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## GOD'S PROTECTING PROVIDENCE

A JOURNAL BY JONATHAN DICKINSON

by CHARLES M. ANDREWS

Toward the end of September, 1696, a group of shipwrecked people found themselves the captives of a petty tribe of Florida Indians in an Indian town, five miles south of the place of their disaster and about eighteen miles north of the present island of Palm Beach on the south side of a body of water now known as Jupiter Inlet. Nearby was one of the many oyster-shell mounds of the eastern coast of Florida, which is still there though much reduced in size. In this Indian town the members of the ship's company remained for two days, not ill-treated but in constant fear of their lives and in great uncertainty as to what the future had in store for them.

These unfortunate people, mostly of English descent, were Jonathan Dickinson, thirty-three years old, the author' of the journal ; his wife Mary and their infant son born in Jamaica only six months and twelve days before; Robert Barrow, an old man and a Quaker missionary ; and Benjamin Allen, a relative of the Dickinsons; also five negro men, five negro women-one of whom had a child with her, a little boy named Cajoe, who died on the journey-and an Indian girl, all belonging to Dickinson. There were besides nine mariners, Joseph Kirle, master, Richard Limpeny, mate, Solomon Cresson, and six others, including the master's boy and his negro, Ben. All had set sail from Port Royal, Jamaica, on August 26, in the barkentine **Reformation**, bound for Philadelphia, along with a fleet of twelve or thirteen merchantmen, convoyed by the frigate **Hampshire**, Captain Fletcher, commander ; but separated from the others during a storm they had gone on alone, fearful of an attack by a French ship reported lurking in the vicinity,

for England and France were then at war. Going by way of Cuba, they had been buffeted by storms and harassed by calamities. The master, knocked down by a sudden shifting of the boom, had broken his leg ; the Indian girl, Venus, had died on ship-board; and three of the Dickinson group had been ill:-Robert Barrow who had not been well for the preceding five or six months; the baby, which had been at death's door since its birth and was always ailing; and Benjamin Allen, who for most of the voyage had been down with a violent fever, was frequently "nigh unto death."

On September 23, after twenty-eight days of anxiety and adventure, the members of the company found themselves aground in shallow water off the coast of Florida, with the barkentine already much damaged. The hull and longboat remained intact, but the masts and rigging were gone, and eventually a considerable part of the cargo and most of the passengers' effects were looted by the Indians. The adventures of this ill-starred group from Jupiter Inlet to St. Augustine-where they were hospitably cared for by the Spanish governor, Laureano de Torres y Ayala-and thence to Charles Town (Charleston after 1783) and Philadelphia, are the subject of the narrative, known from its chief title as *God's Protecting Providence*. For four months of exhausting journeying by land and water, from Jamaica to Charles Town, this ship's company faced the almost daily menace of death at the hands of the hostile Indians and bore uncomplainingly continued sufferings from hunger and exposure, cold, wind, storms, sandflies, and mosquitoes. It is a matter of wonderment that human beings in such poor physical condition from the beginning, more than half naked, footsore, and incredibly weary, should have survived so harrowing an ordeal. One is not surprised that Benjamin Allen

died on the way, that Robert Barrow died shortly after reaching Philadelphia, and that some of the negroes died or disappeared *en route*.

Of this company four members call for a brief word of comment. Joseph Kirle was a typical ship's master of the day, ready to take any command offered him and to go with a cargo or for a cargo wherever he was sent. He left the company at Charles Town in order to get a quicker passage to his home in Philadelphia, but remained in close touch with Dickinson, who continued to correspond with him and give him considerable business. Highly esteemed as a man of honest character among his neighbors, he was called upon later to attest the truth of Dickinson's narrative. Solomon Cresson, whose knowledge of Spanish, acquired in the West Indies, saved the company several times from being murdered by the Indians, was of Huguenot descent and not at first a Quaker. He was born in the Harlem district of Manhattan, and tradition has it that he went first to Curacao with his mother and brothers, who afterward moved to Philadelphia; that, unsuccessful in certain commercial enterprises, he arrived eventually penniless at Port Royal; and that in order to get back to America he was obliged to work his passage as a common sailor on the *Reformation*. Robert Barrow, the Quaker saint and the principal character of the story, was born in Lancashire and had spent the greater part of his life in active preaching service in the British Isles. Though warned beforehand that America was "a grave for many of the Lord's servants", he was so moved to visit the colonies that he set sail with Robert Wardell of Durham on December 20, 1694, arriving in Philadelphia early in 1695. Though both he and Wardell were well advanced in years, they entered immediately on a proselyting tour, in the course of which they suffered many privations and

hardships. Wardell died in Jamaica in 1696; Barrow, disheartened by the want of harmony among the small body of Quakers in Jamaica, affronted by the discourtesies of some of them-particularly at the Spanish Town meeting-and discouraged by the hostility of the Jamaican government and the enforcement of the laws of 1672 restraining Quaker conventicles, took passage on the **Reformation**, longing to return once more to the friendly and sympathetic atmosphere of Philadelphia. He died a few days after his arrival and was buried in the Friends burying ground, April 6, 1697.

Jonathan Dickinson, the author of the narrative, was born in Jamaica in 1663 and was the son of Francis Dickinson, an officer of the royal navy, serving under Admiral Penn at the conquest of the island, 1655-1660. After the conquest the father remained in Jamaica and, either at the time or later, was granted two plantations, "Barton" and "Pepper", on the east and west sides of the Black River in Elizabeth Parish, some forty or fifty miles from Kingston and Port Royal. At his death in 1704 these plantations passed to his sons and at "Pepper" Jonathan usually resided when in the island. His father, although at first an Anglican and a member of the Jamaican assembly in 1672, must have been converted to Quakerism soon after, probably by George Fox, who visited the island in that year, for in 1673 he was denied a writ of election for refusing to take the required oath. When twenty years old Jonathan married Mary Gale, sister of Colonel John Gale of Jamaica, and continued to reside either at "Pepper" or Port Royal, partly as a planter and partly as a merchant and storekeeper in association with his father.

Although Jonathan and his wife were members of the Spanish Town Meeting where Barrow met with opposition and disrespect, it is doubtful

whether Jonathan left Jamaica for any special reasons of religious discontent. More likely he embarked on what was strictly a commercial venture, for the wrecked *Reformation* was carrying the usual trading cargo of sugar, molasses, and rum, beef and pork, barreled and on the hoof, clothing, stuffs, linen, etc., and wine, ginger, and money in plate and pieces of eight, the loss of which to Dickinson came to 1500. It is possible that he had planned to open a store in Philadelphia in conjunction with that at Port Royal, and to carry on a regular exchange of commodities between the two. It is also possible that, at first, he did not expect to remain permanently in Philadelphia, though the fact that he took his wife, baby, and negroes with him raises some doubt as to his intentions. However that may be, we know that he continued his trips back and forth for many years, and at one time in December, 1701, importuned by his father, he decided "to transport himself and his family to Jamaica, if the Lord permit", and asked for a certificate of good conduct from the Philadelphia Meeting. Even after he finally resolved to make Philadelphia his home, partly on account of his health and partly in the interest of his wife and children (of whom eventually there were five), he continued his contacts with his father and brothers in Jamaica and sent them cargoes whenever he could find a vessel. With his later career in Philadelphia we are not concerned here.

The circumstances attending Dickinson's writing of the narrative are wholly obscure. It is not impossible that he put together the facts-which he recounts in great detail and exactness of dates and incidents-first at St. Augustine, where with the aid of the members of the company he wrote out some sort of statement for presentation to the Spanish governor. This statement, which was signed by "everyone", took two or three days to pre-

pare. It may be that extensive additions were made at Charles Town, where Dickinson remained for more than two months, and that the whole was recast by him in Philadelphia, for in the records of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting the work is spoken of as "Jonathan Dickinson's Journals." There is no reason to think that he wrote with any expectation of printing or that he was influential in having the printing done at all, for there was neither press nor printer in the province at the time. We know that in the summer of 1699 when the book was printed Dickinson was in Jamaica, for in August of that year the Monthly Meeting ordered the printer to deliver a certain number of copies of the journal to Isaac Norris, Dickinson's former Jamaica associate, intimate friend, and constant correspondent, for transmission to Dickinson at Port Royal, and we know that the order was carried out.

The decision to print was undoubtedly made by the members of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, the lead being taken by Samuel Carpenter, who may have written the preface. These men saw in the journal evidence of one of those "remarkable deliverances" that occupied so important a place in Quaker experience with the earthly life. The Quakers in America, as well as those in England, made a great deal of "deliverances" as they did of "sufferings", and took advantage of every opportunity, through the medium of organization, personal exhortation, and the printed book to emphasize the ever-present watchfulness of God over the lives of those who believed in the truth. Naturally, then, at first, Quaker interest in the story would center in the experiences as related by Dickinson, especially in the extraordinary deliverance of the whole party from death, for the Philadelphia Monthly meeting found in the narrative a confirma-

tion of its own unflinching confidence in the reality of God's intervention to protect his faithful servants, especially those engaged in missionary work. Undoubtedly, Barrow's dramatic death left a deep impression upon the minds of the Quakers, and stressed the important lesson of his extraordinary fortitude in meeting with courage, patience, and prayer, under the guidance of God, the afflicting trials through which he and the others were compelled to pass, during their months of wandering among the "canibals" of Florida. In the first printed text the double capitalizing of the term "Remarkable Deliverances" and the capitalizing throughout the work of the word "God", together with the appropriate quotations from the Psalms and the sermon-like phraseology of the preface (for neither title nor preface was written by Dickinson) show the motive behind the undertaking and suggest that one of the reasons why the narrative was put into print was that it might testify to an unsympathetic and even hostile world that God was guiding and delivering those who accepted the truth.

The narrative was first printed in 1699. Of the edition then issued there are but seven copies known to exist: one each in the Birkbeck Library, York, the Friends Reference Library, London, the New York Public Library, the Harvard College Library, the Huntington Library, the Newberry Library, and the Ridgway Library of the Library Company of Philadelphia. At least three, and possibly four, other copies can be traced but cannot now be found. Various writers have spoken of a copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania but the librarian of the society, after a careful check, says that no copy is to be found there. Fifteen reprints (sixteen issues) have appeared: in 1700 (two states), 1701, 1720, 1751, 1759, n.d. (probably 1772), 1787,



1790, 1791, 1792, 1803, 1811, 1826, 1868, 1869 (second issue), but no single library contains anything like a complete set of all the volumes. Eight of these reprints (1700 twice, 1701, 1720, 1759, n.d., 1787, 1790) were issued in London, one (1792) in Dover, New Hampshire, one (1803) in Stanford, now Stanfordville, New York, one (1811) in Burlington, New Jersey, one (1826) in Salem, Ohio, and three (1751, 1791, 1868) in Philadelphia. There is no copy to be found anywhere of the so-called Franklin reprint of 1735, and it is possible that Franklin never issued it, despite his advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, offering it for sale as "just published." Such a conclusion, however, will always remain in doubt until a copy turns up. A Dutch edition, translated by William Sewel, appeared first in folio and was reprinted in 1707 by Pieter Van der Aa in his collection of voyages, and reissued by DeJanson Van der Aa and other booksellers in a similar collection in 1727. Pieter's issue is accompanied by a map and three engraved plates, the latter particularly interesting as showing what the Dutch draughtsman of that day thought the scenes—one at the shipwreck, one at an Indian town, and a third at the gates of St. Augustine—might have looked like. There are also two German translations, one printed in Germany and one in America. Copies of these foreign issues are to be found in a few American libraries.

The title-pages of each of the English reprints differ from the title-page of the original issue of 1699 in one noteworthy and suggestive particular. The name "Robert Barrow", which does not appear in 1699, is found uniformly in the English reprints of 1700, 1701, 1720, 1759, n.d., 1787, and 1790, in all of which it is capitalized, thus making it clear that to the English Quakers the missionary and his experiences were much more important than the

general incidents of the story. In America the reprint of 1792 has the entire title-page in capitals, beginning with "THE REMARKABLE DELIVERANCE OF ROBERT BARROW", thus bearing testimony to the same belief. The title-pages of the reprints of 1803 and 1811 are worded differently from the others, one starting with "The Shipwreck . . . Showing God's Protecting Providence" and the other with "The Shipwreck and Dreadful Sufferings of Robert Barrow", leading one to believe that these imprints, together with those of 1792 and 1826, were prepared, possibly though not certainly, as chapbooks or tales of adventure for sale by itinerant peddlers, who carried their wares about the country. Even these may have been of Quaker origin, as Salem, Stanfordville, Dover, and Burlington were in part Quaker settlements and the names of the printers and of many who owned the volumes are suggestively Quaker. The prefaces are much abbreviated in some of the reprints, and in a number of cases there are additions at the end, sometimes advertisements of Quaker and other godly books, notably in the reprints of 1759 and 1772. In the reprint of 1826 there is a long appendix entitled "Some Remarks and Observations made by a Person who renounced Deism, also the Dying Expressions of some Persons of Eminence & Learning, who had embraced the same Principles."

The materials for a textual study of *God's Protecting Providence* consist of a manuscript of the narrative, a printed book and its reprints, and sundry manuscripts and business ledgers of Dickinson and others, the latter of which are to be found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and in the Ridgway Library of the Library Company of Philadelphia. After a careful study of the handwriting of Dickinson's letters and other manuscripts and a line by line and word by word comparison

of the manuscript of the journal with the printed text of 1699 I have reached certain conclusions that to me are inescapable. The so-called original manuscript in the Pennsylvania Historical Society is not the work of Dickinson, for it is not in his handwriting. It is clearly a transcript by a scrivener or expert copyist, possibly, though not necessarily, some clerk or secretary of the Society of Friends, who made a copy of an original or master-text no longer in existence. Such text may even have been Dickinson's own. Not only is the extant manuscript written with the ease and regularity of a practiced hand, but it contains also some revealing evidences of a copyist's carelessness. There are words written-in above other words crossed out, words inserted between the lines with a caret beneath, words repeated where they ought not to be, and omissions in the text of which the author himself would never have been guilty. In one case an omission of considerable length is to be found at the end, and, occasionally, shorter omissions are inserted in the margins.

I believe, however, that the extant manuscript more nearly represents Dickinson's original text than does the printed book, for the evidence is overwhelming that the printer did not set up his pages from the manuscript we now have. Sufficient proof lies in the fact that this manuscript, which contains neither title-page nor preface, shows no traces of ever having been in a printer's hands, for, had it been, it would bear, as it does not, unmistakable marks of a typesetter's handling. But a more convincing proof follows. By actual count there are no fewer than five hundred differences between the two, of spelling and other peculiarities. These differences do not include variations in punctuation-everywhere erratic in the book; in capitalization-always inconsistent ; in the use of

italics-nowhere to be found in the manuscript ; or in the unvarying extension of all abbreviations and contractions-which are the rule in the manuscript but are not found anywhere in the book. It is not difficult to believe that the printer had before him a copy specially prepared by some member of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia for his use, made as legible as possible, as to both handwriting and spelling, in order to meet the deficiencies of the printer, Reinier Jansen, a man none too familiar with the English language and probably even less proficient in the art of typesetting. It is odd that the name of the author should be spelled "Dickenson" in the title of the book issued in 1699 (though not in the list of the company), when he always spelled his own name "Dickinson" in his correspondence, a misrendering that is followed in all the reprints in English and Dutch, but not in those translated into German.

Reinier Jansen had lived for a number of years in Holland and having been converted to Quakerism had been persuaded by Penn to migrate to Pennsylvania. He had come over in 1698, bringing four of his five children-two sons and two daughters, his wife having died before his departure. Having landed at Philadelphia sometime before September, 1698, he took up his residence for a time at Germantown, where he purchased twenty acres of land, and became there and in Philadelphia, to which he soon removed, an influential member of the Quaker community. A lacemaker in Holland he was also interested in farming and seems to have had some experience as a printer, though Caleb Pusey of Chester, in the preface to his *Satan's Harbinger Encountered* (printed by Jansen in 1700, a reply to Keith and others) says that Jansen had not been bred to the printer's trade. William Bradford, the elder, the first Quaker printer

in Philadelphia, had left the province in 1693, so when in 1697 the question came up in the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of printing the Dickinson narrative no suitable person could be found. Nor were press, type or paper to be had. At first Francis Daniel Pastorius was invited and expressed his willingness, thinking that he might be capable of doing the work. At once the Monthly Meeting, with the approval of the Yearly Meeting, appointed a committee to obtain from England "a press and letters and such other things thereunto belonging that could not be obtained in the province and that were desired for the service of truth", the press to cost 30 (45 Pennsylvania currency). Finally, however, Pastorius withdrew and, attention having been called to Jansen as a substitute, inquiry was set on foot as to the latter's life and conversation while on shipboard and since his arrival, because he had brought with him no certificate from Friends in Holland. A press, type, and paper having been procured from England and Jansen's qualifications proving satisfactory, the committee was further instructed "to seek a convenient place to set it up and to provide materials in order to set it at work." Jansen was then appointed "to print for Friends" and a house was secured, belonging to David Lloyd, "to perform the said work in." Probably this house was on the corner of Second and Moravian streets, diagonally across from the Slate Roof House, which was Penn's residence during his second visit to the province. Here the press continued its service under Jansen until his death in 1706, and during this time he issued some thirty-five publications-twenty-seven Quaker pamphlets, four almanacs, and four public documents-some of them in combination with his sons, Tiberius and Josephus. Three years after his death he was succeeded by Jacob Taylor, a schoolmaster among

the Quakers, sometimes styled an "astronomer", who had previously prepared at least one of Jansen's almanacs and afterward compiled more almanacs for other printers.

That Jansen was an indifferent printer and that his "letters" were limited as to quantity, variety, and size, the text of 1699 amply shows. That the members of the Society were able to obtain but meagre fonts of type appears from the make-up of the title-page, the frequent use of italic letters for roman, the insertion of the double v for w, both in capitals and lower case, and the evident, though customary, breaking up of the earlier pages, in order to release the necessary material for later composition. The inferior character of the type and the unsatisfactory nature of composition and press-work are indicated by poor "color", by letters blurred, faint, or wanting altogether, by the presence of an occasional inverted u for n and of a y upside down, by great unevenness in spacing, by the introduction of periods, colons, semi-colons, and commas where they do not belong, and by the beginning of sentences with small letters. Impression and justification are both imperfect, due in part to the use of a wooden hand-press, poor ink-balls, and probably poor ink, so that the earlier pages in particular have a very blotchy appearance, defects, all of which can be seen in Pusey's book also. There are but few textual errors, showing that the printer had a good copy to work from. The weaknesses are largely mechanical. The paper was undoubtedly obtained from England, of Dutch make, for it does not bear the fleur-de-lis watermark and the initials of the manufacturer, characteristics of that made by Rittenhouse and others in Pennsylvania, at a paper mill erected in 1690.

The work at once attracted the attention of the Society of Friends in London, to whom it made a

special appeal, containing as it did a narrative of "sufferings", and so furnishing material that the Meeting for Sufferings could make use of. This meeting, an important part of the Quaker organization in London, the representative and executive committee of the Yearly Meeting, was originally established to deal with "sufferings" in England, but later became concerned with "sufferings" all over the world. During the years from 1662 to 1689 the Quakers faced many hardships due to malevolence and oppression and were called upon to meet not only heavy material losses but also imprisonment and even bodily injury. It was amid circumstances such as these that the Meeting for Sufferings was born. It held its first sitting in London in 1676 and met weekly from that time on every Saturday at Three Kings Court, which ran south from Lombard Street, almost across from George-Yard, in a quarter of London where the Quakers very largely predominated. In 1679 or 1680 the Yearly Meeting had put the printing of books in the charge of this meeting, later extending its powers to cover distribution also, though the Second Day's Morning Meeting of Ministering Friends, which had formerly been entrusted with such matters, still retained powers of revision.

Such was the situation in England when a copy of Jansen's issue of *God's Protecting Providence* came to the attention of the Friends there and particularly the members of the Second Day's Morning Meeting and of the Meeting for Sufferings. A decision to reprint having been reached, the task was assigned to the printing house of Andrew Sowle, which under Sowle and his successors continued to be active in various places and under various proprietors until as late as 1828. The house was founded by Andrew Sowle, probably soon after 1660, and was destined to become one of the oldest

printing houses in the history of London. Andrew, the son of Francis Sowle, yeoman, a member of the Established Church of the Parish of St. Sepulchre, Holborn, was born in 1628. In 1646 he was apprenticed to Ruth Haworth, printer, for seven years, at the expiration of which time he must have entered in some capacity upon the exercise of his craft. Later, as a master journeyman himself, he set up a shop in Shoreditch, at the Crooked Billet, Holiwell (Holloway) Lane, where he also had his residence and where he died. In 1680-1681 he opened a book-selling branch at Devonshire New Buildings in Bishopgate Street, Without, a structure built by Friends after the removal of the Yearly Meeting to Devonshire House from, the Bull and Mouth tavern which had been burned down in the Great Fire of 1666. In 1688 and 1689 Andrew transferred the selling branch of his business to Three Keys Court, Nags Head, but still retained the Crooked Billet as his place of residence and printing. His first extant imprint bears the date 1680, though his arrest and commitment to Newgate in 1664 and a catalogue issued by him in 1683 seem to indicate earlier issues. He suffered greatly under the terms of the statute against the printing of pernicious pamphlets (1662), his house being searched and his printing materials taken away not once but many times. He died in 1695, "an ancient Friend who had long served Truth and Friends and suffered very great losses and gone through many hazards and difficulties, with sore persecution for the same." Though but sixty-seven years old at the time of his death he is described as "old man" and partly blind. He was frequently involved in misunderstandings with the Meeting for Sufferings, for that meeting was not always easy to satisfy and complained at times of the dilatory habits of the printers it employed.



Andrew married Jane (last name unrecorded) who died in 1711 at the age of eighty. On her husband's death she took over the business, which since 1691 had been actually controlled by her younger daughter, Tace or Tacy (from the Latin *Taceo*), first at the Crooked Billet and then at a house in White-Hart Court, Gracious (Gracechurch) Street, next door to the Gracechurch Meeting House erected in 1668. Tacy's older sister, Elizabeth, had married William Bradford, the elder, in 1685, and in that year Bradford, who had served as Andrew's apprentice and been converted by him to Quakerism, came to Philadelphia. Tacy had been brought up as a printer and was herself an excellent typesetter. She had given up the Crooked Billet office in 1696, immediately after her father's death, and moved to White-Hart Court, and there, while retaining the White-Hart connection, had opened a selling branch at the "Bible" in Leadenhall Street near the Market, a name now appearing for the first time, but destined to be used later in George-Yard (and in Philadelphia and New York also) as the sign of a Quaker printing and bookselling house. Tacy became the leading Quaker printer of the day and at her death in 1746 was the oldest printer in London. Though a Quaker she never became a preacher, confining her activities to her own business and seemingly quite indifferent to the frequent complaints, similarly made to her father, that she was slow in getting Quaker work done. Nevertheless, for more than fifty years she continued to print Quaker books.

In 1706 Tacy married Thomas Raylton, of Bowes, Yorkshire, who was born in 1671, became a Quaker early in life, and afterward a preacher, printer, and bookseller. The old firm name was retained for many years, and the imprint, as may be seen in the reprints of the journal of 1700 and 1701, stood

as "T. Sowle" from 1691 to 1707, but was changed after Tacy's marriage in 1706 to "J. Sowle" from 1707 to 1711, when her mother died. After her mother's death it became "The Assigns of J. Sowle", as the reprint of 1720 shows, the assigns being Tacy and Raylton. The latter died in 1723 at the age of fifty-three, but Tacy survived her husband for twenty-three years. After 1739 the firm's name appears as "T. Sowle Raylton", with Luke Hinde as a partner until Tacy's death, after which Hinde became sole proprietor. About 1715 the printing and bookselling office was moved to the "Bible" at No. 2 George-Yard, where the reprint of Dickinson, dated 1759, was set up by Hinde, and there it remained after Hinde's death in 1766, when his widow, Mary, carried on the work for nine years, issuing under her name one reprint, commonly known as the fifth in England, the exact date of which is not certainly known but is believed to be 1772. George-Yard, where Benjamin Clarke also had a Quaker printing office, (from which he issued many of Penn's colonizing pamphlets and where he printed the second edition of *No Cross no Crown*) had thus become-and was to continue from this time forward for many years-the center of Quaker publication. After Mary's death a new manager succeeded to the business in George-Yard, James Phillips, a devout Quaker, son of the famous Quaker preacher and missionary Catherine Phillips (1727-1794) and father of the mineralogist, William Phillips, who at his father's death, entered into full control of the business. He was aided for two years by one Farndon (1805-1806) and then went on alone until his own death in 1828. James Phillips put out the reprints of 1787 and 1790, the last to be issued in England.

White-Hart Court and George-Yard are thus intimately associated with Quaker history and the

reprinting of ***God's Protecting Providence***. White-Hart Court was a Quaker stronghold, where was one of the most important of the Quaker meeting houses; where lived many Quaker merchants and traders, among whom was Henry Gouldney, at whose house Fox died, January 13, 1691; where Tacy printed many Quaker books and for sixteen years kept house for her widowed mother; and where the reprints of 1700 and 1701 were set up. George-Yard is identified more particularly with the Pennsylvania background, with William Penn, and the founding and settlement of the province, and there it was that the reprinting was done of the issues of 1720, 1759, the undated issue of Mary Hinde, and the issues of 1787 and 1790. It was a secluded retreat in the heart of northeastern London, occupied entirely by Quakers in residence or business or both, lying between Lombard Street and Cornhill and approached from the south through a short passage, opening from a narrow archway. The passage widened into a courtyard-flanked on each side by houses and warehouses, all built after the Fire-at the upper end of which was a large building, the George and Vulture tavern, with a passage into St. Michael's Alley, leading to Cornhill. This tavern is historically connected with Penn's career as a colonist, because it was there or nearby that he transacted most of his colonial business. In the shadow of the tavern was the office of his attorneys and legal advisers, Thomas Rudyard (afterward deputy governor of East New Jersey) and Harbert Springett, cousin of Penn's first wife, and there he was accustomed to resort for consultation with his fellow Quakers, signing and sealing the hundreds of deeds of lease and release issued to the First Purchasers of land in Pennsylvania. There, too, it was that on April 25, 1682, in the presence of his lawyers and with the

attestation of eleven witnesses, of whom Andrew Sowle was one, Penn issued his first charter to the people of his newly acquired province. George Fox frequently went to George-Yard to confer with Friends there, to dine with them, and to spend the night. In his journal he mentions doing business with Daniel Wharley, a linen draper and the husband of Penn's step-sister, Mary Penington, who lived just across the yard from Penn's office, and he gives the names of many Friends who had warehouses and homes there.

Thus, briefly, we have traced the origin, history and chief characteristics of this interesting book. For us it has a fivefold significance. In the first place, on the bibliographical side, its original issue and frequent reproductions contribute to our knowledge of the history of printing, particularly among the Quakers both in this country and in England, and to the widespread appeal which it made as a story of adventure unsurpassed among the narratives of Indian captivity. Secondly, it occupies a place of exceptional importance in Quaker annals, in that it became in the hands of the Society of Friends a testimony and a witness wherewith to impress upon an inhospitable world the working of God in the hearts of men and the power of the blessed truth professed by its members, inspiring them "to bear with resignation even the worst of tribulations." Thirdly, quite apart from the Quaker connection, it stands as an extraordinary tale of calamity and suffering, of great endurance in distress, and of unflinching trust in the ever-present providence of God. Fourthly, it furnishes the only detailed information that we have of the character, customs, and modes of life of the Indians living at the end of the seventeenth century in that little known region, regarding which almost no other contemporary evidence exists, lying along the east

Florida coast from St. Augustine south to the lands about Hobe Sound and Jupiter Inlet. In this particular its value has always been recognized by writers on the Indian ethnology of Florida and by students of its literature. And, lastly, for the general reader who, it may be, is not likely to be concerned with the textual and bibliographical features of the narrative, it is worthy of consideration as a story of peril and adventure, told with unusual dramatic force and power.