far better than they were at Maryville when I first got there. The Meeting House of the Freedmen is pretty comfortable and is offered to me for school purposes as well as the school house. The latter is undergoing repairs now and I am informed today that they want another. It is an alarming fact that the increase of the colored population is so great that the illiteracy among them is on the increase : there being 200,000 more who are unable to read and write now than were a few years ago notwithstanding the great progress which has been made in establishing schools. Since 1870 the increase of colored population has been 33 per cent. In the last 20 years it is stated at 55 per cent. I have been thus minute because of the large figuring involved. Many have not the data to see but many are able to appreciate what we as citizens, as Churches and Associations and as a Government are doing for the education and Christianization of the Freedmen. When all is seen and added what we are doing in paying off our National Debt, (which was incurred mainly in the cause of Emancipation), and is being reduced at the rate of 3 or 4 millions per month, last month it was 3,993,289 dollars, I think no one will reasonably decline to give generously to the cause of Freedmen.

10 mo. 16th 1874.

Still in Johnson City.

The school superintendent of the county invited me here, offering to accompany me. I would be glad, could I give but thee a picture of our meeting with the coloured Freedmen, the house we met in and its surroundings !! Moonlight and fiercely windy : high, wild and forest-bound is the site with openings looking over the ranges of mountains, the ridges of which give forth electric illuminations visible in the flitting fleecy clouds. The rising and falling voices of the singers inside seemed in keeping with the night without, all with moving majesty. We stood a long time outside enjoying the swelling anthems within and the sublime grandeur without, till one of the worshippers came to the door, when we were obliged to go in,—we had a most blessed time.

23rd. A balmy morning bright and beautiful favours my departure from Johnson's City. I shall post this letter on the train—a thing we can do in all mail trains of our country. The guards or conductors being always reliable as mail agents. One may at any station step outside the car and drop his letter into a P.O. box (fixed secure from weather) which carries the deposited letter into a regular Government box inside in the travelling Post Office car which is fitted up with appliances of a real regular Office and is one in fact accessible to all passengers ; so that one may sit down and write a letter to be posted back or forward on his route of travel, without leaving the train. In case of posting back it is exchanged at the next station with the mail train going the opposite way, a great accommodation to forgetful minds.

10 mo. 21st. 1874.

Jonesboro.

Mercies unnumbered and numberless attend me ! Under a sense of which the apostle's words come sweetly to mind—" Let the peace of God *rule* in your hearts ; to the which ye are called in the one body ; and be ye thankful. Let word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom ". I had just penned this when one of the School Commissioners for this town called me from my very comfortable room, which I thought I had taken for the close of the day. At the same time he handed me a letter from an applicant to a post as teacher—business being disposed of I now gather my thoughts for a little spiritual refreshment.

“The Lord is nigh unto thee that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit”. “The Lord will give strength unto His people”. I often feel that I know nothing as I ought, and that perhaps I am giving to others what I ought to keep for myself ; or that I have altogether mistaken the message. But it is very safe and comforting just to move in the simplicity or stand still in the same ; trusting that we shall be kept back from presumptuous sins when the Son of God is uppermost. I am sure my heart is abounding in gratitude upon a review of the favors and the presence of the Lord during the past week. It sweetens life—(Oh how does it sweeten life)—to number our blessings as they come !

It seems very long since I had any comforting words from my friends, over four weeks deeply engrossing of work and only an occasional note from the dear ones at home, but I suppose my friends feel the uncertainty of my address.

10 mo. 22nd. 1874.

Public feeling is much heated up on the topic of Civil Rights. I tell the Freedmen to *work* it out—*live* it out and *live it down*—rather than *talk* it out. We shall just stick to the XIVth and XVth Amendments of our National Constitution and get every inch we can in the State Courts to back these Amendments up—and that is all we need aim at now ; work out the rest—Here though it is First Day morn another deputation of citizens (Drs. and Professors) waited on me with much kindness and sympathy for my work—though at the table other sorts of folks talked quite another way.

11 mo. 5. 1874.

On the train, Nr. Dalton, Georgia.

How brightening to the spirit's ken to find one's loves and longings suddenly uplifted, and engrossed, in Heavenly aims, Heavenly hopes, and Heavenly enjoyments ! Here, as we pause in the deep forest glades, and the waning yet thrilling tones of the last autumn insect serenades, and as a little while ago I found communion and secret strength in the din of town affairs, the truth comes up so fresh :—

“*Truth* is not local ! God alike pervades,
And fills the world of traffic and the shades,
And may be found amid the busiest scenes,
And served where business never intervenes ”.

So many concurrencies have shewn the leadings of my dear Master in this journey that I must commemorate His gracious dealings. Teachers

of my school their Ministers and Pastors as well as other Pastors having crossed my path and united in my labors and helped on my mission to my continued admiration ; Amens and Hosannas rising in every place, with thanks for the material aid on the part of many former slave holders ; their voices and their purses further the same beneficent end, viz. the elevation of a common humanity, so comes true the saying

“ The *one curse of the two races*, held both in tether ;
They are rising—all are rising black and white together ”.

11 mo. 6. 1874.

The town clock here in Rome Georgia, has just told 5. The last day's travel bring me into a different moral atmosphere. The election is just over, and the returns coming in are heard by a Rebel tempered population ; tumult and suspicion grow into violence. I lodge in a hotel the host of which hates the people whom I come to befriend. I find myself closely watched. Sly glances and whispering on the train in the early night were unmistakable. But very peaceful is my mind. Since the clock struck 2 I have not slept much. Thought of absent dear ones coming to mind in these lonely watches mentally comforted me ; and the words that come are “ Light is sown for the righteous ”. My little candle is going out and I must now close.

11 mo. 10. 1874.

Knoxville, Tenn.

My Georgia sheet looks very scanty and very stale ; but it may as well go. William Edward Forster and Thomas F. Buxton have been my companions since last 7th day morning, through scenes of grandeur and beauty and places of thrilling interest in the history of Emancipation in America. We slept in the same house, and W.E.F. in the same room in which his father died. The wild mountain river and forest views added impressiveness in the light of the events which had transpired in their midst.*

We had an intensely interesting meeting with the Freed people in the Assembly Room of our Freedmen's Institute at Maryville, last night ; both my friends addressed them.

Times are perilous—I was made afraid last night for the *first time ever* in Tennessee by clods and missiles whilst going to my lodgings in the thick darkness which screened my assailants from my sight, but no

* relative to the death of William Edward Forster. See Y.W's Friends and Fellow Workers, page 10.

harm was done. But it is a sign of the animus which is still alive, and now emboldened, by the sudden change in the political parties, there being now a majority in the Lower House of Congress. But I do not apprehend any long continued adversity to the Freedmen's interests. Once only before this (during my first year's work in North Carolina) was I made afraid—that time it was when stones were thrown at me because I was carrying along multiplication-table-chart for one of my schools in that state.

Our Two English Friends have had good opportunity to witness the outlook of the black people just now. They own it is critical ; but to be over-ruled by God in His own way of dealing with the "powers that be", they are not the controllers of social and civil affairs.

I have greatly extended my school work which I propose to help further by pen and money in Philadelphia. W.E.F. is having an artist to sketch the spot memorable as the death of his father on the Holston River at Louis Ferry, and of the graveyard where he was interred.

11 mo. 12 1874.

Starting for Clinton from
Knoxville, Tenn.

The trains are my priveleged places for writing to thee. I could not take any other moment for it these days. The dashing way E. Forster and his cousin Thomas Fowell Buxton* travel, puts me on, one week ahead of my own time table to keep up with them. We parted yesterday they for the North, I for the South, after a brotherly exchange of our experiences. Buxton is a very genial man—Forster is too ; but his is all *inside* : Buxton's *in and out*. They said to me "Do get up another mission to England ! We want to see thee there". I replied "it will not be a *money mission*". They had not suggested it should be. *It would not be a hard thing* for me to do as they desired. I am writing to J.B. Braithwaite and Stafford Allen today. †

The effervescence arising out of the political revulsion continues, and spreads, but chiefly among the "rude fellows of the baser sort".

I saw today, a white boy chase a colored one shouting "Nigger, Nigger" : and then, with a whip struck the little negro in the face. The latter cried ; the other satisfied to hear it, ran off, glorying over it—his cruelty satisfied.

* "Sir Thomas," but Y.W. prefers the simple Quaker usage.

† See Y.W.'s friends and Fellow workers. These letters were probably relevant to the visit to this country, which the writer made a year later,

11 mo. 13th. 1874.

At Tate's house, Clinton.

Oh ! What a refreshing sleep I had in Tate's * bed, by a glowing open wood fire which cast its soothing flicker upon the rafters and the various nice fixings which formed the simple adorning of this clean quiet home. How I felt the warm touches of my Heavenly Father's love as I knelt by the bedside and seemed to see the beams of Divine favour in the future for this people. The sheets and pillow cases so perfectly white and fairly glistening after the ironing. My portfolio had been carried in, and laid on the stand which was covered with clean paper. I was provided with washing accommodation and light beside the fire light. But what pleased me most was the family *devotion*. First, before going to breakfast ; then at the table the longest *silent grace* I have ever sat ; and many times I told them I was glad to see they esteemed it no sign of a fool to sit still.

11 mo. 18th. 1874.

Knoxville again.

I could never become reconciled to the outlook before me now, as I am awaiting the return of a colored lawyer at whose office I have business. There are dirty boys upon the top of a house opposite me throwing things into the dirty yard below, where dirty pigs, dirty dogs, and dirty people are sauntering and other dirty boys playing among Grecian and Roman statuary once in keeping with the premises, and the premises in keeping with the wealth and style of the slaveholder who owned them, but now smeared with the rubbing of muddy hogs, dirty dogs and dirty human hands. The flag pavement opposite is made in part of the beautiful Tennessee marble, of which the pillars in the Rotunda of our capitol in Washington are made and which are the admiration of foreigners. This flag-stone pavement was not costly, for the marble is quarried nearby and this is perhaps of some offal slabs—but the effect is very suggestive as we put our feet upon it and behold the surrounding desolation.

Knoxville, Tenn.

Atkin Hotel—4½ p.m.

I am at last through with the examination of teachers, I am in comfortable quarters here. And have just enjoyed the company of dear Friends from Philadelphia who came down to look after the interests of

* One of the characters in "Uncle Tom's Cabin".

the "Forster Home" at Friendsville where William Forster's remains were interred. The statuary alluded to in the desolate yard was taken out of the possession of the buyer. He was so disloyal as to parade his whole family and his young lady pupils down the street to the Railroad Depot to accompany and cheer the Confederate soldiers ; all which turned to the discomfort of the proprietor who when the place was occupied by the Union forces fled. It is now become a desert which no one has yet taken hold of, and though finely sited presents an appearance like abandoned barracks, and is a resort of vagabonds, hogs and dogs.

I think Hannah and Stafford Allen would like to know how Tate is getting on ; viz. nobly ; faithful to his pledge against all intoxicating beverages and against tobacco. I don't think he took the *society* pledge. He came with me today in the train to this place en route for his work.

11 mo. 19th. 1874.

I've done with Rome ; and have again to thank my Guide for threading through that dark place and finding my work ; and for present help to do it.

11 mo. 21. 1874.

Morristown, Tenn.

It is so long since I received a letter from thee (5 weeks). I am reminded that I should say that I expect to be in Philadelphia by the first prox., and that thereafter there will be less delay and risk to the letters. I am resorting as usual to my privilege *on the trains* again. I do so now especially with a very peaceful mind ; having been helped through all. What a boon is an uncondemning conscience ! What fountain of peace like it ? " If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God ".

Have had a baptizing time at Morristown. Tate was there and joined in the service among the Freedmen. He has now been with me on two public occasions and often in travelling finds a blessed openness for the expression of Gospel Truth. Cannot write more now, the car is very shaky.

Please to bear in mind that my lead pencil writing is nearly all done on the trains, or in rough places, and so excuse.

11 mo. 25. 1874.

Friendsville, Tenn.

I know not why : but from a child I was trained to early rising and early working and my thoughts then seem more free to range as of the

Spirit led. The *best of my day* is the *dawn*. I write now in the wild wood after getting through with a Sabbath School and must now go into our worship.

11 mo. 26. 1874.

4 p.m. Near Louisville.

I have had such a good quiet day, the mossy rock-banks on which I rest during my foot journey to one of my schools at Louisville furnish a strong incentive to pen a word of thanks for all the blessings of this day. The song of birds and the tree-cricket like the wind through the branches invite the spirit's sympathy. All voices are hushed but those of nature in her solemn mood. They are never wholly hushed in this genial clime, and the rising anthem is "How fair—Oh how very fair is all the hand of God hath done". I had the offer of a horse today but I longed for the quiet of the woods, to allow my soul to contemplation and to praise.

I see the fruits of our Training School at Maryville spread all over the land. Here a few miles from Louisville (where I have arrived since the above writing in the woods) are two of our pupil teachers just through their terms of teaching and about returning to the Maryville Training School—another is teaching in this place, and will return there in about two months.

I have great joy in this town seeing so much blessing and fruit as the result of the money and labor bestowed in the last four years—I am writing now in the house of a colored widow where Isaac Robson and his companion put up during their religious visit in these parts. They had a meeting in this town—The husband of this woman was living then—a private house is theirs—and the best accomodation in the town. It is not quite so good now as the husband is dead—but peace reigns, for The Son of Peace is here.

APPENDIX C

WARNERSVILLE

Re-printed from 'The Greensboro' N. Carolina Daily News
1st June, 1941.

A Pioneer Venture In Home Ownership
By Means of Modest Charges and
Long-Term Payments Started after
Civil War — *By Nell Craig.*

Greensboro, which recently, after two trials, voted a housing authority now held up by restraining order of the courts, was, in 1865, the setting for a pioneer venture in home ownership by means of modest charges, long term, low payments. It was among a class of people whose solvency couldn't have been detected with a Wilsonian telescope. They were not only playing from a new deal but in a brand new game, all the rules of which were perplexingly unfamiliar to them. It was an undertaking rewarded with amazing success in every respect, which is so old that none but a few now living remember it, and then only hazily when it is recalled to them, and much digging into fragmentary records and time-dimmed recollections was necessary to unfold the interesting story.

An Industrious Community.

Yet, one of Greensboro's largest negro * settlements is today in the stable, industrious, educated, well behaved quality of its citizenry a memorial to the worth of the enterprise.

Begun two years after the close of the Civil war, it was sponsored by "The Association of Friends of Philadelphia and Its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen". It was a unique undertaking for helping negroes, who had just been released from slavery and were not only without funds but also without means of earning, to become home owners. Launched by Yardley Warner, a Friend from Germantown, Pa., who came to Greensboro and lived as a pariah with the negroes in

* The word ' negro ' without a capital letter throughout is as here printed in the original article.

their community, started a school for them and taught in it, helped establish their church, encouraged them to plant vegetables and fruit trees and vines to meet their kitchen needs, and the settlement, then south of Greensboro outside the city limits, was called Warnersville as a tribute to its founder.

The tract of land, containing $35\frac{1}{2}$ acres, according to courthouse records of the transaction, began, so life-long residents of the section recall, at about what is now known as Five Points and extended to "Donald's Hill" southerly, with Cedar street as a western boundary and the railroad or South Elm street as the approximate eastern line.

Subdivided Into Acre Lots.

It was subdivided into acre lots, the size being this large in order that families might raise the major share of their provisions, and sold to negroes who had themselves so recently been property and denied privileges of ownership. Records of 25 of these transactions were found in Guilford county courthouse. All were to individuals except one which was made in 1882 to "St. John's lodge No. 12, F.A.A.O. York Masons" for the amount of \$150. A negro lodge property is still in existence in this community, although it no longer bears the name of Mason.

No records seem to be in existence, either here or in Philadelphia, to show by what terms payment was made. The transfer went on over a period of years, first of the deeds bearing date of 1868 and the last several that of 1888. The recorded prices were by no means uniform, several being as low as \$25, and the highest being in the amount of \$400.

The entire tract, made up of two units, was acquired by Yardley Warner at a cost of \$2,260, and was transferred to Elliston P. Morris, Anthony M. Kimber and Richard Cadbury, trustees of "The Association of Friends of Philadelphia and Its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen" by Warner and Hannah, his wife, in two deeds dated June 13, 1867. For the smaller tract of one and one-half acres, the sum of the consideration is left blank, and for the larger, containing "34 acres, more or less," the consideration is \$1; hence the supposition that Warner was acting as agent for the freedmen's association in the transaction.

Conveyed to Trustees.

A year and a half had elapsed between the initial purchase by Yardley Warner and the date of conveyance of the property to the trustees of the

association. The 34 acres had been purchased from Hugh Rice through his attorney, John A. Gilmer, and was located in the deed, dated December 5, 1865, as "that tract or parcel of land lying and being in the County of Guildford on the waters of South Buffalo Creek, known as the Bunch tract of land adjoining the lands of Levi Houston, deceased, Isaac Weatherly, deceased, and others, bounded as follows, to wit: Beginning at a post oak on Houston and Weatherly's line thence north 82 poles, thence east to the public road leading to Parson's Mill from Greensboro, thence with said road south to a point on Weatherly's line, thence west to the beginning corner, containing by estimate 34 acres more or less".

The adjacent smaller parcel, under date of May 28, 1866, was purchased from James M. Garrett, the deed locating it as "that tract or parcel of land lying in the county of Guildford, and the state of North Carolina, bounded as follows: Beginning at the southwest corner of James M. Garrett's lot No. 5, near the edge of the county road running north 15 degrees east 10 poles to a stone, thence east $24\frac{1}{2}$ poles to cross street, thence south to the dividing line between lots Nos. five and six, thence west with the said dividing line to the beginning corner stone, containing one and one-half acres be the same more or less."

Warner On Scene Quickly.

Inauguration of the mission of rehabilitating the negro freedman, to which he dedicated his life, must have moved slowly for a zealot like Yardley Warner. Weary confederate soldiers had hardly made their way on foot to their despoiled homes after the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee to Gen. U. S. Grant at Appomatox on April 15, 1865, before Warner was on the scene to decide what could be done for the negroes, confused by a condition new to them, and without means to subsist in their state of freedom. In the midst of the war, Warner, travelling with a pass issued by the secretary of war, had in 1863 penetrated the lines of both armies to study the plight of the negroes and arrange for some of them to go into northern states where Friends helped them to begin a new life. In the first summer after the close of the war, he came into North Carolina to continue his work for the Association of Friends, and by fall of that year he is thought to have established his first school for negroes in Greensboro.

Greensboro was probably selected because the generous proportion of Quakers, who had always practiced the doctrine of human freedom,

in that and surrounding communities made it an easier place in which to establish an unpopular philanthropy. To realize the difficult path which Warner had hewed out for himself, it is only necessary to try to recapture from traditional tales of one's heritage something of the bitterness which existed in the south at that time and was to leave the former confederacy with a wry mouth for decades to come. It was a bewildering time for freedmen and their former masters alike, and by mutual consent many of the negroes remained in the slave quarters into which they had been born, at least until they could become conditioned to their new and mystifying freedom. Others, however, without land or the means of acquiring it, without bread-winning labor or the direction of their lives to which they had grown accustomed, went out to enjoy the unfamiliar state of freedom. Homeless poverty was their lot, and this was the circumstance which the zealous Warner set out to remedy. Home ownership, he believed, would give anchorage to the confused freedmen, providing them with a sense of security, encouraging them in industry, and thrift.

Eyed with Misgivings.

The experimental project which the Philadelphia Quaker set up south of Greensboro to provide little freeholds for the black men must have been eyed with misgivings and disbelief by the people of the little southern town, who were bound by their heritage to think it doomed to failure. By that same heritage, sharpened by the bitterness of their own lives at the time, they were certain, too, to have looked with distrust and disdain on the man who not only sold land to their former chattels but lived himself among them and taught their children with the aid of white women whom he brought from the hated north and from England.

But if they thought the project was doomed to failure, they were mistaken. The inspiration of Warner doubtless helped the determination of the new freedmen to make a life for themselves, and the leadership of one of their own race was beneficial. Harmon Unthank, himself a former slave, was that leader of their own race. Older residents of that section who were toddlers when their fathers bought lots from the Philadelphia Friends, still refer to him as "the boss." Unthank himself was one of the early purchasers of a lot on the sub-division, a courthouse record in 1871 showing that he acquired one of the association's tracts for the sum of \$50. Three years later, he built on this land, on what is

now McCulloch street, a large two-storey house, which still stands there and was only recently passed from possession of the family by sale. His son, Jasper, is recorded as purchasing two of the lots, one in 1869 for \$95, a second in 1887 for \$60.

Unthank As Sales Agent.

No doubt Unthank became sales agent for the Association in the home ownership undertaking, for Warner remained only a few years and went on to establish other negro schools in this state and Tennessee. Certainly by his own example of industry and thrift, "the boss" encouraged his fellow freedmen in developing a stable type of citizenry, which has, through successive generations, worked diligently and been self-supporting, educated its children in public schools and in colleges, and stayed out of police court and jail.

Today in visiting the section, which has long since become a part of the incorporated city of Greensboro and is one of the most populous sections, it is difficult to go back in retrospect to the days of its genesis in a wooded country tract, or to trace mentally the steps of its early development.

Fortunately, a word picture of Warnersville, which must have been written less than a quarter century after John Barringer bought the first lot in 1868, has been preserved. Henry Stanley Newman, an English Friend, visited this country, and his journey through North Carolina was described in letters which he wrote back and had published in *The Monthly Review*. The clipping bears no date, but the visit is thought by local Friends to have taken place about 1890.

How an Englishman Saw It.

"I have been today to Warnersville," wrote Newman, "visited the coloured people in their houses, examined their garden plots, seen their school house and their church, and can bear testimony to the thriving character of their population. They number between 500 and 600 people, all coloured. Warnersville has extended far beyond the original purchase of Yardley Warner when he commenced the project about 1869. They have about 200 coloured children attending their school. They have a good house as a residence for the school teacher, who has two well qualified assistants. I find that in the adjoining city of Greensborough there is a very friendly spirit between the white people and the coloured.

Coloured men are occupying several public offices, and a number of them are successful men of business, managing their own stores."

That success had not been acquired without diligent application of thrift and industry. Unthank's only living daughter, Alice V. Reynolds, wife of a Winston-Salem school principal, recalls, "My father went to work at 6 a.m. and worked until 6 p.m. He arose at 4 a.m. and worked his garden which supplied his family, the neighbours who had none, and all that the children could sell to make their own money. That's the way we dressed ourselves. We had every fruit and berry that grew. I got up every morning and set out plants until time to go to school. He had considerable land and used large tracts for a garden."

Wonder as to how people who were so recently released from slavery without a dollar in their possession, could find the means to pay even the small charge which the Friends made for the land and be able to build houses on their lots was set at rest by the statement of Mrs. Reynolds that her father, a carpenter, worked at a spoke and handle factory for 30 years, and the further recollections of Hannah Moody Payne, 76-year-old woman who still lives in Warnersville, although not on the tract originally bought by her father, that most of the men worked in this factory. It was operated by McMann and Crane, who had been officers in the union army and stopped off in Greensboro after the war. Wagon spokes and handles, and dogwood shuttleblocks were made in this factory by the labor of negro men. An interesting sidelight is that this Greensboro product was used by the English in their wagon trains during the Boer War.

Talked with Unthank.

Newman's account speaks of Unthank: "As I entered Warnersville I spoke to a middle-aged coloured man, and found it was Harman (Harmon) Unthank, an old slave and special friend of Yardley Warner, who has had the management of the property from the first, and ever since the 'surrender' has been a member of the County School Board. One day he was asked what was the name of the coloured settlement, and he did not know what to say. But when he went home it occurred to him to call it Warnersville, and next day, being himself a carpenter, he got a board, and asked one of the teachers to paint on it in large letters Warnersville. The board was then fixed on a post at the school-

house. The name got into the newspapers, and the town has since held fast to the name in honor of its founder."

Newman's description of the Warnersville of about 1890 continues, "In the center of the front line of houses stands the mission house, where George and Emmie Dixon and Miss Swinborne, of England, resided as teachers of the freedmen after the war. Their names are still held in grateful remembrance. On the walls of the little parlour are portraits of coloured philanthropists like Frederick Douglas. The coloured people are not reckless spendthrifts, but many of them are very saving, and one man who has saved up enough money to purchase four of these lots is described as 'miserly.' The fruit trees are now in abundant bearing, and the tall Indian corn is freighted with heavy ears. The gardening is what we in England should consider rough, but this is by no means peculiar to the coloured people."

This paragraph from Newman's letter further bears out recollections of Unthank's daughter and of Hannah Payne, who refers to "the boss" of the project as "Cousin Harmon." Hannah Payne, even after the passing of 70 years, remembers the mission house where the white teachers lived in the midst of the negroes they risked ostracism to teach. She remembers too, the schoolhouse which stood on a site now occupied by a two-storied brick business building at the corner of Ashe and McCulloch streets back of which she lives. The white women lived in two houses on Ashe Street. She herself went to the original school and remembers Yardley Warner. How long she attended that school she does not remember, but when it was torn away, she went to "Bennett school," located at Five Points where St. Mathew's Methodist Church now stands. There she was taught by another white man, "Mr. Steele," whom older Greensboro people will recall as the father of Wilbur Daniel Steele. This day school, of course, was the beginning of the present Bennett college.

Later Taught By Negroes.

But, back to Warnersville. This 76-year-old woman recalls that the school started by Yardley Warner was later taught by negroes who grew up in the community and went away to be educated. She was a pupil there of two of her cousins, Alice Davis, daughter-in-law of Unthank, and Lizzie Gibson, daughter of Yancey Gibson, who in 1871 bought

one of the Friends' lots for the sum of \$25. The two had gone to school at Hampton Institute.

In fact, these new landholders, so recently slaves who in most cases could not read or write, must have been inspired by their benefactor to give their children the advantages of education, for the records show that the majority of them not only sent their children to the private schools which the northerners established and the local government later took over, but to the various colleges and institutes which sprang up for higher education of the negroes. Hampton institute in Virginia Livingston college at Salisbury were attended by many, and later when Bennett college was established in Greensboro, still greater numbers studied there as day students. Many of them became teachers in their own community, an instance of the type of service which was apparent in the community from the beginning being extended to the second generation and found currently in Hannah Payne's daughter, Sylvia P. Ruff, who is a teacher in the Moore school of the Greensboro system, and lives with her mother on McCulloch street in the very heart of Warnersville.

60 Per Cent Entered College.

"About 60 per cent of the children went to college and returned after graduation to teach the children in Warnersville and in other schools in North Carolina." Alice Reynolds recollects. "Hampton institute was well represented at that time, later Bennett college. Groups of women learned trades, and taught the children free. The men learned trades also."

One more glimpse of the Warnersville of that day is given in the Newman article. This has to do with the important phase of the religious life of the people.

"In the evening," wrote Newman, "I had a meeting with the coloured people in their own church in Warnersville. Dr. Benbow (DeWitt Clinton) kindly introduced me, remarking that I represented the Friends of England, who had subscribed so much after the war to help to educate the Freedmen. The people themselves welcomed me as 'Yardley's friend.' The singing was exquisite. They have marvelously beautiful voices, and it reminded me of the Jubilee Singers from Fisk university we used to listen to in England. I then gave my address. 'You made one good point that just suited our people,' said a shining African after-

ward. 'What was that?' 'You told us about Jesus being a carpenter, and that he made all labor honourable, and that is just what our people need to understand.' Their coloured Pastor, Rev. R. C. Campbell, offered a fervent prayer at the end for the Society of Friends: 'O Lord, they stood by us in the hour of our sorrow and distress and difficulty; do Thou, dear Lord, stand by them now, and prosper them in all their efforts. They helped and taught us when we did not know what to do; do Thou help them and give them good success in all they are doing throughout the world for the welfare of their fellowmen.' As I bowed and listened I thought that the benediction and prayer of the great coloured race on our behalf was availing before the Throne of Heaven."

Maintained Law and Order.

Newman may have consciously made his point about the Carpenter of Nazareth with the knowledge that most of the black men in his audience worked from 6 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock at night as carpenters in a factory run by two Yankee army officers. The building in which he spoke was doubtless the Methodist Church, which Unthank bossed like he did the rest of the community, his daughter recalling this with the comment, "Around the church he maintained law and order at all times."

Work Further Afield.

In fact, the former bondman must have been the dynamo which made the experiment that was Warnersville work. Warner himself did not remain there long, moving on to other fields—to England to raise money for his negro schools, to Tennessee and other parts of North Carolina to establish these schools. But the negro "boss" stayed there and, trusted and respected by his fellows, guided them until his death in 1894. That he held the confidence and esteem of the white people as well is manifest in the number of public offices which he held. The Newman account refers to him as being a member of the county school board. His daughter says, "He was interested in every improvement in Greensboro, and was on the board of the First National bank and attended every meeting. He was a Mason. Few things were done for the upbuilding of Greensboro without first consulting him. Albion W. Tourgee, the writer, was one of his intimate friends, and in his book, 'Bricks Without Straw,' my father was one of the characters."

Fact of Unthinks friendship with Tourgee is not offered as guarantee of the black man's high standing with the white people who were native to the community, for Tourgee, who came in with the second Yankee invasion, that of the carpet-baggers, was despised, and he and his family were either shunned or openly reviled. However, there is sufficient other evidence of Unthank's good repute with the white people, and the Tourgee rating is only indicative of the scope and versatility of his friendships.

Took in Homeless Girls.

One of his services to his own race was in taking homeless girls into his home, his daughter recalls. Perhaps that is why he built a house so large for a man of his race at that time. "He was an employment head," this daughter recalls, "and sent many girls to good homes all over the state."

Hannah Payne recalls that her family lived in the Unthank home until they could get their own two-room house built. Her father, Nicholas Moody, through Unthank, a cousin of his wife, heard of the Warnersville project and moved his family there from Surry county, purchasing a lot for \$235, the records of 1872 show.

The 76-year-old Mrs. Payne is the only one of Moody's daughters now living. A list of the names of the original purchasers of the freeholds in Yardley Warner's retreat found her remembering most of them, where their little houses stood, which are still in possession of the families, what has happened to the children of those ex-slaves.

Many Names Recalled.

For instance, Yancey Gibson's property on Doak Street is today in possession of his granddaughter, Mamie McGibbony; Harmon Unthank's son, Jasper, lived across the street from him, but none of that leading family is now left in the community; James Jones, who bought a lot in 1872 for \$220 was a Methodist preacher, who brought up a family of educated children, the only living one being Mrs. Cora Hughes, a leader in her race, who now lives in New York City; Mangum Walker, purchaser in the same year of a lot for \$173, has a son, Charles, still living in Greensboro. Grace McLean, one of the few women who took advantage of the home owning opportunity, buying a lot for \$25, was twice married, first to Waddy, a singer, who was the father of the late

Dr. James C. Waddy and then to Anderson Nelson, a teacher in the Warnersville school, later known as Ashe street and now as J. C. Price school ; Allen Hairston's wife is living now on the same site at the corner of South and Ashe streets which he purchased with Jack Gorrell in 1873 ; Solomon Williams' property is still in the family, and is occupied by Lillian Cummings ; Orpheus McAdoo, who in 1878 bought a lot with a house already on it for \$183, had sons who became one of the world's pioneer troupes of negro musicians, touring Europe and establishing an opera house in Melbourne, Australia ; and Thomas Jackson's lot, bought in 1884 for \$40, is still in the family.

But Jackson's son, also Thomas, can speak for himself. Born in 1883, he lives in a neat white frame house on the lot on Orchard street which his father bought from the Philadelphia Friends. Tom left Greensboro when he was 16 to become a cook in an Atlantic City hotel, and after 10 years there and in New York, returned to Greensboro, and was head chef at Woman's college for a like period. Now he does landscaping for other people, truck farming and chicken raising for himself. He is too young to remember Yardley Warner or the beginning of Warnersville.

Others listed in Guildford courthouse records as purchasers of Warnersville tracts from the Philadelphia Friends are Jonathan W. McAdoo, Alfred Adams, Constantine Davis, Charles Albright, James Howell, Charlotte Gibson, Washington Gorrell, Matt Weatherly, Lydia Thompson and Albert Keiser.

Other Home-Owning Projects.

Sprinkled among the same records are copies of other deeds from the northern bodies of Friends, showing that in smaller scale home owning projects were started in Friendship, Oak Ridge and Jamestown townships. Only a few families were represented in each community.

In fact, the Warnersville enterprise was only one of many established by the hardworking Warner for the benefit of negro freedmen. He visited England in 1873, travelled round amongst Friends pleading cause of Freedmen's schools. Attended quarterly meetings all over country, interested Friends and raised large sums to send to U.S.A. per R. Cadbury.

Returning to his own country in 1874, visiting his schools in Virginia, Georgia and Tennessee and North and South Carolina, Dalton, Ga., Knoxville, Tenn., Clinton, Friendsville, Morristown, Jonesboro, Tenn.

and was in England again in 1876, raising more funds to send back to Philadelphia for colored schools. Engaged in Pales mission, Wales, where he taught children, did temperance work. Married A. E. Horne in 1877 and returned to U.S.A. In 1881 took charge of Jonesboro Normal aschool. 1883 he removed with his family to Bush Hill, N.C. where he died in 1885.

Warners always Walked.

Bush Hill was a few years after the death of Warner renamed Archdale. Friends there remember from their childhood days the Philadelphia Friend and his English wife and their small sons who lived at Bush Hill, and attended meeting at Springfield.

"They always walked, and looked tired and bedraggled," one who was a contemporary of the Warner lads recalls. "The other Friends always had carriages and rode to meeting, but not the Warners. I'm afraid even the Friends were not always as thoughtful as they might have been of these people whose work with ex-slaves made them outcasts by the other white people."

Warner's work with freedmen in Bush Hill was teaching in a school the negro community, called then, as now, "Little Davie." One old negro interviewed there remembers "Mr. Warner" and the school which he taught. Warner's teaching must have been advanced for the time and for the group which made up his classes, for he owned a skeleton which he used in teaching biology, and this he bequeathed to Will Blair who also used it in his own teachings for many years.

Dying of typhoid fever at Archdale, Yardley Warner is buried in the graveyard at Springfield Meeting. The dimming inscription on the modest little stone reads "Yardley Warner, Born in Bucks county, Pa., 11th month, 2, 1815. Died in Bush Hill, N.C., 1st month 7, 1885."

The North Carolina Prohibitionist, published at Bush Hill on January 29, 1885, carried this brief obituary: "The subject of this notice is Yardley Warner, who died at his home in this place, on the 7th day of this month of erysipelas and fever. Deceased had been laboring amongst the colored people of this neighbourhood for more than a year. He was a kind hearted Christian, thoroughly devoted to his work, in which he engaged from a sense of duty. Always ready to befriend the poor and oppressed, he was none the less ready to give of his means to every laudable enterprise."

He had taught at Little Davie until three weeks before his death, and the work "in which he engaged from a sense of duty" was taken up by his devoted wife. After teaching at Little Davie for a short time, however, she returned to England, taking her three small sons with her.

A Toy Noah's Ark.

The customary sale of one's possessions after death left in the Archdale community a memento of Yardley Warner which gave another picture of him than that of the stern Quaker, who with earnest intensity devoted his life to an unpopular cause and left an intangible but lasting worthwhile memorial in the character of industrious and educated negro citizens of Greensboro's Warnersville section. Bought by Eli Mendenhall at the Warner sale, and given to his own children, this other memento of the humanitarian as a father, it has been placed in the Springfield Museum. It is a Noah's Ark, complete with painted animals, lovingly carved by hand from wood by Yardley Warner for his little sons.

APPENDIX D.

AN ECHO OF 1875

Reference should be made to page 102 where in a chapter on Quaker thought of 75 years ago "The Monthly Record" was quoted as reporting a session of Yearly Meeting where opinion was divided between those who were not averse to change and progress and those who were afraid of any change or innovation. The article is printed in full below.

WHAT'S O'CLOCK !

Towards the close of a later sitting of the recent Yearly Meeting, a report was read from a committee, which had been appointed at an earlier period, for the purpose of re-considering some of the Yearly Meeting arrangements, and suggesting some improvements in them. We have not now to do with the various propositions, and there were not a few important ones, in the said report, but with the committee's last recommendation, and the half hour's discussion which it elicited, namely, **that a clock be placed in the meeting-house.**

In fulfilment of the duties committed to them, which were all matters of arrangement, they had naturally to decide on the hour, and even the minutes, in connection with the opening of the sittings, and they not unnaturally, as it seemed to us, concluded the list of proposals, all more or less regulated by time, with the one we have referred to, **that a clock be placed in the meeting-house.**

And, as we have said, though the report contained many proposals which materially affect the arrangements and comfort of our subsequent annual gatherings, such as whether there should be one, two, or three fixed meetings for worship during the continuance of the Yearly Meeting : whether Devonshire House only or the other London meeting-houses be on those occasions opened ; whether the Yearly Meeting commence, as at present, with a meeting for worship, or, as formerly, without one ; these and kindred subjects were disposed of in less time, and with much

less feeling and discussion, than was the simple closing suggestion **that a clock be placed in the meeting-house.**

We are not surprised at this, still less do we feel inclined to find fault with it. We are not surprised, because to some it seemed a novelty, and was, therefore, without further examination to be rejected ; and we do not find fault, because to almost all there seemed some principle involved, and when that is the case we all acknowledge a subject must be well looked at and considered in all its bearings. Indeed, throughout the greater part of the lengthened discussion the punctuality and convenience of the attenders of the annual gathering, in whose interest alone the proposition was made, and to which it was confined, was lost sight of entirely in the larger question which, in many minds, was associated with it as to the propriety of the introduction of clocks into our meetings for worship ; though the proposal was simply that for the purposes of the Yearly Meeting, and the better observance of punctuality in its sittings, **a clock be placed in the meeting-house.**

It was astutely observed by one Friend that probably every individual in attendance had a watch in his pocket, to which reference was without a shadow of compunction continually made ; and that, therefore, to have a joint stock time-piece to which all could refer, and which should be authoritative, could neither be unreasonable nor wrong. This consideration ought to have settled the matter, and, indeed, would have done so, had it been possible to take the recommendation pure and simple, and distinct from the supposed consequences and possible results. That, however, was not the case ; spectres were raised, clocks might be seen in all our meeting-houses, and there were visions even of communications limited or lengthened, and meetings closed and regulated by the timepiece, if the recommendation were once adopted and that for the Yearly Meeting **a clock be placed in the meeting-house.**

Now we wish fairly and calmly to look at this matter. Before proceeding further, however, let us say that our friends, as a body, were enabled to do so ; as is almost invariably the case when thus assembled together. They listen and weigh ; they hear and judge ; individual members may be weak, but the body is sound, and we have always great confidence in their conclusions. They were alive to the objections raised by some, they understood and appreciated the difficulties foreseen by others. But in adopting the report, after it was again read paragraph

by paragraph, they saw no sufficient reason to excise the concluding proposal **that a clock be placed in the meeting-house.**

For it does not at all follow that these eprophecies will be fulfilled, that the fears will prove anything more than fears, or the fancies become facts. We have long had a clock **outside** the Yearly Meeting house, but it has not been copied, and we do not find clocks outside our meeting-houses generally. And if one is put up **inside** the meeting-house, it will not be copied, we venture to say, to any extent, if, indeed, at all, in those houses where the like occasion does not exist and the like need is not felt. There is a sounding-board in that house, a large table fixed there, and a gallery round the walls ; but like arrangements are not, therefore, imported into all our meeting-houses, or into any unless they are required, and we augur no other result from the conclusion **that a clock be placed in the meeting-house.**

We know, however, of one large meeting-house, and there may be more than one, where there has long been a clock ; we know another where the Friends upon whom devolve the serious duty of breaking up the meeting place a watch on a hook in the gallery rail before them. And we know of many where a clock in an adjoining building or a neighbouring steeple, or even in an adjoining lobby or cloak-room, fulfils the friendly part of keeping all apprised as to the passing of time. Now, as far as the supposed principle is concerned, these subterfuges are more objectionable because they are subterfuges and compromises, and are not candid and straightforward ; and we really believe it would be more agreeable to truth, as our worthy predecessors were wont to express themselves, **if a clock were placed in the meeting-house.**

We have used the phrase " supposed principle " deliberately, because we believe there is no real principle in the matter. We sympathise most heartily with those of our dear friends who experienced the fears we have referred to, and who fairly expressed them ; fears not only that clocks should become general in our meetings for worship, but that overmuch regard should be paid to them, and that religious exercises, or at least the closing of a meeting, should be unduly regulated by them. We cannot, however, bring ourselves to believe that with Friends this is anything more than a fear, a salutary one, we confess ; and we are not sure but that in some minds there is a little confusion between things which essentially differ. The blessed guidance of the Holy Spirit may be known in very small details. Perhaps on this subject, pursued in its right lines

we should go to the full length of any of our brethren. The Holy Spirit will lead and guide into individual duty and point to certain places. But we are not honouring this doctrine by misapplying it. There is an economy of revelation ; it is confined to its own province. It does not supersede, nor do we allow it to usurp the place, nor are we honouring it by neglecting the railway guide and time table, and we venture to add here the timepiece. And we are confident that this principle which we feel persuaded is increasingly dear to us all, is in no way infringed **if a clock were placed in the meeting-house.**

And passing from principle to practice, what is the report ? Is it suggested that where the exact time is known, whether surreptitiously or openly, that there is anything in the conduct of those meetings more undesirable, unbecoming, or unfriendly, than in those where it is vaguely and very often incorrectly guessed at ? or that there is, or would be, any more slavish observance of it ? We think, too, we are not mistaken in saying that without exception, during the recent discussion, every one of the many Friends who spoke, and who were themselves responsible in their different meetings for the weighty duty of rightly breaking them up, testified to the assistance and relief it would be to them **if a clock were placed in the meeting-house.**

For ourselves we are indifferent in this matter, but we learn that when our friends lay themselves open to the censure, more than once implied, that three or four hundred sensible and devout men are spending half-an-hour of their time, confessedly very precious to them, in discussing a simple proposal which might be disposed of in a few minutes, it is because they think they see a principle in it, and are rightly jealous of that to which they fear it may lead. We had another instance of this in one line in a report from one of our schools. But we must not enlarge. We will only say that when in future we hear a very simple suggestion and find that it is supposed to lead to all sorts of results as foreign to the mind of the proposers as to any who comment upon it ; when we see a lamb and hear there is a lion in the way ; when we see our friends needlessly frightening themselves and trying to spread the alarm ; when we hear a very innocent proposal, and find that it will lead from one thing to another, even unto the bitter end, as we have done in times past again and again, and probably shall many times yet, whilst after all and through all truth flourishes to our own and the church's unspeakable comfort, we shall think of the discussion in the Yearly Meeting when it was proposed **that a clock should be placed in the meeting-house.**

APPENDIX E.

The Society of Friends in East Tennessee in 1877

It is fortunate that at the time when Yardley Warner was settling down to work at Pales in Radnorshire in 1877, we have a contemporary account of some of the Friends' Meetings and Schools in East Tennessee, the scene of much of Yardley Warner's work during the previous 10 years. Stanley Pumphrey a Friend whose name frequently occurs in these pages, (see Index), was at that time visiting Maryville and other towns in that locality and the following article which was printed in "The Friends Review", must have been a source of great encouragement to Yardley Warner.

Work in East Tennessee By STANLEY PUMPHREY.

The valley of East Tennessee possesses natural advantages which should render it one of the most attractive portions of the United States. It comprises a district about two hundred miles in length, and one hundred in width, lying between the Alleghany and Cumberland Mountains, and watered by the fine streams that form the Tennessee river. The soil is naturally productive, and the climate hardly to be surpassed. The winters are short, and the cold spells not often either severe or of long duration. The heat of summer is moderated by the breezes from the mountains. Many invalids whose health has broken down under the extremes of other climates, have here had health and strength restored. The lovers of nature may find in the beauty and variety of the scenery a perpetual feast. From the summits of the mountains, the highest east of the Mississippi, views of rare extent and grandeur are obtained. In this Southern clime, trees of almost every variety clothe the hills from base to crest; and when the oaks and chestnuts, poplars, beech and birch have cast their leaves, the forests of pine and cedar are still green. The valleys disclose softer beauties, and bowers of kalmia and laurel shade the streams. The flora is the richest in the States. The hills are stored with mineral treasure, and iron and copper, marble and slate abound.

With all these advantages, East Tennessee is still undeveloped. Slavery blighted the natural and moral fields alike. The soil has been exhausted by a wasteful plan of cultivation, till land that ought to produce a hundred bushels to the acre yields but twenty. Many of the people are too well

content to live as their fathers, have little ambition to improve, and seem indifferent to anything beyond the bare necessities of life. The state of education, though higher in Tennessee than some parts of the South, is very low : 364,697 persons over ten years of age, or forty-one percent of the population, were reported, at the last census, as unable to read or write. In many districts illicit distilleries are more plentiful than either schoolhouses or chapels, and little or no provision is made for public worship. Thus, whether for the agricultural, moral, educational or religious reformer, there is ample scope for work.

In this district the Society of Friends has had a footing for about eighty years. A meeting was first established quite in the East of the State, at New Hope, then at Lost Creek, sixty miles further west, and at Friendsville, fifty miles west again. Smaller meetings were set up near these centres, which formed together a Quarterly Meeting of considerable size. The same causes that diminished the Carolina meetings operated here. To escape the influence of slavery, numbers of the more energetic young men emigrated to the West, so that even before 1860 the meetings were much reduced. Then came the war to the ravages of which East Tennessee was terribly exposed. The contending armies swept backwards and forwards, desolating the country till hardly a rail of fence was left. Of the little community of Friends, all who could get away did so, to escape conscription, were obliged literally to hide away in the woods and mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth. Lost Creek and Hickory Valley meetings were laid down, and at New Hope and Friendsville the attendance might often be counted by units. With the restoration of peace, the meetings revived, and, as in Carolina, a considerable disposition manifested itself among the people to unite with Friends. Jeremiah A. Grinnell, Rachel Binford, and other Friends from the West, felt drawn to settle among them, and their labours were blessed. A new meeting was set up at Maryville, and Lost Creek and Hickory Valley were commenced anew. The last-named settlement became a Monthly Meeting, and, together with Friendsville, constituted a new Quarter : Maryville Monthly Meeting, though much nearer Friendsville, being joined to Lost Creek. Good, new meeting-houses have been built in several places, and about 800 individuals have been received into membership.

After the war the condition of the Freedmen claimed the earnest sympathy of Friends. Many schools were established in Tennessee, and Yardley Warner, with the aid of funds contributed in England and elsewhere, built a Normal School at Maryville for the coloured people. The charge of this Institution has been accepted by New England Yearly Meeting, and is now under the efficient management of Dr. Hastings. About seventy children are in regular attendance, and twenty older pupils are being trained as teachers. The opportunity furnished for practical, as well as theoretical instruction in methods of teaching, is a great advantage. During the last three years forty seven have gone out to take charge of schools—many, when they have thus earned a little, returning for further instruction.

To the value of the whole educational work carried on by Friends in Tennessee we heard many testimonies, and it has doubtless contributed to the improved conditions of the coloured race. Illiteracy is steadily decreasing among them. Many own houses and plots of land, and some are rising to positions of respectability and influence. At Friendsville, a school, superintended by William Russell, of Indiana, is doing a good educational work for Friends and others. In the William Forster Home for Young Women, the school learning received at the adjoining Institution is supplemented by not less needed domestic training, under the valuable care of Priscilla B. Hackney. The weekly charge of 1.10 dols, last year covered the board of the inmates, and the matron expresses her confidence that if she could always

secure twenty girls, and get payments made in advance, one dollar would suffice. It is not often that we see so much good done with so small an outlay.

The work of J. D. Garner has often been noticed in the columns of *Friends' Review*. He found among the valleys of the smoky mountains a considerable population of very poor people, whose religious and educational opportunities were small indeed. For five years he has devoted himself to the work of their elevation. Assisted by members of his own family, he has taught 1,600 to read. Three schoolhouses have been built, the people supplying the timber and labour, and putting them up under Dr. G's direction, and with his manual help. As many as ten schools have sometimes been in operation from the end of Seventh Month to the end of Tenth. At Chilhowee and Hopewell Springs the schools taught by William P. Trueblood, of Indiana, and John N. Parker, of Carolina, are kept open the greater part of the year. In the meeting-house at Maryville a normal school is carried on under the superintendence of Benjamin Seeborn Coppock. For this, young people of promise are selected, and, after receiving training, are sent back to teach and elevate the inhabitants of their native valleys. Even with the most careful economy a work like this is attended with considerable expense. The teachers must be maintained, school books must be procured, the children often need clothing, and for many of the normal scholars board and lodging have to be provided while they are under tuition. Ten cents a day is the allowance for rations, so that a little money is made to go far, and yet they are better fed than when at home. In addition to procuring what he can from public funds, Dr. Garner gets as much as possible from the parents. To them it is often easier to pay in kind than money, and a little corn or a few sweet potatoes are never refused when there is nothing else forthcoming. The deficit is made up by assistance from Indiana Yearly Meeting, and the voluntary contributions of interested Friends. Once in two months Dr. Garner takes a three weeks' tour among the mountains. The journey is toilsome, for the roads can only be travelled on foot or horseback, and are often extremely rough and steep. The accommodation, even in the best houses, possesses few of the comforts of civilized life. Often a room in a log cabin, without windows, is shared with the whole family, and the meal consists of nothing but corn-bread and milk. There is rarely any chance either to hear from or communicate with home during the whole journey. Meetings are held at the various places on the route, and earnest endeavours are used to raise the people socially, morally, and religiously. At Hopewell Springs, where some of the most effective work has been done, a good frame-house is built, and meetings are now kept up every First day. At three or four other points they are held once a month, someone qualified to instruct the people arranging to be present every time. As the result of these labours, a large number have given evidence of change of heart, and some very striking instances have occurred among the very aged and the most depraved. A considerable number have been received into membership with Friends.

APPENDIX F.

“THE MONITORS”

Before writing of the papers which were issued from time to time under the general title of “The Monitors,” it should be told how their existence came to be discovered.

On the death of my mother in 1929 it was my duty to dispose of the few possessions which she left behind in this country when making her last crossing to the United States and among these was a pincushion. It weighed 2 lbs. 7 ounces. I had often seen this as a boy ; it generally stood upon the old treadle sewing machine, and a similar one, weighted with a block of lead is still in use in the household of one of my cousins, known I understand as a “block pincushion”. Being, as I have been told, of an inquisitive nature, when this weighty article finally came into my possession, I took off its faded velvet covering and the other wrappings and the horsehair and I found inside to my great surprise, three pieces of printer’s type, battered, well worn, with copper lettering on leaden bases, which spelled out the words, “THE MARYVILLE MONITOR.”

This discovery was made twenty six years ago, but not until 1954 did I learn the story which lay behind it and those old printer’s ‘slugs’.

Shortly before setting out for America to make first hand investigation on the spot as to the work my father was able to accomplish in some of the Southern States, I sent out a circular letter asking for any information about a paper called “THE MARYVILLE MONITOR.” This was addressed to about fifty of the principal libraries on both sides of the Atlantic. This brought the information that three stray copies of a monthly with that title were to be seen in two American libraries, though, as it happened, nothing was known of them in either of the public libraries in Maryville, Tennessee.

And so it came to pass that I was able to see in the Library of Congress a copy of an issue of “The Maryville Monitor” for the month of November 1872, with its title printed from the actual type pieces which for about 50 years had been hidden away in a pincushion !

THE MARYVILLE MONITOR.

(Fig. 13). "The Maryville Monitor", Headlines to the papers referred to on page 305, and in the Appendix F. Printed from the original type found inside the old block pincushion described on page 305.

An imprint from this type appears opposite. There are two other copies of "The Maryville Monitor" for April 1872 and June 1873. They are in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass., U.S.A. How they came into the custody of these great American libraries no one knows.

Both of these libraries have kindly supplied complete photostats of the copies in their keeping and these have now been sent to the Harper Memorial Library in Maryville and to various other libraries in England and America.

Numerous references to the Monitors in Yardley Warner's writings show how large a place the issue of these periodicals had in his life over quite a period of years.

Stray copies of two other papers edited by my father have been discovered among the documents left by my mother in West Grove, Pa. One of these was "The Freedmen's Monitor and Working Man's Looking Glass" for December 1875, being no. 12 of volume 5. It was published by William Axe at Frankford, Phila., Pa. and Edited by Yardley Warner at Germantown. A single sheet of this, printed both sides, is all that remains.

Another issue, bearing the title, "The Working Man's Monitor, for the Freedmen in America, and against the Slave Trade in Africa," is an eight page paper, dated January 1877, stated to be "printed for the Editor at the Orphans' Printing Press, Leominster, 10 and 12 Broad Street, Leominster, and edited by Yardley Warner at Penybont, Wales, Great Britain". References to the contract for this printing will be found in Yardley Warner's Letters.

"A Monitor", according to the Oxford Shorter Dictionary is "One who, (or that which) admonishes another as to his conduct. Now somewhat archaic".

It is not to be supposed that Yardley Warner when choosing a title for the series of papers which bore this name looked up its meaning in a dictionary. At the same time that is exactly what the "Monitors" set out to do, to admonish others as to their conduct. The evils of the day were vigorously, almost fanatically attacked in these Journals, the Chinese opium traffic, the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, gambling, swearing, loafing, even smoking, all were denounced in most outspoken terms.

"The Maryville Monitor" had as a subtitle a quotation from the Acts of the Apostles, "God is no respecter of persons".

No advertisements of any kind are to be seen in any of these papers, and the following notice appears in the issue of The Maryville Monitor for April 1875.

A MONTHLY

"One copy monthly per year 25 cents. 20 copies, one year \$4.00. We do not expect that the paper will sustain itself at the above rates but hope those whose hearts are in the cause will use their influence on its behalf."

"This paper is printed and produced by Colored Citizens."

It is not possible to state to what extent these Monitors circulated nor indeed to list them all. There are references to an "Athens Monitor" in some of Yardley's Letters and an important American periodical of the time "The Friends Review" for 1873, reprinted a lengthy article by Yardley Warner in a contemporary issue of "The Freedmen's Monitor" for 1875, on the life and labours of William Forster.

The issue for April 1873 was being put together during Yardley Warner's visit to this country in that year—though printed and published in America. The following article, written while en route to England on the "Calabria" in 1873 is proof of this :—

A Burial at Sea

About 11 o'clock the room steward said to me, "The dear fellow is dying : I think he won't live till twelve" : I went to his room and found it so ; he died at a little before 12. Here, 200 miles out, was a lone steward boy, 21 years old, taken with a few days' sickness ; but cared for wonderfully and in a way that no human priest or bishop could have done. Without counsellor or friend beside his mess-mates, his mind was gently and sweetly led to contemplate the reality which was so soon to overtake him.—This is the history of the Lord's Mercy towards him. He had a common cough some time. A few days before the Calabria sailed, his mess-mates noticed him coughing and weeping on the deck of the ship. He said, "I think I shall not get well,"—His mate told me in his expressive, simple way how his sick friend turned to his Savior ; how he sought retirement ; and how he prayed.— And then how they "talked religion one to another". And how, yesterday, he watched him ; and watched him all night. How, this morning, he helped him out of bed and sat by him an hour ; how he told of his sure hope, saying he was not afraid to die—was ready—how he "saw them waiting for him" ; how at last he wet his lips, when he laid back and said "I am going"—and died ; died in the faith of the Lord Jesus. By what means was this ? Divine grace operating on his heart, and as he took heed to its warning, the Saviour proving Himself a God nigh at hand to redeem him. They laid his body out, placed it in a perforated coffin, the foot end of which was heavily loaded with iron. Six o'clock was fixed for the burial ; but it was not much talked about ; no formal notice was given. About that time the coffin was placed on a plank inclined to the edge of the

ship—the open gangway. The upper end of the plank was roped, and held by two men on the upper deck ; while four men on each side of the plank, with the coffin resting upon it, just so inclined that it would not slide without further lifting. As the fact was spread around, crew and passengers crowded in and formed a solemn spectacle, with the coffin in the midst. There were men and women, who, holding the implements of their calling in their hands too rigidly to drop ; some having climbed up on boxes and railing, almost breathless, with coffee-pots, dishes, boilers, kettles, etc., gazing down with tearful eyes on the last that was to be seen of their comrade. The ship made a halt. The Captain and crew and most of the crowd, with uncovered heads, stood while the physician read the Episcopal burial service. When he came to the words “ we commit the body unto the dust ”, he said “ unto the Deep ” and at that instant the four men on each side and the two holding the ropes on the upper deck quickly tilted the plank ; the corpse and coffin slid heavily feet foremost into the embrace of two crested high rising surges, which at that juncture seemed to ask for their freight to the deep ocean grave. The men all stood motionless, holding the plank just as it was when the corpse left it, and so remained until the service was over,—Then all retired in a becoming manner. But it was soon evident that

“ As from the wing no trace the sky retains,
The parted wave no furrow from the keel,
So dies in human hearts the thoughts of death.”

The instruction of this incident is in the gentle dealings of our Heavenly Father preparing the heart of the young man for the change ; and that, without priest, bishop or human counsellor. The importance of taking heed to these monitions is strikingly displayed in the shortness of the time allotted in this instance for preparation.

Y.W.

On the Ship Calabria—4th mo. 23. 1873.

The following parable from the Maryville Monitor for November 1872 appears in “ The Children’s Column ”.

A Lesson from Dogs

Yesterday morning at 3 o’clock I left my lodgings in Morristown for the up train. At the Post Office I met a large dog that stopped and eyed me. I spoke to him saying, “ fine fellow ”. He followed me, and so did another that trotted off the porch of the Post Office at the same instant. They vied with each other in getting close to me—the latter taking hold of my umbrella gently with his teeth. At first they would squat if I stopped, but as soon as they found I encouraged them, they bounded on, back and forth, and then marched head and ears up, mostly one on each side of me. This was kept up till I reached the Station and Hotel. I had an hour to spend there ; and though the morning was very cold, I concluded not to call on any one inside, while I had such interesting company outside ; and so I set about finding out the meaning of this sudden and strange intimacy, thinking it might be Providential. Every movement I made was keenly watched by my guards—for as such they now behaved, taking no notice of saucy-wiffets, but quickly assuming offensive attitudes, when a big dog would bark, or any other striking noises occurred. On laying down my valise, etc. the yellow dog smelt them, and behaved significantly. I paced the porch to and fro to keep warm ; the dogs marched along, and occasionally jumped off the end ; but soon sprang back, and so kept by me a long time. At length the yellow dog began to lick my hand and put up his paws. On repeating this a few times, the other dog became fierce and jealous. I fully satisfied

myself that this was his feeling ; and so high did it rise, that there would have been a real fight, if the yellow dog (or the gentle dog) had not always taken the assaults in the utmost good humor. He would squat and even roll down as soon as the fierce dog would growl, and pitch on him—then the threatenings becoming very loud and menacing with doggish grins, growls and uprearing I had to raise my umbrella and aim at them, saying, “that’s enough”, very sternly. The gentle dog looked the more pleasant all the while, and the other could not bite while his friend was so unresisting ; so peace was maintained. I thought to give them more room and walked to and fro on the whole length of the platform. They kept close and watchful ; the fierce dog took a plan of his own, and seizing an old newspaper with his teeth paraded with it shaking it triumphantly. The other dog would try to get my umbrella—then another fracas would come on ; and had to be stopped with “that’s enough”, which both dogs now fully understood. The teaching is plain. “It takes two to make a quarrel” ; and if one will forbear the other cannot easily fight. The gentleness and noble behaviour of the yellow dog was truly magnanimous.

My young readers will now see how much better it is to be forbearing than overbearing ; and if this is seen in dogs, how much more lovely when it is practised by men. Give respect to Him who said “Resist not evil”, “Who-soever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also”.

Y.W.

3rd mo. 21. 1872.

The following verses—no author is named, appeared in the issue for 11th mo. 1872. They well exemplify Yardley Warner’s hatred of war and his zeal for education.

The Waste of War

Give me the gold that war has cost,
Before this peace-expanding day—
The wasted skill, the labor lost,
The mental treasure thrown away
And I will buy each rood of soil
In every yet discovered land,
Where hunters roam, where peasants toll,
Where many-peopled cities stand.

I’ll clothe each shivering wretch on earth
In needful, nay, in brave attire ;
Vesture befitting banquet mirth,
Which kings might envy and admire,
In every vale, on every plain,
A school shall glad the gazer’s sight,
Where every poor man’s child may gain
Pure knowledge, free as air and light.

In every crowded town shall rise
Hall’s academic, amply graced,
Where ignorance may soon be wise,
And coarseness learn both art and taste,
To every province shall belong
Collegiate structures, and not few,
Fill’d with a truth-exploring throng,
And teachers of the good and true.

In every free and peopled clime,
 A vast Walhalla hall shall stand,
 A marble edifice sublime,
 For the illustrious of the land ;
 A Pantheon for the truly great,
 The wise, beneficent, and just ;
 A place of wide and lofty state
 To honor or to hold their dust.

A temple to attract and teach
 Shall lift its spire on every hill,
 Where pious men shall feel and teach
 Peace, mercy, tolerance, and good-will ;
 Music of bells on Sabbath days,
 Round the whole earth shall gladly rise,
 And one great Christian song of praise
 Stream sweetly upward to the skies !

Those who find it difficult always to do right, and that means most of us, will see some consolation in the following lines, by an unknown author of long ago, who evidently knowing much of human weakness admonishes us *to do right as near as we can*.

Do as Near Right as You Can

from

“THE MARYVILLE MONITOR”—VOL. 1. 11th mo. 1872.

The world stretches widely before you,
 A field for your muscles and brain ;
 And though clouds may often float o'er you,
 And often come tempests and rain,
 Be fearless of storm which o'ertakes you —
 Push forward through all life like a man ;
 Good fortune will never forsake you,
 If you do as near right as you can.

Remember the will to do rightly,
 If used, will the evil confound ;
 Live daily by conscience, that nightly
 Your sleep be peaceful and sound.
 In contests of right never waver —
 Let honesty shape every plan,
 And life will of Paradise savor,
 If you do as near right as you can.

Though foes darkest scandal may speed
 And strive with their shrewdest of tact
 To injure your fame, never heed,
 But justly and honestly act ;
 And ask of the ruler of heaven
 To save your fair name as a man,
 And all that you ask will be given,
 If you do as near right as you can.

The following article from *The Freedmen's Monitor* published at Penybont, Wales, Great Britain, 1st mo. 1877, shows how closely Yardley Warner kept in touch with the work in America and how much he longed for the welfare of his beloved coloured fellow countrymen, entitled

SELF HELP

It is positively a necessity to insist on the Freedmen paying a larger proportion for the support of their schools. We should, for the present, be satisfied if you were in all the schools, as an average, paying half of the teachers' salaries, after the public or state money is exhausted. That is not the case in many schools, though in some more than that is paid. A great deal of work has been done, and well done, at Morristown—Christian work too of a lasting kind; first by Almira H. Stearns, then by Almira King, and again by Almira H. Stearns. But the people have not come on as well as at Athens and some other places. The chances for business and employment are better around Morristown than in many other places. The railway connections, the agriculture, and the enterprise generally, about Morristown bespeak for it better things than at many other points. It ought now to have a Normal School like at Athens and Dalton, pupils will be attracted if the teaching is thorough and solid. But as at Little River and a few other places, there is need to stir up the people to exert themselves to persevering effort to get work and get money and to take care in the spending of it. Spend it not "for that which is not bread for soul or body". Be men and women! Christian men and women—free men and women! not letting yourselves down to the slavery of drink, after being delivered from the terrible galling yoke of bondage to "King Cotton"! Be men and women worthy the great era in which you live; and worthy the great things which have been done for you in this national era, by the men whose names adorn the history of that era—Abraham Lincoln, Edwin M. Stanton, Charles Sumner, Salmon P. Chase, Thaddeus H. Stevens, and many others living and departed. Remember it is possible for you to be degraded into a bondage more galling and killing than that of the body—the slavery of sinful habits, immoral living, drunkenness and idleness.

That noble-minded Christian poet, Wm. Cowper, said, in contemplating Negro Slavery, as it was in his day:—

"Then what is man! And what man seeing this,
And having human feelings does not blush,
And hang his head to think himself a man?"

A word to you, the Freedmen. What is your part in this time of great transition from bondage to the true liberty of the Christian family, and the Christian policy? I assure you most earnestly and solemnly, it lies mainly in the two words which head this article—Self Help. If you do not help yourselves now, with your present opportunities, all our help will be in vain for you. May our Father in Heaven, by the faith and the love of His Son, help you to know how to help yourselves. That will certainly be by living law-abiding, industrious, sober, Godly lives. True to your wives, your children, your employers, and your religion.

Y.W.

Advocates of total abstinence and social reformers today reading what Yardley Warner had to say in his time about the ravages of alcohol have cause to rejoice that the efforts of workers in the temperance cause

have met with such success as they have. Running repeatedly through Yardley Warner's writings are warnings of the dangers of alcoholic indulgence. The following parable is typical of the way this subject is dealt with.

From The Maryville Monitor

Eleventh Month, 1872.

THE VICTIMS

I keep a little china jar in my bedroom window. After using a match, I throw the unburnt stick into this jar. Occasionally, I use one as a taper, to fire another light ; but most of them go to the dirt barrel. Match after match is fired and thrown into this cup ; it becomes full, and must be emptied ; again and again full ; and I pause and look, saying is it full again ? how many ! how often this is filled. So with the victims of rum. You would hardly think from the one by one under your eyes, that the great number of victims would be swelled to hundreds of thousands ; but so it is ; there they lie, like that packed pot, full of thrown away match sticks ; yet they can be counted, and are counted, not only by doctors, and officers of hospitals, asylums, etc., and by the records of the jails, and court rooms, but they are, every one, counted by Him who has declared that "No drunkard shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven !"

From The Maryville Monitor

for 4th Month, 1872.

Instructions to the Teachers of Freedmen's Schools,
under care of Indiana Yearly Meeting, and the Super-
intendency of Y. Warner.

Begin school each day, waiting to feel God present, and in such a frame of mind, read distinctly to the whole school, a portion of the Holy Scriptures. The pupils are to read in the same at least once a week.

Have no rule which you do not live up to yourselves, or cannot keep the school up to. Give your whole attention to present business, and see that your pupils do so. Keep your eyes toward the school. Don't fail in this.

Seek to please God, and do right to men.

Keep the pupils at work only where they can work with ease ; noting any difficulty. Do not take a child's word for what he can do, but try him, far, very far back, and prove him -- on, and on. He will thus be encouraged. He must not turn over a new leaf till he has mastered the old one.

Slates, Tablets, Charts, Maps and Multiplication Table are the great working field. A school can be well taught by them alone, if you have no books. Every child that can take care of a slate should have one, and use it much and well. The beginners should copy on slate the lessons they have just said in primers, or on charts. Set them to copying figures, letters in writing ; or to copying writing-copies set for them on the slate or blackboard.

Multiplication Table to be gone over (or such parts as suit the pupils), twice a day, in concert, by every pupil who is not perfect in it, and once a day by all who are not as far as compound numbers. Make this a pleasant and a favourite exercise.

Vowels, etc., to be sounded once a day by all.

Writing must be done on slates readily before trying pen and ink.

No pupil to go into the Second Reader who is not thorough in the First ; nor in the Third, who is not thorough in the Second, and so on ; and this rule is positive, in all studies, and will be made the test of a teacher's fitness or unfitness for holding his or her position.

YARDLEY WARNER—Superintendent.

Maryville, ninth month, 1871.

N.B.—1. Those Teachers who are paid by the Freedmen or the public, and expect additional pay from the Board, will get it increased in proportion as the daily average attendance is increased.

2. All concert exercises in the common school, or the First-Day school, must be timed in unison, so as to be heard distinctly.

An issue of the "Freedmen's Monitor" published on this side and printed in Leominster in 1877, carried the following statement explaining the Editor's continued stay in England where he felt he still had a mission and a message.

What is he Doing ?

"The Editor believes it right to remain in England being resolved to accept any fit position in business that might put him above being merely a canvasser, and would at the same time relieve the mission to the Freedmen of supporting him, so that all the funds he might raise should go to the work across the ocean, and he felt he was minding his *own business* and that of the mission at one and the same time, and that it might not be out of place to state this as an answer to any enquiry as to the continued absence of the Editor of this sheet, trusting that the explanation offered will satisfy all reasonable minds."

The following letters in this same number of "The Freedmen's Monitor" must have given much encouragement to the absent founder of these schools who in his lonely home among the Welsh hills prayed constantly for the welfare of his friends and fellow workers in America.

*Department of the Interior,
Bureau of Education,
Washington, D.C.,
Dec. 6th. 1876.*

Dear Sir,—Your "Freedmen's Monitor" for 11th mo. 1876 is just received. I am happy to know that you are still pushing your good work. I cannot tell you how deeply I feel the need of such work, at this standpoint.

Very respectfully yours—John Eaton.

To Mr. Yardley Warner,
Penybont, Wales.

The above is most welcome testimony from a gentleman who occupies an official standpoint to see things in America. John Eaton is the Head of the Department of Public Education in the United States. He is and has been most devotedly managing its interests in a sacrificing way. The office having been created since the war, involves peculiar executive and

classifying ability, as well as quick and free suggestiveness. The pay is not commensurate with the labor. But there remains that faithful officer patiently digesting the great mass of materials forwarded to him from the officials of thirty-six States. May he be there much longer. Our personal regard for him would move us to say much more that is not now called for.

Morristown, Tenn.

Oct. 30th. 1876.

Friend Warner.—The political condition is so distracting that the black man is nearly overlooked, except as a tool for the aid of political intrigues. He is either sought to be bought for a dollar or two, or intimidated by a presented pistol or bowie-knife. There has not been a time since the surrender when the freedmen were so fully awake to the need of an education. I began my school the last week in September, and our average is a little over forty, which is more than I ever had at the beginning before. The young men are coming in wide awake to learn. Four of my last year's pupils are teaching new County schools of three months. My daughter, Hattie Stearns, began the first of this month at Johnson City. She has her certificate from Presnell, and there will be some public money—I don't know how much. She boards at the hotel—the only place she could get. She has the prospect of a larger school than the last year's. O, if I could do this work without money and without price, it would suit me far, far better.

ALMIRA H. STEARNS.

Rogersville, Tenn.

10. 7. 1876.

Mr. Y. Warner,—Please accept report of school for the 9th mo. 1876.

Number belonging 118, average number in daily attendance, 85; number of days present $1714\frac{1}{2}$; ditto absent, $555\frac{1}{2}$; ditto taught, 20; per cent of attendances, 151. Number reading in McGuffey's 5th Reader, 3; ditto 4th Reader, 5; ditto 3rd Reader, 6; ditto 2nd Reader, 17; ditto 1st Reader, 11; number reading in Wilson's 2nd Reader, 5; number spelling in Webster's Spelling, 82; number spelling on Chart, 3; number reciting in Robison's Rudiment Arithmetic, 7; number reciting in Appleton's Primary Arithmetic, 30; number reciting in Von Steinwehr's Primary Geography, 7; number reciting in Manry's Primary Geography, 4; number reciting in Cornett's No. 3 Geography, 4; number reciting in Cornett's 1st step Geography, 15; number reciting in Harvey's Primary Grammar, 7; number reciting in Smith's Grammar, 1; number reciting in U.S. History, 1; number reciting in Elementary Geology of Tenn., 7; number writing on paper, 10; ditto on slates, 22; number reading in Testament, 42.

J. W. WRIGHT (Colored).

Rogersville, Tenn.

11. 22. 1876.

Mr. Yardley Warner—Dear Sir—School is doing well at present, but it is now decreasing, because the children are so thinly clad. The weather is snowy and cold. Will thee help us run another five months school? I will be glad when thee shall come and visit us.

J. W. WRIGHT (Colored).

Athens, Nov. 3. 1876.

Friday evg. 6 o'clock.

My Dear Friend—Have ninety-eight pupils enrolled at the end of the third week. Think we have made a good beginning. Am teaching Grammar—to the whole school—by oral lessons, and giving sentences for correction. Have ruled all the slates with a knife, and have regular writing lessons on

the five spaces. Already I see improvement in the writing, and before spring I hope to have many pupils whose penmanship is better than their teacher's.

William Richards * is as good help as I could find here, if not better. He will doubtless be needed the greater part of the year. A.H. wants to come to school as soon as his term expires, but I think it will be better for him, and for this school, if he can be induced to go to Maryville. William Richards would like to recite to me a study at night, but I will not have regular night-scholars this winter. Will give him assistance occasionally. Have learned that if I have night-scholars, the day-school suffers in consequence. Everything goes pleasantly. The school-house was never so full of wood; indeed I thought Mr. Hayfly was going to overwhelm us, and I had to cry—"Hold! Enough!" We have six loads piled in the corner, and it reaches almost to the ceiling. You see, for the past week our school has been a sort of industrial school.

I enclose a map of the Western Hemisphere and a specimen of the penmanship of one of my ten year olds; also some items clipped from "The Citizen",—a Minneapolis paper which you regarded favourably.

In Christian love—JULIA B. NELSON.

The following article appeared in *The Freedmen's Monitor* for January 1877. It is characteristic of Yardley Warner's writings when descriptive of nature and the events of every day. It gives us some insight into life at that time.

Do You Know Wales ?

If you do, you have seen much that is beautiful. If not, there is for you—besides the beautiful—the grandeur of her storms; the playfulness of her mists; the seething aspect of her hills and forests. The suddenness of her wind storms is peculiar; and the lifting of the clouds—dark, parting, investing—seem to invite the eye of the beholder into the very home of the Storm-King, where he lives; and, whence he sends out his hurrying gusts, and sheets of rain and mist to meet the Western sunshine. Hardly have you hoisted an umbrella against the shower, when suddenly the shadow of it falls upon the hedge.

Winding slowly up Coed Swydd, on a First-day morning,—the wind, as if fresh from Norwegian ice fields, and driven by Polar pressure, howled, roared, whistled and screamed by turns through the birch, sycamores and hedge rows. Here and there a tough limb was torn and twisted dangling down. The rising altitude brought rising grandeur! Mists and clouds, alternately hid and disclosed the opposing hill tops. The vales seemed seas, the slopes seemed shores.

So, Wales has her own storms, her own sunshine, her hills, her rills, and her bright green meadows with their swift, glistening streams. True it is, that every country has its own aspect; so has every person who impresses another with an idea of character, or of beauty. Everything beautiful has its own lineaments of beauty; but to trace out, leisurely, the lines and features of Welsh scenery, is a search which affords a delightful rest to a contemplative mind attentive to the teachings of the open volume of the Book of Nature. But Wales has her people, too. Her own people—high minded; high tempered;—as high minded as high tempered—hospitable and unostentatious in generosity.

* A coloured gentleman originally trained in Yardley Warner's school at Maryville.

Boards and shingles are rarely met with, except where new buildings are going up, and even there they are vexatiously scarce ; scarcity of wood and timber (not being in the country) confronts you every day, and at every turn, if you want to make a fire or mend a fence. It is really, a serious drawback on one's time, and that of one's helpers. How will you start that fire ? is no trifling question. We have adopted the expedient of soaking the ends of little blocks of kindling wood in Kerosine oil—being careful to keep them from the candle and matches—with much comfort. This simple plan torches up the coal in a hurry. Besides the scarcity of kindlings, the dampness of the climate so saturates all shavings and chips, that a maid would rather shovel up a panfull of red hot coals, run off to the fireplace, and throw them among the unfired coals for making up a new fire, than kneel down and nurse a lot of damp kindlings, using the bellows, perhaps ineffectually, for ten minutes. This way of lighting one bed of coal with live coals from another fire is really the economical plan when coals are plenty ; but what is a schoolmaster to do in a cold, frosty morning, with no coals in the house, and everything damp ? An Englishman is as incapable of appreciating the embarrassment of an American in fire-kindling, as an American is of appreciating the value of woollen shirts for warmth in America. We have learned a lesson on wool which will last a life-time ; and we own it to be a great favour of our friends who taught us that lesson, in spite of our incredulity at first ; but facts are stubborn things, and effectual in England when a man feels that he must get warm by throwing off his prejudices.

Fairs are very damaging institutions ; and a relic of the olden time, which, the sooner done away with the better. Policemen are often in demand there.

There is no excuse for Welshmen taking to strong drink ; for they have a country most abundantly and excellently watered. There is hardly a part of the country without its brooks, or springs, and dells. They cannot say, as some in Yorkshire and Lancashire can, in truth, " Our waters are polluted with factory filth ".

A great turn out of the Welsh people occurred on the re-opening of the old Llandepley Worship House, connected with the established church.* We are not informed how many hundred years old it is, but, judging by the amount of stones rejected in restoring it, it must be one of the oldest. The walls are from three feet, to four-and-a-half feet in thickness, as now restored. Presuming that most of the spectators on this occasion were Radnorshire people, it may be both true and fit to say that for size, bearing and countenance, of both men and women, it would throw into the shade any London audience we have seen of the same character.

We cannot conclude this sketch of Wales without referring again to the prolific mosses, ferns, and lichens. When one looks into an old hedge or along the rills which everywhere abound, the richness of this Welsh dell-scenery, recalls splendours of the ocean depths, portrayed by Professor Dana, of the U.S. Coast Survey. In his coloured plates of these beauties of the ocean solitudes, which may be seen in the Academy of Natural Science, in Philadelphia ;—the compactness, and richness, and freshness of the mosses here, remind one of them. Although the tufts of ferns, and mounds of moss tempt us, to use them to wipe our boots upon, to rid them of the ever clogging mud,—when about to do so one stops, shocked at the thought of trampling upon such beauty.

* See reference on p. 160 to an old chest made from the oak pews of this ancient Church.

APPENDIX G.

OUR AMERICAN JOURNEY

April 30th to June 14th

1954

In 1954 my wife and I went to America to visit our relations there and to collect material for this biography and had we not done so this book would have been very incomplete.

The following extracts are from a Journal we kept recording our day to day experiences. We were not a little astonished to find how much interest Americans showed when they learned that an Englishman had come over to their country to trace his ancestry !

Liverpool.

29th April, 1954.

Embarked on the C.P.R. Liner the "Empress of Australia"—for Montreal.

1st May, 1954.

On the steam-ship Empress of Australia, 5.50 p.m. Rounding the N.W. Coast of Ireland.

Chanced to wake this morning at 6.0 a.m. at which hour the Choir of Magdalen College, Oxford, England, is singing in the traditional style on the top of the famous tower.

Our first day at sea.

Very calm but cold all day. A surprising number of children on board. Getting used to the whereabouts of the various public rooms.

Monday, 3rd May, 1954.

Mid-morning on the second day of our West-bound crossing. Bright sun, blue skies and a calm sea—in great contrast to the weather during the whole of yesterday and the night of the 1st when walking was difficult and the "racks" were put out on the dining room tables.

Tuesday, May 4th.

Wrote a few letters and post cards, (in readiness for posting with others yet to be written) on our arrival on the other side. Another cold day, and still the ship rolls.

Wednesday, May 5th.

Great and pleasant change in the weather. Seas calm, warm sun and we sat during much of the morning on the boat deck.

Thursday, May 6th.

Writing this morning, with typewriter, (there are at least three others in use by passengers) to Friends in Washington and Guilford College, about our arrival later than planned.

A beautiful ice-berg on our starboard just before breakfast and very cold weather is a consequence. Some fog in the afternoon, but by 6.0 p.m. beautiful clear blue sky, but still quite a swell on.

Land was sighted this afternoon at about 5.0 p.m., when we were off Cape Race. But it was soon lost sight of.

May 7th, 1954—

Friday. Our eighth day on board, but the seventh day at sea.

Sighted another ship this afternoon, only the second so far on the whole journey.

Sunday, May 9th

1.0 p.m.

Recorded and set foot for first time on Canadian soil.

Monday, May 10th, 1954.

Written after our first night in a sleeper. We left Mount Royal, (Montreal), to-day, and after a restless night got to Toronto arriving there at 7.0 a.m.

We find the two different kinds of time used, rather confusing, the station clocks in these parts are an hour behind the clocks in the towns.

Caught a mid-day train and reached Hamilton, Ontario, where we are the guests of Mr. & Mrs. Gordon Mason formerly of Didcot, England.

After an evening meal, and while still light they set off with us in a powerful car for Niagara, about 100 miles distant, where we arrived after dark and saw the coloured lights playing about on the falls. The countless lights from hotels and houses in all directions was a surprise. We had not realised to what an extent the area had been industrialised, or rather commercialised, the whole area being one vast holiday resort.

Tuesday, May 11th, 1954.

Left to-day for Buffalo, arriving there early afternoon. Here we caught the night train for Washington.

Happening to be awake just at sunrise, when the train was crossing the bridge over the great Susquehannah river, and we shall never forget the spectacle. Words like sublime and superb and magnificent come to mind in an attempt to describe it—but the words are quite inadequate.

One of the topics of conversation with our interesting and well informed train attendant, was the prospect of war or peace in our time. We found that he took the provision of "shelter areas", of which we had seen a few, as a wise and necessary precaution.

Henry A. Clark (formerly of Didcot) met us at the Washington Station and drove us first of all to Davis House, a Guest House for non-Americans who are studying economic and political questions, where we left our baggage, and then he took us on a tour through the famous Avenues and Streets of that fine capital City of the Union. So ended our first day in an American City.

*Wednesday, May 12th, 1954
and Thursday, May 13th, 1954*

Davis House, comfortable, and very moderate as to charges, is managed by a Committee, under the terms of the Will of a certain Mrs. Davis, and only non-Americans are welcomed. The Manageress, Mrs. Mabel Ridpath, a former teacher at West Town School, is in charge.

Situated near the Meeting House, it was convenient to visit that place from here. Large and convenient premises, and evidently a well established and influential Meeting is held here.

At the great Library of Congress, corresponding very closely to the British Museum Library and Reading Room, we were most cordially welcomed by the Chief Superintendent who gave us a note to the head of the Newspaper Collection, and in quite a short time he was able to produce the copy of the "Maryville Monitor", whose existence in that Library was reported by post just as we were leaving England. It was a real thrill to see an actual copy of one of these monthly journals formerly edited by my father. The sub-title was "God is no respecter of persons". I have arranged a photostat copy of each of its four pages to be forwarded to England later. Similarly, for the two issues of the same journal, for different months and years, to be seen in the Library of the American Historical Society at Worcester, Mass., I have asked for photostat copies.

The attendants at the Library were very glad indeed to be able to show us this old and rare print, and particularly so because I was the son of its former Editor.

From the Library of Congress, we went on to the National Archives, and spent some time in the Department of History and Genealogy where we were again welcomed and shown by one of the attendants in charge, a copy of "The Yardley Family", a book written by one of our American relatives, giving as complete an account as was then available, i.e., up to about 1881, of the descendants of the Pennsylvania Yardleys early Quaker Settlers.

At the Archives Office, Dr. Franklin welcomed us and was interested in the scope of our enquiries and in his office was a young man, a Friend, Robert Keld, interested in heraldry and Quaker genealogy and kindred subjects. He told of a table once either used by or owned by George Fox, which was originally in the possession of John Socher, (the ancestor of ours who was Penn's American administrator), which has been purchased by a modern woman of wealth, a collector of antiques, who had to give as many pounds for it as was the number of years it has been in its previous ownerships.

May 13th, 1954.

Still at Washington.

This is certainly a very fine City and we are sorry we cannot spend more time in it, but we are making the most of it, having walked from the Capitol along the fine Pennsylvania Avenue, past the White House and other famous buildings—all so clean and well kept. Took photographs here and there.

We were unable to find any authentic account as to what happened to the silver star which once marked the spot in a railway station where President James Garfield was shot. I remember seeing this as a boy. At the Archives Office, built almost on the site of the old railway station, they were aware there had been such a memorial star to Garfield, but regretted no one now living knew what had become of it. They seemed a little ashamed that this was so and admitted that it was not quite the first time that they had had an enquiry about the matter.

Friday, May 14th, 1954.

To-day were due to start for North Carolina, and so found ourselves again at Washington Station, said to be one of the best examples of

such places in the States. It is truly well maintained, no scrap of orange peel nor cigarette ends on the floors, nor any sign of litter. The walls and floor appear to be of marble, and if a "janitor", name given to the men who keep the place tidy, sees a scrap of paper, he sweeps it up majestically, the length of the floor and deposits it in a receptacle kept for the purpose.

Not only are these stations used by those intending to travel, but the waiting rooms seem to be frequented by people who found them warm and comfortable places in which to meet and talk. This was particularly so in Washington, and here elderly men congregated for no other apparent reason than to rest and chat with each other. Not because they were poor and destitute. One with whom we had some talk, was a retired locomotive engine driver.

The stations, huge as they are, are warmed, hot air coming up through grating in the floor—and so warm indeed that by contrast, on opening the door and stepping into the street outside the weather seemed quite cold—although it was a day in May.

The stations thus described are only typical of those for main line travel. Local and suburban train traffic, or "commuter" travel as it is called, is considerable in spite of the enormous numbers of motor-owners who drive themselves to and from their work. Of this local commuter service and of the stations at which it operates have we not seen anything at all !

To-day our journey south has been by daylight, and very pleasant too, through country in parts much like our own, but very much more of it un-cultivated land with miles and miles of young trees, as though the original forests had been cleared and now there is arising another secondary growth, which we were informed is indeed frequently the case.

It was very interesting to follow our journey by noting the route on the map and by time-table. Leaving the little area known as District Columbia, carved out of two or three States, to house Washington, the CAPITOL, we soon ran into Alexandria, and here we heard we might have to wait about eight minutes while someone who had just missed the train at Washington was racing along in a taxi to catch up with us !

And so on through Virginia proper, the original State still proud to be called "The Old Dominion", on the Atlantic seaboard. Our route took us through Charlottesville and Lynchburg, with the Blue Ridge

Mountains on the right, separating us from West Virginia, and many miles to the West of the historic Capital of Richmond, and further still from Williamsburg, associated with the governorship of Sir George Yardley, concerning whom I learned something I did not realise before. It is not mentioned in the Yardley book to which I have already referred, nor is it stated in the "House of Yardley" book, published by the English lavender water firm, but a letter from present Governor of the State informed me that Sir George was responsible for the calling together of the first representative gathering in the New World. And so, on southwards, till we began to traverse the higher ground, known as the Piedmont, to the west of the navigable rivers of the 'tide-water' area.

Thence from Danville, often referred to by my father, on to Greensboro, our destination for today. This point we reached as night was falling and were met by Charles Hendrick, the young pleasant and genial "public relations officer" of the large and important Quaker establishment known as Guilford College, to which we were taken by car, situated on an estate of nearly 300 acres, which gives its name to the locality.

*Saturday, May 15th, 1954. **

At Guilford College.

The Librarian, Dorothy Gilbert, herself an historian of note, (having written the story of Guilford College from its earlier days, when Victoria was just coming to the English throne), had looked out for us in advance of our coming, some of the old manuscripts and books which she thought might contain references to Yardley Warner and his work. Among these was the Journal of John Collins, a manuscript in copper plate, entitled "Among Friends in North Carolina". It bears date 1868, and another document, also in manuscript, by John and Anna C. Collins is entitled "Our Mission in East Tennessee, 1870 to 1877". Extracts from these works are given below. The references to Stafford Allen are interesting, being of date prior to any known record of his contacts with Yardley Warner, but it is probable that they met for the first time during this visit to America of that Friend who did so much to help the cause in which my father was so deeply concerned. The following paragraphs refer to some meeting at which Stafford Allen was one of the speakers,

In the manuscript Journal of John Collins 1869 we found a Sepia drawing of *THE FREEDMEN'S NORMAL SCHOOL, MARYVILLE*, which is reproduced as plate 6 herein.

This spacious building stands upon an elevated site about half a mile from the Court House in Maryville on the road to Niles Ferry. It is constructed of brick made on the spot by voluntary labour. The whole length is 120 ft. and its width is 36 ft., the middle part as seen in the sketch being 30 ft. and projecting 10 ft. from the main building.

It is to be regretted that this house should stand, as it does, so very near the road, instead of being placed on a hill further to the south, where its proportions could be seen to more advantage as is the case with Maryville College. (Refer to page 87 in the same book).

To the labors of Yardley Warner and the liberal subscriptions of Friends in Indiana, Philadelphia, England and Ireland, the colored race in Tennessee is indebted for the establishment of this Institution.

Subjoined is a financial statement as per Minute of Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1874.

<i>Receipts</i>				\$
From Friends in America	..	..	..	12358.83
„ Missionary Board	..	..	..	1240.00
„ Friends in England	..	..	..	16797.91
				<hr/> 30575.74 <hr/>
<i>Expenditure</i>				\$
Lot at Maryville	..	..	..	1000.00
Buildings	..	..	..	18679.14
Exp. of Y.W. to and in Europe	..	..	..	790.00
Previous building work	..	..	..	5086.11
Freight bills	..	..	..	215.61
Allowance to Y.W. for from 4 mo. 1871—				
5 mo. 1874.	..	..	..	400.00
Balance paid to C. S. Hubbard	..	..	..	212.24
				<hr/> 30575.74 <hr/>

The house was commenced in April 1872 and finished in 1874, but the grounds at the present date, 1876, are not laid out nor any shade trees planted around. It was the intention of Yardley Warner after visiting manual labour schools in England and on the Continent to adopt the same system which he described in glowing terms on his return. For some reasons, however, this feature did not go into operation and most of the 30 acres belonging to the school and costing 1000 may lie uncultivated for many a year. William P. Hastings assisted by his wife and daughter have had charge of the tuition since the time that Yardley Warner had charge of it in the humble frame building used as a Methodist Meeting House.

The rooms in the new edifice are large and well ventilated and the furniture of the best modern style. There is ample accomodation for a number of boarding pupils but there is only one at present. It is probable that under existing arrangements there will not be more than 50 scholars in attendance, (as is now the case) and the expectations of some who contributed largely to this enterprise may not be realised.

In the latter part of 1875, Yardley Warner closed his connection with the Institution and having obtained funds for the purpose purchased grounds and buildings at Jonesboro in Washington County, for 3500 dollars where he established another Normal School. Soon after he went to Pennebunk * Wales, where he married a second time. After being engaged there in teaching for several years he returned to Jonesboro and resumed his labours with the school. (He died at High Point, N.C. 1st Mo. 1885).

Whilst at Guilford College we also saw a pass signed by Lincoln—now hanging in the “Quaker Collection” Room, which read as follows :-

“Allow Francis King of Baltimore to pass with the English Friends through our lines in North Carolina”.
Oct. 25th. 1864.

Signed. A. Lincoln.

This week-end we were the guests of two Haworth families in High Point. On Sunday attended the Meeting at Springfield in the third Meeting House to be erected there since we lived nearby in 1885.

In the afternoon we were taken to a Negro Jubilee Concert in a great stadium, packed with two or three thousand coloured people, all dressed in their finery. Here we saw a wonderful mixture of brilliant hues, a great concourse gathered to watch a spectacle and hear a concert. All Negroes, a coloured Pastor opened with prayer, a little coloured girl in a white dress sang the Lord's Prayer, all most reverent and impressive.

The occasion coincided with the Democratic Primaries, and eight of the candidates had each been invited to appear and say a few words to the audience in the hope that thereby votes might be influenced. We found that our host for the afternoon was one of these candidates. When he had made a rather astute move in asking us to come with him. When his turn came to speak he said “My friends I have the privilege to-day to introduce you to two English friends of mine, and I am going to ask them to stand up in a minute or two, so that you can see them. They are Mr. and Mrs. Warner, and you will I am sure be interested to know that this Mr. Warner from England is the son of Yardley Warner who did so much for your race at the close of the civil war, and here in Greensboro is the district of Warnersville, named after Mr. Warner's father.” We were then asked by the coloured Chairman to stand up, and when we did so he said “Give them a big hand”. We were the only white people there save for two or three of the wives of the candidates, and when we stood up, all the Negroes clapped hands vigorously and seemed interested to see us standing there among them.

And so back again to an evening meal at Guilford College.

* mis-spelling for Pen-y-bont,

Monday, May 17th, 1954.

Today we were taken again to Springfield. Here in the graveyard we saw the stone which marks the place where my father was buried in January 1885. The original wooden Meeting House of our time was replaced by a larger and more substantial building—which is now a Quaker Museum connected by a covered way with the large Meeting House we attended on the previous Sunday. This Museum houses a varied assortment of antiques, farm implements, ancient lamps, looms, spinning wheels, in fact the sort of thing in everyday use in American families 80 to 100 years ago. Here we actually saw, and photographed, the Noah's Ark, with some of the little animals, (fewer than we expected), which my father made for us to play with, and which Eli Mendenhall bought at our sale, and subsequently gave to the Museum.

We were the guests today of Herbert and Frances Petty of Archdale. We were taken to the site of our home and the day concluded with a visit to the Negro quarter of Archdale, and the Little Davie school, the last of the schools with which my father was associated, and at which he was himself actually teaching regularly at the time of his death.

Tuesday, May 18th.

Today we were taken to Greensboro and Warnersville. During the whole of this stay in North Carolina Friends most kindly and generously arranged for our visits from place to place by car. On the way to Warnersville we were taken to see the site of the New Meeting House at High Point.

Once arrived at Greensboro, our first call was on Dr. Jackson, whose office was high up in an important sky-scraping block of city offices. He is writing the history of Greensboro, but could not really add much to what we know about Yardley Warner and the story of Negro help and education in that most enlightened southern city.

Our next Greensboro call was at the Public Library, where the very helpful staff found for us a microfilmed copy of an early number of "The Greensboro Patriot", in which we read an account for the year 1873, of a Negro Concert held at Warnersville, in celebration of May Day that year: it seems to have been a large and important occasion.

The Mayor, a Friend, Robert M. Frazier, was out of town the day we visited his city, but wrote us a very nice letter in anticipation of our call. He said that as a boy he frequently heard the name of Yardley

Warner spoken by his own father, who was also a Friend, in connection with the affairs of Warnersville, a name which was in constant use in the days of his childhood.

In the Court House at Greensboro are some of the original deeds relative to the purchase and transfer of the lands acquired by the Freedmen. These we did not have time to look at or study, but Youra Qualls, of Oklahoma University, who is engaged on a thesis dealing with the life and work of Friends and others in the cause of Negro emancipation, has done so and made use of these records in her writings on this matter.

Robert Frazier's letter also stated that he knew personally several of the descendants of the original Warnersville Negro families who later on attained distinction, one of whom, Dr. David Jones, has recently been elected to the School Board of the City of Greensboro.

Greensboro has always been ahead and taken an enlightened view on the colour question. It was quite likely that it was because of this that that "section" (to use an Americanism) was where Yardley Warner made his first move in helping the coloured folk in the south, for it was very soon after the close of the civil war, that he came to Greensboro and commenced what was to be for him until the end of his life, his chief concern.

And it was in 1867 the work in Greensboro began, Yardley Warner having visited the neighbourhood in 1866, the year after the war ended, and reported to the recently formed Friends Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia his interviews with Governor Holden and Ex Governor Graham, and other prominent men in the State of N. Carolina, on the need for help in which the four million recently freed slaves stood at that time.

Before taking leave of Greensboro I read again the account given in the American Guide Series, N. Carolina volume, of the battle of Guilford Courthouse, in the American War of Independence, in which General Nathaniel Greene, (formerly a Member of the Society of Friends, but resigned because he felt so strongly that the cause of freedom could be best served by him as a soldier), outmanoeuvred the British and conducted the famous strategic retreat in 1781, which finally turned the British out of the two Carolinas and Georgia and drove them back to their coastal bases, which ended in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. So in 1808, when the new town which arose near the straggling village of Guildford Courthouse, planned to cover a tract of 42

acres, was laid out, it was "named for" General Greene, and to this day is known as Greensboro.

After thus visiting the chief public buildings in this city, we were met by Charles Hendrick, who was to take us by motor through the old and new parts of Warnersville, and just before doing so we visited the offices of "The Greensboro Daily News". Their staff was most helpful.

The evening found us again at Guilford College, where we arrived in time for the 6 o'clock meal.

May 19th, 1954.

Today we said farewell to Carolina and took our long anticipated journey to Tennessee, over the Smoky Mountains, by way of Ashville, (by train to that point) and thence to Knoxville by motor coach.

The train journey to Ashville was memorable for the great climb that the railway makes over the mountains, or rather up the mountains from the Piedmont district of North Carolina to the plateau on which Ashville, 'The City of the Skies' is placed. For, beyond this again the land rises range upon range, the boundary between North Carolina and Tennessee.

The railway climb was made memorable by the sight of a fountain rising many feet into the air, which we saw first on one side of the line and then upon another, as the train wound its way up the valley. Fortunately I was able to get a photo of this through the carriage window.

After a night at a quiet little boarding house in Ashville we took coach and drove over the last great ridge dividing Carolina from Tennessee, the Smoky Mountains. Half way across, at about the highest point, the coach drew up at a little wayside shack, where we had more light refreshments and by mid-morning we were at Knoxville.

Finding a coach almost due to leave for Maryville, we were soon on the way there, hoping for an interesting time finding the Freedmen's Normal School of which John Collins wrote in 1876 and of which he painted a picture.

We had written from England to the Librarian at the Central Public Library, saying we hoped to call. We told about our successful search for some copies of "The Maryville Monitor", a paper of which no one then living in that town had ever heard before. The Librarian said that they were at that very time looking for anything that pertained to the past history of their town, and our coming was very timely, adding that

it was to her a most interesting and singular thing that this news of her own town should come from an Englishman.

From Maryville—one of my father's centres of special interest, to Jonesboro to the north—also a place where he lived and worked for some years.

The bus deposited us, and our hand luggage, thermos flask and night things, in a dark and empty street, and as we saw its lights trailing away in the distance, we wondered what might await us in our search for accommodation for the night.

While looking around a car drew up and the driver stopped to ask if he could help ; was in fact a police officer, who handed us a card inscribed as follows :—

Welcome Visitor

We are glad to have you in Jonesboro and hope you will remember your visit here pleasantly. If you desire information or aid in parking, just ask the officer on duty. And be sure to visit us again.

BOARD OF MAYOR AND ALDERMEN.

On the reverse side of the card was the signature of the officer, Scott Vines.

We explained our predicament and asked where he could recommend us and also told him that in the morning we were hoping to find a house at one time known as "The Warner Institute", and now known as "The House on the Hill", lived in by Mr. and Mrs. John Vines. To our astonishment the policeman said that the Vines were cousins of his, and he told us we could not miss the house, which was at the top of the hill, overlooking the main street in which we then stood, and he also told us he could get a taxi for us and this he did, telling the driver to take us to a "motel" a few miles out of the town, adding that if we were not comfortable there he would have to look into the matter.

So things could not have turned out better. The "motel" was very comfortable and the prices reasonable, and the same taxi man came for us next morning and took us to the "House on the Hill".

Although it was early, according to British ideas, for a social call, especially as our arrival was not pre-arranged, we found the Vines at home and most pleased to see us. They at once made us welcome, asking how long we could stay, and said that they and their house were at our disposal for as long as we wished.

We had written to them from England saying that when we were in Jonesboro we hoped to call because we believed they now owned the house in which my father and mother lived in 1883 when it was a training school and institute for Negro teachers.

From the moment of our arrival in Jonesboro till we left that friendly town by the night train for Washington we had nothing but kindness from everybody. Mr. and Mrs. Vines had only returned five days before from a long stay in Florida. We were given two oranges which they had brought home with them. Had our visit been the previous week we would have missed them, and this would have entirely altered the whole Jonesboro visit for us, because from what we could very well see, the Vines were about the best known and most loved people in the place, and no wonder, for they possessed that quite indescribable charm which marked them for exceptionally choice spirits. They used to own the chief general store in the town.

We were taken by them and introduced to all the chief people in the place, the lawyer, mayor, postmistress, newspaper proprietor and the doctor ; it was one of the smallest, indeed quite the smallest town we had visited, one where everyone seemed to know everybody else.

Jonesboro claims, with every justification to be the oldest town in Tennessee. When early settlers were making their way over the Smoky Mountain Ridge from the Carolinas towards the great valley of the Mississippi, this was the first place to which they came, and here they halted awhile before proceeding further west. An inscription on stone records something of this in the main street of the town.

When the time came for us to catch our train, we made our way to the station, collecting our baggage en route from the office of the friendly taxi man. We had had to leave our things there because the railroad station closed every day at 4.0 p.m. and the only way to stop the train was to "flag" it, i.e. stand beside the track and wave your hands or handkerchief at the driver.

So ended a most memorable day and our last impressions of our stay in the southern states are most pleasing ones.

May 22nd, 1954. Saturday.

After another very comfortable all night journey north and east through the state of West Virginia, and over the Alleghany Mountains, by way of Johnson City and Roanoke, reached Washington at 7.40 a.m.

Our train for Wilmington Delaware, the station for West Grove, Pennsylvania, was not due to leave till 2.0 p.m., so we walked around in Washington again taking photographs of places not seen on our former stay in the city and so passed another very pleasant visit to the capitol city of the United States. A city every American citizen has every right to feel proud of.

We got to Wilmington at about 3.45 p.m. and after a meal at a little town called Kennet Square in West Grove we reached my brother's home at about 6.30.

Monday, May 25th to 26th, 1954.

During this period—we stayed with my brother J. Yardley Warner and his wife and family, and in the neighbourhood visited the home of his married daughter.

At a Monthly Meeting held at West Grove while we were there our Minute from Witney Monthly Meeting (Oxford, England) was presented and a minute in acknowledgment was drafted for us to take back in return.

While here spent much time in arranging and sorting out a great quantity of material left by my mother without which this book could not have been written and much of which is incorporated herein. During this time my wife and I were privileged to meet a number of Yardley Warner's descendants in the home of one of Yardley Warner's grandchildren in Germantown, Grace Warner Waring, who with her husband Bernard Waring, invited as many of the Warner family as were able to attend.

The next day we went to Westtown School for the alumni celebrations and while there saw Janet Whitney, the author of 'Elizabeth Fry' and other Quaker biographies.

Wednesday, June 9th, 1954.

Today we left New York on the liner Queen Mary arriving home six days later.

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