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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
LIFE, GOSPEL LABORS,  
AND  
CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES  
OF THAT  
FAITHFUL MINISTER OF JESUS CHRIST,  
JOHN WOOLMAN,

LATE OF MOUNT-HOLLY, IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW JERSEY,  
NORTH AMERICA.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, HIS LAST EPISTLE, AND OTHER WRITINGS.

ISAIAH XXXII. 17.

*The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of  
righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever.*

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A

# JOURNAL

OF THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF

# JOHN WOOLMAN,

IN THE SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL.

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## CHAPTER I.

1720—1742.

*His birth and parentage.—Some account of the operations of divine grace on his mind in his youth.—His first appearance in the ministry—and his considerations, while young, on the keeping of slaves.*

I have often felt a motion of love to leave some hints in writing of my experience of the goodness of God; and now, in the thirty-sixth year of my age, I begin this work.

I was born in Northampton, in Burlington County, West Jersey, in the year 1720. Before I was seven years old I began to be acquainted with the operations of divine love. Through the care of my parents, I was taught to read nearly as soon as I was capable of it; and as I went from school one day, I remember that while my companions were playing by the way, I went forward out of sight, and sitting down I read the 22nd chapter of the Revelations: "He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, &c." In reading it, my mind was drawn to seek after that pure habitation which I then believed God had prepared for his servants. The place where I sat, and the sweetness that attended my mind, remain fresh in my

memory. This, and the like gracious visitations, had such an effect upon me, that when boys used ill language, it troubled me; and, through the continued mercies of God, I was preserved from that evil.

The pious instructions of my parents were often fresh in my mind, when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of use to me. Having a large family of children, they used frequently, on first-days after meeting, to set us one after another to read the holy scriptures, or some religious books, the rest sitting by without much conversation; I have since often thought it was a good practice. From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been, in past ages, people who walked in uprightness before God, in a degree exceeding any that I knew or heard of now living: and the apprehension of there being less steadiness and firmness amongst people in the present age, often troubled me while I was a child.

I may here mention a remarkable circumstance that occurred in my childhood. On going to a neighbor's house, I saw on the way a robin sitting on her nest, and as I came near she went off; but having young ones, she flew about, and with many cries expressed her concern for them. I stood and threw stones at her, and one striking her, she fell down dead. At first I was pleased with the exploit, but after a few minutes was seized with horror, at having, in a sportive way, killed an innocent creature while she was careful for her young. I beheld her lying dead, and thought those young ones, for which she was so careful, must now perish for want of their dam to nourish them. After some painful considerations on the subject, I climbed up the tree, took all the young birds, and killed them; supposing that better than to leave them to pine away and die miserably. In this case I believed that scripture proverb was fulfilled, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." I then went on my errand, and for some hours could think of little else but the cruelties I had committed, and was much troubled. Thus He, whose tender mercies are over all his works, hath placed a principle in the human mind, which incites to exercise goodness towards every living creature; and this being singly attended

to, people become tender-hearted and sympathizing; but when frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes shut up in a contrary disposition.

About the twelfth year of my age, my father being abroad, my mother reprov'd me for some misconduct, to which I made an undutiful reply. The next first day, as I was with my father returning from meeting, he told me that he understood I had behaved amiss to my mother, and advis'd me to be more careful in future. I knew myself blameable, and in shame and confusion remained silent. Being thus awakened to a sense of my wickedness, I felt remorse in my mind, and, on getting home, I retired and pray'd to the Lord to forgive me; and I do not remember that I ever afterwards spok'e unhandsomely to either of my parents, however foolish in some other things.

Having attained the age of sixteen years, I began to love wanton company; and though I was preserv'd from profane language, or scandalous conduct, yet I perceiv'd a plant in me which produc'd much wild grapes: my merciful Father did not however forsake me utterly, but at times, through his grace, I was brought seriously to consider my ways; and the sight of my backslidings affect'd me with sorrow; yet for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of instruction, vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance. Upon the whole, my mind became more and more alienated from the truth, and I hasten'd toward destruction. While I meditate on the gulf towards which I travel'd, and reflect on my youthful disobedience, for these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water.

Advancing in age, the number of my acquaintance increased, and thereby my way grew more difficult. Though I had found comfort in reading the holy scriptures, and thinking on heavenly things, I was now estrang'd therefrom. I knew I was going from the flock of Christ, and had no resolution to return; hence serious reflections were uneasy to me, and youthful vanities and diversions were my greatest pleasure. In this road I found many like myself; and we associat'd in that which is adverse to true friendship.

In this swift race it pleas'd God to visit me with sick-



ness, so that I doubted of recovery; then did darkness, horror, and amazement, with full force seize me, even when my pain and distress of body were very great. I thought it would have been better for me never to have had being, than to see the day which I now saw. I was filled with confusion; and in great affliction, both of mind and body, I lay and bewailed myself. I had not confidence to lift up my cries to God, whom I had thus offended; but, in a deep sense of my great folly, I was humbled before him. At length, that word which is as a fire and a hammer, broke and dissolved my rebellious heart; my cries were put up in contrition; and in the multitude of his mercies I found inward relief, and a close engagement, that if he was pleased to restore my health, I might walk humbly before him.

After my recovery, this exercise remained with me a considerable time; but by degrees giving way to youthful vanities, and associating with wanton young people, I lost ground. The Lord had been very gracious, and spoke peace to me in the time of my distress, and I now most ungratefully turned again to folly; at times I felt sharp reproof, but I did not get low enough to cry for help. I was not so hardy as to commit things scandalous; but to exceed in vanity, and to promote mirth, was my chief study. Still I retained a love and esteem for pious people; and their company brought an awe upon me. My dear parents several times admonished me in the fear of the Lord, and their admonition entered into my heart, and had a good effect for a season; but not getting deep enough to pray rightly, the tempter when he came found entrance. Once having spent a part of the day in wantonness, when I went to bed at night there lay in a window, near my bed, a bible, which I opened, and first cast my eye on the text, "We lie down in our shame, and our confusion covers us." This I knew to be my case; and meeting with so unexpected a reproof, I was somewhat affected with it, and went to bed under remorse of conscience; which I soon cast off again.

Thus time passed on; my heart was replenished with mirth and wantonness, while pleasing scenes of vanity were presented to my imagination, till I attained the age of



eighteen years; near which time I felt the judgments of God in my soul, like a consuming fire; and looking over my past life, the prospect was moving. I was often sad, and longed to be delivered from those vanities; then again, my heart was strongly inclined to them, and there was in me a sore conflict. At times I turned to folly, and then again sorrow and confusion took hold of me. In a while I resolved totally to leave off some of my vanities; but there was a secret reserve in my heart, of the more refined part of them, and I was not low enough to find true peace. Thus, for some months I had great troubles; my will was unsubjected, which rendered my labors fruitless. At length, through the merciful continuance of heavenly visitations, I was made to bow down in spirit before the Lord. One evening I had spent some time in reading a pious author; and walking out alone, I humbly prayed to the Lord for his help, that I might be delivered from all those vanities which so ensnared me. Thus being brought low, he helped me; and as I learned to bear the cross, I felt refreshment to come from his presence; but not keeping in that strength which gave victory, I lost ground again; the sense of which greatly affected me. I sought deserts and lonely places, and there with tears did confess my sins to God, and humbly craved his help. And I may say with reverence, he was near to me in my troubles, and in those times of humiliation opened my ear to discipline. I was now lead to look seriously at the means by which I was drawn from the pure truth, and learned that if I would live such a life as the faithful servants of God lived, I must not go into company as heretofore in my own will; but all the cravings of sense must be governed by a divine principle. In times of sorrow and abasement these instructions were sealed upon me, and I felt the power of Christ prevail over selfish desires, so that I was preserved in a good degree of steadiness; and being young, and believing at that time that a single life was best for me, I was strengthened to keep from such company as had often been a snare to me.

I kept steadily to meetings; spent first day afternoons chiefly in reading the scriptures and other good books; and was early convinced in my mind, that true religion consist-

ed in an inward life, wherein the heart doth love and reverence God the Creator, and learns to exercise true justice and goodness, not only toward all men, but also toward the brute creatures—that as the mind was moved, by an inward principle, to love God as an invisible, incomprehensible Being; so by the same principle, it was moved to love him in all his manifestations in the visible world—that as by his breath, the flame of life was kindled in all animal sensible creatures, to say we love God as unseen, and at the same time exercise cruelty toward the least creature moving by his life, or by life derived from him, was a contradiction in itself. I found no narrowness respecting sects and opinions; but believed that sincere upright hearted people, in every society, who truly love God, were accepted of him.

As I lived under the cross, and simply followed the opening of truth, my mind, from day to day, was more enlightened; my former acquaintance were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it safest for me to live in private, and keep these things sealed up in my own breast. While I silently ponder on that change wrought in me, I find no language equal to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this visible creation, and an awfulness covered me. My heart was tender and often contrite, and universal love to my fellow creatures increased in me. This will be understood by such as have trodden in the same path. Some glances of real beauty may be seen in their faces, who dwell in true meekness. There is a harmony in the sound of that voice to which divine love gives utterance, and some appearance of right order in their temper and conduct, whose passions are regulated; yet these do not fully show forth that inward life to those who have not felt it; this white stone and new name is only known rightly by such as receive it.

Now, though I had been thus strengthened to bear the cross, I still found myself in great danger, having many weaknesses attending me, and strong temptations to wrestle with; in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places, and often with tears besought the Lord to help me, and his gracious ear was open to my cry.

All this time I lived with my parents, and wrought on the

plantation; and having had schooling pretty well for a planter, I used to improve myself in winter evenings, and other leisure times. Being now in the twenty-first year of my age, with my father's consent I engaged with a man, in much business as a shop-keeper and baker, to tend shop and keep books. At home I had lived retired; and now having a prospect of being much in the way of company, I felt frequent and fervent cries in my heart to God, the Father of mercies, that he would preserve me from all taint and corruption; that, in this more public employment, I might serve Him, my gracious Redeemer, in that humility and self-denial, which I had in a small degree exercised in a more private life.

The man who employed me, furnished a shop in Mount Holly, about five miles from my father's house, and six from his own; and there I lived alone and tended his shop. Shortly after my settlement here, I was visited by several young people my former acquaintance, who supposed that vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever. At these times I cried to the Lord in secret for wisdom and strength; for I felt myself encompassed with difficulties, and had fresh occasion to bewail the follies of times past, in contracting a familiarity with libertine people; and as I had now left my father's house outwardly, I found my heavenly Father to be merciful to me beyond what I can express.

By day I was much amongst people, and had many trials to go through; but in the evenings I was mostly alone, and I may with thankfulness acknowledge, that in those times the spirit of supplication was often poured upon me; under which I was frequently exercised, and felt my strength renewed.

After a while, my former acquaintance gave over expecting me as one of their company; and I began to be known to some whose conversation was helpful to me. And now, as I had experienced the love of God, through Jesus Christ, to redeem me from many pollutions, and to be a succour to me through a sea of conflicts, with which no person was fully acquainted; and as my heart was often enlarged in this heavenly principle, I felt a tender compassion for the youth, who remained entangled in snares



like those which had entangled me. This love and tenderness increased; and my mind was strongly engaged for the good of my fellow-creatures. I went to meetings in an awful frame of mind, and endeavored to be inwardly acquainted with the language of the true Shepherd. One day being under a strong exercise of spirit, I stood up, and said some words in a meeting; but not keeping close to the divine opening, I said more than was required of me. Being soon sensible of my error, I was afflicted in mind some weeks, without any light or comfort, even to that degree that I could not take satisfaction in any thing. I remembered God, and was troubled; and in the depth of my distress, he had pity upon me, and sent the Comforter. I then felt forgiveness for my offence; my mind became calm and quiet, and I was truly thankful to my gracious Redeemer for his mercies. About six weeks after this, feeling the spring of divine love opened, and a concern to speak, I said a few words in a meeting, in which I found peace. Being thus humbled and disciplined under the cross, my understanding became more strengthened to distinguish the pure spirit which inwardly moves upon the heart, and which taught me to wait in silence sometimes many weeks together, until I felt that rise which prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet, through which the Lord speaks to his flock.

From an inward purifying, and steadfast abiding under it, springs a lively operative desire for the good of others. All the faithful are not called to the public ministry; but whoever are, are called to minister of that which they have tasted and handled spiritually. The outward modes of worship are various; but whenever any are true ministers of Jesus Christ, it is from the operation of his spirit upon their hearts, first purifying them, and thus giving them a just sense of the conditions of others. This truth was early fixed in my mind; and I was taught to watch the pure opening, and to take heed lest, while I was standing to speak, my own will should get uppermost, and cause me to utter words from worldly wisdom, and depart from the channel of the true gospel ministry.

In the management of my outward affairs, I may say

with thankfulness, I found truth to be my support; and I was respected in my master's family, who came to live in Mount Holly within two years after my going there.

In a few months after I came here, my master bought several Scotchmen servants, from on board a vessel, and brought them to Mount Holly to sell; one of whom was taken sick and died. In the latter part of his sickness, being delirious, he used to curse and swear most sorrowfully; and the next night after his burial, I was left to sleep alone in the chamber where he died. I perceived in me a timorousness; I knew, however, I had not injured the man, but assisted in taking care of him according to my capacity. I was not free to ask any one, on that occasion to sleep with me. Nature was feeble; but every trial was a fresh incitement to give myself up wholly to the service of God, for I found no helper like him in times of trouble.

About the twenty-third year of my age, I had many fresh and heavenly openings, in respect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the most noble amongst those which are visible. And being clearly convinced in my judgment, that to place my whole trust in God was best for me, I felt renewed engagements that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and pursue worldly business no further, than as truth opened my way.

About the time called Christmas, I observed many people both in town and from the country, resorting to public-houses, and spending their time in drinking and vain sports, tending to corrupt one another; on which account I was much troubled. At one house in particular there was much disorder; and I believed it was a duty incumbent on me to speak to the master of that house. I considered I was young, and that several elderly friends in town had opportunity to see these things; but though I would gladly have been excused, yet I could not feel my mind clear.

The exercise was heavy; and as I was reading what the Almighty said to Ezekiel, respecting his duty as a watchman, the matter was set home more clearly. With prayers and tears, I besought the Lord for his assistance, and He, in loving kindness, gave me a resigned heart. At a

suitable opportunity I went to the public-house; and seeing the man amongst much company, I called him aside, and in the fear and dread of the Almighty, expressed to him what rested on my mind. He took it kindly, and afterwards showed more regard to me than before. In a few years afterwards he died, middle-aged; and I often thought, that had I neglected my duty in that case, it would have given me great trouble; and I was humbly thankful to my gracious Father, who had supported me herein.

My employer having a negro woman, sold her, and desired me to write a bill of sale, the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and though I felt uneasy at the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures, yet I remembered that I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our society, who bought her; so through weakness, I gave way, and wrote it; but, at the executing of it, I was so afflicted in my mind, that I said before my master and the friend, that I believed slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion. This, in some degree, abated my uneasiness; yet as often as I reflected seriously upon it, I thought I should have been clearer, if I had desired to be excused from it, as a thing against my conscience; for such it was. Some time after this, a young man of our society, spoke to me to write a conveyance of a slave to him; he having lately taken a negro into his house. I told him I was not easy to write it; for, though many of our meeting and in other places kept slaves, I still believed the practice was not right; and desired to be excused from the writing. I spoke to him in good will; and he told me that keeping slaves was not altogether agreeable to his mind; but that the slave being a gift made to his wife, he had accepted her.



## CHAPTER II.

1743—1748.

*His first journey, on a religious visit, in East Jersey.—Thoughts on merchantizing, and learning a trade.—Second journey into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.—Third journey through part of West and East Jersey.—Fourth journey through New York and Long Island, to New England—And his fifth journey to the Eastern shore of Maryland, and the lower Counties on Delaware.*

My esteemed friend Abraham Farrington, being about to make a visit to friends on the eastern side of this province, and having no companion, he proposed to me to go with him; and after a conference with some elderly friends, I agreed to go. We set out on the 5th of ninth mo. 1743; had an evening meeting at a tavern in Brunswick, a town in which none of our society dwelt; the room was full, and the people quiet. Thence to Amboy, and had an evening meeting in the court-house; to which came many people, amongst whom were several members of assembly, they being in town on the public affairs of the province. In both these meetings my ancient companion was engaged to preach largely in the love of the gospel. Thence we went to Woodbridge, Raway, and Plainfield; and had six or seven meetings in places where friends' meetings are not usually held, chiefly attended by Presbyterians, and my beloved companion was frequently strengthened to publish the word of life amongst them. As for me, I was often silent through the meetings; and when I spake, it was with much care, that I might speak only what truth opened. My mind was often tender, and I learned some profitable lessons. We were out about two weeks.

Near this time, being on some outward business in which several families were concerned, and which was attended with difficulties, some things relating thereto not being clearly stated, nor rightly understood by all, there arose some heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable friend got off his watch. I had a great regard for him, and felt a strong inclination, after matters were settled, to speak to him concerning his conduct in that case; but be-

ing a youth, and he far advanced in age and experience, my way appeared difficult; after some days deliberation, and inward seeking to the Lord for assistance, I was made subject; so that I expressed what lay upon me, in a way which became my youth and his years; and though it was a hard task to me, it was well taken, and I believe was useful to us both.

Having now been several years with my employer, and he doing less in merchandize than heretofore, I was thoughtful about some other way of business; perceiving merchandize to be attended with much cumber in the way of trading in these parts.

My mind through the power of truth, was in a good degree weaned from the desire of outward greatness, and I was learning to be content with real conveniences, that were not costly; so that a way of life free from much entanglement, appeared best for me, though the income might be small. I had several offers of business that appeared profitable, but I did not see my way clear to accept of them; believing they would be attended with more outward care and cumber than was required of me to engage in. I saw that an humble man, with the blessing of the Lord, might live on a little; and that where the heart was set on greatness, success in business did not satisfy the craving; but that commonly with an increase of wealth, the desire of wealth increased. There was a care on my mind so to pass my time, that nothing might hinder me from the most steady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd.

My employer, though now a retailer of goods, was by trade a tailor, and kept a servant man at that business; and I began to think about learning the trade, expecting that if I should settle, I might, by this trade, and a little retailing of goods, get a living in a plain way, without the load of great business. I mentioned it to my employer, and we soon agreed on terms; and when I had leisure from the affairs of merchandize, I worked with his man. I believed the hand of providence pointed out this business for me; and I was taught to be content with it, though I felt at times a disposition that would have sought for something greater; but, through the revelation of Jesus Christ, I had seen the

happiness of humility, and there was an earnest desire in me to enter deeply into it; at times this desire arose to a degree of fervent supplication, wherein my soul was so environed with heavenly light and consolation, that things were made easy to me which had been otherwise.

After some time my employer's wife died; she was a virtuous woman, and generally beloved of her neighbors. Soon after this he left shopkeeping, and we parted. I then wrought at my trade, as a tailor; carefully attended meetings for worship and discipline; and found an enlargement of gospel love in my mind, and therein a concern to visit friends in some of the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Being thoughtful about a companion, I expressed it to my beloved friend, Isaac Andrews, who told me that he had drawings to the same places; and also to go through Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After a considerable time, and several conferences with him, I felt easy to accompany him throughout, if way opened for it. I opened the case in our monthly-meeting, and friends expressing their unity therewith, we obtained certificates to travel as companions; he from Haddonfield, and I from Burlington.

We left our province on the twelfth of third month, 1746, and had several meetings in the upper part of Chester county, and near Lancaster; in some of which the love of Christ prevailed, uniting us together in his service. We then crossed the river Susquehannah, and had several meetings in a new settlement, called the Red Lands. It is the poorer sort of people that commonly begin to improve remote deserts; with a small stock they have houses to build, lands to clear and fence, corn to raise, clothes to provide, and children to educate; so that friends who visit such may well sympathize with them in their hardships in the wilderness; and though the best entertainment that they can give, may seem coarse to some who are used to cities, or old settled places, it becomes the disciples of Christ to be therewith content. Our hearts were sometimes enlarged in the love of our heavenly Father amongst these people; and the sweet influence of his spirit supported us through some difficulties: to Him be the praise.



We passed on to Manoquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shanando, and had meetings; some of which were comfortable and edifying. From Shanando, we set off in the afternoon for the old settlements of friends in Virginia; the first night we, with our guide, lodged in the woods, our horses feeding near us; but he being poorly provided with a horse, and we young, and having good horses, were free the next day to part with him. In two days after, we reached our friend John Cheagle's, in Virginia. We took the meetings in our way through Virginia; were in some degree baptized into a feeling sense of the conditions of the people; and our exercise in general was more painful in these old settlements, than it had been amongst the back inhabitants; yet through the goodness of our heavenly Father, the well of living waters was at times opened to our encouragement, and the refreshment of the sincere-hearted. We went on to Perquimons, in North Carolina; had several large meetings, and found some openness in those parts, and a hopeful appearance amongst the young people. Afterwards we turned again to Virginia, and attended most of the meetings which we had not been at before, laboring amongst friends in the love of Jesus Christ, as ability was given; thence went to the mountains, up James' river to a new settlement, and had several meetings amongst the people, some of whom had lately joined in membership with our society. In our journeying to and fro, we found some honest-hearted friends, who appeared to be concerned for the cause of truth among a backsliding people.

From Virginia, we crossed over the river Patomac, at Hoe's ferry, and made a general visit to the meetings of friends on the western shore of Maryland; and were at their quarterly meeting. We had some hard labor amongst them, endeavoring to discharge our duty honestly as way opened, in the love of truth. Thence taking sundry meetings in our way, we passed towards home which, through the favor of Divine Providence, we reached the sixteenth of sixth month, 1746; and I may say, that through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which mortifies selfish desires,

my companion and I travelled in harmony, and parted in the nearness of true brotherly love.

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey; first, in regard to my entertainment; when I ate, drank, and lodged free-cost with people, who lived in ease on the hard labor of their slaves, I felt uneasy; and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found this uneasiness return upon me, at times, through the whole visit. Where the masters bore a good share of the burden, and lived frugally, so that their servants were well provided for, and their labor moderate, I felt more easy; but where they lived in a costly way, and laid heavy burdens on their slaves, my exercise was often great, and I frequently had conversation with them in private concerning it. Secondly; this trade of importing slaves from their native country being much encouraged amongst them, and the white people and their children so generally living without much labor, was frequently the subject of my serious thoughts. I saw in these southern provinces so many vices and corruptions, increased by this trade, and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloominess hanging over the land; and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the consequence will be grievous to posterity. I express it as it hath appeared to me, not once, nor twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

Soon after my return home, I felt an increasing concern for friends on our sea coast; and on the eighth of eighth month, 1746, I left home with the unity of friends, and in company with my beloved friend and neighbor Peter Andrews, brother to my companion before-mentioned, and visited them in their meetings generally about Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg Harbor; we had meetings also at Barnagat, Manahockin, and Mane Squan, and so to the yearly meeting at Shrewsbury. Through the goodness of the Lord way was opened, and the strength of divine love was sometimes felt in our assemblies, to the comfort and help of those who were rightly concerned before Him. We were out twenty-two days, and rode, by computation, three hundred and forty miles. At Shrewsbury yearly meeting,



we met with our dear friends Michael Lightfoot and Abraham Farrington, who had good service there.

\* The winter following died my eldest sister Elizabeth Woolman, jun., of the small pox, aged thirty-one years.

Of late I found drawings in my mind to visit friends in New England, and having an opportunity of joining in company with my beloved friend Peter Andrews, we obtained certificates from our monthly meeting, and set forward on the sixteenth of third month, 1747. We reached the yearly meeting at Long Island; at which were our friends Samuel Nottingham from England, John Griffith, Jane Hoskins, and Elizabeth Hudson from Pennsylvania, and Jacob Andrews from Chesterfield; several of whom were favored in their public exercise; and, through the goodness of the Lord, we had some edifying meetings. After this my companion and I visited friends on Long Island; and through the mercies of God, we were helped in the work.

Besides going to the settled meetings of friends, we were at a general meeting at Setawket, chiefly made up of other societies; we had also a meeting at Oyster Bay in a dwelling house, at which were many people; at the former there was not much said by way of testimony, but it was, I believe, a good meeting; at the latter, through the springing up of living waters, it was a day to be thankfully remembered. Having visited the island, we went over to the main, taking meetings in our way, to Oblong, Ninepartners, and New-Milford. In these back settlements, we met with several people who, through the immediate workings of the spirit of Christ on their minds, were drawn from the vanities of the world to an inward acquaintance with him. They were educated in the way of the Presbyterians. A considerable number of the youth, members of that society, used often to spend their time together in merriment, but some of the principal young men of the company, being visited by the powerful workings of the spirit of Christ, and thereby led humbly to take up his cross, could no longer join in those vanities. As these stood

\* For an account of this interesting young person, see Appendix.

steadfast to that inward conviction, they were made a blessing to some of their former companions; so that through the power of truth, several were brought into a close exercise concerning the eternal well-being of their souls. These young people continued for a time to frequent their public worship; and besides that, had meetings of their own; which meetings were a while allowed by their preacher, who sometimes met with them; but in time their judgment in matters of religion, disagreeing with some of the articles of the Presbyterians, their meetings were disapproved by that society; and such of them as stood firm to their duty, as it was inwardly manifested, had many difficulties to go through. In awhile their meetings were dropped; some of them returned to the Presbyterians, and others joined to our religious society.

I had conversation with some of the latter, to my help and edification; and believe several of them are acquainted with the nature of that worship, which is performed in spirit and in truth. Amos Powel, a friend from Long Island, accompanied me through Connecticut, which is chiefly inhabited by Presbyterians; who were generally civil to us. After three days riding, we came amongst friends in the colony of Rhode Island, and visited them in and about Newport, Dartmouth, and generally in those parts; we then went to Boston, and proceeded eastward as far as Dover. Not far from thence, we met our friend Thomas Gawthrop from England, who was then on a visit to these provinces. From Newport we sailed to Nantucket; were there nearly a week; and from thence came over to Dartmouth. Having finished our visit in these parts, we crossed the Sound from New London to Long Island; and taking some meetings on the island, proceeded towards home; which we reached the thirteenth of seventh month, 1747, having rode about fifteen hundred miles, and sailed about one hundred and fifty.

In this journey, I may say in general, we were sometimes in much weakness, and labored under discouragements; and at other times, through the renewed manifestations of divine love, we had seasons of refreshment, wherein the power of truth prevailed. We were taught, by re-

newed experience, to labor for an inward stillness; at no time to seek for words, but to live in the spirit of truth, and utter that to the people which truth opened in us. My beloved companion and I belonged both to one meeting, came forth in the ministry near the same time, and were inwardly united in the work. He was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heaviest burden, and was an instrument of the greatest use.

Finding a concern to visit friends in the lower counties of Delaware, and on the eastern shore of Maryland, and having an opportunity to join with my well-beloved ancient friend John Sykes, we obtained certificates, and set off the seventh of eighth month, 1748, were at the meetings of friends in the lower counties, attended the yearly meeting at Little Creek, and made a visit to most of the meetings on the Eastern shore; and so home by the way of Nottingham. We were abroad about six weeks; and rode by computation, about five hundred and fifty miles.

Our exercise at times was heavy; but through the goodness of the Lord, we were often refreshed; and I may say by experience, "He is a strong hold in the day of trouble." Though our society, in these parts, appeared to me to be in a declining condition; yet I believe the Lord hath a people amongst them, who labor to serve him uprightly; but they have many difficulties to encounter.

### CHAPTER III.

1749.—1756.

*His marriage.—The death of his father.—His journies into the upper part of New Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania.—Considerations on keeping slaves, and visits to the families of friends at several times and places.—An epistle from the general meeting.—His journey to Long Island.—Considerations on trading, and on the use of spirituous liquors and costly apparel.—Letter to a friend.*

About this time believing it good for me to settle, and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord, with desires that he would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeably to his will; and he was pleased



to give me a well-inclined damsel, Sarah Ellis; to whom I was married the eighteenth of eighth month 1749.

In the fall of the year 1750 died my father, Samuel Woolman, of a fever, aged about sixty years. In his lifetime he manifested much care for us his children, that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord; and often endeavored to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, and particularly to cherish in us a spirit of tenderness, not only towards poor people, but also towards all creatures of which we had the command.

After my return from Carolina in 1746, I made some observations on keeping slaves, which sometime before his decease I showed to him; he perused the manuscript, proposed a few alterations, and appeared well satisfied that I found a concern on that account. In his last sickness, as I was watching with him one night, he being so far spent that there was no expectation of his recovery, though he had the perfect use of his understanding, he asked me concerning the manuscript, and whether I expected soon to proceed to take the advice of friends in publishing it? After some further conversation thereon, he said, "I have all along been deeply affected with the oppression of the poor negroes; and now, at last, my concern for them is as great as ever."

By his direction I had written his will in a time of health, and that night he desired me to read it to him, which I did; and he said it was agreeable to his mind. He then made mention of his end, which he believed was near; and signified that though he was sensible of many imperfections in the course of his life, yet his experience of the power of truth, and of the love and goodness of God from time to time, even till now was such, that he had no doubt that on leaving this life, he should enter into one more happy.

The next day, his sister Elizabeth came to see him, and told him of the decease of their sister Anne, who died a few days before; he then said, "I reckon sister Anne was free to leave this world?" Elizabeth said she was. He then said, "I also am free to leave it;" and being in great

weakness of body said, "I hope I shall shortly go to rest." He continued in a weighty frame of mind, and was sensible till near the last.

Second of ninth month, 1751. Feeling drawings in my mind to visit friends at the Great Meadows, in the upper part of West Jersey, with the unity of our monthly meeting, I went there, and had some searching laborious exercise amongst friends in those parts, and found inward peace therein.

Ninth month, 1753. In company with my well-esteemed friend John Sykes, and with the unity of friends, I travelled about two weeks visiting friends in Buck's County. We labored in the love of the gospel, according to the measure received; and through the mercies of him, who is strength to the poor who trust in Him, we found satisfaction in our visit. In the next winter, way opening to visit friends' families within the compass of our monthly meeting, partly by the labors of two friends from Pennsylvania, I joined in some part of the work, having had a desire some time that it might go forward amongst us.

About this time, a person at some distance lying sick, his brother came to me to write his will. I knew he had slaves; and, asking his brother, was told he intended to leave them as slaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employ, and as offending sober people was disagreeable to my inclination, I was straitened in my mind; but as I looked to the Lord, he inclined my heart to his testimony. I told the man, that I believed the practice of continuing slavery to this people was not right, and that I had a scruple in my mind against doing writings of that kind; that though many in our society kept them as slaves, still I was not easy to be concerned in it, and desired to be excused from going to write the will. I spake to him in the fear of the Lord; and he made no reply to what I said, but went away; he also had some concerns in the practice; and I thought he was displeased with me. In this case I had fresh confirmation, that acting contrary to present outward interest, from a motive of divine love, and in regard to truth and righteousness, and thereby incurring the



resentments of people, opens the way to a treasure better than silver, and to a friendship exceeding the friendship of men.

The manuscript before-mentioned having laid by me several years, the publication of it rested weightily upon me; and this year I offered it to the revisal of my friends, who having examined, and made some small alterations in it, directed a number of copies thereof to be published and dispersed amongst members of our society.

In the year 1754, I found my mind drawn to join in a visit to friends' families belonging to Chesterfield monthly meeting; and having the approbation of our own, I went to their monthly meeting in order to confer with friends, and see if way opened for it. I had conference with some of their members, the proposal having been opened before in their meeting, and one friend agreed to join with me as a companion for a beginning; but when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what way to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness. I kept my distress secret, and going with a friend to his house, my desires were to the great Shepherd for his heavenly instruction. In the morning I felt easy to proceed on the visit, though very low in my mind. As mine eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before Him, He was pleased graciously to afford help; so that we had many comfortable opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent several weeks this winter in the service; part of which time was employed near home. And again in the following winter I was several weeks in the same service; some part of the time at Shrewsbury, in company with my beloved friend, John Sykes; and I have cause humbly to acknowledge, that through the goodness of the Lord, our hearts were at times enlarged in his love; and strength was given to go through the trials which, in the course of our visit, attended us.

From a disagreement between the powers of England and France, it was now a time of trouble on this continent; and an epistle to friends went forth from our general spring meeting, which I thought good to give a place in this journal.

*An Epistle from our general spring meeting of ministers and elders for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia, from the twenty-ninth of the third month, to the first of the fourth month, inclusive, 1755.-*

To Friends on the Continent of America.

Dear Friends,

In an humble sense of divine goodness, and the gracious continuation of God's love to his people, we tenderly salute you; and are at this time therein engaged in mind, that all of us who profess the truth, as held forth and published by our worthy predecessors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that life which is the light of men, and be strengthened to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, that our trust may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, who ruleth in the army of heaven, and in the kingdoms of men, before whom the earth is "as the dust of the balance, and her inhabitants as grasshoppers." Isa. xl. 22.

Being convinced that the gracious design of the Almighty in sending his Son into the world, was to repair the breach made by disobedience, to finish sin and transgression, that his kingdom might come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven, we have found it to be our duty to cease from those national contests which are productive of misery and bloodshed, and submit our cause to Him, the Most High, whose tender love to his children exceeds the most warm affections of natural parents, and who hath promised to his seed throughout the earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Heb. xiii. 5. And we, through the gracious dealings of the Lord our God, have had experience of that work which is carried on, not by earthly might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." Zech. iv. 6. By which operation, that spiritual kingdom is set up, which is to subdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand for ever. In a deep sense thereof, and of the safety, stability, and peace that are in it, we are desirous that all who profess the truth, may be inwardly acquainted

with it, and thereby be qualified to conduct ourselves in all parts of our life, as becomes our peaceable profession: and we trust, as there is a faithful continuance to depend wholly upon the almighty arm, from one generation to another, the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended “from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth.” Zech. ix. 10. to the completion of those prophecies already begun, that “nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, nor learn war any more.” Isa. ii. 4. Micah iv. 3.

And, dearly beloved friends, seeing that we have these promises, and believe that God is beginning to fulfill them, let us constantly endeavor to have our minds sufficiently disentangled from the surfeiting cares of this life, and redeemed from the love of the world, that no earthly possessions nor enjoyments may bias our judgments, or turn us from that resignation and entire trust in God, to which his blessing is most surely annexed; then may we say, “Our redeemer is mighty, he will plead our cause for us.” Jer. l. 34. And if, for the further promoting of his most gracious purposes in the earth, he should give us to taste of that bitter cup of which his faithful ones have often partaken; O that we might be rightly prepared to receive it!

And now, dear friends, with respect to the commotions and stirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are desirous that none of us may be moved thereat; but repose ourselves in the munition of that rock which all these shakings shall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping us subjectly given up to his heavenly will, and feeling it daily to mortify that which remains in any of us which is of this world; for the worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in this world. For as the truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit, so the world is but one, and many are made partakers of the spirit of it; and so many as do partake of it, so many will be straightened and perplexed with it. But they who are single to the truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, shall rejoice in the midst of adversity, and have to experience with the prophet, that, “al-



though the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labor of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet will they rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of their salvation." Hab. iii. 17, 18.

If, contrary to this, we profess the truth, and not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits disagreeable to the purity thereof, and trust to the strength of man to support ourselves, our confidence therein will be vain. For he who removed the hedge from his vineyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot, by reason of the wild grapes it produced. (Isa. v. 6.) remains unchangeable; and if, for the chastisement of wickedness, and the further promoting of his own glory, he doth arise, even to shake terribly the earth, who then may oppose him, and prosper!

We remain, in the love of the gospel, your friends and brethren.

Signed by fourteen friends.

Scrupling to do writings relative to keeping slaves, has been a means of sundry small trials to me, in which I have so evidently felt my own will set aside, that I think it good to mention a few of them. Tradesmen and retailers of goods, who depend on their business for a living, are naturally inclined to keep the good will of their customers; nor is it a pleasant thing for young men to be under any necessity to question the judgment or honesty of elderly men, and more especially of such as have a fair reputation. Deep-rooted customs, though wrong, are not easily altered; but it is the duty of all to be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them. A charitable, benevolent man, well acquainted with a negro, may I believe, under some circumstances, keep him in his family as a servant, on no other motives than the negroe's good; but man, as man, knows not what shall be after him, nor hath he any assurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wisdom and goodness, necessary rightly to exercise such power; hence it is clear to me, that I ought not to be the



scribe where wills are drawn, in which some children are made aless masters over others during life.

About this time, an ancient man of good esteem in the neighborhood, came to my house to get his will written. He had young negroes; and I asked him privately how he purposed to dispose of them. He told me; I then said, I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace; and respectfully gave him my reasons for it. He signified that he had a choice that I should have written it; but as I could not, consistently with my conscience, he did not desire it; and so he got it written by some other person. A few years after, there being great alterations in his family, he came again to get me to write his will. His negroes were yet young; and his son, to whom he intended to give them, was, since he first spoke to me, from a libertine, become a sober young man; and he supposed that I would have been free on that account to write it. We had much friendly talk on the subject, and then deferred it. A few days after he came again, and directed their freedom; and I then wrote his will.

Near the time that the last mentioned friend first spoke to me, a neighbor received a bad bruise in his body, and sent for me to bleed him; which having done, he desired me to write his will. I took notes; and amongst other things, he told me to which of his children he gave his young negro. I considered the pain and distress he was in, and knew not how it would end; so I wrote his will, save only that part concerning his slave, and carrying it to his bedside, read it to him. I then told him in a friendly way, that I could not write any instruments by which my fellow-creatures were made slaves, without bringing trouble on my own mind. I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done, and desired to be excused from doing the other part in the way he proposed. We then had a serious conference on the subject; at length, he agreeing to set her free, I finished his will.

Having found drawings in my mind to visit friends on Long Island, after obtaining a certificate from our monthly meeting, I set off twelfth of fifth month, 1756. When I reached the island, I lodged the first night at the house of

my dear friend Richard Hallett. The next day, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting in New Town; in which we experienced the renewed manifestations of the love of Jesus Christ, to the comfort of the honest-hearted. I went that night to Flashing; and the next day, I and my beloved friend Matthew Franklin, crossed the ferry at White Stone; were at three meetings on the main, and then returned to the island; where I spent the remainder of the week in visiting meetings. The Lord I believe hath a people in those parts, who are honestly inclined to serve him; but many, I fear, are too much clogged with the things of this life, and do not come forward bearing the cross in such faithfulness as He calls for.

My mind was deeply engaged in this visit, both in public and private; and, at several places where I was, on observing that they had slaves, I found myself under a necessity, in a friendly way, to labor with them on that subject; expressing as way opened, the inconsistency of that practice with the purity of the Christian religion, and the ill effects of it manifested amongst us.

The latter end of the week their yearly meeting began; at which were our friends John Scarborough, Jane Hoskins, and Susannah Brown, from Pennsylvania. The public meetings were large, and measurably favored with divine goodness. The exercise of my mind, at this meeting, was chiefly on account of those who were considered as the foremost rank in the society; and in a meeting of ministers and elders, way opened for me to express in some measure what lay upon me; and when friends were met for transacting the affairs of the church, having sat a while silent, I felt a weight on my mind, and stood up; and through the gracious regard of our heavenly Father, strength was given fully to clear myself of a burden, which for some days had been increasing upon me.

Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, men are sometimes fitted for his service. The messages of the prophet Jeremiah were so disagreeable to the people, and so adverse to the spirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach; and in the weakness of nature, he thought of desisting from his prophetic office;

but saith he, " His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones; and I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay." I saw at this time, that if I was honest in declaring that which truth opened in me, I could not please all men; and I labored to be content in the way of my duty, however disagreeable to my own inclination. After this I went onward, taking Woodbridge and Plainfield in my way; in both which meetings, the pure influence of divine love was manifested; in an humbling sense whereof I went home. I had been out about twenty-four days, and rode about three hundred and sixteen miles.

While I was out on this journey, my heart was much affected with a sense of the state of the churches in our southern provinces; and believing the Lord was calling me to some further labor amongst them, I was bowed in reverence before Him, with fervent desires that I might find strength to resign myself to his heavenly will.

Until this year, 1756, I continued to retail goods, besides following my trade as a tailor; about which time I grew uneasy on account of my business growing too cumbersome. I had begun with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to sell cloths and linens; and at length, having got a considerable shop of goods, my trade increased every year, and the way to large business appeared open; but I felt a stop in my mind.

Through the mercies of the Almighty, I had, in a good degree, learned to be content with a plain way of living. I had but a small family; and on serious consideration, believed truth did not require me to engage much in cumbering affairs. It had been my general practice to buy and sell things really useful. Things that served chiefly to please the vain mind in people, I was not easy to trade in; seldom did it; and whenever I did, I found it weaken me as a Christian.

The increase of business became my burden; for though my natural inclination was toward merchandize, yet I believed truth required me to live more free from outward cumber; and there was now a strife in my mind between the two. In this exercise my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciously heard me, and gave me a heart re-



signed to his holy will. Then I lessened my outward business; and as I had opportunity, told my customers of my intentions, that they might consider what shop to turn to; and in a while I wholly laid down merchandize, and followed my trade as a tailor by myself, having no apprentice. I also had a nursery of apple-trees; in which I employed some of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming, and inoculating. In merchandize it is the custom, where I lived, to sell chiefly on credit, and poor people often get in debt; when payment is expected, not having wherewith to pay, their creditors often sue for it at law. Having frequently observed occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to advise poor people to take such goods as were most useful, and not costly.

In the time of trading, I had an opportunity of seeing that the too liberal use of spirituous liquors, and the custom of wearing too costly apparel, led some people into great inconveniences; and that these two things appear to be often connected with each other. By not attending to that use of things, which is consistent with universal righteousness, there is an increase of labor which extends beyond what our heavenly Father intends for us. And by great labor, and often by much sweating, there is even among such as are not drunkards, a craving of liquors to revive the spirits; that partly by the luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others, (led to it through immoderate labor) very great quantities of rum are every year expended in our colonies; the greater part of which we should have no need of, did we steadily attend to pure wisdom.

When men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge their appetite as to disorder their understandings, neglect their duty as members of a family or civil society, and cast off all regard to religion, their case is much to be pitied. And where those whose lives are for the most part regular, and whose examples have a strong influence on the minds of others, adhere to some customs which powerfully draw to the use of more strong liquor than pure wisdom allows; it hinders the spreading of the spirit of meekness, and strengthens the hands of the more excessive drinkers. This is a case to be lamented.



Every degree of luxury hath some connexion with evil; and if those who profess to be disciples of Christ, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, have that mind in them which was also in Christ, and so stand separate from every wrong way, it is a means of help to the weaker. As I have sometimes been much spent in the heat, and have taken spirits to revive me, I have found by experience, that in such circumstances the mind is not so calm, nor so fitly disposed for divine meditation, as when all such extremes are avoided. I have felt an increasing care to attend to that holy Spirit which sets right bounds to our desires; and leads those who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purposes for which they were intended. Did those who have the care of great estates, attend with singleness of heart to this heavenly Instructor, which so opens and enlarges the mind, as to cause men to love their neighbors as themselves, they would have wisdom given them to manage their concerns, without employing some people in providing the luxuries of life, or others in laboring too hard; but for want of steadily regarding this principle of divine love, a selfish spirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkness, and manifold confusions in the world.

Though trading in things useful is an honest employ; yet through the great number of superfluities which are bought and sold, and through the corruption of the times, they who apply to merchandize for a living, have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the prophet Jeremiah laid down for his scribe; "Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not."

In the winter this year, I was engaged with friends in visiting families; and through the goodness of the Lord, we often times experienced his heart-tendering presence amongst us.



*A Copy of a Letter written to a friend.*

"In this thy late affliction I have found a deep fellow-

feeling with thee; and have had a secret hope throughout; that it might please the Father of mercies to raise thee up, and sanctify thy troubles to thee; that thou being more fully acquainted with that way which the world esteems foolish, mayst feel the clothing of divine fortitude, and be strengthened to resist that spirit, which leads from the simplicity of the everlasting truth.

We may see ourselves crippled and halting, and from a strong bias to things pleasant and easy, find an impossibility to advance forward; but things impossible with men are possible with God; and our wills being made subject to his, all temptations are surmountable.

This work of subjecting the will, is compared to the mineral in the furnace; which, through fervent heat; is reduced from its first principle; "He refines them as silver is refined—he shall sit as a refiner, and purifier of silver." By these comparisons, we are instructed in the necessity of the melting operation of the hand of God upon us, to prepare our hearts truly to adore Him, and manifest that adoration, by inwardly turning away from that spirit, in all its workings, which is not of Him. To forward this work, the all-wise God is sometimes pleased, through outward distress, to bring us near the gates of death; that life being painful and afflicting, and the prospect of eternity open before us, all earthly bonds may be loosened, and the mind prepared for that deep and sacred instruction, which otherwise would not be received. If kind parents love their children, and delight in their happiness, then he who is perfect goodness, in sending abroad mortal contagions, doth assuredly direct their use—Are the righteous removed by it? their change is happy. Are the wicked taken away in their wickedness? the Almighty is clear. Do we pass through with anguish and great bitterness, and yet recover? He intends that we should be purged from dross, and our ear opened to discipline.

And now, as thou art again restored, after thy sore affliction and doubts of recovery, forget not Him who hath helped thee; but in humble gratitude hold fast his instructions, and thereby shun those bye-paths which lead from

the firm foundation. I am sensible of that variety of company, to which one in thy business must be exposed; I have painfully felt the force of conversation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an earthly mind, and can sympathize with others in such conflicts, because much weakness still attends me.

I find that to be a fool as to worldly wisdom, and to commit my cause to God, not fearing to offend men, who take offence at the simplicity of truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the sentiments of others.

The fear of man brings a snare. By halting in our duty, and giving back in the time of trial, our hands grow weaker, our spirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the true Shepherd; so that when we look at the way of the righteous, it seems as though it was not for us to follow them.

A love clothes my mind while I write, which is superior to all expression; and I find my heart open to encourage to a holy emulation, to advance forward in Christian firmness. Deep humility is a strong bulwark; and as we enter into it, we find safety and true exaltation. The foolishness of God is wiser than man, and the weakness of God is stronger than man. Being unclothed of our own wisdom, and knowing the abasement of the creature, we find that power to arise which gives health and vigor to us."

## CHAPTER IV.

1757—1758.

*Visit to the families of friends at Burlington—Journey to Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—Considerations on the state of friends there; and the exercise he was under in travelling among those so generally concerned in keeping slaves; with some observations on this subject.—Epistle to friends at New Garden and Crane Creek.—Thoughts on the neglect of a religious care in the education of the negroes.*

Thirteenth fifth month, 1757. Being in good health, and abroad with friends visiting families, I lodged at a friend's house in Burlington. Going to bed about the time



usual with me, I awoke in the night, and my meditations, as I lay, were on the goodness and mercy of the Lord; in a sense whereof my heart was contrited. After this I went to sleep again; in a short time I awoke, it was yet dark, and no appearance of day or moonshine; and as I opened mine eyes, I saw a light in my chamber, at the apparent distance of five feet, about nine inches in diameter, of a clear easy brightness, and near its centre the most radiant. As I lay still looking upon it without any surprise, words were spoken to my inward ear, which filled my whole inward man. They were not the effect of thought, nor any conclusion in relation to the appearance; but as the language of the Holy One, spoken in my mind. The words were, **CERTAIN EVIDENCE OF DIVINE TRUTH.** They were again repeated exactly in the same manner, and then the light disappeared.

Feeling the exercise in relation to a visit to the Southern Provinces to increase upon me, I acquainted our monthly meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate. Expecting to go alone, one of my brothers who lived in Philadelphia, having some business in North Carolina, proposed going with me part of the way; but as he had a view of some outward affairs, to accept of him as a companion was some difficulty with me, whereupon I had conversation with him at sundry times. At length feeling easy in my mind, I had conversation with several elderly friends of Philadelphia on the subject; and the obtaining a certificate suitable to the occasion, we set off in the fifth month, 1757. Coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, we lodged at John Churchman's, where I met with our friend Benjamin Buffington, from New England, who was returning from a visit to the Southern Provinces. Thence we crossed the river Susquehannah, and lodged at William Cox's in Maryland.

Soon after I entered this province, a deep and painful exercise came upon me, which I often had some feeling of, since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions. As the people in this and the Southern Provinces live much on the labor of slaves, many of



whom are used hardly, my concern was that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for friends on such a visit to have entertainment free of cost, a difficulty arose in my mind with respect to saving my money by kindness received, from what appeared to me to be the gain of oppression. Receiving a gift, considered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligations to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preserve the minds of judges from any bias, was that divine prohibition: "Thou shalt not receive any gift; for a gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous." Exod. xxiii. 8. As the disciples were sent forth without any provision for their journey, and our Lord said the workman is worthy of his meat, their labor in the gospel was considered as a reward for their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet, in regard to my present journey, I could not see my way clear in that respect. The difference appeared thus: the entertainment the disciples met with, was from them whose hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them and the truth they published; but we considered as members of the same religious society, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in such visits; and such reception, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and spirit. Conduct is more convincing than language; and where people, by their actions, manifest that the slave-trade is not so disagreeable to their principles but that it may be encouraged, there is not a sound uniting with some friends who visit them.

The prospect of so weighty a work, and of being so distinguished from many whom I esteemed before myself, brought me very low; and such were the conflicts of my soul, that I had a near sympathy with the prophet, in the time of his weakness, when he said, "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, if I have found favor in thy sight." Num. xi. 15. But I soon saw

that this proceeded from the want of a full resignation to the divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me; and in great abasement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty for his gracious and fatherly assistance; and after a time of deep trial, I was favored to understand the state mentioned by the psalmist, more clearly than ever I had done before; to wit; "My soul is even as a weaned child." Psalm cxxxi. 2. Being thus helped to sink down into resignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempest in which I had been sorely exercised, and in calmness of mind went forward, trusting that the Lord Jesus Christ, as I faithfully attended to him, would be a counselor to me in all difficulties; and that by his strength I should be enabled, even to leave money with the members of society where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting it, would obstruct that work to which I believed he had called me. As I copy this after my return, I may here add, that oftentimes I did so, under a sense of duty. The way in which I did it was thus; when I expected soon to leave a friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of those pieces of silver, and give them to such of their negroes as they believed would make the best use of them: and at other times, I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. Before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces for this purpose; and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy people, was a trial both to me and them. But the fear of the Lord so covered me at times, that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some conversation, accepted of them.

Ninth of fifth month. A friend at whose house we breakfasted setting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves; in which my heart was tender; I used much plainness of speech with him, and he appeared to take it kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, be-

ing pressed in my mind to be at the yearly meeting in Virginia. In my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry rise from the centre of my mind, thus; "O Lord, I am a stranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me." On the eleventh, we crossed the rivers Patowmack and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port Royal. On the way we had the company of a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man. I took occasion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people used to labor moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labor of slaves; the former, in my view, being the most happy life. He concurred in the remark, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful disposition of the negroes; adding, that one of our laborers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied, that free men, whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in improving, cultivating, and providing for their families; but negroes, laboring to support others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious.

After some further conversation I said, that men having power, too often misapplied it; that though we made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally. This he did not deny; but said, the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own country, that many of them lived better here than there. I replied, there is great odds in regard to us, on what principle we act; and so the conversation on that subject ended. I may here add, that another person, some time afterwards, mentioned the wretchedness of the negroes, occasioned by their intestine wars, as an argument in favor of our fetching them away for slaves. To which I replied, if compassion for the Africans, on account of their domestic troubles, was the real motive of our purchasing them, that spirit of tenderness being attended to, would incite us to use them kindly; that as strangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy among us. And as they are human creatures, whose souls are as precious as



ours, and who may receive the same help and comfort from the holy scriptures as we do, we could not omit suitable endeavors to instruct them therein; but that while we manifest by our conduct, that our views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves; and while our buying captives taken in war, animates those parties to push on the war, and increase desolation amongst them; to say they live unhappy in Africa, is far from being an argument in our favor. I further said, the present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult; the slaves look like a burdensome stone to such as burden themselves with them; and that if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burden will grow heavier and heavier, until times change in a way disagreeable to us. The person appeared very serious; and owned, that in considering their condition, and the manner of their treatment in these provinces, he had some times thought it might be just in the Almighty so to order it.

Having travelled through Maryland, we came amongst friends at Cedar Creek in Virginia, on the twelfth; and the next day rode, in company with several friends, a day's journey to Camp Creek. As I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the want of divine aid to support me, in the various difficulties which attended me; and in uncommon distress of mind, I cried in secret to the Most High. "O Lord be merciful, I beseech thee, to thy poor afflicted creature." After some time, I felt inward relief; and soon after, a friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said, the negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark which God set upon him, after he murdered Abel his brother; that it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said. To all which I replied in substance as follows; that Noah and his family were all who survived the flood, according to scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the



family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said, that after the flood Ham went to the Land of Nod and took a wife; that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant of servants to his brethren, these two families being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations; and it was granted that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose that they were spared. As to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family, before Ham married a second time; moreover the text saith, "That all flesh died that moved upon the earth." Gen. vii. 21. I further reminded them how the prophets repeatedly declare, "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father: but every one be answerable for his own sins." I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations; and in some pressure of spirit said, the love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable. I have no interest on either side, save only the interest which I desire to have in the truth. I believe liberty is their right, and as I see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He, who is a refuge for the oppressed, will, in his own time, plead their cause; and happy will it be for such as walk in uprightness before Him. And thus our conversation ended.

Fourteenth of fifth month, I was this day at Camp Creek monthly-meeting, and then rode to the mountains up James' River, and had a meeting at a friend's house; in both which I felt sorrow of heart, and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleased to afford a degree of strength, by which way was opened to clear my mind amongst friends in those places. From thence I went to Fork Creek, and so to Cedar Creek again; at which place I now had a meeting. Here I found a tender seed; and as I was preserved in the ministry to keep low with the

Truth, the same truth in their hearts answered it; that it was a time of mutual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. I lodged at James Standley's, father of William Standley, one of the young men who suffered imprisonment at Winchester last summer, on account of their testimony against fighting; and I had some satisfactory conversation with him concerning it. Hence I went to the Swamp-meeting, and to Wayanoke-meeting; and then crossed James' River, and lodged near Burleigh. From the time of my entering Maryland I have been much under sorrow, which of late so increased upon me, that my mind was almost overwhelmed; and I may say with the psalmist, "In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried to my God;" who, in infinite goodness, looked upon my affliction, and in my private retirement sent the Comforter for my relief; for which I humbly bless his holy name.

The sense I had of the state of the churches, brought a weight of distress upon me. The gold to me appeared dim, and the fine gold changed; and though this is the case too generally, yet the sense of it in these parts hath in a particular manner, borne heavy upon me. It appeared to me, that through the prevailing of the spirit of this world, the minds of many were brought to an inward desolation; and instead of the spirit of meekness, gentleness, and heavenly wisdom, which are the necessary companions of the true sheep of Christ, a spirit of fierceness, and the love of dominion, too generally prevailed. From small beginnings in error, great buildings, by degrees, are raised; and from one age to another are more and more strengthened by the general concurrence of the people; and as men obtain reputation by their profession of the truth, their virtues are mentioned as arguments in favor of general error; and those of less note, to justify themselves, say, such and such good men did the like. By what other steps could the people of Judah arise to that height in wickedness, as to give just ground for the prophet Isaiah to declare in the name of the Lord, "that none calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth," Isaiah lix. 4. or for the Almighty to call upon the great city of Jerusalem, just before the Babylonish captivity, "If ye can find a man, if there be any who executeth

judgment, that seeketh the truth, and I will pardon it." Jer. v. 1st.

The prospect of a way being open to the same degeneracy, in some parts of this newly settled land of America, in respect to our conduct towards the negroes, hath deeply bowed my mind in this journey; and though briefly to relate how these people are treated is no agreeable work; yet, after often reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preserve them. Many of the white people in those provinces take little or no care of negro marriages; and when negroes marry after their own way, some make so little account of those marriages, that with views of outward interest, they often part men from their wives by selling them far asunder; which is common when estates are sold by executors at vendue. Many whose labor is heavy, being followed at their business in the field, by a man with a whip, hired for that purpose, have in common little else allowed but one peck of Indian corn and some salt, for one week, with a few potatoes; the potatoes they commonly raise by their labor on the first day of the week. The correction ensuing on their disobedience to overseers, or slothfulness in business, is often very severe, and sometimes desperate.

Men and women have many times scarcely clothes sufficient to hide their nakedness, and boys and girls, ten and twelve years old, are often quite naked amongst their master's children. Some of our society, and some of the society called new-lights, use some endeavors to instruct those they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but disapproved. These are the people by whose labor the other inhabitants are in a great measure supported, and many of them in the luxuries of life. These are the people who have made no agreement to serve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of. These are the souls for whom Christ died; and for our conduct towards them, we must answer before Him who is no respecter of persons. They who know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, gospel spirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled



against oppression and cruelty; and in beholding the great distress of so numerous a people, will find cause for mourning.

From my lodgings I went to Burleigh-meeting, where I felt my mind drawn in a quiet resigned state. After long silence, I felt an engagement to stand up; and through the powerful operation of divine love, we were favored with an edifying meeting. The next meeting we had was at Black-Water; and from thence went to the yearly-meeting at the Western Branch. When business began, some queries were introduced by some of their members for consideration; and if approved, they were to be answered hereafter by their respective monthly-meetings. They were the Pennsylvania queries, which had been examined by a committee of Virginia yearly meeting appointed the last year, who made some alterations in them; one of which alterations was made in favor of a custom which troubled me. The query was, "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or in buying them after imported?" which was thus altered. "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them to trade in?" As one query admitted with unanimity was, "Are any concerned in buying or vending goods unlawfully imported, or prize goods?" I found my mind engaged to say, that as we profess the truth, and were there assembled to support the testimony of it, it was necessary for us to dwell deep, and act in that wisdom which is pure; or otherwise we could not prosper. I then mentioned their alteration; and referring to the last mentioned query, added, that as purchasing any merchandize taken by the sword, was always allowed to be inconsistent with our principles; so negroes being captives of war, or taken by stealth, it was inconsistent with our testimony to buy them; and their being our fellow-creatures, and sold as slaves, added greatly to the iniquity. Friends appeared attentive to what was said; some expressed a care and concern about their negroes; none made any objection, by way of reply to what I said; but the query was admitted as they had altered it.

As some of their members have heretofore traded in negroes, as in other merchandize, this query being admitted,



will be one step further than they have hitherto gone; and I did not see it my duty to press for an alteration: but felt easy to leave it all to Him, who alone is able to turn the hearts of the mighty, and make way for the spreading of truth on the earth, by means agreeable to his infinite wisdom. In regard to those they already had, I felt my mind engaged to labor with them; and said, that, as we believe the scriptures were given forth by holy men, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and many of us know by experience that they are often helpful and comfortable, and believe ourselves bound in duty to teach our children to read them; I believed that if we were divested of all selfish views, the same good spirit that gave them forth, would engage us to teach the negroes to read, that they might have the benefit of them. Some present manifested a concern to take more care in the education of their negroes.

Twenty-ninth fifth month. At the house where I lodged was a meeting of ministers and elders. I found an engagement to speak freely and plainly to them concerning their slaves; mentioning how they, as the first rank in the society, whose conduct in that case was much noticed by others, were under the stronger obligations to look carefully to themselves. Expressing how needful it was for them in that situation, to be thoroughly divested of all selfish views; that living in the pure truth, and acting conscientiously towards those people in their education and otherwise, they might be instrumental in helping forward a work so exceedingly necessary, and so much neglected amongst them. At the twelfth hour the meeting of worship began, which was a solid meeting.

The next day, about the tenth hour, friends met to finish their business, and then the meeting for worship ensued, which to me was a laborious time; but through the goodness of the Lord, truth I believed gained some ground; and it was a strengthening opportunity to the honest hearted.

About this time I wrote an epistle to friends in the back settlements of North Carolina, as follows:

*To Friends at their monthly-meeting at New Garden and Cane Creek, in North Carolina.*

Dear friends,

It having pleased the Lord to draw me forth on a visit to some parts of Virginia and Carolina, you have often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to come in person to visit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they arise in the love of truth. First, my dear friends, dwell in humility; and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that so your eyes being single to the Lord, you may be preserved in the way of safety. Where people let loose their minds after the love of outward things, and are more engaged in pursuing the profits, and seeking the friendships of this world, than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace; they walk in a vain shadow, while the true comfort of life is wanting. Their examples are often hurtful to others; and their treasures thus collected, do many times prove dangerous snares to their children.

But where people are sincerely devoted to follow Christ, and dwell under the influence of his Holy Spirit, their stability and firmness, through a divine blessing, is at times like dew on the tender plants round about them, and the weightiness of their spirits secretly works on the minds of others. In this condition, through the spreading influence of divine love, they feel a care over the flock; and way is opened for maintaining good order in the society. And though we may meet with opposition from another spirit, yet, as there is a dwelling in meekness, feeling our spirits subject, and moving only in the gentle peaceable wisdom, the inward reward of quietness will be greater than all our difficulties. Where the pure life is kept to, and meetings of discipline are held in the authority of it, we find by experience that they are comfortable, and tend to the health of the body.

While I write, the youth come fresh in my way. Dear young people, choose God for your portion; love his truth, and be not ashamed of it; choose for your company such as serve him in uprightness; and shun as most dangerous, the conversation of those whose lives are of an ill savor;

for by frequenting such company, some hopeful young people have come to great loss, and been drawn from less evils to greater, to their utter ruin. In the bloom of youth no ornament is so lovely as that of virtue, nor any enjoyments equal to those which we partake of, in fully resigning ourselves to the divine will. These enjoyments add sweetness to all other comforts, and give true satisfaction in company and conversation, where people are mutually acquainted with it; and as your minds are thus seasoned with the truth, you will find strength to abide steadfast to the testimony of it, and be prepared for services in the church.

And now dear friends and brethren, as you are improving a wilderness, and may be numbered amongst the first planters in one part of a province, I beseech you, in the love of Jesus Christ, wisely to consider the force of your examples; and think how much your successors may be thereby affected. It is a help in a country, yea, and a great favor and blessing, when customs first settled are agreeable to sound wisdom; but when they are otherwise, the effect of them is grievous; and children feel themselves encompassed with difficulties prepared for them by their predecessors.

As moderate care and exercise, under the direction of true wisdom, are useful both to mind and body; so, by these means in general, the real wants of life are easily supplied. Our gracious Father having so proportioned one to the other, that keeping in the medium we may pass on quietly. Where slaves are purchased to do our labor, numerous difficulties attend it. To rational creatures bondage is uneasy, and frequently occasions sourness and discontent in them; which affects the family, and such as claim the mastery over them. Thus people and their children are many times encompassed with vexations, which arise from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there is a large number of friends in your parts, who have no slaves; and in tender and most affectionate love, I beseech you to keep clear from purchasing any. Look, my dear friends, to Divine Providence; and follow in simplicity that exercise of body,



that plainness and frugality, which true wisdom leads to; so may you be preserved from those dangers which attend such as are aiming at outward ease and greatness.

Treasures, though small, attained on a true principle of virtue, are sweet; and while we walk in the light of the Lord, there is true comfort and satisfaction in the possession: neither the murmurings of an oppressed people, nor a throbbing uneasy conscience, nor anxious thoughts about the events of things, hinder the enjoyment of them.

When we look towards the end of life, and think on the division of our substance among our successors; if we know that it was collected in the fear of the Lord, in honesty, in equity, and in uprightness of heart before Him, we may consider it as his gift to us; and with a single eye to his blessing, bestow it on those we leave behind us. Such is the happiness of the plain ways of true virtue. "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever." Isa. xxxii. 17.

Dwell here, my dear friends; and then in remote and solitary deserts, you may find true peace and satisfaction. If the Lord be our God, in truth and reality, there is safety for us; for He is a strong hold in the day of trouble, and knoweth them that trust in Him.

*Isle of Wight County, in Virginia,  
20th of the 5th month, 1757.*

From the yearly meeting in Virginia I went to Carolina; and, on the first of sixth month, was at Wells monthly meeting, where the spring of the gospel ministry was opened, and the love of Jesus Christ experienced amongst us: to his name be the praise.

Here my brother joined with some friends from New Garden, who were going homeward; and I went next to Simons Creek monthly meeting, where I was silent during the meeting for worship. When business came on, my mind was exercised concerning the poor slaves; but I did not feel my way clear to speak. In this condition I was bowed in spirit before the Lord; and with tears and inward



supplication besought Him, so to open my understanding, that I might know his will concerning me; and, at length, my mind was settled in silence. Near the end of their business, a member of their meeting expressed a concern, that had some time lain upon him, on account of friends so much neglecting their duty in the education of their slaves; and proposed having meetings sometimes appointed for them on a week-day, to be attended only by some friends to be named in their monthly meetings. Many present appeared to unite with the proposal. One said, he had often wondered that they, being our fellow-creatures, and capable of religious understanding, had been so exceedingly neglected: another expressed the like concern, and appeared zealous that, in future, it might be more closely considered. At length a minute was made; and the further consideration of it referred to their next monthly meeting. The friend who made this proposal hath negroes: he told me, that he was at New Garden, about two hundred and fifty miles from home, and came back alone; that in this solitary journey, this exercise, in regard to the education of their negroes, was from time to time renewed in his mind. A friend of some note in Virginia, who hath slaves, told me, that he being far from home on a lonesome journey had many serious thoughts about them; and his mind was so impressed therewith, that he believed he saw a time coming, when Divine Providence would alter the circumstance of these people, respecting their condition as slaves.

From hence I went to a meeting at Newbegun Creek, and sat a considerable time in much weakness; then I felt truth open the way to speak a little in much plainness and simplicity, till, at length, through the increase of divine love amongst us, we had a seasoning opportunity. This was also the case at the head of Little River, where we had a crowded meeting on a first day. I went thence to the Old Neck; where I was led into a careful searching out of the secret workings of the mystery of iniquity, which, under a cover of religion, exalts itself against that pure spirit, which leads in the way of meekness and self-denial. Pineywoods was the last meeting I was at in

Carolina; it was large; and my heart being deeply engaged, I was drawn forth into a fervent labor amongst them.

When I was at Newbegun Creek, a friend was there who labored for his living, having no negroes, and who had been a minister many years. He came to me the next day; and as we rode together, he signified that he wanted to talk with me concerning a difficulty he had been under, which he related nearly as follows. That as monies had of late years been raised by a tax to carry on the wars, he had a scruple in his mind in regard to paying it; and chose rather to suffer restraint of his goods; but as he was the only person who refused it in those parts, and knew not that any one else was in the like circumstances, he signified that it had been a heavy trial to him; especially as some of his brethren had been uneasy with his conduct in that case. He added, that from a sympathy he felt with me yesterday in meeting, he found freedom thus to open the matter, in the way of querying concerning friends in our parts: I told him the state of friends amongst us, as well as I was able; and also that I had, for some time, been under the like scruple. I believed him to be one who was concerned to walk uprightly before the Lord; and esteemed it my duty to preserve this note concerning him, Samuel Newby.

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Cowpland's; it was a time of inward suffering; but through the goodness of the Lord, I was made content; at another meeting, through the renewings of pure love, we had a very comfortable season.

Travelling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences, that to be faithful to the Lord, and content with his will concerning me, is a most necessary and useful lesson for me to be learning; looking less at the effects of my labor, than at the pure motion and reality of the concern, as it arises from heavenly love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength; and as the mind, by humble resignation, is united to Him, and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring, though our way may be difficult, and it may require close attention to keep in it; and though the manner in which we may be led, may

tend to our own abasement; yet, if we continue in patience and meekness, heavenly peace will be the reward of our labors.

I attended Curles meeting; which, though small, was reviving to the honest hearted. Afterwards I went to Black Creek and Caroline Meetings; from whence, accompanied by Wm. Standley before mentioned, I rode to Goose Creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles. We lodged the first night at a public-house; the second in the woods; and the next day we reached a friend's house at Goose Creek. In the woods we were under some disadvantage, having no fire-works nor bells for our horses; but we stopped a little before night, and let them feed on the wild grass which was plentiful; in the mean time cutting with our knives a store against night. We then secured our horses, and gathering some bushes under an oak, we lay down; but the musquitoes being numerous and the ground damp, I slept but little. Thus lying in the wilderness, and looking at the stars, I was led to contemplate on the condition of our first parents, when they were sent forth from the garden; how the Almighty, though they had been disobedient, continued to be a father to them; and showed them what tended to their felicity as intelligent creatures, and was acceptable to Him. To provide things relative to our outward living, in the way of true wisdom, is good; and the gift of improving in things useful, is a good gift, and comes from the Father of lights. Many have had this gift; and from age to age, there have been improvements of this kind made in the world. But some not keeping to the pure gift, have, in the creaturely cunning and self-exaltation, sought out many inventions. As the first motive to these inventions of men, as distinct from that uprightness in which man was created, was evil, so the effects have been and are evil. It is therefore as necessary for us at this day constantly to attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to use rightly the good things in this life amidst great improvements, as it was for our first parents, when they were without any improvements, without any friend or father but God only.

I was at a meeting at Goose Creek; and next at a



monthly meeting at Fairfax; where, through the gracious dealing of the Almighty with us, his power prevailed over many hearts. From thence I went to Monoquacy and Pipe Creek, in Maryland; at both places I had cause humbly to adore Him, who had supported me through many exercises, and by whose help I was enabled to reach the true witness in the hearts of others. There were some hopeful young people in those parts. I had meetings afterwards at John Everit's in Monalen, and at Huntingdon; and I was made humbly thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongst the people in these new settlements, so that it was a time of encouragement to the honest minded.

At Monalen, a friend gave me some account of a religious society among the Dutch, called Mennonists; and amongst other things, related a passage in substance as follows:—One of the Mennonists having acquaintance with a man of another society at a considerable distance, and being with his waggon on business near the house of his said acquaintance, and night coming on, he had thoughts of putting up with him; but passing by his fields, and observing the distressed appearance of his slaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night. His said acquaintance hearing where he lodged, and afterward meeting the Mennonist, told him of it; adding, he should have been heartily welcome at his house; and from their acquaintance in former time, wondered at his conduct in that case. The Mennonist replied, “ever since I lodged by thy field, I have wanted an opportunity to speak with thee. I had intended to come to thy house for entertainment; but seeing thy slaves at their work, and observing the manner of their dress, I had no liking to come to partake with thee.” He then admonished him to use them with more humanity; and added, “as I lay by the fire that night, I thought that as I was a man of substance, thou wouldst have received me freely; but if I had been as poor as one of thy slaves, and had no power to help myself, I should have received from thy hand no kinder usage than they.”

In this journey, I was out about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles. I returned home

under a humbling sense of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, in preserving me through many trials and afflictions.

## CHAPTER V.

1757.—1758.

*Considerations on the payment of a tax, laid for carrying on the war against the Indians.—Meetings of the committee of the yearly meeting at Philadelphia.—Some notes on Thomas à Kempis and John Huss.—The present circumstances of friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey very different from those of our predecessors.—The draughting of the militia in New Jersey to serve in the army; with some observations on the state of the members of our society at that time.—Visit to friends in Pennsylvania, accompanied by Benjamin Jones.—Proceedings at the monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings in Philadelphia, respecting those who keep slaves.*

A few years past, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be called in again by taxes laid on the inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying such taxes; and I believe it right for me to preserve a memorandum concerning it. I was told that friends in England frequently paid taxes, when the money was applied to such purposes. I had conversation with several noted friends on the subject, who all favored the payment of such taxes; some of them I preferred before myself, and this made me easier for a time; yet there was in the depth of my mind, a scruple which I never could get over; and, at certain times, I was greatly distressed on that account.

I believed that there were some upright-hearted men, who paid such taxes; yet could not see that their example was a sufficient reason for me to do so, while I believe that the spirit of truth required of me, as an individual, to suffer patiently the distress of goods, rather than pay actively.

To refuse the active payment of a tax which our society generally paid was exceedingly disagreeable; but to do

a thing contrary to my conscience, appeared yet more dreadful. When this exercise came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty; and in my distress, I besought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that so I might follow him wheresoever He was pleased to lead me. Under this exercise I went to our yearly meeting at Philadelphia in the year 1755; at which a committee was appointed of some from each quarterly meeting, to correspond with the meeting for sufferings in London; and another to visit our monthly and quarterly meetings. After their appointment, before the last adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed that these two committees should meet together in friends, school-house in the city, to consider some things in which the cause of truth was concerned. They accordingly had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time I perceived there were many friends under a scruple like that before-mentioned\*.

As scrupling to pay a tax on account of the application, hath seldom been heard of heretofore, even amongst men of integrity, who have steadily borne their testimony against outward wars in their time; I may therefore note some things which have occurred to my mind, as I have been inwardly exercised on that account. From the steady opposition which faithful friends, in early times, made to wrong things then approved, they were hated and persecuted by men living in the spirit of this world: and suffering with firmness, they were made a blessing to the church, and the work prospered. It equally concerns men, in every age, to take heed to their own spirits; and in comparing their situation with ours, to me it appears that there was less danger of their being infected with the spirit of this world, in paying such taxes, than is the case with us now. They had little or no share in civil government; and many of them declared that they were, through the power of God, separated from the spirit in which wars were; and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their testimony, there was less likelihood of their uniting in spirit

\* Christians refused to pay taxes to support heathen temples. See Caves' Primitive Christianity, part III. page 327.



with them in things inconsistent with the purity of truth. We, from the first settlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that sort. The profession of our predecessors was for a time accounted reproachful; but at length their uprightness being understood by the rulers, and their innocent sufferings moving them, our way of worship was tolerated; and many of our members in these colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favor and prosperity, this world appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandize and the sciences, amongst which are many things useful, if followed in pure wisdom; but in our present condition, I believe it will not be denied that a carnal mind is gaining upon us. Some of our members, who are officers in civil government, are, in one case or other, called upon in their respective stations to assist in things relative to the wars: but being in doubt whether to act, or to crave to be excused from their office, if they see their brethren united in the payment of a tax to carry on the said wars, may think their case not much different, and so might quench the tender movings of the Holy spirit in their minds. Thus, by small degrees, we might approach so near to fighting, that the distinction would be little else than the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great self-denial and resignation of ourselves to God, to attain that state wherein we can freely cease from fighting when wrongfully invaded; if, by our fighting, there were a probability of overcoming the invaders. Whoever rightly attains to it, does in some degree feel that spirit, in which our Redeemer gave his life for us; and through divine goodness, many of our predecessors, and many now living, have learned this blessed lesson; but many others, having their religion chiefly by education, and not being enough acquainted with that cross which crucifies to the world, do manifest a temper distinguishable from that of an entire trust in God. In calmly considering these things, it hath not appeared strange to me, that an exercise hath now fallen upon some, which, with respect to the outward means, is different from what was known to many of those who went before us.

Some time after the yearly meeting, the said committees met at Philadelphia; and, by adjournments, continued sitting several days. The calamities of war were now increasing; the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania were frequently surprised; some were slain, and many taken captive by the Indians; and while these committees sat, the corpse of one so slain was brought in a wagon, and taken through the streets of the city in his bloody garments, to alarm the people, and rouse them to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax; which, to those who scrupled it, made the way more difficult. To refuse an active payment at such a time, might be construed into an act of disloyalty, and appeared likely to displease the rulers, not only here but in England; still there was a scruple so fixed on the minds of many friends, that nothing moved it. It was a conference the most weighty that ever I was at; and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Most High. Some friends of the said committees who appeared easy to pay the tax, after several adjournments, withdrew; tohers of them continued till the last. At length, an epistle of tender love and caution to friends in Pennsylvania, was drawn up; and being read several times and corrected, was signed by such as were free to sign it, and afterward sent to the monthly and quarterly meetings.

Ninth of eighth month, 1757. Orders came at night to the military officers in our county (Burlington), directing them to draught the militia, and prepare a number of men to go off as soldiers, to the relief of the English at Fort William Henry, in New York government; a few days after which, there was a general review of the militia at Mount Holly, and a number of men were chosen and sent off under some officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draught three times as many, who were to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came. On the 17th there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount Holly, who agreed on draught; orders were sent to the men so chosen, to meet their respective captains at set times and places, those in our township to meet at Mount Holly; amongst whom were a considerable number

of our society. My mind being affected herewith, I had fresh opportunity to see and consider the advantage of living in the real substance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongst the officers are men of understanding, who have some regard to sincerity where they see it; and when such in the execution of their office, have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted, it is a painful task to put them to trouble on account of scruples of conscience, and they will be likely to avoid it as much as easily may be. But where men profess to be so meek and heavenly-minded, and to have their trust so firmly settled in God, that they cannot join in wars; and yet, by their spirit and conduct in common life, manifest a contrary disposition, their difficulties are great at such a time.

When officers who are anxiously endeavoring to get troops to answer the demands of their superiors, see men, who are insincere, pretend scruple of conscience, in hopes of being excused from a dangerous employment, it is likely they will be roughly handled. In this time of commotion some of our young men left these parts, and tarried abroad till it was over; some came, and proposed to go as soldiers; others appeared to have a real tender scruple in their minds against joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehension of a trial so near. I had conversation with several of them to my satisfaction. When the Captain came to town, some of the last mentioned went and told him in substance as follows:—That they could not bear arms for conscience sake; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being resigned as to the event. At length the Captain acquainted them all, that they might return home for the present, but he required them to provide themselves as soldiers, and be in readiness to march when called upon. This was such a time as I had not seen before; and yet I may say, with thankfulness to the Lord, that I believed the trial was intended for our good; and I was favored with resignation to Him. The French army having taken the fort they were besieging, destroyed it and went away; the company of men who were first draughted, after some days march, had orders to



return home; and those on the second draught were no more called upon on that occasion.

Fourth, of fourth month, 1758. Orders came to some officers in Mount Holly, to prepare quarters for a short time, for about one hundred soldiers. An officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my house. The officer told me, that he came to desire me to provide lodging and entertainment for two soldiers, and that six shillings a week per man would be allowed as pay for it. The case being new and unexpected, I made no answer suddenly; but sat a time silent, my mind being inward. I was fully convinced, that the proceedings in wars are inconsistent with the purity of the Christian religion; and to be hired to entertain men, who were then under pay as soldiers, was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did; and after a short time I said to the officer, if the men are sent herfor entertainment, I believe I shall not refuse to admit them into my house; but the nature of the case is such, that I expect I cannot keep them on hire: one of the men intimated, that he thought I might do it consistently with my religious principles. To which I made no reply; believing silence, at that time best for me. Though they spake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my house about two weeks, and behaved himself civilly. When the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay, having admitted him into my house in a passive obedience to authority. I was on horseback when he spake to me; and as I turned from him, he said he was obliged to me; to which I said nothing; but thinking on the expression, I grew uneasy; and afterwards, being near where he lived, I went and told him on what grounds I refused taking pay for keeping the soldier.

I have been informed that Thomas à Kempis lived and died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion; and in reading his writings, I have believed him to be a man of a true Christian spirit; as fully so as many who died martyrs, because they could not join with some superstitions in that church. All true Christians are of the same spirit, but their gifts are diverse; Jesus Christ appoitting to each one his peculiar office, agreeably to his infinite wisdom.

John Huss contended against the errors which had crept into the church, in opposition to the council of Constance; which the historian reports to have consisted of some thousand persons. He modestly vindicated the cause which he believed was right; and though his language and conduct towards his judges appear to have been respectful, yet he never could be moved from the principles settled in his mind. To use his own words; "This I most humbly require and desire of you all, even for his sake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against." And again, in his answer to the emperor; "I refuse nothing, most noble emperor, whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me, only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 233. At length rather than act contrary to that which he believed the Lord required of him, he chose to suffer death by fire. Thomas à Kempis, without disputing against the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have labored, by a pious example as well as by preaching and writing, to promote virtue, and the inward spiritual religion; and I believe they were both sincere-hearted followers of Christ. True charity is an excellent virtue; and sincerely to labor for their good, whose belief in all points doth not agree with ours, is a happy state.

Near the beginning of the year 1758, I went one evening, in company with a friend, to visit a sick person; and before our return, we were told of a woman living near, who had for several days been disconsolate, occasioned by a dream; wherein death, and the judgments of the Almighty after death, were represented to her mind in a moving manner. Her sadness on that account, being worn off, the friend, with whom I was in company, went to see her, and had some religious conversation with her and her husband. With this visit they were somewhat affected: and the man, with many tears, expressed his satisfaction. In a short time after, the poor man, being on the river in a storm of wind, was with one more drowned.

Eighth month. 1758. Having had drawings in my mind to be at the quarterly meeting in Chester county, and

at some meetings in the county of Philadelphia, I went first to said quarterly meeting, which was large. Several weighty matters came under consideration and debate; and the Lord was pleased to qualify some of his servants with strength and firmness, to bear the burden of the day. Though I said but little my mind was deeply exercised; and, under a sense of God's love, in the anointing and fitting of some young men for his work, I was comforted, and my heart was tendered before Him. From hence I went to the youth's meeting at Darby, where my beloved friend and brother Benjamin Jones met me, by an appointment before I left home, to join in the visit. We were at Radnor, Merion, Richland, North Wales, Plymouth, and Abington meetings; and had cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, our gracious God, by whose help way was opened for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about two hundred miles.

The monthly meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern, on account of some friends, who this summer (1758) had bought negro slaves, proposed to their quarterly meeting, to have the minute reconsidered in the yearly meeting, which was made last on that subject; and the said quarterly meeting appointed a committee to consider it, and to report to their next. This committee having met once and adjourned, and I going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the yearly meeting, was in town the evening on which the quarterly meeting's committee met the second time; and finding an inclination to sit with them, I, with some others, was admitted: and friends had a weighty conference on the subject. Soon after their next quarterly meeting, I heard that the case was coming to our yearly meeting. This brought a weighty exercise upon me, and under a sense of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aside from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone, and put up my prayers to the Lord, that He would be graciously pleased to strengthen me; that setting aside all views of self-interest and the friendship of this world, I might stand fully resigned to his holy will.



In this yearly meeting, several weighty matters were considered; and toward the last, that in relation to dealing with persons who purchase slaves. During the several sittings of the said meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer; and I could say with David, "that tears were my meat day and night." The case of slave-keeping lay heavy upon me; nor did I find any engagement to speak directly to any other matter before the meeting. Now when this case was opened, several faithful friends spake weightily thereto, with which I was comforted; and feeling a concern to cast in my mite, I said in substance as follows:

"In the difficulties attending us in this life; nothing is more precious than the mind of truth inwardly manifested; and it is my earnest desire, that in this weighty matter, we may be so truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear understanding of the mind of truth, and follow it; this would be of more advantage to the society, than any medium not in the clearness of divine wisdom. The case is difficult to some who have slaves; but if such set aside all self-interest, and come to be weaned from the desire of getting estates, or even from holding them together, when truth requires the contrary, I believe way will so open that they will know how to steer through those difficulties."

Many friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work; and manifested much firmness in their love to the cause of truth and universal righteousness on the earth. And though none did openly justify the practice of slave keeping in general, yet some appeared concerned, lest the meeting should go into such measures, as might give uneasiness to many brethren; alleging, that if friends patiently continued under the exorcise, the Lord, in his time, might open a way for the deliverance of these people. Finding an engagement to speak, I said, "My mind is often led to consider the purity of the Divine Being, and the justice of his judgments; [and herein my soul is covered with awfulness. I cannot omit to hint of some cases, where people have not been treated with the purity of justice, and the event hath been lamentable. Many slaves on this continent are oppressed, and their cries have reached the ears

of the Most High. Such are the purity and certainty of his judgments,] that He cannot be partial in our favor. In infinite love and goodness He hath opened our understanding from one time to another, concerning our duty towards this people; and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what He requires of us, and through a respect to the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance; God may by terrible things in righteousness answer us in this matter.”

Many faithful brethren labored with great firmness; and the love of truth, in a good degree, prevailed. Several who had negroes, expressed their desire that a rule might be made, to deal with such friends as offenders who bought slaves in future. To this it was answered, that the root of this evil would never be effectually struck at, until a thorough search was made in the circumstances of such friends as kept negroes, with respect to the righteousness of their motives in keeping them, that impartial justice might be administered throughout. Several friends expressed their desire, that a visit might be made to such friends as kept slaves: and many others said that they believed liberty was the negroe's right; to which, at length, no opposition was publicly made. A minute was made more full on that subject, than any heretofore; and the names of several friends entered, who were free to join in a visit to such as kept slaves.

## CHAPTER VI.

1758.—1759.

*Visit to the quarterly meetings in Chester county.—Joins Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in a visit to such as kept slaves there.—Some observations on the conduct which those should maintain who speak in meetings for discipline.—More visits to such as kept slaves, and to friends near Salem.—Account of the yearly meeting in the year 1759 and of the increasing concern in divers provinces, to labor against buying and keeping slaves.—The yearly meeting epistle.—Thoughts on the small-pox spreading—and on inoculation.*

11th of 11th mo. 1758. This day I set out for Concord; the quarterly meeting heretofore held there, was now, by reason of a great increase of members, divided into two by the agreement of friends at our last yearly meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends Samuel Spavold and Mary Kirby from England, and with Joseph White from Bucks county; the latter had taken leave of his family in order to go on a religious visit to friends in England; and, through divine goodness, we were favored with a strengthening opportunity together.

After this meeting I joined with my friends Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough in visiting friends who had slaves. At night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's, many young people being there; and it was a precious, reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable sitting with a sick neighbor; and thence to the burial of the corpse of a friend at Uwchland meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of divine favor; after which, we visited some who had slaves. In the evening we had a family meeting at a friend's house, where the channel of the gospel love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labor. The next day we were at Goshen monthly meeting; and on the 18th attended the quarterly meeting at London Grove, it being first held at that place. Here we met again with all the before-mentioned friends, and had some edifying meetings. Near the conclusion of the meeting for business, friends



were incited to constancy in supporting the testimony of truth, and reminded of the necessity which the disciples of Christ are under, to attend principally to his business, as he is pleased to open it to us; and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth; and our outward affairs in as little room as may be; that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections, or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of truth, in laboring to promote the pure spirit of meekness and heavenly-mindedness amongst the children of men, in these days of calamity and distress, wherein God is visiting our land with his just judgments.

Each of these quarterly meetings was large, and sat near eight hours. I had occasion to consider that it is a weighty thing to speak much in large meetings for business: for, except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly understand the case we speak to, instead of forwarding, we hinder business, and make more labor for those on whom the burden of the work is laid. If selfish views, or a partial spirit, have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work; if we have a clear prospect of the business, and proper weight on our minds to speak, we should avoid useless apologies and repetitions. Where people are gathered from far, and adjourning a meeting of business is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting; especially when they have sat six or seven hours, and have a great distance to ride home. After this meeting I rode home.

In the beginning of the 12th month, I joined in company with my friends John Sykes and Daniel Stanton in visiting such as had slaves. Some, whose hearts were rightly exercised about them, appeared to be glad of our visit; but in some places our way was more difficult. I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded; and have cause, in reverent thankfulness, humbly to bow down before the Lord, who was near to me, and preserved my mind in calmness under some sharp conflicts, and begat a spirit of sympathy and tenderness in me, towards some who were grievously entangled by the spirit of this world.

1st. month, 1759. Having found my mind drawn to visit some of the more active members in our society at Philadelphia, who had slaves, I met my friend John Churchman there by agreement; and we continued about a week in the city. We visited some that were sick, and some widows and their families; and the other part of our time was mostly employed in visiting such as had slaves. It was a time of deep exercise, but looking often to the Lord for his assistance, He in unspeakable kindness, favored us with the influence of that spirit, which crucifies to the greatness and splendor of this world, and enabling us to go through some heavy labors, in which we found peace.

24th of 3rd mo. 1759. After attending our general spring meeting at Philadelphia, I again joined with John Churchman on a visit to some who had slaves in Philadelphia; and, with thankfulness to our heavenly father, I may say, that divine love and a true sympathizing tenderness of heart, prevailed at times in this service.

Having at times perceived a shyness in some friends of considerable note towards me, I found an engagement in gospel love to pay a visit to one of them; and as I dwelt under the exercise, I felt a resignedness in my mind to go and tell him privately that I had a desire to have an opportunity with him alone; to this proposal he readily agreed: and then in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that shyness were searched to the bottom; and we had a large conference, which, I believe was of use to both of us; and I am thankful that way was opened for it.

14th of 6th mo. Having felt drawings in my mind to visit friends about Salem, and having the approbation of our monthly meeting, I attended their quarterly meeting, and was out seven days, and attended seven meetings; in some of them I was chiefly silent; in others, through the baptizing power of truth, my heart was enlarged in heavenly love, and I found a near fellowship with the brethren and sisters, in the manifold trials attending their Christian progress through this world.

7th mo. I have found an increasing concern on my mind to visit some active members in our society who have slaves; and having no opportunity of the company of such

as were named in the minutes of the yearly meeting, I went alone to their houses, and, in the fear of the Lord, acquainted them with the exercise I was under: and thus, sometimes, by a few words, I found myself discharged from a heavy burden. After this, our friend John Churchman coming into our province with a view to be at some meetings, and to join again in the visit to those who had slaves; I bore him company in the said visit to some active members, and found inward satisfaction.

At our yearly meeting this year, we had some weighty seasons; in which the power of truth was largely extended, to the strengthening of the honest-minded. As the epistles, which were to be sent to the yearly meetings on this continent were read, I observed that in most of them, both this year and the last, it was recommended to friends to labor against buying and keeping slaves; and in some of them the subject was closely treated upon. As this practice hath long been a heavy exercise to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labors on that account; and at times in some meetings have been almost alone therein, I was humbly bowed in thankfulness in observing the increasing concern in our religious society, and seeing how the Lord was raising up and qualifying servants for his work, not only in this respect, but for promoting the cause of truth in general.

This meeting continued near a week. For several days in the forepart of it, my mind was drawn into a deep, inward stillness; and being at times covered with the spirit of supplication, my heart was secretly poured out before the Lord. Near the conclusion of the meeting for business, way opened, in the pure flowings of divine love, for me to express what lay upon me; which as it then arose in my mind, was first to show how deep answers to deep in the hearts of the sincere and upright; though, in their different growths, they may not all have attained to the same clearness in some points relating to our testimony. And I was then led to mention the integrity and constancy of many martyrs, who gave their lives for the testimony of Jesus: and yet, in some points, they held doctrines distinguishable from some which we hold; that, in all ages, where people were faith-



ful to the light and understanding which the Most High afforded them, they found acceptance with Him; and though there may be different ways of thinking amongst us in some particulars, yet, if we mutually keep to that spirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful, and to avoid all superfluities, and give up our hearts to fear and serve the Lord, true unity may still be preserved amongst us: that if those who were at times under sufferings on account of some scruples of conscience, kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifested a spirit of true charity; it would be more likely to reach the witness in others, and be of more service in the church, than if their sufferings were attended with a contrary spirit and conduct. In this exercise I was drawn into a sympathising tenderness with the sheep of Christ, however distinguished one from another in this world; and the like disposition appeared to spread over others in the meeting. Great is the goodness of the Lord towards his poor creatures.

An epistle went forth from this yearly meeting, which I think good to give a place in this journal. It is as follows:

*From the yearly meeting held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, from the twenty second day of the ninth month, to the twenty eighth of the same, inclusive, 1759.*

*To the quarterly and monthly meetings of Friends belonging to the said yearly meeting.*

Dearly beloved Friends and Brethren.

“In an awful sense of the wisdom and goodness of the Lord our God, whose tender mercies have been continued to us in this land, we affectionately salute you, with sincere and fervent desires, that we may reverently regard the dispensations of his providence, and improve under them.

“The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to his Almighty power. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh; and deals with his people agreeable to that wisdom, the depth whereof is to us unsearchable. We, in these provinces may say, He hath, as a gracious and tender pa-

rent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers. It was he who strengthened them to labor through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives; so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress. It was by the gracious influences of his Holy Spirit, that they were disposed to work righteousness, and walk uprightly towards each other, and towards the natives; in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion whereby they retain their esteem and friendship. Whilst they were laboring for the necessaries of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote piety and virtue in the earth, and to educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

“ If we carefully consider the peaceable measures pursued in the first settlement of the land, and that freedom from the desolations of wars, which for a long time we enjoyed, we shall find ourselves under strong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is so generally polluted with wickedness, gives us a being in a part so signally favored with tranquillity and plenty, and in which the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ are so freely published, that we may justly say with the psalmist, “ What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits?”

“ Our own real good, and the good of our posterity, in some measure depends on the part we act; and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the just and unjust in a future state, that to attend diligently to the dictates of the spirit of Christ, to devote ourselves to his service, and to engage fervently in his cause, during our short stay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free intelligent creature. We shall thus clearly see and consider that the dealings of God with mankind, in a national capacity, as recorded in holy writ, do sufficiently evidence the truth of that saying, “ It is righteousness which exalteth a nation;” and though he doth not at all times suddenly execute his judgments on a sinful people in this life, yet we see in many instances, that when “ men follow lying vanities, they forsake their own mercies;” and as a proud selfish spirit prevails and spreads

among a people; so partial judgment, oppression, discord, envy and confusions increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of their own doings. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backsliding shall reprove thee: know therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of Hosts." Jeremiah ii. 19.

"The God of our fathers, who hath bestowed on us many benefits, furnished a table for us in the wilderness, and made the deserts and solitary places to rejoice; He doth now mercifully call upon us to serve Him more faithfully—We may truly say with the prophet, "It is his voice which crieth to the city, and men of wisdom see his name. They regard the rod, and Him who hath appointed it." People who look chiefly at things outward, too little consider the original cause of the present troubles; but they who fear the Lord, and think often upon his name, see and feel that a wrong spirit is spreading amongst the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Most High, in his visitations to us, instead of calling, lifteth up his voice and crieth; He crieth to our country, and his voice waxeth louder and louder. In former wars between the English and other nations, since the settlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but now of late they have reached to our borders; many of our fellow subjects have suffered on and near our frontiers, some have been slain in battle, some killed in their houses, and some in their fields, some wounded and left in great misery, and others separated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians. We have seen men and women who have been witnesses of these scenes of sorrow, and being reduced to want, have come to our houses asking relief.—It is not long since many young men in one of these provinces were draughted, in order to be taken as soldiers; some were at that time in great distress, and had occasion to consider that their lives had been too lit-



tle conformable to the purity and spirituality of that religion which we profess, and found themselves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardness for the truth's sake is experienced.— Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to consider, that their care to get outward treasure for them, had been greater than their care for their settlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear a clear testimony to the peaceable government of the Messiah. These troubles are removed, and for a time we are released from them.

“ Let us not forget that ‘ The Most High hath his way in the deep, in clouds, and in thick darkness’—that it is his voice which crieth to the city and to the country; and oh! that these loud and awakening cries, may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chastisement may not become necessary! For though things, as to the outward, may for a short time afford a pleasing prospect; yet, while a selfish spirit, that is not subject to the cross of Christ, continueth to spread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we desire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at rest in that state of peace and happiness, which ever continues; if we desire in this life to dwell under the favor and protection of that Almighty Being, whose habitation is in holiness, whose ways are all equal, and whose anger is now kindled because of our backslidings; let us then awfully regard these beginnings of his sore judgments, and with abasement and humiliation turn to Him, whom we have offended.

“ Contending with one equal in strength, is an uneasy exercise; but if the Lord is become our enemy, if we persist in contending with Him who is Omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

“ Do we feel an affectionate regard to posterity? and are we employed to promote their happiness? Do our minds, in things outward, look beyond our own dissolution? and are we contriving for the prosperity of our children after us? Let us then, like wise builders, lay the foundation deep; and by our constant uniform regard to an

inward piety and virtue, let them see that we really value it. Let us labor in the fear of the Lord, that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preserved from corruptions; that as they advance in age, they may rightly understand their true interest; may consider the uncertainty of temporal things; and, above all, have their hope and confidence firmly settled in the blessing of that Almighty Being, who inhabits eternity, and preserves and supports the world.

“ In all our cares about worldly treasures, let us steadily bear in mind, that riches possessed by children, who do not truly serve God, are likely to prove snares that may more grievously entangle them in that spirit of selfishness and exaltation, which stands in opposition to real peace and happiness; and renders those who submit to the influence of it, enemies to the cross of Christ.

“ To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling-places, to comfort those who, through the dispensations of Divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life, and steadily to endeavor to honor God with our substance, from a real sense of the love of Christ influencing our minds is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a christian favored with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us; for, “ Here we have no continuing city;” may we therefore diligently “ seek one that is to come, whose builder and maker is God.”

“ Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things “ and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you.”

Signed by appointment, and on behalf of our said meeting, by seven friends.

28th 11th mo. This day I attended the quarterly-meeting in Bucks county. In the meeting of ministers and elders, my heart was enlarged in the love of Jesus Christ; and the favor of the Most High was extended to us in that and the ensuing meeting.

I had conversation, at my lodging, with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn; who expressed a concern to join in a visit to some friends in that county, who had negroes; and as I had felt a draught in my mind to the said work, I came home and put things in order. On 11th of 12 mo., I went over the river; and on the next day was at Buckingham meeting; where, through the descendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted, and drawn into a near unity with the flock of Jesus Christ.

Entering upon this business appeared weighty; and before I left home my mind was often sad; under which exercise I felt, at times, the Holy Spirit which helps our infirmities; and through which my prayers were at times, put up to God in private, that he would be pleased to purge me from all selfishness, that I might be strengthened to discharge my duty faithfully, how hard soever to the natural part. We proceeded on the visit in a weighty frame of spirit, and went to the houses of the most active members who had negroes throughout the county. Through the goodness of the Lord, my mind was preserved in resignation in times of trial; and though the work was hard to nature, yet through the strength of that love which is stronger than death, tenderness of heart was often felt amongst us in our visits, and we parted from several families with greater satisfaction than we expected.

We visited Joseph White's family, he being in England; we had also a family-sitting at the house of an elder who bore us company, and were at Makefield on a first day: at all which times, my heart was truly thankful to the Lord who was graciously pleased to renew his loving kindness to us, his poor servants, uniting us together in his work.

In the winter of this year, the small pox being in our town, and many being inoculated, of whom a few died, some things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follows:

The more fully our lives are conformable to the will of God, the better it is for us—I have looked on the small-pox as a messenger from the Almighty, to be an assistant in the cause of virtue, and to incite us to consider, whether we employ our time only in such things as are



consistent with perfect wisdom and goodness. Building houses suitable to dwell in, for ourselves and our creatures; preparing clothing suitable for the climate and season, and food convenient, are all duties incumbent on us. And, under these general heads, are many branches of business, in which we may venture health and life, as necessity may require.

This disease being in a house, and my business calling me to go near it, incites me to consider whether this is a real indispensable duty; whether it is not in conformity to some custom, which would be better laid aside; or, whether it does not proceed from too eager a pursuit after some outward treasure. If the business before me springs not from a clear understanding, and a regard to that use of things which perfect wisdom approves; to be brought to a sense of it, and stopped in my pursuit, is a kindness; for, when I proceed to business without some evidence of duty, I have found by experience that it tends to weakness.

If I am so situated that there appears no probability of missing the infection, it tends to make me think, whether my manner of life in things outward, has nothing in it which may unfit my body to receive this messenger in a way the most favorable to me. Do I use food and drink in no other sort, and in no other degree, than was designed by Him, who gave these creatures for our sustenance? Do I never abuse my body by inordinate labor, striving to accomplish some end which I have unwisely proposed? Do I use action enough in some useful employ, or do I sit too much idle, while some persons, who labor to support me, have too great a share of it? If in any of these things, I am deficient, to be incited to consider it, is a favor to me. Employment is necessary in social life; and this infection, which often proves mortal, incites me to think, whether these social acts of mine are real duties. If I go on a visit to the widows and fatherless, do I go purely on a principle of charity, free from any selfish views? If I go to a religious meeting, it puts me on thinking whether I go in sincerity and in a clear sense of duty; or whether it is not partly in conformity to custom, or partly from a sensible delight which my animal spirits feel in the company of

other people; and whether to support my reputation as a religious man has no share in it.

Do affairs relating to civil society, call me near this infection? If I go, it is at the hazard of my health and life; and it becomes me to think seriously, whether love to truth and righteousness is the motive of my attending; whether the manner of proceeding is altogether equitable; or whether aught of narrowness, party interest, respect to outward dignities, names, or distinctions among men, do not stain the beauty of those assemblies, and render it doubtful; in point of duty, whether a disciple of Christ ought to attend as a member united to the body or not. Whenever there are blemishes, which, for a series of time, remain such; that which is a means of stirring us up to look attentively on these blemishes, and to labor according to our capacities, to have health and soundness restored in our country, we may justly account a kindness from our gracious Father, who appointed that means.

The care of a wise and good man for his only son, is inferior to the regard of the great Parent of the universe for his creatures. He hath the command of all the powers and operations in nature; and "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men." Chastisement is intended for instruction, and instruction being received by gentle chastisement, greater calamities are prevented. By an earthquake, hundreds of houses are sometimes shaken down in a few minutes; multitudes of people perish suddenly, and many more being crushed and bruised in the ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great misery.

By the breaking in of enraged merciless armies, flourishing countries have been laid waste, great numbers of people have perished in a short time, and many more have been pressed with poverty and grief. By the pestilence, people have died so fast in a city, that through fear, grief, and confusion, those in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without coffins. By famine, great numbers of people in some places, have been brought to the utmost distress, and have pined away for want of the necessaries of life. Thus, when the kind invitations, and gentle chastisements, of a gracious God have not been

attended to, his sore judgments have, at times, been poured out upon people.

While some rules approved in civil society, and conformable to human policy, so called, are distinguishable from the purity of truth and righteousness; while many professing the truth are declining from that ardent love and heavenly-mindedness which was amongst the primitive followers of Jesus Christ; it is time for us to attend diligently to the intent of every chastisement, and to consider the most deep and inward design of them.

The most High doth not often speak with an outward voice to our outward ears; but if we humbly meditate on his perfections, consider that he is perfect wisdom and goodness, and that to afflict his creatures to no purpose, would be utterly averse to his nature, we shall hear and understand his language, both in his gentle and more heavy chastisements and shall take heed that we do not, in the wisdom of this world, endeavor to escape his hand by means too powerful for us.

Had he endowed men with understanding to prevent this disease, (the small pox) by means which had never proved hurtful nor mortal,\* such a discovery might be considered as the period of chastisement by this distemper, where that knowledge extended. But as life and health are his gifts, and are not to be disposed of in our own wills, to take upon us, by inoculation, when in health, a disorder, of which some die, requires great clearness of knowledge, that it is our duty to do so.

## CHAPTER VII.

1760.

*Visit, in company with Samuel Eastburn, to Long Island, Rhode Island, Boston, &c.—Remarks on the slave trade at Newport; also on lotteries.—Some observations on the island of Nantucket.*

4th mo. 1760. Having, for some time past, felt a

\* May not vaccination be considered that innocent means?



sympathy in my mind with friends eastward, I opened my concern in our monthly meeting; and, obtaining a certificate, set forward on the seventeenth of this month, in company with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahaway, and Plainfield; and were at their monthly meeting of ministers and elders in Rahaway. We labored under some discouragement; but through the invisible power of truth, our visit was made reviving to the lowly-minded, with whom I felt a near unity of spirit, being much reduced in my mind. We passed on, and visited most of the meetings on Long Island. It was my concern, from day to day, to say neither more nor less than what the spirit of truth opened in me, being jealous over myself, lest I should say anything to make my testimony look agreeable to that mind in people, which is not in pure obedience to the cross of Christ.

The spring of the ministry was often low; and, through the subjecting power of truth, we were kept low with it; from place to place, they whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ, appeared to be comforted in our labors; and though it was in general a time of abasement of the creature, yet, through His goodness who is a helper of the poor, we had some truly edifying seasons both in meetings, and in families where we tarried: sometimes we found strength to labor earnestly with the unfaithful, especially with those whose station in families, or in the society, was such, that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aside, from the purity and soundness of the blessed truth.

At Jericho, on Long Island, I wrote home as follows:

24th of the 4th month, 1760.

“ Dearly beloved wife!

“ We are favored with health; have been at sundry meetings in East Jersey, and on this island. My mind hath been much in an inward, watchful frame, since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be singly in the will of our heavenly Father.

“ As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I

have been much shut up from outward cheerfulness, remembering that promise; "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord;"—as this, from day to day, has been revived in my memory, I have considered that his internal presence in our minds, is a delight of all others the most pure; and that the honest-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He regards the helpless and distressed, and reveals his love to his children under affliction, who delight in beholding his benevolence, and in feeling divine charity moving in them. Of this I may speak a little; for though since I left you, I have often an engaging love and affection towards thee and my daughter, and friends about home, and going out at this time, when sickness is so great amongst you, is a trial upon me; yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherless, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whose minds are in captivity; for whose sake my heart is, at times, moved with compassion; so that I feel my mind resigned to leave you for a season, to exercise that gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me; which though small compared with some, yet in this I rejoice, that I feel love unfeigned towards my fellow creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who I trust cares for you; and under a sense of his heavenly love, remain,

"Thy loving husband,

"J. W."

We crossed from the east end of Long Island to New London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat; while we were out, the wind rising high, the waves several times beat over us, so that to me it appeared dangerous; but my mind was at that time turned to Him: who made and governs the deep, and my life was resigned to Him; as he was mercifully pleased to preserve us, I had fresh occasion to consider every day, as a day lent to me; and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time, and all I had, to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganset; and went thence to Newport on Rhode Island. Our gracious Father preserved us in an humble dependence on him through deep exer-

cises, that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In several families in the country where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private, concerning their slaves; and, through divine aid, I was favored to give up thereto. Though in this concern, I differ from many, whose service in travelling is, I believe, greater than mine; yet I do not think hardly of them for omitting it; I do not repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, but look with awfulness to Him, who appoints to his servants their respective employments, and is good to all who serve Him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening; and on the next day visited two sick persons, with whom we had comfortable sittings, and in the afternoon attended the burial of a friend. The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon; the spring of the ministry was opened, and strength was given to declare the Word of Life to the people.

The day following we went on our journey; but the great number of slaves in these parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made a deep impression on me; and my cries were often put up to my heavenly Father in secret, that He would enable me to discharge my duty faithfully, in such way as He might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swansea, Freetown, and Tanton, in our way to Boston; where also we had a meeting; our exercise was deep, and the love of truth prevailed; for which I bless the Lord. We went eastward about eighty miles beyond Boston, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preserved in an humble dependance on that arm which drew us out; and though we had some hard labor with the disobedient, by laying things home and close to such as were stout against the truth; yet through the goodness of God, we had at times to partake of heavenly comfort with those who were meek, and were often favored to part with friends in the nearness of true gospel fellowship. We returned to Boston, and had another comfortable opportunity with friends there; and thence rode back a day's journey eastward of Boston. Our guide being a heavy man, and the



weather hot, my companion and I expressed our freedom to go on without him; to which he consented, and we respectfully took our leave of him: this we did, as believing the journey would have been hard to him and his horse.

In visiting the meetings in those parts, we were measurably baptized into a feeling of the state of the society; and in bowedness of spirit went to the yearly meeting at Newport; where we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foster, and Mercy Redman, from our parts; all ministers of the gospel, of whose company I was glad. Understanding that a large number of slaves had been imported from Africa into that town, and were then on sale by a member of our society, my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk, as thus expressed: "When I heard my belly tremble, my lips quivered, I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble." I had many cogitations, and was sorely distressed. I was desirous that friends might petition the legislature, to use their endeavors to discourage the future importation of slaves; for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and to bring distresses on the people for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned. But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning and such was the exercise of my mind that I thought of endeavoring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the House of Assembly, then sitting in town.

This exercise came upon me in the afternoon, on the second day of the yearly meeting, and on going to bed, I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned thereto. In the morning I enquired of a friend how long the Assembly was likely to continue sitting, who told me, it was expected to be prorogued that day or the next. As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived the Assembly was likely to separate before the business was over; after considerable exercise, humbly seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting; on the last day of which, I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the legislature, if way opened. And being

informed that there were some appointed by that yearly meeting, to speak with those in authority, on cases relating to the society, I opened my mind to several of them, and shewed them the essay I had made; and afterwards I opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows:

“ I have been under a concern for some time, on account of the great number of slaves which are imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of Heaven, without doing so. I have prepared an essay of a petition to be presented to the legislature, if way open; and what I have to propose to this meeting is, that some friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it suitable to be read in the meeting. If they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting, to consider, whether to take any further notice of it, as a meeting, or not.” After a short conference some friends went out, and looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read; which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal; and some signified, that to have the subjects of the petition enlarged upon, and signed out of meeting by such as were free, would be more suitable than to do it there. Though I expected at first, that if it was done it would be in that way; yet such was the exercise of my mind, that to move it in the hearing of friends when assembled, appeared to me as a duty; for my heart yearned towards the inhabitants of these parts; believing that by this trade there had been an increase of inquietude amongst them, and way had been made for the spreading of a spirit opposite to that meekness and humility, which is a sure resting place for the soul: and that the continuance of this trade, would not only render their healing more difficult, but would increase their malady.

Having proceeded thus far, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst friends, for them to proceed in it as they believed best. And now an exercise revived on my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had mentioned the subject in a former sitting of this meet-

ing, when arguments were used in favor of friends being held excused, who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law. And now on moving it again, it was opposed as before; but the hearts of some solid friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their members; and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me, that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of selfishness, which tended to confuse and darken the understanding; and that pleading for it in our meetings, which were set apart for the Lord's work, was not right. In the heat of zeal, I made reply to what an ancient friend said, and when I sat down, I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity. After this, I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made; a copy of which was to be sent to their several quarterly meetings, inciting friends to labor to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us.

Some time after this minute was made, I remained uneasy with the manner of my speaking to the ancient friend, and could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, though I was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had labored. After some close exercise and hearty repentance, for not having attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up, and reciting the passage, acquainted friends, that though I durst not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement after a warm debate, it appeared to have a good savor amongst us.

The yearly meeting being now over, there yet remained on my mind a secret, though heavy exercise, in regard to some leading active members about Newport, who were in the practice of keeping slaves. This I mentioned to two ancient friends who came out of the country, and proposed to them, if way opened, to have some conversation with those members. One of them and I, having consulted one of the most noted elders who had slaves, he, in a respectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myself of



what lay upon me. Near the beginning of the yearly meeting, I had had a private conference with this said elder and his wife, concerning their slaves, so that the way seemed clear to me, to advise with him about the manner of proceeding. I told him, I was free to have a conference with them altogether in a private house; or if he thought they would take it unkind to be asked to come together, and to be spoken with in the hearing of one another, I was free to spend some time amongst them, and to visit them all in their own houses. He expressed his liking to the first proposal, not doubting their willingness to come together; and as I proposed a visit to only ministers, elders, and overseers, he named some others, whom he desired might also be present. A careful messenger being wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses to open the matter to them; and did so. About the eighth hour the next morning, we met in the meeting-house chamber, the last-mentioned country friend, my companion, and John Storer being with us. After a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under, and we then proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favor with the seasoning virtue of truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. At length, feeling my mind released from the burden which I had been under, I took my leave of them, in a good degree of satisfaction; and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their negroes after their decease, I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them; and I am humbly thankful to God who supported my mind, and preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou who sometimes travellest in the work of the ministry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, seest many tokens of their satisfaction in having thee for their guest. It is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and

understand the spirits of people. If we believe truth points towards a conference on some subjects, in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have experienced, that in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to outward interest, is hard labor. Sometimes, when I have felt truth lead towards it, I have found myself disqualified by a superficial friendship; and as the sense thereof hath abased me, and my cries have been to the Lord, so I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for his sake; and thus a door hath been opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own way, and to speak of that which is the burden of the word, in a way easy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship, tends to undermine the foundation of true unity. The office of a minister of Christ is weighty. And they who now go forth as watchmen, have need to be steadily on their guard against the snares of prosperity, and an outside friendship.

After the yearly meeting, we were at meetings at Newtown, Cushnet, Long Plain, Rochester, and Dartmouth. From thence we sailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gaunt, Mercy Redman, and several other friends. The wind being slack, we only reached Tarpawling Cove the first day; where, going on shore, we found room in a public-house, and beds for a few of us; the rest slept on the floor. We went on board again about break of day; and though the wind was small, we were favored to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and then about ten of us got into our boat, and rowed to the harbor before dark; a large boat went off and brought in the rest of the passengers about midnight. The next day but one was their yearly meeting, which held four days; the last of which was their monthly meeting for business. We had a laborious time amongst them; our minds were closely exercised, and I believe it was a time of great searching

of heart. The longer I was on the island, the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of valuable friends there, though an evil spirit, tending to strife, had been at work amongst them. I was cautious of making any visits except as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had some sittings in friends' houses, where the heavenly wing was at times spread over us, to our mutual comfort. My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to sail the next day if the weather was suitable, and we were well; and being called up the latter part of the night, about fifty of us went on board a vessel; but the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbor till it altered; so we returned on shore. Feeling clear as to any further visits, I spent my time in our chamber chiefly alone; and after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my Heavenly Father, for his help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life. While I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a messenger from the women friends who lodged at another house, desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before; but after a short conference, and advising with some elderly friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the friend who first moved it, and who had been much shut up before, was largely opened in the love of the gospel. The next morning, about break of day, going again on board the vessel, we reached Falmouth on the Main before night, where our horses being brought, we proceeded towards Sandwich quarterly meeting.

Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I observed many shoals in their bay, which make sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also, that a great shoal, which encloses their harbor, prevents the entrance of sloops, except when the tide is up; waiting without for the rising of the tide, is sometimes hazardous in storms: and by waiting within, they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice, that there



was on that small island a great number of inhabitants, and the soil not very fertile: the timber being so gone, that for vessels, fences, and firewood, they depend chiefly on buying from the Main; for the coast whereof, with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the whale fishery. I considered, that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters were more cleared, it would require more labor to get timber and wood. I understood that the whales being much hunted, and sometimes wounded and not killed, grew more shy and difficult to come at. I considered that the formation of the earth, the seas, the islands, bays, and rivers, the motions of the winds, and great waters, which cause bars and shoals in particular places, were all the works of Him who is perfect wisdom and goodness; and as people attend to his heavenly instruction, and put their trust in Him, He provides for them in all parts, where he gives them a being, and as in this visit to these people, I felt a strong desire for their firm establishment on the sure foundation: besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to speak with the women friends, in their monthly meeting of business, many being present; and in the fresh spring of pure love, to open before them the advantage, both inwardly and outwardly, of attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility, and the disuse of all superfluities. I reminded them of the difficulties their husbands and sons were frequently exposed to at sea; and that the more plain and simple their way of living was, the less need there would be of running great hazards to support them; I also encouraged the young women to continue their neat decent way of attending themselves on the affairs of the house; shewing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble, used themselves to business, and were content with a plain way of life, they had ever had more true peace and calmness of mind, than they who, aspiring to greatness and outward show, have grasped hard for an income to support themselves therein. And as I observed they had few or no slaves, I had to encourage them to be content without them; making mention of the numerous troubles and vex-

ations, which frequently attended the minds of people, who depend on slaves to do their labor.

We attended the quarterly meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, which was preceded by a monthly meeting; and in the whole held three days. We were in various ways exercised amongst them, in gospel love, according to the several gifts bestowed on us; and were at times overshadowed with the virtue of truth, to the comfort of the sincere, and stirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode Island, taking one meeting in our way, which was a satisfactory time. Reaching Newport the evening before their quarterly meeting, we attended it; and after that, had a meeting with our young people, separated from those of other societies. We went through much labor in this town; and now, in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward exercise to the last, I found inward peace; and was in some degree comforted in a belief, that a good number remain in that place who retain a sense of truth; and that there are some young people attentive to the voice of the heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting, in which friends from the several parts of the quarter came together, was a select meeting; and through the renewed manifestation of the Father's love, the hearts of the sincere were united together.

The poverty of spirit and inward weakness, with which I was much tried the forepart of this journey, has of late appeared to me a dispensation of kindness. Appointing meetings never appeared more weighty to me; and I was led into a deep search, whether in all things my mind was resigned to the will of God; often querying with myself, what should be the cause of such inward poverty; and greatly desiring that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the Divine fountain. In these humbling times I was made watchful, and excited to attend to the secret movings of the heavenly principle in my mind, which prepared the way to some duties, that, in more easy and prosperous times, as to the outward, I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.

From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut, and Warwick; and were helped to labor amongst friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer. Afterwards, accompanied by our friend John Casey from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, visited the meetings in those parts, and thence proceeded to the quarterly meeting at Ryewoods. Through the gracious extendings of divine help, we had some seasoning opportunities in those places. We also visited friends at New York and Flushing; and thence to Rahaway. Here our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion and true yokemate Samuel Eastburn; and reached home the 10th of 8th month, where I found my family well. For the favors and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgments; and I find renewed desires to dwell and walk in resignedness before Him.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1761.—1762.

*Visits Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury, and Squan.—Publishes the second part of his Considerations on keeping Negroes.—The grounds of his appearing in some respects singular in his dress.—Visit to the families of friends of Ancocas and Mount Holly meetings.—Visits to the Indians at Wehaloosing on the river Susquehannah.*

Having felt my mind drawn towards a visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be rightly instructed as to the time of setting off. On the tenth of fifth month, 1761, being the first day of the week, I went to Haddonfield meeting, concluding to seek for heavenly instruction, and come home, or go on, as I might then believe best for me; and there through the springing up of pure love, I felt encouragement, and so crossed the river. In this visit I was at two quarterly and three monthly meetings; and in the love of truth, I felt my way open to labor with some noted friends who kept negroes. As I was favored to keep to the root, and endeavor to discharge



what I believed was required of me, I found inward peace therein, from time to time; and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to be a guide to me.

8th mo. 1761. Having felt drawings in my mind to visit friends in and about Shrewsbury, I went there, and was at their monthly meeting, and their first-day meeting; I had also a meeting at Squan, and another at Squanquam; and as way opened, had conversation with some noted friends concerning their slaves. I returned home in a thankful sense of the goodness of the Lord.

From the concern I felt growing in me for some years, I wrote part the second of a work entitled "considerations on keeping Negroes," which was printed this year, 1762. When the overseers of the press had done with it, they offered to get a number printed, to be paid for out of the yearly meeting's stock, to be given away; but I being most easy to publish it at my own expense, and offering my reasons, they appeared satisfied.

This stock is the contribution of the members of our religious society in general, among whom are some who keep negroes; and being inclined to continue them in slavery, are not likely to be satisfied with such books being spread among a people, especially at their own expense, many of whose slaves are taught to read; and such, receiving them as a gift, often conceal them. But as they who make a purchase, generally buy that which they have a mind for, I believed it best to sell them; expecting by that means they would more generally be read with attention. Advertisements were signed by order of the overseers of the press, and directed to be read in the monthly meetings of business within our own yearly meeting, informing where the books were, and that the price was no more than the cost of printing and binding them. Many were taken off in our parts; some I sent to Virginia, some to New York, some to my acquaintance at Newport, and some I kept, intending to give part of them away, where there appeared a prospect of service.

In my youth I was used to hard labor; and though I was middling healthy, yet my nature was not fitted to endure so much as many others. Being often weary, I was

prepared to sympathize with those whose circumstances in life, as free men, required constant labor to answer the demands of their creditors; as well as with others under oppression. In the uneasiness of body, which I have many times felt by too much labor, not as a forced but a voluntary oppression, I have often been excited to think on the original cause of that oppression, which is imposed on many in the world. The latter part of the time wherein I labored on our plantation, my heart, through the fresh visitations of heavenly love, being often tender; and my leisure time being frequently spent in reading the life and doctrines of our blessed Redeemer, the account of the sufferings of martyrs, and the history of the first rise of our society;—a belief was gradually settled in my mind, that if such as had great states, generally lived in that humility and plainness which belong to a christian life, and laid much easier rents and interests on their lands and monies, and thus led the way to a right use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things useful, that labor both for men and other creatures would need to be no more than an agreeable employ; and divers branches of business, which serve chiefly to please the natural inclinations of our minds, and which at present seem necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather, might, in this way of pure wisdom, be discontinued. As I have thus considered these things, a query at times hath arisen: Do I, in all my proceedings, keep to that use of things which is agreeable to universal righteousness? And then there hath some degree of sadness at times come over me; because I accustomed myself to some things, which have occasioned more labor than I believe Divine wisdom intended for us.

From my early acquaintance with truth, I have often felt an inward distress, occasioned by the striving of a spirit in me, against the operation of the heavenly principle; and in this state I have been affected with a sense of my own wretchedness; and in a mourning condition have felt earnest longings for that Divine help, which brings the soul into true liberty. Sometimes on retiring into private places, the spirit of supplication hath been given me; and

under an heavenly covering, I have asked my gracious Father, to give me a heart in all things resigned to the direction of his wisdom; in uttering language like this, the thoughts of my wearing hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, have made lasting impression on me.

In visiting people of note in the society who had slaves, and laboring with them in brotherly love on that account, I have seen, and the sight has affected me, that a conformity to some customs, distinguishable from pure wisdom, has entangled many; and that the desire of gain to support these customs, has greatly opposed the work of truth. Sometimes, when the prospect of the work before me has been such that in bowedness of spirit, I have been drawn into retired places, and have besought the Lord with tears that he would take me wholly under his direction, and show me the way in which I ought to walk; it hath revived with strength of conviction, that if I would be his faithful servant, I must in all things attend to his wisdom, and be teachable; and so cease from all customs contrary thereto, however used among religious people.

As He is the perfection of power, of wisdom, and of goodness; so I believe he hath provided, that so much labor shall be necessary for men's support in this world, as would, being rightly divided, be a suitable employment of their time; and that we cannot go into superfluities, or grasp after wealth in a way contrary to his wisdom, without having connexion with some degree of oppression, and with that spirit which leads to self-exaltation and strife, and which frequently brings calamities on countries, by parties contending about their claims.

Being thus fully convinced, and feeling an increasing desire to live in the spirit of peace; I have often been sorrowfully affected with thinking on the unquiet spirit in which wars are generally carried on, and with the miseries of many of my fellow creatures engaged therein; some suddenly destroyed; some wounded, and after much pain remaining cripples; some deprived of all their outward substance, and reduced to want; and some carried into captivity. Thinking often on these things, the use of hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, and wearing more clothes in



summer than are useful, grew more uneasy to me; believing them to be customs which have not their foundation in pure wisdom. The apprehension of being singular from my beloved friends, was a strait upon me; and thus I continued in the use of some things contrary to my judgment.

On the 31st of 5th mo. 1761, I was taken ill of a fever; and after it had continued near a week, I was in great distress of body. One day there was a cry raised in me, that I might understand the cause of my affliction, and improve under it; and my conformity to some customs, which I believed were not right, was brought to my remembrance. In the continuance of this exercise, I felt all the powers in me yield themselves up into the hands of Him who gave me being; and was made thankful that He had taken hold of me by his chastisements. Feeling the necessity of further purifying, there was now no desire in me for health, until the design of my correction was answered. Thus I lay in abasement and brokenness of spirit, and as I felt a sinking down into a calm resignation, so I felt, as in an instant, an inward healing in my nature; and from that time forward I grew better.

Though my mind was thus settled in relation to hurtful dyes, I felt easy to wear my garments heretofore made; and continued to do so about nine months. Then I thought of getting a hat the natural color of the fur; but the apprehension of being looked upon as one affecting singularity, felt uneasy to me. Here I had occasion to consider that things, though small in themselves, being clearly enjoined by Divine authority, become great things to us; and I trusted that the Lord would support me in the trials that might attend singularity, so long as singularity was only for his sake. On this account, I was under close exercise of mind in the time of our general spring meeting 1762, greatly desiring to be rightly directed; when being deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, I was made willing to submit to what I apprehended was required of me; and when I returned home, got a hat of the natural color of the fur.

In attending meetings, this singularity was a trial to me, and more especially at this time, as white hats were used

by some who were fond of following the changeable modes of dress; and as some friends, who knew not from what motives I wore it, grew shy of me, I felt my way for a time shut up in the exercise of the ministry. In this condition, my mind being turned toward my Heavenly Father, with fervent cries that I might be preserved to walk before him in the meekness of wisdom, my heart was often tender in meetings; and I felt an inward consolation, which to me was very precious under these difficulties.

I had several dyed garments fit for use, which I believed it best to wear, till I had occasion for new ones. Some friends were apprehensive, that my wearing such a hat savored of an affected singularity: those who spoke with me in a friendly way, I generally informed, in a few words, that I believed my wearing it, was not in my own will. I had at times been sensible, that a superficial friendship had been dangerous to me; and many friends being now uneasy with me, I had an inclination to acquaint some with the manner of my being led into these things; yet, upon a deeper thought, I was for a time most easy to omit it, believing the present dispensation was profitable; and trusting, that if I kept my place, the Lord in his own time would open the hearts of friends towards me. I have since had cause to admire his goodness and loving kindness, in leading about and instructing me, and in opening and enlarging my heart in some of our meetings.

In the 11th month this year, feeling an engagement of mind to visit some families in Mansfield, I joined my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, and we spent a few days together in that service. In the 2nd month, 1763, I joined in company with Elizabeth Smith and Mary Noble, in a visit to the families of friends at Ancocas. In both these visits, through the baptizing power of truth, the sincere laborers were often comforted, and the hearts of friends opened to receive us. In the 4th month following, I accompanied some friends in a visit to the families of friends in Mount Holly; during this visit my mind was often drawn into an inward awfulness, wherein strong desires were raised for the everlasting welfare of my fellow-creatures; and through the kindness of our Heavenly Father, our hearts

were at times enlarged, and friends were invited, in the flowings of Divine love, to attend to that which would settle them on the sure foundation.

Having for many years felt love in my heart towards the natives of this land, who dwell far back in the wilderness, whose ancestors were formerly the owners and possessors of the land where we dwell; and who for a small consideration, assigned their inheritance to us; and being at Philadelphia in the 8th month, 1761, on a visit to some friends who had slaves, I fell in company with some of those natives who lived on the east branch of the river Susquehannah, at an Indian town called Wehaloosing, two hundred miles from Philadelphia. In conversation with them by an interpreter, as also by observations on their countenances and conduct, I believed some of them were measurably acquainted with that Divine power which subjects the rough and froward will of the creature. At times I felt inward drawings towards a visit to that place; which I mentioned to none except my dear wife, until it came to some ripeness. In the winter of 1762, I laid my prospects before my friends, at our monthly and quarterly and afterwards at our general spring meeting; and having the unity of friends, and being thoughtful about an Indian pilot, there came a man and three women from a little beyond that town to Philadelphia, on business. Being informed thereof by letter, I met them in town in the 5th month, 1763; and after some conversation, finding they were sober people, I, with the concurrence of friends in that place, agreed to join them as companions in their return; and we appointed to meet at Samuel Foulk's, at Richland in Bucks county, on the 7th of 6th month. Now as this visit felt weighty, and was performed at a time when travelling appeared perilous, so the dispensations of Divine Providence in preparing my mind for it have been memorable; and I believe it good for me to give some account thereof.

After I had given up to go, the thoughts of the journey were often attended with unusual sadness; at which times, my heart was frequently turned to the Lord with inward breathings for his heavenly support, that I might not fail to



follow him wheresoever He might lead me. Being at our youth's meeting at Chesterfield, about a week before the time I expected to set off, I was there led to speak on that prayer of our Redeemer to the Father: "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil." And in attending to the pure openings of truth, I had to mention what He elsewhere said to his Father; "I know that thou hearest me at all times:" so as some of his followers kept their places, and as his prayer was granted, it followed necessarily that they were kept from evil: and as some of those met with great hardships and afflictions in this world, and at last suffered death by cruel men; so it appears, that whatsoever befalls men, while they live in pure obedience to God, certainly works for their good, and may not be considered an evil as it relates to them. As I spake on this subject, my heart was much tendered, and great awfulness came over me. On the first day of the week, being at our own afternoon meeting, and my heart being enlarged in love, I was led to speak on the care and protection of the Lord over his people, and to make mention of that passage where a band of Syrians who were endeavoring to take captive the prophet, were disappointed; and how the psalmist said, "the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him."—Thus, in true love and tenderness, I parted from friends, expecting the next morning to proceed on my journey. Being weary I went early to bed. After I had been asleep a short time, I was awoke by a man calling at my door; and inviting me to meet some friends at a public house in our town, who came from Philadelphia so late, that friends were generally gone to bed. These friends informed me, that an express had arrived the last morning from Pittsburg, and brought news that the Indians had taken a fort from the English westward, and had slain and scalped some English people near the said Pittsburg, and in divers places. Some elderly friends in Philadelphia, knowing the time of my intending to set off, had conferred together, and thought good to inform me of these things, before I left home, that I might consider them, and proceed as I believed best. Going to bed again, I told not

my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for his heavenly instruction; and it was an humbling time to me. When I told my dear wife, she appeared to be deeply concerned about it; but in a few hours time, my mind became settled in a belief that it was my duty to proceed on my journey; and she bore it with a good degree of resignation. In this conflict of spirit there were great searchings of heart, and strong cries to the Lord, that no motion might in the least degree be attended to, but that of the pure spirit of truth.

The subjects before-mentioned, on which I had so lately spoken in public, were now fresh before me; and I was brought inwardly to commit myself to the Lord, to be disposed of as He saw best. I took leave of my family and neighbors, in much bowedness of spirit, and went to our monthly meeting at Burlington. After taking leave of friends there, I crossed the river, accompanied by my friends Israel and John Pemberton; and parting the next morning with Israel, John bore me company to Samuel Foulk's; where I met the before-mentioned Indians, and we were glad to see each other. Here my friend Benjamin Parvin met me, and proposed joining me as a companion, we had before exchanged some letters on the subject; and now I had a sharp trial on his account; for as the journey appeared perilous, I thought if he went chiefly to bear me company, and we should be taken captive, my having been the means of drawing him into these difficulties, would add to my own afflictions; so I told him my mind freely, and let him know that I was resigned to go alone; but after all, if he really believed it to be his duty to go on, I believed his company would be very comfortable to me. It was indeed a time of deep exercise, and Benjamin appeared to be so fastened to the visit, that he could not be easy to leave me; so we went on, accompanied by our friends John Pemberton, and William Lightfoot of Pikeland; we lodged at Bethlehem; and there parting with John, William and we went forward on the 9th of the 6th month, and got lodging on the floor of a house, about five miles from Fort Allen. Here we parted with William: and at this place we met with an Indian trader,

lately come from Wioning. In conversation with him I perceived that many white people often sell rum to the Indians, which I believe is a great evil; in the first place they are thereby deprived of the use of reason, and their spirits being violently agitated, quarrels often arise which end in mischief; and the bitterness and resentment occasioned hereby, are frequently of long continuance. Again, their skins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to buy clothing, they often sell at a low rate for more rum, when they become intoxicated; and afterward, when they suffer for want of the necessaries of life, are angry with those who, for the sake of gain, took advantage of their weakness. Their chiefs have often complained of this in their treaties with the English. Where cunning people pass counterfeits, and impose on others that which is good for nothing, it is considered as wickedness; but for the sake of gain to sell that which we know does people harm, and which often works their ruin, manifests a hardened and corrupt heart; and is an evil which demands the care of all true lovers of virtue to suppress. While my mind this evening was thus employed, I also remembered that the people on the frontiers, among whom this evil is too common, are often poor; and that they venture to the outside of a colony, in order to live more independently of the wealthy, who often set high rents on their land. I was renewedly confirmed in a belief, that if all our inhabitants lived according to sound wisdom, laboring to promote universal love and righteousness, and ceased from every inordinate desire after wealth, and from all customs which are tinctured with luxury, the way would be easy for our inhabitants, though they might be much more numerous than at present, to live comfortably on honest employments, without the temptation they are so often under, of being drawn into schemes to make settlements on lands which have not been purchased of the Indians, or of applying to that wicked practice of selling rum to them.

10th of 6th mo. We set out early this morning, and crossed the western branch of Delaware, called the Great Lehigh near Fort Allen; the water being high, we went over



in a canoe. Here we met an Indian, had friendly conversation with him, and gave him some biscuit; and he, having killed a deer, gave some of it to the Indians with us. After travelling some miles, we met several Indian men and women with a cow and horse, and some household goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wio-ming, and were going to settle at another place. We made them some small presents; and as some of them understood English, I told them my motive for coming into their country; with which they appeared satisfied. One of our guides talking awhile with an ancient woman concerning us, the poor old woman came to my companion and me, and took her leave of us with an appearance of sincere affection. We pitched our tent near the banks of the same river, having labored hard in crossing some of those mountains called the Blue Ridge; the roughness of the stones, and the cavities between them, with the steepness of the hills, made it appear dangerous. But we were preserved in safety, through the kindness of Him whose works in these mountainous deserts appeared awful, and towards whom my heart was turned during this day's travel.

Near our tent, on the sides of large trees peeled for that purpose, were various representations of men going to, and returning from the wars, and of some being killed in battle. This was a path heretofore used by warriors; and as I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red or black; and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce spirit produceth in the world; also on the toils and fatigues of warriors in travelling over mountains and deserts; on their miseries and distresses when far from home, and wounded by their enemies; of their bruises and great weariness in chasing one another over the rocks and mountains; of the restless, unquiet state of mind of those who live in this spirit, and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of their children; the desire to cherish the spirit of love and peace among these people arose very fresh in me. This was the first night that we lodged in the woods; and being wet with travelling in the rain, as were also our blankets, the ground, our tent, and the bushes under which we purposed to lay, all

looked discouraging; but I believed, that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that He would dispose of me as He saw good; and so I felt easy. We kindled a fire, with our tent open to it; then laid some bushes next the ground, and put our blankets upon them for our bed, and lying down got some sleep. In the morning feeling a little unwell, I went into the river; the water was cold, but soon after I felt fresh and well. About 8 o'clock we set forward, and crossed a high mountain supposed to be upward of four miles over, the north side being the steepest. About noon we were over taken by one of the Moravian brethren, going to Wehaloosing, and an Indian man with him, who could talk English; and we being together while our horses ate grass, had some friendly conversation; but they, travelling faster than we, soon left us. This Moravian, I understood, had this spring spent some time at Wehaloosing; and was invited by some of the Indians to come again.

12th of Gmo., being the first of the week and a rainy day, we continued in our tent; and I was led to think on the nature of the exercise which hath attended me. Love was the first motion, and thence a concern arose to spend some time with the Indians, that I might feel and understand their life, and the spirit they live in, if haply I might receive some instruction from them; or they might be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of truth among them: and as it pleased the Lord to make way for my going at a time when the troubles of war were increasing, and when by reason of much wet weather, travelling was more difficult than usual at that season, I looked upon it as a more favorable opportunity to season my mind, and to bring me into a nearer sympathy with them. As mine eye was to the great Father of mercies, humbly desiring to learn his will concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our guide's horse strayed, though hopped, in the night; and after searching some time for him, his footsteps were discovered in the path going back, whereupon my kind companion went off in the rain, and after about seven hours returned with him. Here we lodged again; tying up our

horses before we went to bed, and loosing them to feed about break of day.

13th of 6th mo. The sun appearing, we set forward; and as I rode over the barren hills, my meditations were on the alterations in the circumstances of the natives of this land, since the coming in of the English. The lands near the sea are conveniently situated for fishing; the lands near the rivers, where the tides flow, and some above, are in many places fertile, and not mountainous; while the changing of the tides, makes passing up and down easy with any kind of traffic. The natives have, in some places, for trifling considerations, sold their inheritance so favorably situated; and in other places have been driven back by superior force: their way of clothing themselves is also altered from what it was, and they being far removed from us, have to pass over mountains, swamps, and barren deserts; so that travelling is very troublesome in bringing their skins and furs to trade with us. By the extension of English settlements, and partly by the increase of English hunters, the wild beasts on which the natives chiefly depend for subsistence, are not so plentiful as they were; and people too often, for the sake of gain, induce them to waste their skins and furs, in purchasing a liquor which tends to the ruin of them and their families.

My own will and desires were now very much broken, and my heart was with much earnestness, turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me. I had a prospect of the English along the coast, for upwards of nine hundred miles, where I travelled; and their favorable situation and the difficulties attending the natives as well as the negroes in many places, were open before me. A weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart towards all mankind, in which I felt a strong engagement that we might be obedient to the Lord, while in tender mercy, he is yet calling to us; and that we might so attend to pure universal righteousness, as to give no just cause of offence to the gentiles, who do not profess Christianity, whether they be the blacks from Africa, or the native inhabitants of this continent. Here I was led into a close and laborious inquiry,



whether I, as an individual, kept clear from all things which tended to stir up, or were connected with wars, either in this land or in Africa; my heart was deeply concerned, that in future I might in all things keep steadily to the pure truth, and live and walk in the plainness and simplicity of a sincere follower of Christ. In this lonely journey, I did greatly bewail the spreading of a wrong spirit, believing that the prosperous, convenient situation of the English, would require a constant attention in us to Divine love and wisdom, in order to their being guided and supported, in a way answerable to the will of that good, gracious, and Almighty Being, who hath an equal regard to all mankind. And here luxury and covetousness, with the numerous oppressions, and other evils attending them, appeared very afflicting to me; and I felt in that which is immutable, that the seeds of great calamity and desolation are sown and growing fast on this continent. Nor have I words sufficient to set forth the longing I then felt, that we, who are placed along the coast, and have tasted the love and goodness of God, might arise in the strength thereof; and like faithful messengers, labor to check the growth of these seeds, that they may not ripen to the ruin of our posterity.

On reaching the Indian settlement at Wioming, we were told, that an Indian runner had been at that place a day or two before us, and brought news of the Indians having taken an English fort westward, and destroyed the people; and that they were endeavoring to take another; also, that another Indian runner came there about the middle of the previous night, from a town about ten miles from Wehaloosing, and brought the news, that some Indian warriors from distant parts, came to that town with two English scalps, and told the people that it was war with the English.

Our guides took us to the house of a very ancient man. Soon after we had put in our baggage, there came a man from another Indian house some distance off. Perceiving there was a man near the door, I went out; the man had a tomahawk wrapped under his matchcoat out of sight. As I approached him, he took it in his hand; I went forward,

and speaking to him in a friendly way, perceived he understood some English. My companion joining me, we had some talk with him concerning the nature of our visit in these parts; he then went into the house with us, and talking with our guides, soon appeared friendly, sat down, and smoked his pipe. Though taking his hatchet in his hand at the instant I drew near to him, had a disagreeable appearance, I believe he had no other intent than to be in readiness in case any violence were offered to him.

On hearing the news brought by these Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged, that the Indians about Wioming expected in a few days to move to some larger towns, I thought, to all outward appearance, it would be dangerous travelling at this time. After a hard day's journey, I was brought into a painful exercise at night, in which I had to trace back and view the steps I had taken from my first moving in the visit; and though I had to bewail some weakness which at times had attended me, yet I could not find that I had ever given way to wilful disobedience. Believing I had, under a sense of duty, come thus far, I was now earnest in spirit, beseeching the Lord to show me what I ought to do. In this great distress I grew jealous of myself, lest the desire of reputation as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers, or the fear of disgrace from my returning without performing the visit, might have some place in me. Full of these thoughts, I lay great part of the night, while my beloved companion slept by me, till the Lord, my gracious Father, who saw the conflicts of my soul, was pleased to give quietness: Then I was again strengthened to commit my life, and all things relating thereto, into his heavenly hands; and got a little sleep towards day.

14th of 6th mo. We sought out and visited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with, in number about twenty; they were chiefly in one place, about a mile from where we lodged. I expressed to them the care I had on my mind for their good; and told them, that true love had made me willing thus to leave my family to come and see the Indians, and speak with them in their houses. Some of them appeared kind and friendly. After taking leave

of them, we went up the river Susquehannah, about three miles, to the house of an Indian, called Jacob January. He had killed his hog; and the women were making store of bread, and preparing to move up the river. Here our pilots had left their canoe when they came down in the spring, and lying dry it had become leaky; this detained us some hours, so that we had a good deal of friendly conversation with the family; and eating dinner with them, we made them some small presents: then putting our baggage into the canoe, some of them pushed slowly up the stream, and the rest of us rode our horses; we swam them over a creek, called Lahawahamunk, and pitched our tent above it in the evening. In a sense of God's goodness in helping me in my distress, sustaining me under trials, and inclining my heart to trust in Him, I lay down in an humble, bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

15th of 6th mo. We proceeded forward till the afternoon, when a storm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place, and staid all night, the rain continuing so heavy that it beat through our tent, and wet both us and our baggage. The next day, we found abundance of trees blown down by the storm yesterday; and had occasion reverently to consider the kind dealings of the Lord, who provided a safe place for us in a valley, while this storm continued. We were much hindered by the trees which had fallen across our path; and in some swamps our way was so stopped that we got through with extreme difficulty. I had this day often to consider myself as a sojourner in this world. A belief in the all-sufficiency of God to support his people in their pilgrimage, felt comfortable to me; and I was industriously employed to get to a state of perfect resignation.

We seldom saw our canoe but at appointed places, by reason of the path going off from the river. This afternoon, Job Chilaway, an Indian from Wehaloosing, who talks good English, and is acquainted with several people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river. Understanding where we expected to lodge, he pushed back about six miles, and came to us after night; and in a while



our own canoe arrived, it being hard work pushing up the stream. Job told us, that an Indian came in haste to their town yesterday, and told them, that three warriors from a distance, lodged in a town above Wehaloosing, a few nights past; and that these three men were going against the English at Juniata. Job was going down the river to the province-store at Shamokin. Though I was so far favored with health as to continue travelling; yet, through the various difficulties in our journey, and the different way of living from which I had been used to, I grew sick. The news of these warriors being on their march so near us, and not knowing whether we might not fall in with them, was a fresh trial of my faith; and though, through the strength of Divine love, I had several times been enabled to commit myself to the Divine disposal, I still found the want of a renewal of my strength, that I might be able to persevere therein; and my cries for help were put up to the Lord, who, in great mercy, gave me a resigned heart, in which I found quietness.

Parting from Job Chilaway, on the 17th, we went on, and reached Wehaloosing about the middle of the afternoon. The first Indian that we saw, was a woman of a modest countenance, with a bible, who spake first to our guide; and then with an harmonious voice, expressed her gladness at seeing us, having before heard of our coming. By the direction of our guide, we sat down on a log, while he went to the town, to tell the people we were come. My companion and I sitting thus together, in a deep inward stillness, the poor woman came and sat near us; and great awfulness coming over us, we rejoiced in a sense of God's love manifested to our poor souls. After a while, we heard a conch-shell blow several times, and then came John Curtis, and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a house near the town, where we found about sixty people sitting in silence. After sitting with them a short time, I stood up, and in some tenderness of spirit acquainted them, in a few short sentences, with the nature of my visit; and that a concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to see them; which some of them understanding, interpreted to the others, and

there appeared gladness among them. I then shewed them my certificate, which was explained to them; and the Moravian who overtook us on the way, being now here, bade me welcome. But the Indians knowing that this Moravian and I were of different religious societies, and as some of their people had encouraged him to come and stay a while with them, they were, I believe, concerned that there might be no jarring or discord in their meetings; and having I suppose conferred together, they acquainted me that the people, at my request, would at any time come together, and hold meetings; they also told me, that they expected the Moravian would speak in their settled meetings; which are commonly held in the morning and near evening. So finding liberty in my heart to speak to the Moravian, I told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of these people; and my belief that no ill effects would follow, if I sometimes spake in their meetings, when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of course. He expressed his good-will towards my speaking at any time, all that I found in my heart to say.

On the evening of the 18th, I was at their meeting, where pure gospel love was felt, to the tendering of some of our hearts. The interpreters endeavored to acquaint the people with what I said, in short sentences, but found some difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the English and Delaware tongues, so they helped one another, and we labored along, Divine love attending. Afterwards, feeling my mind covered with the spirit of prayer, I told the interpreters that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed, if I prayed aright, He would hear me; and I expressed my willingness for them to omit interpreting; so our meeting ended with a degree of Divine love. Before the people went out, I observed Papunehang (the man who had been zealous in laboring for a reformation in that town, being then very tender) speaking to one of the interpreters; and I was afterwards told that he said in substance as follows: "I love to feel where words come from."

19th of 6th mo. and first of the week. This morning

the Indian who came with the Moravian, being also a member of that society, prayed in the meeting, and then the Moravian spake a short time to the people. In the afternoon my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I spake to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect in the work, and I feeling the current of love run strong, told the interpreters, that I believed some of the people would understand me, and so I proceeded without them; and I believe the Holy Ghost wrought on some hearts to edification where all the words were not understood. I looked upon it as a time of Divine favor; and my heart was tendered and truly thankful before the Lord. After I sat down, one of the interpreters seemed spirited to give the Indians the substance of what I had said.

Before our first meeting this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians, who, by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts. A near sympathy with them was raised in me; and my heart being enlarged in the love of Christ, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction, does not exceed what I then felt for that people. I came to this place through much trouble; and though, through the mercies of God, I believed that if I died in the journey, it would be well with me; yet the thoughts of falling into the hands of Indian warriors, were in times of weakness, afflicting to me; and being of a tender constitution of body, the thoughts of captivity among them were also grievous; supposing that as they were strong and hardy, they might demand service of me beyond what I could well bear. But the Lord alone was my keeper; and I believed, that if I went into captivity, it would be for some good end. Thus, from time to time, my mind was centered in resignation, in which I always found quietness. And this day, though I had the same dangerous wilderness between me and home, I was inwardly joyful that the Lord had strengthened me to come on this visit, and had manifested a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition; when, in mine own eyes, I appeared inferior to many among the Indians.

When the last mentioned meeting was ended, it being



night, Papunehang went to bed; and hearing him speak with an harmonious voice I suppose for a minute or two, I asked the interpreter, who told me, that he was expressing his thankfulness to God for the favors he had received that day; and prayed, that He would continue to favor him with the same, which he had experienced in that meeting. Though Papunehang had before agreed to receive the Moravian, and join with them, he still appeared kind and loving to us.

I was at two meetings on the 20th, and silent in them. The following morning, in meeting, my heart was enlarged in pure love among them, and in short plain sentences, I expressed several things that rested upon me, which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily. The meeting ended in supplication, and I had cause humbly to acknowledge the loving-kindness of the Lord towards us; and then I believed that a door remained open for the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ, to labor among these people. And now, feeling my mind at liberty to return, I took my leave of them in general, at the conclusion of what I said in meeting; and we then prepared to go homeward. But some of their most active men told us, that when we were ready to move, the people would choose to come and shake hands with us; those who usually came to meeting did so; and from a secret draught in my mind, I went among some who did not usually go to meeting, and took my leave of them also. The Moravian and his Indian interpreter appeared respectful to us at parting. This town, Wehaloosing, stands on the bank of the Susquehannah, and consists, I believe, of about forty houses, mostly compact together; some about thirty feet long, and eighteen wide, some bigger some less. They are built mostly of split plank, one end being set in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate, on which rafters are laid, and then covered with bark. I understand a great flood last winter overflowed the greater part of the ground where the town stands; and some were now about moving their houses to higher ground.

We expected only two Indians to be of our company, but when we were ready to go, we found many of them were

going to Bethlehem with skins and furs, and chose to go in company with us. So they loaded two canoes in which they desired us to go, telling us, that the waters were so raised with the rains, that the horses should be taken by such as were better acquainted with the fording places. We therefore, with several Indians, went in the canoes, and others went on horses, there being seven besides ours. We met with the horsemen once on the way by appointment, and at night we lodged a little below a branch called Tankhannah, and some of the young men going out a little before dusk with their guns, brought in a deer.

Through diligence, we reached Wioming before night, the 22nd, and understood that the Indians were mostly gone from this place. We went up a small creek into the woods with our canoes, and pitching our tent, carried out our baggage; and before dark our horses came to us. Next morning the horses being loaded, and our baggage prepared, we set forward being in all fourteen; and with diligent travelling, were favored to get near half way to Fort Allen. The land on this road from Wioming to our frontier being mostly poor, and good grass being scarce, the Indians chose a piece of low ground to lodge on, as the best for grazing. I had sweat much in travelling, and being weary, slept soundly. In the night I perceived that I had taken cold, of which I was favored soon to get better.

24th of 6th mo. This day we passed Fort Allen, and lodged near it in the woods. We forded the westerly branch of the Delaware three times, which was a shorter way, than going over the top of the blue mountains, called the Second Ridge. In the second time of fording where the river cuts through the mountain, the waters being rapid and pretty deep, my companion's mare being a tall tractable animal, was sundry times driven back through the river, being laden with the burdens of some small horses, which were thought unable to come through with their loads. The troubles westward, and the difficulty for Indians to pass through our frontier, was, I apprehend, one reason why so many came, expecting that our being in company, would prevent the outside inhabitants being surprised. We reached Bethlehem on the 25th; taking care

to keep foremost, and to acquaint people, on and near the road, who these Indians were. This we found very needful; for the frontier inhabitants were often alarmed at the report of the English being killed by Indians westward. Among our company were some whom I did not remember to have seen at meeting; and some of these at first were very reserved; but we being several days together, and behaving in a friendly manner towards them, and making them suitable returns for the services they did us, they became more free and sociable.

26th of 6th mo. Having carefully endeavored to settle all affairs with the Indians relative to our journey, we took leave of them, and I thought they generally parted from us affectionately. We went forward to Richland, and had a very comfortable meeting among our friends, it being the 1st day of the week. Here I parted with my kind friend and companion Benjamin Parvin; and accompanied by my friend Samuel Foulk, we rode to John Cadwallader's, from whence I reached home the next day, and found my family tolerably well. They and my friends appeared glad to see me return from a journey which they apprehended would be dangerous; but my mind, while I was out, had been so employed in striving for perfect resignation, and had so often been confirmed in a belief, that whatever the Lord might be pleased to allot for me, it would work for good, that I was careful lest I should admit any degree or selfishness in being glad overmuch, and labored to improve by those trials in such a manner as my gracious Father and Protector designed. Between the English settlements and Wehaloosing, we had only a narrow path, which in many places is much grown up with bushes, and interrupted by abundance of trees lying across it; these, together with the mountain swamps, and rough stones, make it a difficult road to travel; and the more so because rattlesnakes abound here, of which we killed four. People who have never been in such places, have but an imperfect idea of them; and I was not only taught patience, but also made thankful to God, who thus led about and instructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the afflictions of my fellow-creatures, whose situation in life is difficult.



## CHAPTER IX.

1763.—1769.

*Religious conversation with a company met to see the tricks of a juggler.—Account of John Smith's advice, and of the proceedings of a Committee, at the yearly-meeting in 1764—Contemplations on the nature of true wisdom.—Visit to the families of friends at Mount-Holly, Mansfield, and Burlington, and to the meetings on the sea coast from Cape May towards Squan.—Some account of Joseph Nichols and his followers.—On the different state of the first settlers in Pennsylvania who depended on their own labor, compared with those of the southern provinces who kept negroes.—Visit to the Northern parts of New-Jersey, and the western parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania, also to the families of friends at Mount-Holly and several parts of Maryland. Further considerations on keeping slaves; and his concern for having been a party to the sale of one.—Thoughts on friends exercising offices in civil government.*

The latter part of the summer, 1763, there came a man to Mount Holly, who had previously published a printed advertisement, that at a certain public house, he would show many wonderful operations, which were therein enumerated. At the appointed time he did, by sleight of hand, perform sundry things which appeared strange to the spectators. Understanding that the show was to be repeated the next night, and that the people were to meet about sunset, I felt an exercise on that account. So I went to the public-house in the evening, and told the man of the house that I had an inclination to spend a part of the evening there; with which he signified that he was content. Then sitting down by the door, I spoke to the people, in the fear of the Lord, as they came together, concerning this show, and labored to convince them that their thus assembling to see these sleight of hand tricks, and bestowing their money to support men who, in that capacity, were of no use to the world, was contrary to the nature of the Christian religion. One of the company endeavored to show, by arguments, the reasonableness of their proceedings herein; but after considering some texts of scripture, and calmly debating the matter, he gave up the point. After spending

about an hour among them, and feeling my mind easy, I departed.

25th of 9th mo., 1764. At our yearly meeting at Philadelphia, this day, John Smith of Marlborough, aged upwards of eighty years, a faithful minister, though not eloquent, stood up in our meeting of ministers and elders, and appearing to be under a great exercise of spirit, informed friends in substance as follows: "That he had been a member of our society upwards of sixty years, and he well remembered that, in those early times, friends were a plain lowly minded people; and that there was much tenderness and contrition in their meetings.—That at twenty years from that time, the society increasing in wealth, and in some degree conforming to the fashions of the world, true humility was less apparent, and their meetings in general were not so lively and edifying.—That at the end of forty years, many of them were grown very rich; and many of the society made a specious appearance in the world; that wearing fine costly garments, and using silver and other watches, became customary with them, their sons and their daughters; these marks of outward wealth and greatness, appeared on some in our meetings of ministers and elders; and as such things became more prevalent, so the powerful overshadowings of the Holy Ghost were less manifest in the society. That there had been a continued increase of such ways of life, even until the present time, and that the weakness which hath now overspread the society, and the barrenness manifest among us, is matter of much sorrow." He then mentioned the uncertainty of his attending these meetings in future, expecting his dissolution was near; and having tenderly expressed his concern for us, signified that he had seen in the true light, that the Lord would bring back his people from these things, into which they were thus degenerated; but that his faithful servants must go through great and heavy exercises.

20th of 9th mo. The committee appointed by the yearly meeting to visit the quarterly and monthly meetings, gave an account in writing of their proceedings in that service. They signified, that in the course of the visit, they had been apprehensive that some persons holding offi-

ces in government, inconsistent with our principles, and others who kept slaves, remaining active members in our meetings for discipline, had been one means of weakness prevailing in some places. After this report was read, an exercise revived in my mind, which had attended me for several years; and inward cries to the Lord were raised in me, that the fear of man might not prevent me from doing what he required of me; and standing up, I spoke in substance as follows: "I have felt a tenderness in my mind towards persons, in two circumstances mentioned in that report: viz. towards such active members as keep slaves, and such as hold offices in civil government; and I have desired that friends, in all their conduct, may be kindly affectioned one towards another. Many friends who keep slaves, are under some exercise on that account; and at times think about trying them with freedom; but find many things in their way. The way of living, and the annual expenses of some of them are such, that it seems impracticable for them to set their slaves free, without changing their own way of life. It has been my lot to be often abroad: and I have observed in some places, at quarterly and yearly meetings, and at some houses where travelling friends and their horses are often entertained, that the yearly expense of individuals therein is very considerable. And friends in some places crowding much on persons in these circumstances for entertainment, hath rested as a burden on my mind for some years past. I now express it in the fear of the Lord, greatly desiring that friends here present may duly consider it."

In the fall of this year, having hired a man to work, I perceived in conversation with him that he had been a soldier in the late war on this continent; and he informed me in the evening, in a narrative of his captivity among the Indians, that he saw two of his fellow captives tortured to death in a very cruel manner. This relation affected me with sadness, under which I went to bed; and the next morning, soon after I awoke, a fresh and living sense of Divine love overspread my mind; in which I had a renewed prospect of the nature of that wisdom from above, which leads to a right use of all gifts, both spiritual and



temporal, and gives content therein. Under a feeling thereof, I wrote as follows:

“Hath He who gave me a being, attended with many wants unknown to brute creatures, given me a capacity superior to theirs, and shown me that a moderate application to business is suitable to my present condition; and that this, attended with his blessing, may supply all my outward wants, while they remain within the bounds He hath fixed; and while no imaginary wants proceeding from an evil spirit, have any place in me? Attend then, O my soul! to this pure wisdom, as thy sure conductor through the manifold dangers of this world.

“Doth pride lead to vanity? Doth vanity form imaginary wants? Do these wants prompt men to exert their power, in requiring more from others than they would be willing to perform themselves, were the same required of them? Do those proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts when ripe, become malice? Does malice, when ripe, become revengeful; and in the end inflict terrible pains on our fellow-creatures, and spread desolations in the world?

“Do mankind walking in uprightness, delight in each other’s happiness? And do those who are capable of this attainment, by giving way to an evil spirit, employ their skill and strength to afflict and destroy one another? Remember then, O my soul! the quietude of those in whom Christ governs, and in all thy proceedings feel after it.

“Doth He condescend to bless thee with his presence? To move and influence thee to action? To dwell and to walk in thee? Remember then thy station, as a being sacred to God. Accept of the strength freely offered to thee; and take heed that no weakness, in conforming to unwise, expensive, and hard-hearted customs, gendering to discord and strife, be given way to. Doth he claim my body as his temple, and graciously require that I may be sacred to Him? Oh! that I may prize this favor; and that my whole life may be conformable to this character! Remember, O my soul! that the Prince of peace is thy Lord; that He communicates his unmixed wisdom to his family; that they, living in perfect simplicity, may give no

just cause of offence to any creature, but that they may walk as He walked!"

Having felt an openness in my heart towards visiting families in our own meeting, and especially in the town of Mount Holly, the place of my abode, I mentioned it at our monthly meeting in the fore-part of the winter of 1764; which being agreed to, and several friends of our meeting being united in the exercise, we proceeded therein; and through Divine favor we were helped in the work, so that it appeared to me as a fresh reviving of godly care among friends. The latter part of the same winter, I joined my friend William Jones, in a visit to friends' families in Mansfield; in which labor I had cause to admire the goodness of the Lord toward us.

My mind being drawn towards friends along the sea-coast from Cape May to near Squan; and also to visit some people in those parts, among whom there is no settled worship; I joined with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, in a visit to them; having friends' unity therein. We set off the 24th of 10 mo. 1765, and had a prosperous and very satisfactory journey; feeling at times, through the goodness of the Heavenly Shepherd, the gospel to flow freely towards a poor people scattered in these places. Soon after our return, I joined my friends John Sleeper and Elizabeth Smith, in a visit to friends' families at Burlington, there being at this time about fifty families of our society in that city; and we had cause humbly to adore our heavenly Father, who baptized us into a feeling of the state of the people, and strengthened us to labor in true gospel love among them.

Having had a concern, at times, for several years, to pay a religious visit to friends on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and to travel on foot among them, that by so travelling I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppressed slaves, set an example of lowliness before the eyes of their masters, and be more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable converse; and the time drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my concern before our monthly meeting, I perceived, in conversation with my beloved friend John Sleeper, that he also was under a

similar concern, to travel on foot in the form of a servant among them, as he expressed it. This he told me before he knew aught of my exercise. Being thus drawn the same way, we laid our exercise and the nature of it before friends; and obtaining certificates, we set off the 6th of 5th mo., 1766; and were at meetings with friends at Wilmington, Duck Creek, Little Creek and Motherkill. My heart was often tendered under the Divine influence, and enlarged in love towards the people among whom we travelled.

From Motherkill, we crossed the country about thirty-five miles to Tuckahoe in Maryland, and had a meeting there, and also at Marshy Creek. At the last three meetings there were a considerable number of the followers of one Joseph Nichols, a preacher; who I understand is not in outward fellowship with any religious society; but professeth nearly the same principles as those of our society, and often travels up and down appointing meetings, which many people attend. I heard of some who had been irreligious people, that were now his followers, and were become sober, well-behaved men and women. Some irregularities, I hear, have been among the people at several of his meetings; but from what I have perceived, I believe the man and some of his followers, are honestly disposed, but that skillful fathers are wanting among them.

We then went to Choptank and Third Haven; and thence to Queen Anne's. The weather for some days past having been hot and dry, and we having travelled pretty steadily, and having had hard labor in meetings, I grew weakly; at which I was for a time discouraged; but looking over our journey, and considering how the Lord had supported our minds and bodies, so that we had gone forward much faster than I expected before we came out, I saw that I had been in danger of too strongly desiring to get quickly through the journey, and that the bodily weakness now attending me was a kindness; and then, in contrition of spirit, I became very thankful to my gracious Father, for this manifestation of his love; and in humble submission to his will, my trust in him was renewed.

In this part of our journey, I had many thoughts on the



different circumstances of friends who inhabit Pennsylvania and Jersey, from those who dwell in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Pennsylvania and New Jersey were settled by friends, who were convinced of our principles in England in times of suffering: these coming over, bought lands of the natives, and applied to husbandry in a peaceable way; and many of their children were taught to labor for their living. Few of these, I believe, settled in any of the southern provinces; but by the faithful labors of travelling friends in early times, there was considerable conviction among the inhabitants of these parts. I also remembered having read of the warlike disposition of many of the first settlers in those provinces, and of their numerous engagements with the natives, in which much blood was shed, even in the infancy of the colonies. Some of the people inhabiting those places, being grounded in customs contrary to the pure truth, were affected with the powerful preaching of the Word of Life, and joined in fellowship with our society, and in so doing they had a great work to go through. In the history of the reformation from Popery, it is observable that the progress was gradual from age to age. The uprightness of the first reformers, in attending to the light and understanding given to them, opened the way for sincere-hearted people to proceed further afterwards; and thus each one truly fearing God, and laboring in the works of righteousness appointed for him in his day, findeth acceptance with Him. Through the darkness of the times, and the corruption of manners and customs, some upright men may have had little more for their day's work than to attend to the righteous principle in their minds, as it related to their own conduct in life, without pointing out to others the whole extent of that, into which the same principle would lead succeeding ages. Thus, for instance, among an imperious warlike people, supported by oppressed slaves, some of these masters, I suppose, are awakened to feel and to see their error; and, through sincere repentance, cease from oppression, and become like fathers to their servants; showing by their example, a pattern of humility in living, and moderation in governing, for the instruction and admonition

of their oppressing neighbors; these, without carrying the reformation further, have, I believe, found acceptance with the Lord. Such was the beginning; and those who succeeded them, and who faithfully attended to the nature and spirit of the reformation, have seen the necessity of proceeding forward; and have not only to instruct others, by their own example, in governing well, but have also to use means to prevent their successors from having so much power to oppress others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind, that the Lord (whose tender mercies are over all his works, and whose ear is open to the cries and groans of the oppressed) is graciously moving in the hearts of people, to draw them off from the desire of wealth, and to bring them into such an humble, lowly way of living, that they may see their way clearly to repair to the standard of true righteousness; and may not only break the yoke of oppression, but may know Him to be their strength and support in times of outward affliction.

We crossed Chester River; had a meeting there, and also at Cecil and Sassafras. My bodily weakness, joined with a heavy exercise of mind, was to me an humbling dispensation, and I had a very lively feeling of the state of the oppressed; yet I often thought, that what I suffered was little, compared with the sufferings of the blessed Jesus, and many of his faithful followers; and I may say with thankfulness, that I was made content. From Sassafras we went pretty directly home, where we found our families well. For several weeks after our return, I had often to look over our journey; and though to me it appeared as a small service, and that some faithful messengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink in those southern provinces for Christ's sake, than we have had; yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in sincerity, according to the understanding and strength given to me.

13th of 11th mo. With the unity of friends at our monthly meeting, and in company with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, I set out on a visit to friends in the upper part of this province, having had drawings of love in my heart that way for a considerable time. We travelled

as far as Hardwick, and I had inward peace in my labors of love among them. Through the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, my mind hath been further brought into a feeling of the difficulties of friends, and their servants south-westward; and being often engaged in spirit on their account, I believed it my duty to walk into some parts of the western shore of Maryland, on a religious visit. Having obtained a certificate from friends of our monthly meeting, I took leave of my family under the heart-tendering operation of truth; and on the 20th of 4th mo. 1767, rode to the ferry opposite to Philadelphia, and thence walked to William Horne's at Derby, the same evening. Next day I pursued my journey alone, and reached Concord week day meeting.

Discouragements and a weight of distress had, at times, attended me in this lonesome walk, but through these afflictions, I was mercifully preserved. Sitting down with friends, my mind was turned towards the Lord, to wait for his holy leadings; and, in infinite love, He was pleased to soften my heart into humble contrition, and renewedly to strengthen me to go forward, so that to me it was a time of heavenly refreshment in a silent meeting. The next day I came to New Garden week day meeting, in which I sat in bowedness of spirit; and being baptized into a feeling of the state of some present, the Lord gave us a heart-tendering season: to his name be the praise. Passing on, I was at Nottingham monthly meeting; and at a meeting at Little Britain on first day; in the afternoon; several friends came to the house where I lodged, and we had a little afternoon meeting; and through the humbling power of truth, I had to admire the loving kindness of the Lord manifested to us.

26th of 4th mo. I crossed the Susquehanna, and coming among people in outward ease and greatness, supported chiefly on the labor of slaves, my heart was much affected; and in awful retiredness, my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, humbly desiring that, in true resignation, I might receive instruction from Him, respecting my duty among this people. Though travelling on foot was wearisome to my body, yet it was agreeable to the state of



my mind. Being weakly, I was covered with sorrow and heaviness, on account of the prevailing spirit of this world, by which customs grievous and oppressive are introduced on the one hand, and pride and wantonness on the other.

In this lonely walk, and state of abasement and humiliation, the state of the church in these parts was opened before me; and I may truly say with the prophet: "I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it." Under this exercise, I attended the quarterly meeting at Gunpowder; and, in bowedness of spirit, I had to express with much plainness, my feelings respecting friends living in fulness, on the labors of the poor oppressed negroes; and that promise of the Most High was now revived: "I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and see my glory." Here the sufferings of Christ, and his tasting death for every man, and the travels, sufferings, and martyrdom of the apostles, and primitive christians, in laboring for the conversion of the gentiles, were livingly revived in me; and according to the measure of strength afforded, I labored in some tenderness of spirit, being deeply affected among them. The difference between the present treatment which these gentiles, the negroes, receive at our hands, and the labors of the primitive christians for the conversion of the gentiles, were pressed home, and the power of truth came over us; under a feeling of which, my mind was united to a tender-hearted people in these parts. The meeting concluded in a sense of God's goodness towards his humble, dependent children.

The next day was a general meeting for worship, much crowded, in which I was deeply engaged in inward cries to the Lord for help, that I might stand wholly resigned, and move only as he might be pleased to lead me. I was mercifully helped to labor honestly and fervently among them, in which I found inward peace; and the sincere were comforted. From this place I turned towards Pipe Creek, and the Red Lands, and had several meetings among friends in those parts. My heart was often tenderly affected, under a sense of the Lord's goodness in sanctifying my troubles and exercises, turning them to my comfort, and I be-

lieve to the benefit of many others; for I may say with thankfulness, that in this visit, it appeared like a tendering visitation in most places.

I passed on to the western quarterly meeting in Pennsylvania. During the several days of this meeting, I was mercifully preserved in an inward feeling after the mind of truth, and my public labors tended to my humiliation, with which I was content. After the quarterly meeting for worship ended, I felt drawings to go to the women's meeting for business, which was very full: here the humility of Jesus Christ, as a pattern for us to walk by, was livingly opened before me; and in treating on it my heart was enlarged, and it was a baptizing time. I was afterwards at meetings at Concord, Middletown, Providence, and Haddonfield, whence I returned home, and found my family well. A sense of the Lord's merciful preservation in this my journey, excites reverent thankfulness to Him.

2nd of 9th mo. 1767. With the unity of friends, I set off on a visit to friends in the upper part of Berks and Philadelphia counties; was at eleven meetings in about two weeks, and have renewed cause to bow in reverence before the Lord, who, by the powerful extendings of his humbling goodness, opened my way among friends, and I trust made the meetings profitable to us. The following winter I joined some friends in a family visit to some part of our meeting, in which exercise, the pure influence of Divine love, made our visits reviving.

5th of 5th mo. 1768. I left home under the humbling hand of the Lord, with a certificate to visit some meetings in Maryland; and to proceed without a horse seemed clearest to me. I was at the quarterly meetings at Philadelphia and Concord; whence I proceeded to Chester River; and crossing the bay, was at the yearly meeting at West River; I then returned to Chester River, and taking a few meetings in my way, proceeded home. It was a journey of much inward waiting; and as my eye was to the Lord, way was several times opened to my humbling admiration, when things appeared very difficult. On my return, I felt a very comfortable relief of mind; having,

through Divine help, labored in much plainness, both with friends selected, and in the more public meetings; so that I trust the pure witness in many minds was reached.

11th of 6th mo. 1769. There have been sundry cases of late years, within the limits of our monthly meeting, respecting the exercising of pure righteousness towards the negroes, in which I have lived under a labor of heart, that equity might be steadily preserved. On this account I have had some close exercises among friends, in which, I may thankfully say, I find peace. And as my meditations have been on universal love, my own conduct in time past became of late very grievous to me. As persons setting negroes free in our province, are bound by law to maintain them, in case they have need of relief; some in the time of my youth, who scrupled to keep slaves for term of life, were wont to detain their young negroes in their service, without wages, till they were thirty years of age. With this custom I so far agreed, that being joined with another friend, in executing the will of a deceased friend, I once sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, and applied the money to the use of the estate.

With abasement of heart I may now say, that sometimes as I have sat in a meeting, with my heart exercised towards that awful Being, who respecteth not persons nor colors, and have thought upon this lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind respecting him; and as I have attended to this exercise, and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me that I should make some restitution, but in what way I saw not till lately: when being under some concern that I might be resigned to go on a visit to some part of the West Indies; and under close engagement of spirit seeking to the Lord for counsel herein, the aforesaid transaction came heavily upon me, and my mind, for a time, was covered with darkness and sorrow. Under this sore affliction, my heart was softened to receive instruction: and I now first perceived, that as I had been one of the two executors, who had sold this lad for nine years longer than is common for our own children to serve, so I should now offer part of my substance to redeem the last half of the nine years; but as the time was



not yet come, I executed a bond, binding myself and my executors, to pay to the man to whom he was sold, what to candid men might appear equitable, for the last four and a half years of his time, in case the said youth should be living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.

9th of 10th mo. My heart hath often been deeply afflicted under a feeling, that the standard of pure righteousness is not lifted up to the people by us, as a society, in that clearness which it might have been, had we been as faithful as we ought to be to the teachings of Christ. And as my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of Christ's government hath been opened to my understanding; and I have believed, in the opening of universal love, that where a people who are convinced of the truth of the inward teachings of Christ, are active in putting laws in execution, which are not consistent with pure wisdom, it hath a necessary tendency to bring dimness over their minds. My heart having been thus exercised for several years, with a tender sympathy towards my fellow members, I have within a few months past expressed my concern on this subject, in several meetings for discipline.

## CHAPTER X.

1769—1770.

*Bodily indisposition.—Exercise of his mind for the good of the people in the West Indies.—Communicates to friends his concern to visit some of those islands.—Preparations to embark.—Considerations on the trade to the West Indies.—Release from his concern and return home.—Religious engagements.—Sickness and exercise of his mind therein.*

12th of 3rd mo. 1769. Having for some years past dieted myself on account of a lump gathering on my nose, under which I grew weak in body, and was not of ability to travel by land as heretofore; I was at times favored to look with awfulness towards the Lord, before whom are all my ways, who alone hath the power of life and death; and to feel thankfulness raised in me for this his fatherly chas-

tisement, believing, that if I was truly humbled under it, all would work for good. While under this bodily weakness, my mind was at times exercised for my fellow-creatures in the West Indies, and I grew jealous over myself, lest the disagreeableness of the prospect should hinder me from obediently attending thereto; for though I knew not that the Lord required me to go there, yet I believed that resignation was now called for in that respect. Feeling a danger or not being wholly devoted to him, I was frequently engaged to watch unto prayer, that I might be preserved; and upwards of a year having passed, as I one day walked in a solitary wood, my mind being covered with awfulness, cries were raised in me to my merciful father, that he would graciously keep me in faithfulness; and it then settled on my mind, as a duty, to open my condition to friends at our monthly meeting; which I did soon after as follows:

“An exercise hath attended me for some time past, and of late hath been more weighty upon me, which is, that I believe it is required of me to be resigned to go on a visit to some parts of the West Indies.” In the quarterly and general spring meeting, I found no clearness to express any thing further, than that I believed resignation herein was required of me. Having obtained certificates from all the said meetings, I felt like a sojourner at my outward habitation, and kept free from worldly encumbrances; and I was often bowed in spirit before the Lord, with inward breathings to Him, that I might be rightly directed. I may here note, that the circumstance before related of my having, when young, joined with another executor in selling a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, was now the cause of much sorrow to me; and after having settled matters relating to this youth, I provided a sea-store and bed, and things for the voyage. Hearing of a vessel likely to sail from Philadelphia for Barbadoes, I spake with one of the owners at Burlington, and soon after went to Philadelphia on purpose to speak to him again. He told me there was a friend in town who was part owner of the said vessel. I felt no inclination to speak with the latter, but returned home. A while after I

took leave of my family; and going to Philadelphia, had some weighty conversation with the first-mentioned owner, and showed him a writing, as follows:

“ On the 25th of 11th mo. 1769, as an exercise, with respect to a visit to Barbadoes, hath been weighty on my mind, I may express some of the trials which have attended me; under which I have at times rejoiced, that I have felt my own self-will subjected.

“ Some years ago I retailed rum, sugar, and molasses, the fruits of the labor of slaves; but had not then much concern about them, save only that the rum might be used in moderation; nor was this concern so weightily attended to as I now believe it ought to have been. Having of late years been further informed respecting the oppressions too generally exercised in these islands, and thinking often on the dangers there are in connexions of interest and fellowship with the works of darkness, Ephes. v. 11.; I have felt an increasing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit; and it hath seemed right that my small gain from this branch of trade, should be applied in promoting righteousness on the earth. This was the first motion towards a visit to Barbadoes. I believed also that part of my outward substance should be applied in paying my passage, if I went, and providing things in a lowly way for my subsistence; but when the time drew near, in which I believed it required of me to be in readiness, a difficulty arose which hath been a continual trial for some months past; under which I have, with abasement of mind from day to day, sought the Lord for instruction, having often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who bewailed himself because the Lord hid his face from him. During these exercises my heart hath often been contrite, and I have had a tender feeling of the temptations of my fellow-creatures, laboring under expensive customs not agreeable to the simplicity that “there is in Christ,” 2 Cor. ii. 3. and sometimes in the renewings of gospel love, I have been helped to minister to others.

“ That which hath so closely engaged my mind, in seeking to the Lord for instruction, is, whether, after the full information I have had of the oppression which the slaves



lie under, who raise the West India produce, which I have gained by reading a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies, written by Anthony Benezet, it is right for me to take passage in a vessel, employed in the West India trade.

“ To trade freely with oppressors, without laboring to dissuade them from such unkind treatment, and to seek for gain by such traffic, tends, I believe, to make them more easy respecting their conduct, than they would be, if the cause of universal righteousness was humbly and firmly attended to, by those in general with whom they have commerce; and that complaint of the Lord by his prophet, “ They have strengthened the hands of the wicked,” hath very often revived in my mind. I may here add some circumstances which occurred to me before I had any prospect of a visit there. David longed for some water in a well beyond an army of Philistines, who were at war with Israel; and some of his men, to please him, ventured their lives in passing through this army, and brought that water.

“ It doth not appear that the Israelites were then scarce of water, but rather that David gave way to delicacy of taste; and having reflected on the danger to which these men had been exposed, he considered this water as their blood, and his heart smote him that he could not drink it, but he poured it out to the Lord. The oppression of the slaves, which I have seen in several journeys southward on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the West Indies, have deeply affected me; and a care to live in the spirit of peace, and minister no just cause of offence to my fellow-creatures, having from time to time livingly revived in my mind; I have for some years past, declined to gratify my palate with those sugars.

“ I do not censure my brethren in these things; but I believe the Father of Mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of this oppressed people, and that he is preparing some to have a tender feeling of their condition. Trading in, or the frequent use of any produce known to be raised by the labor of those who are under such lamentable oppression,

hath appeared to be a subject which may hereafter require the more serious consideration of the humble followers of Christ, the Prince of peace.

“After long and mournful exercise, I am now free to mention how things have opened in my mind, with desires that if it may please the Lord further to open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow Him in such further manifestation.

“The number of those who decline the use of West India produce, on account of the hard usage of the slaves who raise it, appears small, even among people truly pious; and the labors in Christian love on that subject, of those who do, are not very extensive. Were the trade from this continent to the West Indies to be stopped at once, I believe many there would suffer for want of bread. Did we, on this continent, and the inhabitants of the West Indies, generally dwell in pure righteousness, I believe a small trade between us might be right. Under these considerations, when the thoughts of wholly declining the use of trading vessels, and of trying to hire a vessel to go under ballast, have arisen in my mind, I have believed that the labors in gospel love, hitherto bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness, are not arrived at that height. If the trade to the West Indies were no more than was consistent with pure wisdom, I believe the passage money would, for good reasons, be higher than it is now; and therefore, under deep exercise of mind, I have believed that I should not take advantage of this great trade and small passage money; but, as a testimony in favor of less trading, should pay more than is common for others to pay, if I go at this time.”

The first mentioned owner having read the paper, went with me to the other owner; who also read over the paper, and we had some solid conversation, under which I felt myself bowed in reverence before the Most High. At length one of them asked me if I would go and see the vessel. But not having clearness in my mind to go, I went to my lodging, and retired in private under great exercise of mind; and my tears were poured out before the Lord, with inward cries that He would graciously help me unde

these trials. I believe my mind was resigned, but I did not feel clearness to proceed; and my own weakness, and the necessity of Divine instruction, were impressed upon me.

I was for a time as one who knew not what to do, and was tossed as in a tempest; under which affliction, the doctrine of Christ, "Take no thought for the morrow," arose livingly before me, and I was favored to get into a good degree of stillness. Having been near two days in town, I believed my obedience to my heavenly Father consisted in returning homeward; I therefore went over among friends on the Jersey shore, and tarried till the morning on which the vessel was appointed to sail. As I lay in bed the latter part of that night, my mind was comforted; and I felt what I esteemed a fresh confirmation, that it was the Lord's will that I should pass through some further exercises near home: so I went thither, and still felt like a sojourner with my family. In the fresh spring of pure love, I had some labors in a private way among friends on a subject relating to truth's testimony, under which I had frequently been exercised in heart for some years. I remember, as I walked on the road under this exercise, that passage in Ezekiel came fresh upon me: "Whithersoever their faces were turned, thither they went." And I was graciously helped to discharge my duty, in the fear and dread of the Almighty.

In the course of a few weeks, it pleased the Lord to visit me with a pleurisy; and after I had lain a few days, and felt the disorder very grievous, I was thoughtful how it might end. I had of late, through various exercises, been much weaned from the pleasant things of this life; and I now thought, if it were the Lord's will to put an end to my labors, and graciously to receive me into the arms of his mercy, death would be acceptable to me; but if it were his will further to refine me under affliction, and to make me in any degree useful in his church, I desired not to die. I may with thankfulness say, that in this case I felt resignedness wrought in me, and had no inclination to send for a doctor; believing, if it were the Lord's will through outward means to raise me up, some sympathizing



friends would be sent to minister to me; which accordingly was the case. But though I was carefully attended, yet the disorder was at times so heavy, that I had no expectation of recovery. One night in particular my bodily distress was great; my feet grew cold, and the cold increased up my legs towards my body; at that time I had no inclination to ask my nurse to apply any thing warm to my feet, expecting my end was near. After I had lain near ten hours in this condition, I closed my eyes, thinking whether I might now be delivered out of the body; but, in these awful moments, my mind was livingly opened to behold the church; and strong engagements were begotten in me, for the everlasting well-being of my fellow-creatures. I felt in the spring of pure love, that I might remain some time longer in the body, to fill up according to my measure, that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, and to labor for the good of the church; after which I requested my nurse to apply warmth to my feet, and I revived. The next night, feeling a weighty exercise of spirit, and having a solid friend sitting up with me, I requested him to write what I said, which he did as follows:

“Fourth day of the first month, 1770, about five in the morning.—I have seen in the Light of the Lord, that the day is approaching, when the man that is most wise in human policy shall be the greatest fool; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice shall be broken to pieces; the enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for he that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed: and He commanded me to open the vision.”

Near a week after this, feeling my mind livingly opened, I sent for a neighbor, who, at my request, wrote as follows:

“The place of prayer is a precious habitation; for I now saw that the prayers of the saints were precious incense; and a trumpet was given to me, that I might sound forth this language; that the children might hear it, and be invited together to this precious habitation, where the prayers of the saints, as precious incense, arise before the throne of God and the Lamb.—I saw this habitation to be safe;—to be inwardly quiet when there were great stirrings and commotions in the world.

“Prayer, at this day, in pure resignation, is a precious place: the trumpet is sounded; the call goes forth to the church, that she gather to the place of pure inward prayer; and her habitation is safe.”

## CHAPTER XI.

1772.

*Embarks at Chester, with Samuel Emlen, in a ship bound for London.—Exercise of mind respecting the hardships of the sailors.—Considerations on the dangers of training youth to a seafaring life.—Thoughts during a storm at sea.—Arrival in London.*

Having been some time under a religious concern to prepare for crossing the seas, in order to visit friends in the northern parts of England, and more particularly in Yorkshire; after consideration, I thought it expedient to inform friends of it, at our monthly meeting at Burlington, who, having unity with me therein, gave me a certificate. I afterwards communicated the same to our quarterly meeting, and they likewise certified their concurrence. Some time after, at the general spring meeting of ministers and elders, I thought it my duty to acquaint them with the religious exercise which attended my mind; and they likewise signified their unity therewith by a certificate, dated the 24th of 3rd mo. 1772, directed to friends in Great Britain.

In the 4th month following, I thought the time was come for me to make some inquiry for a suitable conveyance; and as my concern was principally towards the northern parts of England, it seemed most proper to go in a vessel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven. While I was at Philadelphia, deliberating on this subject, I was informed that my beloved friend Samuel Emlen, junior, intended to go to London, and had taken a passage for himself in the cabin of the ship called the *Mary and Elizabeth*, of which James Sparks was master, and John Head of the city of Philadelphia, one of the owners; and feeling a draught in my mind towards the steerage of the same ship, I went first and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I spake to him, and appeared glad that I had thoughts of going in the vessel with him, though my prospect was toward the steerage; and he offering to go with me, we went on board, first into the cabin, a commodious room, and then into the steerage; where we sat down on a chest, the sailors being busy about us; the owner of the ship also came and sat down with us. My mind was turned towards Christ, the heavenly counsellor; and feeling at this time my own will subjected, my heart was contrite before him. A motion was made by the owner to go and sit in the cabin, as a place more retired; but I felt easy to leave the ship, and making no agreement as to a passage in her; told the owner, if I took a passage in the ship, I believed it would be in the steerage; but did not say much as to my exercise in that case.

After I went to my lodgings, and the case was a little known in town, a friend laid before me the great inconvenience attending a passage in the steerage; which for a time appeared very discouraging to me.

I soon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exercise before the Lord, whose helping hand was manifested to me as I slept that night, and his love strengthened my heart. In the morning, I went with two friends on board the vessel again; and after a short time spent therein, I went with Samuel Emlen to the house of the owner, to whom, in the hearing of Samuel only, I opened my exercise in relation to a scruple I felt with regard to a passage in the cabin, in substance as follows:

“That on the outside of that part of the ship where the cabin was, I observed sundry sorts of carved work and imagery; that in the cabin I observed some superfluity of workmanship of several sorts; and that according to the ways of men’s reckoning, the sum of money to be paid for a passage in that apartment, has some relation to the expense of furnishing it, to please the minds of such as give way to a conformity to this world; and that in this, as in other cases, the monies received from the passengers are calculated to defray the cost of these superfluities, as well as the other expenses of their passage. I therefore



felt a scruple with regard to paying my money to be applied to such purposes."

As my mind was now opened, I told the owner that I had, at several times in my travels, seen great oppressions on this continent, at which my heart had been much affected, and brought into a feeling of the state of the sufferers; and having many times been engaged in the fear and love of God, to labor with those under whom the oppressed have been borne down and afflicted, I have often perceived, that with a view to get riches, and to provide estates for children, that they may live conformably to the customs and honors of this world, many are entangled in the spirit of oppression; and the exercise of my soul had been such, that I could not find peace in joining in any thing, which I saw was against that wisdom which is pure.

After this I agreed for a passage in the steerage; and hearing that Joseph White had desired to see me, I went to his house; and next day home, where I tarried two nights. Early the next morning, I parted with my family, under a sense of the humbling hand of God upon me, and going to Philadelphia, had an opportunity with several of my beloved friends, who appeared to be concerned for me, on account of the unpleasant situation of that part of the vessel in which I was likely to lodge. In these opportunities my mind, through the mercies of the Lord, was kept low, in an inward waiting for his help; and friends having expressed their desire that I might have a more convenient place than the steerage, did not urge it, but appeared disposed to leave me to the Lord.

Having staid two nights at Philadelphia, I went the next day to Derby monthly meeting, where through the strength of Divine love, my heart was enlarged towards the youth there present, under which I was helped to labor in some tenderness of spirit. I lodged at William Horn's, and afterwards went to Chester, where I met with Samuel Emlen, and we went on board, 1st of 5th mo. 1772. As I sat alone on the deck, I felt a satisfactory evidence that my proceedings were not in my own will, but under the power of the cross of Christ.

7th of 5th mo. We have had rough weather mostly since I came on board, and the passengers, James Reynolds, John Till Adams, Sarah Logan and her hired maid, and John Bispham, all sea-sick at times; from which sickness through the tender mercies of my heavenly Father, I have been preserved, my afflictions now being of another kind. There appeared an openness in the minds of the master of the ship and in the cabin passengers towards me; we are often together on the deck, and sometimes in the cabin. My mind, through the merciful help of the Lord, hath been preserved in a good degree watchful and quiet; for which I have great cause to be thankful.

As my lodging in the steerage, now near a week, hath afforded me sundry opportunities of seeing, hearing, and feeling, with respect to the life and spirit of many poor sailors; an exercise of soul hath attended me, in regard to placing out children and youth, where they may be likely to be exampled and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord.

Being much among the seamen, I have, from a motion of love, taken sundry opportunities with one of them at a time, and have in free conversation, labored to turn their minds towards the fear of the Lord. This day we had a meeting in the cabin, where my heart was contrite under a feeling of Divine love.

I believe a communication with different parts of the world by sea, is at times consistent with the will of our heavenly Father; and to educate some youth in the practice of sailing, I believe may be right; but how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! How impure are the channels through which trade is conducted! How great is the danger to which poor lads are exposed, when placed on ship-board to learn the art of sailing! Five lads, training up for the seas, were on board this ship; two of them were brought up in our society, and the other, by name James Naylor, is a member, to whose father James Naylor, mentioned in Sewel's history, appears to have been uncle. I often feel a tenderness of heart towards these poor lads; and at times look at them as though they were my children according to the flesh.

Oh that all may take heed and beware of covetousness!

O that all may learn of Christ, who was meek and low of heart. Then, in faithfully following Him, he will teach us to be content with food and raiment, without respect to the customs or honors of this world. Men thus redeemed, will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a desire that those in the lowest stations may be assisted and encouraged; and where owners of ships attain to the perfect law of liberty, and are doers of the Word, these will be blessed in their deeds.

A ship at sea commonly sails all night, and the seamen take their watches four hours at a time. Rising to work in the night, it is not commonly pleasant in any case; but in dark rainy nights it is very disagreeable, even though each man were furnished with all conveniences. If after having been on deck several hours in the night, they come down into the steerage soaking wet, and are so closely stowed that proper convenience for change of garments is not easily come at, but for want of proper room their wet garments are thrown in heaps, and sometimes, through much crowding, are trodden under foot, in going to their lodgings and getting out of them, and it is difficult, at times, for each to find his own; here are trials on the poor sailors.

Now as I have been with them in my lodge, my heart hath often yearned for them, and tender desires have been raised in me, that all owners and masters of vessels may dwell in the love of God, and therein act uprightly; and by seeking less for gain, and looking carefully to their ways, they may earnestly labor to remove all cause of provocation from the poor seamen, so that they may neither fret nor use excess of strong drink; for indeed the poor creatures, in the wet and cold, seem to apply at times to strong drink, to supply the want of other convenience. Great reformation is wanting in the world, and the necessity of it, among those who do business on great waters, hath at this time been abundantly opened before me.

8th of 5th mo. This morning the clouds gathered, the wind blew strong from the south-east, and before noon so increased, that sailing appeared dangerous. The seamen then bound up some of their sails, and took down others,



and the storm increasing, they put the dead lights, so called, into the cabin-windows, and lighted a lamp as at night. The wind now blew vehemently, and the sea wrought to that degree, that an awful seriousness prevailed in the cabin, in which I spent I believe, about seventeen hours; for the cabin passengers had given me frequent invitations, and I thought the poor wet toiling seamen, had need of all the room in the crowded steerage. They now ceased from sailing, and put the vessel in the posture called lying to.

My mind during this tempest, through the gracious assistance of the Lord, was preserved in a good degree of resignation; and at times I expressed a few words in his love to my ship-mates, in regard to the all-sufficiency of Him who formed the great deep, and whose care is so extensive, that a sparrow falls not without his notice; and thus, in a tender frame of mind, I spoke to them of the necessity of our yielding, in true obedience, to the instructions of our heavenly Father, who sometimes through adversities intendeth our refinement.

About eleven at night I went out on the deck. The sea wrought exceedingly, and the high foaming waves round about, had in some sort the appearance of fire, but did not give much if any light. The sailor at the helm said he lately saw a corposant at the head of the mast. I observed that the master of the ship ordered the carpenter to keep on the deck; and though he said little, I apprehended his care was, that the carpenter with his axe might be in readiness in case of any extremity. Soon after this the vehemency of the wind abated, and before morning they again put the ship under sail.

10th of 5 mo. It being the first day of the week, and fine weather, we had a meeting in the cabin, at which most of the seamen were present; this meeting was to me a strengthening time. 13th. As I continue to lodge in the steerage, I feel an openness this morning to express something further of the state of my mind, in respect to poor lads bound apprentice to learn the art of sailing. As I believe sailing is of use in the world, a labor of soul attends me, that the pure counsel of truth may be humbly

waited for in this case, by all concerned in the business of the seas. A pious father, whose mind is exercised for the everlasting welfare of his child, may not, with a peaceable mind, place him out to an employment among a people, whose common course of life is manifestly corrupt and profane. Great is the present defect among seafaring men, in regard to virtue and piety; and by reason of an abundant traffic, and many ships being used for war, so many people are employed on the sea, that the subject of placing lads to this employment appears very weighty.

When I remember the saying of the Most High through his prophet, "This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise:" and think of placing children among such to learn the practice of sailing, the consistency of it with a pious education, seems to me like that mentioned by the prophet, "There is no answer from God."

Profane examples are very corrupting, and very forcible. And as my mind day after day, and night after night, hath been affected with a sympathizing tenderness towards poor children, who are put to the employment of sailors, I have sometimes had weighty conversation with the sailors in the steerage, who were mostly respectful to me, and became more so the longer I was with them. They mostly appeared to take kindly what I said to them; but their minds were so deeply impressed with the almost universal depravity among sailors, that the poor creatures in their answers to me, have revived in my remembrance that of the degenerate Jews a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, "There is no hope."

Now under this exercise, a sense of the desire of outward gain prevailing among us, felt grievous; and a strong call to the professed followers of Christ was raised in me, that all may take heed, lest through loving this present world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty, with respect to a faithful labor for reformation.

To silence every motion proceeding from the love of money, and humbly to wait upon God to know his will concerning us, have appeared necessary. He alone is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the safe foundation, and so to direct us in our

outward employments, that pure universal love may shine forth in our proceedings. Desires arising from the spirit of truth, are pure desires; and when a mind divinely opened towards a young generation, is made sensible of corrupting examples, powerfully working, and extensively spreading among them, how moving is the prospect. In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a desolate thorny wilderness, how precious, how comfortable, how safe, are the leadings of Christ the good shepherd, who said, "I know my sheep, and am known of mine."

16th of 6 mo. Wind for several days past often high, what the sailors call squally, with a rough sea, and frequent rains. This last night has been a very trying one to the poor seamen; the water the most part of the night running over the main deck, and sometimes breaking waves came on the quarter deck. The latter part of the night, as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power of Divine love; and resignedness to the great Creator of the earth and the seas, was renewedly wrought in me, and his fatherly care over his children felt precious to my soul. I was now desirous to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardships and difficulties of my fellow-creatures, and to labor in his love for the spreading of pure righteousness on the earth. Opportunities were frequent of hearing conversation among the sailors, respecting the voyages to Africa, and the manner of bringing the deeply oppressed slaves into our Islands. They are frequently brought on board the vessels, in chains and fetters, with hearts loaded with grief, under the apprehension of miserable slavery; so that my mind was frequently engaged to meditate on these things.

17th of 5 mo. and 1st of the week. We had a meeting in the cabin, to which the seamen generally came. My spirit was contrite before the Lord, whose love at this time affected my heart. In the afternoon I felt a tender sympathy of soul with my poor wife and family left behind; in which state my heart was enlarged in desires, that they may walk in that humble obedience, wherein the everlasting Father may be their guide and support through all their difficulties in this world; and a sense of that gracious as-



sistance, through which my mind hath been strengthened to take up the cross and leave them, to travel in the love of truth, hath begotten thankfulness in my heart to our great Helper.

24th of 5 mo. A clear pleasant morning. As I sat on deck, I felt a reviving in my nature, which had been weakened through much rainy weather and high winds, and being shut up in a close unhealthy air. Several nights of late I have felt my breathing difficult; and a little after the rising of the second watch, which is about midnight, I have got up, and stood near an hour, with my face near the hatchway, to get the fresh air at the small vacancy under the hatch-door, which is commonly shut down, partly to keep out rain, and sometimes to keep the breaking waves from dashing into the steerage. I may, with thankfulness to the Father of Mercies acknowledge that, in my present weak state, my mind hath been supported to bear this affliction with patience; and I have looked at the present dispensation as a kindness from the great Father of mankind, who, in this my floating pilgrimage, is in some degree bringing me to feel what many thousands of my fellow creatures often suffer in a greater degree.

My appetite failing, the trial hath been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my soul after God, the fountain of comfort, whose inward help hath supplied, at times, the want of outward convenience: and strong desires have attended me, that his family, who are acquainted with the movings of his Holy Spirit, may be so redeemed from the love of money, and from that spirit in which men seek honor one of another, that in all business, by sea or land, they may constantly keep in view the coming of his kingdom on earth, as it is in heaven; and, by faithfully following this safe guide, may show forth examples tending to lead out of that under which the creation groans. This day we had a meeting in the cabin, in which I was favored in some degree to experience the fulfilling of that saying of the prophet—"The Lord hath been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in their distress;" for which my heart is bowed in thankfulness before Him.

28th 5 mo. Wet weather of late and small winds, in-

clining to calms. Our seamen cast a lead, I suppose about one hundred fathoms, but found no bottom. Foggy weather this morning. Through the kindness of the great Preserver of men, my mind remains quiet; and a degree of exercise from day to day attends me, that the pure peaceable government of Christ may spread and prevail among mankind.

The leading of a young generation in that pure way, in which the wisdom of this world hath no place; where parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heavenly Counselor, may example them in the truth, as it is in Jesus; hath for several days been the exercise of my mind. O, how safe, how quiet is that state, where the soul stands in pure obedience to the voice of Christ, and a watchful care is maintained, not to follow the voice of the stranger! Here Christ is felt to be our shepherd; and under his leading, people are brought to a stability: and where he doth not lead forward, we are bound in the bonds of pure love, to stand still and wait upon Him.

In the love of money, and in the wisdom of this world, business is proposed, then the urgency of affairs push forward, and the mind cannot in this state, discern the good and perfect will of God concerning us. The love of God is manifested in graciously calling us to come out of that which stands in confusion; but if we bow not in the name of Jesus; if we give not up those prospects of gain, which, in the wisdom of this world, are open before us, but say in our hearts, "I must needs go on; and in going on, I hope to keep as near the purity of truth as the business before me will admit of;" the mind remains entangled, and the shining of the light of life into the soul is obstructed.

Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation, that in his fear we may be instructed, and led safely through the great difficulties and perplexities in this present age. In an entire subjection of our wills, the Lord graciously opens a way for his people, where all their wants are bounded by his wisdom: and here we experience the substance of what Moses the prophet figured out in the water of separation, as a purification from sin.

Esau is mentioned as a child red all over, like a hairy

garment. In Esau is represented the natural will of man. In preparing the water of separation, a red heifer without blemish on which there had been no yoke, was to be slain, and her blood sprinkled by the priest seven times towards the tabernacle of the congregation: then her skin, her flesh, and all pertaining to her, was to be burnt without the camp; and of her ashes the water was prepared. Thus the crucifying of the old man, or natural will, is represented; and hence comes a separation from that carnal mind which is death. He who toucheth the dead body of a man, and purifieth not himself with the water of separation, defileth the tabernacle of the Lord; he is unclean."—Num. xix. 13.

If any through the love of gain, engage in business, wherein they dwell as among the tombs, and touch the bodies of those who are dead; should through the infinite love of God, feel the power of the cross of Christ to crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the Divine leader; here is the judgment of this world—here the prince of this world is cast out. The water of separation is felt; and though we have been among the slain, and through the desire of gain, have touched the dead body of a man; yet, in the purifying love of Christ, we are washed in the water of separation; we are brought off from that business; from that gain, and from that fellowship, which is not agreeable to his holy will. I have felt a renewed confirmation in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in his infinite love, is calling to his visited children, so to give up all outward possessions, and means of getting treasures, that his Holy Spirit may have free course in their hearts, and direct them in all their proceedings. To feel the substance pointed at in this figure, man must know death, as to his own will.

"No man can see God and live." This was spoken by the Almighty to Moses the prophet, and opened by our blessed Redeemer. As death comes on our own wills, and a new life is formed in us, the heart is purified, and prepared to understand clearly, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." In purity of heart, the mind is divinely opened to behold the nature of universal



righteousness, or the righteousness of the kingdom of God. "No man hath seen the Father, save he that is of God, he hath seen the Father."

The natural mind is active about the things of this life; and in this natural activity, business is proposed, and a will is formed in us to go forward in it. And so long as this natural will remains unsubjected, so long there remains an obstruction to the clearness of Divine light operating in us; but when we love God with all our heart, and with all our strength, in this love, we love our neighbor as ourselves; and a tenderness of heart is felt towards all people for whom Christ died, even those who, as to outward circumstances, may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. "Who is my neighbor?" See this question answered by our Savior, Luke x. 30. In this love we can say, that Jesus is the Lord; and in this reformation in our souls, manifested in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all things are of God, 2 Cor. v. 18; the desire of gain is subjected.

When employment is honestly followed in the light of truth, and people become diligent in business, "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord"—Rom. xii. 11, the meaning of the name is opened to us: "This is the name by which he shall be called, **THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.**"—Jer. xxiii. 6. Oh how precious is this name! it is like ointment poured out. The chaste virgins are in love with the Redeemer; and for promoting his peaceable kingdom in the world, are content to endure hardness like good soldiers; and are so separated in spirit from the desire of riches, that in their employments they become extensively careful to give no offence, either to Jew or Heathen, or to the church of Christ.

31st of 5 mo. and 1st of the week. We had a meeting in the cabin, with nearly all the ship's company, the whole being near thirty. In this meeting the Lord in mercy favored us with the extending of his love.

2nd of 6 mo. Last evening the seamen found bottom, at about seventy fathoms. This morning, a fair wind and pleasant. I sat on deck, my heart was overcome with the love of Christ, and melted into contrition before him. In

this state, the prospect of that work to which I found my mind drawn, when in my native land, being in some degree opened before me, I felt like a little child; and my cries were put up to my heavenly Father for preservation, that in an humble dependence on Him, my soul might be strengthened in his love, and kept inwardly waiting for his counsel. This afternoon we saw that part of England called the Lizard.

Some fowls yet remained of those the passengers took for their sea-store. I believe about fourteen perished in the storms at sea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck; and a considerable number with sickness, at different times. I observed the cocks crew as we came down the Delaware, and while we were near the land; but afterwards I think I did not hear one of them crow till we came near the English coast, when they again crowed a few times. In observing their dull appearance at sea, and the pining sickness of some of them, I often remembered the Fountain of goodness, who gave being to all creatures, and whose love extends to caring for the sparrows. I believe where the love of God is verily perfected, and the true spirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderness towards all creatures made subject to us will be experienced; and a care felt in us, that we do not lessen that sweetness of life in the animal creation, which the great Creator intends for them under our government.

4th of 6 mo. Wet weather, high winds, and so dark that we could see but a little way. I perceived our seamen were apprehensive of the danger of missing the channel, which I understood was narrow. In a while it grew lighter; and they saw the land, and knew where we were. Thus the Father of mercies was pleased to try us with the sight of dangers; and then graciously, from time to time, deliver us from them: thus sparing our lives, that in humility and reverence we might walk before Him, and put our trust in Him. About noon a pilot came off from Dover, where my beloved friend Samuel Emlen went on shore, and thence to London, about seventy-two miles by land; but I felt easy in staying in the ship.

7th of 6 mo. and 1st of the week. A clear morning;

we lay at anchor for the tide, and had a parting meeting with the ship's company, in which my heart was enlarged in a fervent concern for them, that they may come to experience salvation through Christ. Had a head-wind up the Thames; lay sometimes at anchor; saw many ships passing, and some at anchor near; and I had large opportunity of feeling the spirit in which the poor bewildered sailors too generally live; that lamentable degeneracy, which so much prevails in the people employed on the seas, so affected my heart, that I cannot easily convey the feeling I had to another.

The present state of the seafaring life in general, appears so opposite to that of a pious education; so full of corruption, and extreme alienation from God; so full of the most dangerous examples to young people, that in looking towards a young generation, I feel a care for them, that they may have an education different from the present one of lads at sea; and that all of us, who are acquainted with the pure gospel spirit, may lay this case to heart, may remember the lamentable corruptions which attend the conveyance of merchandise across the seas, and so abide in the love of Christ, that being delivered from the entangling expenses of a curious, delicate, and luxurious life, we may learn contentment with a little; and promote the seafaring life no further than that spirit, which leads into all truth, attends us in our proceedings.

## CHAPTER XII.

1772.

*Attends the yearly-meeting in London—Then proceeds towards Yorkshire—Visits quarterly and other meetings in the counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York, and Westmoreland.—Returns to Yorkshire—Instructive observations and letters. Hears of the disease of William Hunt.—Some account of him.—The author's last illness and death at York.*

On the 8th of 6 mo. 1772, we landed at London, and I went straightway to the yearly meeting of ministers and



elders, which had been gathered, I suppose, about half an hour.

In this meeting my mind was humbly contrite. In the afternoon the meeting for business was opened, which by adjournments held near a week. In these meetings I often felt a living concern for the establishment of friends in the pure life of truth. My heart was enlarged in the meetings of ministers, that for business, and in several meetings for public worship; and I felt my mind united in true love, to the faithful laborers now gathered at this yearly meeting. On the 15th I went to a quarterly meeting at Hertford.

1st of 7 mo. I have been at quarterly meetings at Sherrington, Northampton, Banbury, and Shipton; and have had sundry meetings between. My mind hath been bowed under a sense of Divine goodness manifested among us; my heart hath been often enlarged in true love, both among ministers and elders, and in public meetings; and through the Lord's goodness, I believe it hath been a fresh visitation to many, in particular to the youth.

17th. I was this day at Birmingham, I have been at meetings at Coventry, Warwick, in Oxfordshire, and sundry other places, and have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me; but through his tender mercies I find peace in the labors I have gone through.

26th. I have continued travelling northward, visiting meetings. Was this day at Nottingham; the forenoon meeting was especially, through Divine love, a heart-tendering season. Next day I had a meeting in a friends' family, which, through the strengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

2nd of 8th mo. and 1st of the week. I was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town. I was at sundry meetings last week, and feel inward thankfulness for that Divine support, which hath been graciously extended to me. On the 9th I was at Rushworth. I have lately passed through some painful labor; but have been comforted under a sense of that Divine visitation, which I feel extended towards many young people.

16th of 8th mo. and the 1st of the week, I was at Settle. It hath of late been a time of inward poverty; under which

my mind hath been preserved in a watchful tender state, feeling for the mind of the holy Leader, and I find peace in the labors I have passed through.

On inquiry in many places, I find the price of rye about five shillings; wheat eight shillings per bushel; oatmeal twelve shillings for a hundred and twenty pounds; mutton from three pence to five pence per pound; bacon from seven pence to nine pence; cheese from four pence to six pence; butter from eight pence to ten pence; house rent for a poor man, from twenty-five shillings to forty shillings per year, to be paid weekly; wood for fire very scarce and dear; coal in some places, two shillings and six pence per hundred weight; but near the pits not a quarter so much. O may the wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of laboring men, in several counties towards London, at ten pence per day in common business, the employer finds small beer, and the laborer finds his own food; but in harvest and hay time, wages are about one shilling per day, and the laborer hath all his diet. In some parts of the north of England, poor laboring men have their food where they work, and appear in common to do rather better than nearer London. Industrious women, who spin in the factories, get some four pence, some five pence, and so on to six, seven, eight, nine, or ten pence per day, and find their own house-room and diet. Great numbers of poor people live chiefly on bread and water, in the southern parts of England, as well as in the northern parts; and there are many poor children not even taught to read. May those who have abundance lay these things to heart!

Stage coaches frequently go upwards of one hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and I have heard friends say, in several places, that it is common for horses to be killed with hard driving, and that many others are driven till they grow blind. Post-boys pursue their business, each one to his stage, all night through the winter. Some boys, who ride long stages, suffer greatly in winter nights, and at several places, I have heard of their being frozen to death. So great is the hurry in the spirit of this world, that in aiming to do business quickly, and to gain wealth, the creation at this day doth loudly groan.

As my journey hath been without a horse, I have had several offers of being assisted on my way in these stage coaches, but have not been in them; nor have I had freedom to send letters by these posts, in the present way of their riding; the stages being so fixed, and one boy dependent on another, as to time and going at great speed, that in long cold winter nights, the poor boys suffer much. I heard in America of the way of these posts; and cautioned friends in the general meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, and in the yearly meeting of ministers and elders in London, not to send letters to me on any common occasion by post. And though, on this account, I may be likely not to hear so often from my family left behind; yet for righteousness sake I am, through Divine favor made content.

I have felt great distress of mind, since I came on this island, on account of the members of our society being mixed with the world in various sorts of traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for slaves! and for the loading of these ships, a great number of people are employed in their factories; among whom are many of our society. Friends, in early times, refused on a religious principle, to make or trade in superfluities; of which we have many testimonies on record: but for want of faithfulness, some, whose examples were of note in our society, gave way; from which others took more liberty. Members of our society worked in superfluities, and bought and sold them; and thus dimness of sight came over many: at length, friends got into the use of some superfluities in dress, and in the furniture of their houses; which hath spread from less to more, till superfluity of some kinds is common among us.

In this declining state, many look at the example of others and too much neglect the pure feeling of truth. Of late years, a deep exercise hath attended my mind, that friends may dig deep, may carefully cast forth the loose matter, and get down to the Rock, the sure foundation, and there hearken to that Divine voice which gives a clear and certain sound; and I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if friends who have known the truth, keep in that tenderness of heart, where all views of outward gain



are given up, and their trust is only in the Lord, he will graciously lead some to be patterns of deep self-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labor: and others who have plenty of the treasures of this world, will be examples of a plain frugal life, and pay wages to such as they may hire, more liberally than is now customary in some places.

23rd of 8 mo. I was this day at Preston Patrick, and had a comfortable meeting. I have several times been entertained at the houses of friends, who had sundry things about them that had the appearance of outward greatness; and as I have kept inward, way hath opened for conversation with such in private, in which Divine goodness hath favored us together with heart-tendering times.

26th of 8 mo.—Being now at George Crosfield's, in the county of Westmoreland, I feel a concern to commit to writing, the following uncommon circumstance.

In a time of sickness with the pleurisy, a little more than two years and a half ago, I was brought so near the gates of death, that I forgot my name. Being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy color, between the south and the east; and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be, and live, and that I was mixed with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard with my ears before; I believed it was the voice of an angel, who spake to the other angels: the words were — “John Woolman is dead.” I soon remembered that I was once John Woolman, and being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean. I believed beyond doubting that it was the voice of an holy angel, but as yet it was a mystery to me.

I was then carried in spirit to the mines, where poor oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians, and heard them blaspheme the name of Christ; at which I was grieved; for his name to me was precious. I was then informed that these heathens were

told that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ; and they said among themselves, "if Christ directed them to use us in this sort, then Christ is a cruel tyrant."

All this time the song of the angel remained a mystery; and in the morning, my dear wife and some others coming to my bedside, I asked them if they knew who I was; and they telling me I was John Woolman, thought I was light-headed: for I told them not what the angel said, nor was I disposed to talk much to any one, but was very desirous to get so deep, that I might understand this mystery.

My tongue was often so dry, that I could not speak till I had moved it about and gathered some moisture; and as I lay still for a time, I at length felt a Divine power prepare my mouth that I could speak; and I then said, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. And the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." Then the mystery was opened, and I perceived there was joy in heaven over a sinner who had repented; and that the language "John Woolman is dead," meant no more than the death of my own will.

Soon after I coughed, and raised much bloody matter, which I had not done during this vision. My natural understanding now returned as before, and I saw that people setting off their tables with silver vessels at entertainments, was often stained with worldly glory; and that in the present state of things, I should take heed how I fed myself out of such vessels. Going to our monthly meeting soon after my recovery, I dined at a friend's house where drink was brought in silver vessels, and not in any other. Wanting something to drink, I told him my case with weeping, and he ordered some drink for me in another vessel. I afterwards went through the same exercise in several friends' houses in America, as well as in England, and I have cause to acknowledge with humble reverence, the loving kindness of my heavenly Father, who hath preserved me in such a tender frame of mind, that none, I be-

lieve, have ever been offended at what I have said on that subject.

After this sickness, I spake not in public meetings for worship for nearly one year; but my mind was very often in company with the oppressed slaves, as I sat in meetings; and though, under this dispensation, I was shut up from speaking, yet the spring of the gospel ministry was, many times, livingly opened in me, and the Divine gift operated by abundance of weeping, in feeling the oppression of this people. It being so long since I passed through this dispensation, and the matter remaining fresh and lively in my mind, I believe it safest for me to commit it to writing.

30th of 8 mo. This morning I wrote a letter, in substance as follows:

“ Beloved friend,

“ My mind is often affected as I pass along, under a sense of the state of many poor people, who sit under that sort of ministry which requires much outward labor to support it; and the loving kindness of our heavenly Father, in opening a pure gospel ministry in this nation, hath often raised thankfulness in my heart to Him. I often remember the conflicts of the faithful under persecution, and now look at the free exercise of the pure gift uninterrupted by outward laws, as a trust committed to us; which requires our deepest gratitude, and most careful attention. I feel a tender concern that the work of reformation so prosperously carried on in this land within a few ages past, may go forward and spread among the nations; and may not go backward, through dust gathering on our garments, who have been called to a work so great and so precious.

“ Last evening during thy absence, I had a little opportunity with some of thy family, in which I rejoiced; and feeling a sweetness on my mind towards thee, I now endeavor to open a little of the feeling I had there.

“ I have heard that you in these parts, have at certain seasons, meetings of conference, in relation to friends living up to our principles, in which several meetings unite in one. With this I feel unity, having in some measure felt truth lead that way among friends in America; and I have



found, my dear friend, that in these labors all superfluities in our own living are against us. I feel that pure love towards thee, in which there is freedom.

“ I look at that precious gift bestowed on thee, with awfulness before Him who gave it; and feel a desire, that we may be so separated to the gospel of Christ, that those things which proceed from the spirit of this world, may have no place among us.

“ Thy friend,  
“ JOHN WOOLMAN.”

I rested a few days, in body and mind, with our friend Jane Crosfield who was once in America. On the sixth day of the week I was at Kendal in Westmoreland; and at Greyrig meeting the 30th day of the month, and first of the week. I have known poverty of late, and have been graciously supported to keep in the patience: and am thankful under a sense of the goodness of the Lord towards those who are of a contrite spirit.

6th of 9 mo. and first of the week, I was this day at Counterside; a large meeting house, and very full. Through the opening of pure love, it was a strengthening time to me, and I believe to many more.

13th of 9 mo. This day I was at Leyburn, a small meeting; but the town's people coming in, the house was crowded. It was a time of heavy labor, and I believe was a profitable meeting. At this place I heard that my kinsman William Hunt from North Carolina, who was on a religious visit to friends in England, departed this life on the 9th of this month, of the small pox, at Newcastle. He appeared in the ministry when a youth, and his labors therein were of good savor. He travelled much in that work in America. I once heard him say in public testimony, that his concern in that visit was to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully, that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself; which words joined with his example, was a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.

Having of late often travelled in wet weather, through narrow streets in towns and villages, where dirtiness under foot, and the scent arising from that filth, which more

or less infects the air of all thickly settled towns, were disagreeable; and being but weakly, I have felt distress both in body and mind with that which is impure. In these journeys I have been where much cloth hath been dyed; and have at sundry times walked over ground where much of their dye-stuffs has drained away. This hath produced a longing in my mind, that people might come into cleanness of spirit, cleanness of person, and cleanness about their houses and garments.

Some of the great carry delicacy to a great height themselves, and yet real cleanliness is not generally promoted. Dyes being invented partly to please the eye, and partly to hide dirt, I have felt in this weak state, when travelling in dirtiness, and affected with unwholesome scents, a strong desire that the nature of dyeing cloth to hide dirt may be more fully considered.

Washing our garments to keep them sweet is cleanly, but it is the opposite to real cleanliness to hide dirt in them. Through giving way to hiding dirt in our garments, a spirit which would conceal that which is disagreeable is strengthened. Real cleanliness becometh a holy people; but hiding that which is not clean by coloring our garments, seems contrary to the sweetness of sincerity. Through some sorts of dyes cloth is rendered less useful. And if the value of dye stuffs, and expense of dyeing, and the damage done to cloth, were all added together, and that cost applied to keeping all sweet and clean, how much more would real cleanliness prevail.

On this visit to England, I have felt some instructions sealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing, for the use of such as are called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of peace, and we being no more than ministers, it is necessary for us, not only to feel a concern in our first going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof, in the appointment of meetings. I felt a concern in America, to prepare for this voyage; and being through the mercy of God, brought safe hither, my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent. For several weeks after my arrival, when my mouth was opened in meetings,

it was like the raising of a gate in a water-course, when a weight of water lay upon it. In these labors there was a fresh visitation to many, especially to the youth; but sometimes I felt poor and empty, and yet there appeared a necessity to appoint meetings. In this I was exercised to abide in the pure life of truth, and in all my labors to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently found a necessity to stand up, when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity, in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labors. As I have been preserved in a watchful attention to the Divine leader, under these dispensations enlargement at times hath followed, and the power of truth hath risen higher in some meetings, than I ever knew it before through me. Thus I have been more and more instructed as to the necessity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America, to come on a visit to England, but upon the daily instructions of Christ, the Prince of peace.

Of late I have sometimes felt a stop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly, but in part; and I do not feel liberty to appoint them so quickly one after another as I have done heretofore. The work of the ministry being a work of Divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for in all our appointments. Oh how deep is Divine wisdom! Christ puts forth his ministers, and goeth before them; and oh how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth safely! Christ knoweth the state of the people, and in the pure feeling of the gospel ministry, their states are opened to his servants. Christ knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themselves have need of purging. Oh that these lessons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings may proceed in the pure feeling of duty!

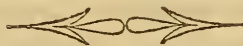
I have sometimes felt a necessity to stand up, but that spirit which is of the world hath so much prevailed in many, and the pure life of truth hath been so pressed down, that I have gone forward, not as one travelling in a road cast up and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry



place, in which are stones here and there safe to step on, but so situated that one step being taken, time is necessary to see where to step next. Now I find that in a state of pure obedience, the mind learns contentment, in appearing weak and foolish to that wisdom which is of the world; and in these lowly labors, they who stand in a low place, and are rightly exercised under the cross, will find nourishment. The gift is pure; and while the eye is single in attending thereto, the understanding is preserved clear; self is kept out. We rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ, for his body's sake, which is the church.

The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations; and if there be not a careful attention to the gift, men who have once labored in the pure gospel ministry, growing weary of suffering, and ashamed of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compass themselves about with sparks, and walk in the light; not of Christ who is under suffering, but of that fire which they in departing from the gift, have kindled, in order that those hearers, who have left the meek, suffering state for worldly wisdom, may be warmed with this fire, and speak highly of their labors. That which is of God gathers to God; and that which is of the world, is owned by the world.

In this journey a labor hath attended my mind, that the ministers among us may be preserved in the meek, feeling life of truth, where we may have no desire but to follow Christ, and to be with him; that when he is under suffering, we may suffer with him; and never desire to rise up in dominion, but as he, by the virtue of his own spirit, may raise us.



A few days after writing these considerations, our dear friend, in the course of his religious visits, came to the city of York, and attended most of the sittings of the quarterly meeting there; but before it was over, he was

taken ill of the small-pox. Our friend Thomas Priestman, and others who attended him, preserved the following minutes of his expressions in the time of his sickness, and of his decease.

First day, the 27th of the ninth month, 1772.—His disorder appeared to be the small-pox. Being asked to have a doctor's advice, he signified he had not freedom or liberty in his mind so to do, standing wholly resigned to His will, who gave him life, and whose power he had witnessed to raise and heal him in sickness before, when he seemed nigh unto death; and if he was to wind up now, he was perfectly resigned, having no will either to live or die, and did not choose any should be sent for to him: but a young man, an apothecary, coming of his own accord the next day, and desiring to do something for him, he said he found a freedom to confer with him and the other friends about him, and if any thing should be preposed as to medicine, that did not come through defiled channels or oppressive hands, he should be willing to consider and take it, so far as he found freedom.

Second day.—He said he felt the disorder to affect his head, so that he could think little, and but as a child; and desired, if his understanding should be more affected, to have nothing given him that those about him knew he had a testimony against.

Third day.—He uttered the following prayer: “O Lord, my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me, and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth; I felt the depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the Divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it; I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about, and was amazed. In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent; that I had called thee Father; and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in my will, and I waited for deliverance from thee. Thou hadst pity upon me, when no man could help me; I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting ex-

ample of thy Son, and thou taught me to follow him, and I said, "Thy will, O Father, be done!"

Fourth day morning. Being asked how he felt himself, he meekly answered, "I don't know that I have slept this night; I feel the disorder making its progress, but my mind is mercifully preserved in stillness and peace. Some time after, he said he was sensible that the pains of death must be hard to bear, but if he escaped them now, he must sometime pass through them, and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his mind, had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return, leaving them to the Divine protection; adding, "though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I freely given them up, having a hope that they will be provided for." And a little after said, "This trial is made easier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away; if I was anxious for the event it would have been harder; but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm."

In the night, a young woman having given him something to drink, he said, "My child, thou seemest very kind to me a poor creature; the Lord will reward thee for it." A while after he cried out, with great earnestness of spirit, "Oh, my Father! my Father! and soon after he said, "Oh, my Father! my Father! how comfortable art thou to my soul in this trying season!" Being asked if he could take a little nourishment, after some pause, he replied, "My child, I cannot tell what to say to it; I seem nearly arrived where my soul shall have rest from all its troubles." After giving in something to be inserted in his journal, he said, "I believe the Lord will now excuse me from exercises of this kind; and I see no work but one, which is to be the last wrought by me in this world; the messenger will come that will release me from all these troubles, but it must be in the Lord's time, which I am waiting for." He said he had labored to do whatever was required, according to the ability received; in the remembrance of which he had peace: and though the disorder was strong at times, and would like a whirlwind come over his mind, yet it had hitherto been kept steady, and centered



in everlasting love; adding, "and if that be mercifully continued, I ask and desire no more. Another time he said, he had long had a view of visiting this nation, and sometime before he came, had a dream, in which he saw himself in the northern parts of it, and that the spring of the gospel was opened in him much as it was in the beginning of friends, such as George Fox and William Dewsbury, and he saw the different states of the people, as clear as he had ever seen flowers in a garden; but in his going along he was suddenly stopped, though he could not see for what end; but looking towards home, fell into a flood of tears, which waked him.

At another time he said, "My draught seemed strongest towards the North, and I mentioned in my own monthly meeting, that attending the quarterly meeting at York, and being there, looked like home to me."

Fifth-day night. Having repeatedly consented to take medicine with a view to settle his stomach, but without effect; the friend then waiting on him said through distress, "What shall I do now?" He answered with great composure, "Rejoice evermore, and in every thing give thanks;" but added a little after, "This is sometimes hard to come at."

On sixth day morning he broke forth early in supplication on this wise: "O Lord, it was thy power that enabled me to forsake sin in my youth, and I have felt thy bruises for disobedience; but as I bowed under them thou healedst me, continuing a father and a friend; I feel thy power now, and I beg that in the approaching trying moment, thou wilt keep my heart steadfast unto thee." On his giving directions to a friend concerning some little things, she said, "I will take care, but hope thou wilt live to order them thyself." He replied, "My hope is in Christ; and though I may seem a little better, a change in the disorder may soon happen, and my little strength be dissolved, and if it so happen, I shall be gathered to my everlasting rest." On her saying she did not doubt that, but could not help mourning to see so many faithful servants removed at so low a time, he said, "All good cometh from the Lord, whose power is the same, and He can work as He sees

best." The same day he had given directions about wrapping his corpse; perceiving a friend to weep, he said, "I would rather thou wouldst guard against weeping for me, my sister; I sorrow not, though I have had some painful conflicts, but now they seem over and matters well settled, and I look at the face of my dear Redeemer, for sweet is his voice, and his countenance is comely.

1st day, 4th of 10th mo. Being very weak, and in general difficult to be understood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodness; and added, "How tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction, in which I may say, in Job's words, Tedious days and "wearisome nights are appointed to me;" and how many are spending their time and money in vanity and superfluities, while thousands and tens of thousands want the necessaries of life, who might be relieved by them; and their distresses, at such a time as this, in some degree softened by the administering of suitable things."

Second day morning. The apothecary, who appeared very anxious to assist him, being present, he queried about the probability of such a load of matter being thrown off his weak body; and the apothecary making some remarks, implying he thought it might; he spoke with an audible voice on this wise: "My dependence is on the Lord Jesus, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for; and, if it be His will to raise up this body again, I am content; and if to die, I am resigned; but if thou canst not be easy without trying to assist nature, I submit." After which, his throat was so much affected, that it was very difficult for him to speak so as to be understood, and he frequently wrote when he wanted any thing. About the second hour on fourth day morning, he asked for pen and ink, and at several times, with much difficulty, wrote thus: "I believe my being here is in the wisdom of Christ; I know not as to life or death."

About a quarter before six, the same morning, he seemed to fall into an easy sleep, which continued about half an hour, when, seeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired without sigh, groan, or struggle.

END OF THE JOURNAL.





## APPENDIX.

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*John Woolman's account of his sister Elizabeth Woolman.*

In the winter of 1747 my eldest sister, Elizabeth Woolman, jun., died of the small-pox, aged thirty-one years. She was from her youth, of a thoughtful disposition, and very compassionate to her acquaintance in sickness or distress; being ready to help them as far as she could. She was dutiful to her parents; one instance whereof follows:—It happened that she, and two of her sisters, being then near the estate of young women, had an inclination one first day after meeting to go on a visit to some other young women at some distance, whose company, I believe, would have done them no good. They expressed their desire to our parents; who were dissatisfied with the proposal, and prevented them. The same day as my sisters and I were together, and they talking about their disappointment, Elizabeth expressed her contentment under it, signifying she believed it might be for their good.

A few years after she attained to mature age, through the gracious visitations of God's love, she was strengthened to live a self-denying exemplary life, giving herself much to reading and meditation.

The following letter may shew in some degree her disposition:

Haddonfield, 1st day, 11th month, 1743.

Beloved brother John Woolman,

In that love which desires the welfare of all men, I

write unto thee. I received thine, dated second day of the tenth month last, with which I was comforted. My spirit is bowed with thankfulness that I should be remembered, who am unworthy; but the Lord is full of mercy, and his goodness is extended to the meanest of his creation; therefore in his infinite love, he hath pitied and spared and shewed mercy, that I have not been cut off nor quite lost; but at times I am refreshed and comforted as with the glimpse of his presence, which is more to the immortal part, than all which this world can afford: so, with desires for thy preservation with my own, I remain

thy affectionate sister,  
ELIZ. WOOLMAN, jun.

The fore part of her illness she was in great sadness and dejection of mind, of which she told one of her intimate friends, and said, "when I was a young girl, I was wanton and airy, but I thought I had thoroughly repented of it;" and added, "I have of late had great satisfaction in meetings." Though she was thus disconsolate, she still retained a hope, which was an anchor to her. Some time after, the same friend came again to see her, to whom she mentioned her former expressions, and said, "it is otherwise now, for the Lord hath rewarded me seven-fold; and I am unable to express the greatness of his love manifested to me." Her disorder appearing dangerous, and our mother being sorrowful, she took notice of it, and said: "dear mother! weep not for me; I go to my God," and many times, with an audible voice, uttered praise to her Redeemer.

A friend coming some miles to see her the morning before she died, asked her how she did. She answered "I have had a hard night, but shall not have another such, for I shall die, and it will be well with my soul;" and accordingly she died the next evening.

The following ejaculations were found among her writings; written I believe at four times.

I. Oh! that my head were as waters, and mine eyes as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, until acquainted with my God.

II. O Lord that I may enjoy thy presence; or else my time is lost, and my life a snare to my soul.

III. O Lord, that I may receive bread from thy table, and that thy grace may abound in me.

IV. O Lord, that I may be acquainted with thy presence, that I may be seasoned with thy salt, that thy grace may abound in me.



*The TESTIMONY of Friends in Yorkshire, at their quarterly meeting held at York, the 24th and 25th of the 3rd month, 1773; concerning John Woolman of Mount Holly, in the Province of New Jersey, North America; who departed this life at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, in the suburbs of this City, the 7th of 10th month, 1772, and was interred in the burial ground of friends the 9th of the same, aged about fifty-two years.*

This our valuable friend having been under a religious engagement for some time, to visit friends in this nation, and more especially us in the northern parts, undertook the same in full concurrence and near sympathy with his friends and brethren at home; as appeared by certificates from the monthly and quarterly-meetings to which he belonged, and from the spring-meeting of ministers and elders, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

He arrived in the city of London the beginning of the last yearly meeting, and after attending that meeting, travelled northward, visiting the quarterly-meetings of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Worcestershire, and divers particular meetings in his way.

He visited many meetings on the West side of this county, also some in Lancashire and Westmoreland, from whence he came to our quarterly-meeting in the last ninth month, and though much out of health, yet was enabled to attend all the sittings of that meeting except the last.

His disorder, which proved the small-pox, increased speedily upon him, and was very afflicting; under which he was supported in much meekness, patience, and christian fortitude. To those who attended him in his illness, his mind appeared to be centered in divine love; under the precious influence whereof we believe he finished his course, and entered into the mansions of everlasting rest.

In the early part of his illness he requested a friend to write, and he broke forth thus.

“O Lord my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth; I felt the misery of my fellow creatures separated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed down under it; I lifted up my hand, and stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about, and was amazed: In the depth of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will, and I waited for deliverance from thee; thou hadst pity upon me, when no man could help me; I saw that meekness under suffering was shewed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou taught me to follow him, and I said, thy will, O Father be done.”

Many more of his weighty expressions might have been inserted here; but it was deemed unnecessary, they being already published in print.

He was a man endued with a large natural capacity; and being obedient to the manifestations of Divine Grace, having in patience and humility endured many deep baptisms, he became thereby sanctified and fitted for the Lord's work, and was truly serviceable in his Church. Dwelling in awful fear and watchfulness, he was careful in his public appearances to feel the putting forth of the Divine Hand; so that the spring of the gospel ministry often flowed through him with great sweetness and purity, as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers towards the city of God. Skillful in dividing the word, he was furnished by Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, to communicate freely to the several states of the people where his lot was cast. His conduct at other times was seasoned with like watchful circumspection, and attention to the guidance of Divine wisdom, which rendered his whole conversation uniformly edifying.

He was fully persuaded that, as the life of Christ comes to reign in the earth, all abuse and unnecessary oppression, both of the human and brute creation, will come to an end; but under the sense of a deep revolt, and an overflowing

stream of unrighteousness, his life has been often a life of mourning.

He was deeply concerned on account of that inhuman and iniquitous practice of making slaves of the people of Africa, or holding them in that state; and, on that account, we understand he hath not only written some books, but travelled much on the continent of America, in order to make the negro-masters (especially those in profession with us) sensible of the evil of such a practice; and though in this journey to England, he was far removed from the outward sight of their sufferings, yet his deep exercise of mind, and frequent concern to open the miserable state of this deeply injured people, remained; as appears by a short treatise he wrote in this journey. His testimony in the last meeting he attended was on this subject, wherein he remarked, that as we, as a society, when under outward sufferings, had often found it our concern to lay them before those in authority, and thereby, in the Lord's time, had obtained relief, so he recommended this oppressed part of the creation to our notice; that we may, as way may open, represent their sufferings in an individual, if not in a society capacity to those in authority.

Deeply sensible that the desire to gratify people's inclinations in luxury and superfluities, is the principal ground of oppression, and the occasion of many unnecessary wants, he believed it to be his duty to be a pattern of great self-denial, with respect to the things of this life, and earnestly to labor with friends in the meekness of wisdom, to impress on their minds the great importance of our testimony in these things, recommending to the guidance of the blessed truth in this and all other concerns, and cautioning such as are experienced therein, against contenting themselves with acting to the standard of others, but to be careful to make the standard of truth, manifested to them, the measure of their obedience. For, said he "That purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the spirit of truth, that state where our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wisdom; this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where they may stand separat-



ed from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of society, and where we have a testimony of our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us.”

We conclude with fervent desires, that we as a people may thus by our example, promote the Lord's work in the earth; and, our hearts being prepared, may unite in prayer to the great Lord of the harvest, that as in his infinite wisdom he hath greatly stripped the church, by removing of late divers faithful ministers and elders, he may be pleased to send forth many more faithful laborers into his harvest.

*A TESTIMONY of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, the first day of the eighth month, in the year of our Lord, 1774, concerning our esteemed friend, John Woolman, deceased.*

He was born in Northampton, in the county of Burlington, and province of West-New-Jersey, in the eighth month, 1720, of religious parents, who instructed him very early in the principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the people called Quakers; which he esteemed a blessing to him, even in his younger years, tending to preserve him from the infection of wicked children. But through the workings of the enemy, and the levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts; by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance, that was finally succeeded by a "godly sorrow not to be repented of;" and so he became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty-second year of his age; and by a faithful use of the talents committed to him, he experienced an increase, until he arrived at the state of a father, capable of dividing the word aright to the different states he ministered unto; dispensing milk to babes, and meat to those of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to arise, which in his own expressions, "prepares the creature to stand like a trumpet, through which the Lord speaks to his people." He was a loving husband, a tender father, and was very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and those in affliction was evident by his visits to them, whom he frequently relieved by his assistance and charity. He was for many years deeply exercised on account of the poor enslaved Africans, whose cause, as he mentioned, lay almost continually upon him; and he labored to obtain liberty for those captives both in public and in private, and was favored to see his endeavors crowned with considerable success. He was particularly

desirous that friends should not be instrumental to lay burdens on this oppressed people, but should remember the days of suffering from which they had been providentially delivered; that, if times of trouble should return, no injustice dealt to those in slavery might rise in judgment against us, but being clear, we might on such occasions address the Almighty with a degree of confidence for his interposition and relief; being particularly careful as to himself, not to countenance slavery, even by the use of those conveniences of life which were furnished by their labor.

He was desirous to have his own mind and the minds of others, redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world, and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavoring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also which appearing in a more refined dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well-disposed people. In the latter part of his life he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and as much as possible avoided the use of plate, costly furniture, and feasting; thereby endeavoring to become an example of temperance and self-denial, which he believed himself called unto; and he was favored with peace therein, although it carried the appearance of great austerity in the view of some. He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in his desires after gain; and though a man of industry, avoided and strove much to lead others out of extreme labor and anxiety after perishable things; being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness to the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favor, and by no means to abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received, and applied to the uses they were designed for.

He several times opened a school at Mount Holly, for the instruction of poor friends' children and others; being concerned for their help and improvement therein. His love and care for the rising youth among us was truly great, recommending to parents, and those who have the charge



of them, to choose conscientious and pious tutors; saying "it is a lovely sight to behold innocent children:" and that, "to labor for their help against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them."

His ministry was sound, very deep and penetrating, sometimes pointing out the dangerous situation which indulgence and custom lead into; frequently exhorting others, especially the youth, not to be discouraged at the difficulties which occur, but to press after purity. He often expressed an earnest engagement that pure wisdom should be attended to, which would lead into lowliness of mind, and resignation to the Divine will, in which state small possessions here would be sufficient.

In transacting the affairs of the discipline, his judgment was sound and clear, and he was very useful in treating with those who had done amiss; he visited such in a private way in that plainness which truth dictates, shewing great tenderness and christian forbearance. He was a constant attender of our yearly-meeting, in which he was a good example, and particularly useful; assisting in the business thereof with great weight and attention. He several times visited most of the meetings of friends in this and in the neighboring provinces, with the concurrence of the monthly-meeting to which he belonged, and we have reason to believe he had good service therein; generally or always expressing at his return how it had fared with him, and the evidence of peace in his mind for thus performing his duty. He was often concerned with other friends in the important service of visiting families, which he was enabled to go through to satisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting of ministers and elders for this quarter, at the foot of a list of the members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his hand writing the following observation and reflections. "As looking over the minutes made by persons who have put off this body, hath sometimes revived in me a thought how ages pass away; so this list may probably revive a like thought in some, when I, and the rest of the persons above-named, are centered in another state of being.—The Lord who was the guide of my youth, hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto; he hath

healed my wounds, he hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; he remains to be the strength of my life; to whom I desire to devote myself in time and in eternity."

Signed, John Woolman.

In the 12th month, 1771, he acquainted this meeting that he found his mind drawn towards a religious visit to friends in some parts of England, particularly in Yorkshire. In the first month 1772, he obtained our certificate, which was approved and indorsed by our quarterly meeting, and by the half year's meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the fifth month, and arrived in London in the sixth month following, at the time of their annual meeting in that city. During his short visit to friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his services were acceptable and edifying. In his last illness he uttered many lively and comfortable expressions, being "resigned, having no will either to live or die," as appears by the testimony of friends at York in Great Britain, in the suburbs whereof, at the house of our friend Thomas Priestman, he died of the small-pox, on the seventh of the tenth month, 1772, and was buried in friends' burial-ground in that city, on the ninth of the same, after a solid meeting, held on the occasion, at their great meeting-house. He was aged near fifty-two, having been a minister upwards of thirty years, during which time he belonged to Mount-holly particular meeting, which he diligently attended when at home, and in health of body, and his labors of love, and pious care for the prosperity of friends in the blessed truth, we hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in, and by order of the said meeting, by  
SAMUEL ALLISON, Clerk.

Read and approved at our quarterly-meeting, held at Burlington the 29th of the 8th month, 1774.

Signed by order of the said meeting,  
DANIEL SMITH, Clerk.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It is divided into three main sections: the first dealing with the history of the subject, the second with the theory, and the third with the practice. The author's aim is to provide a comprehensive and accessible account of the subject, suitable for both students and practitioners. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is illustrated with numerous examples and diagrams. It is hoped that it will be found useful and interesting to all who are concerned with the subject.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed treatment of the theory of the subject. It is divided into two main sections: the first dealing with the general principles, and the second with the special cases. The author's aim is to provide a rigorous and systematic account of the theory, suitable for students and practitioners alike. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is illustrated with numerous examples and diagrams. It is hoped that it will be found useful and interesting to all who are concerned with the subject.

The third part of the book is devoted to a detailed treatment of the practice of the subject. It is divided into two main sections: the first dealing with the general principles, and the second with the special cases. The author's aim is to provide a practical and accessible account of the practice, suitable for students and practitioners alike. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is illustrated with numerous examples and diagrams. It is hoped that it will be found useful and interesting to all who are concerned with the subject.



THE  
WORKS  
OF  
JOHN WOOLMAN,

CONSISTING OF

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KEEPING OF NEGROES, REFLECTIONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS,

AND

AN EPISTLE TO THE QUARTERLY AND MONTHLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS.



SOME CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
KEEPING OF NEGROES.

RECOMMENDED TO THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY  
OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

[*First printed in the year 1754.*]

~~~~~  
PART THE FIRST.  
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INTRODUCTION.

Customs generally approved, and opinions received by youth from their superiors, especially when they are suited to favorite inclinations, become like the natural produce of a soil; but as the judgments of God, by which the state of the soul must be tried, are without partiality, it would be the highest wisdom to forego customs and popular opinions, and to try the soul by the infallible standard, truth.

Natural affection needs a careful examination. Operating upon us in a soft manner, it kindles desires of love and tenderness, and there is danger of taking it for something higher. To me it appears an instinct like that which inferior creatures have; each of them, we see, by the ties of nature, loves self best; that which is a part of self they love by the same tie or instinct. In them in some measure it does the offices of reason, by which among other things they watchfully keep, and orderly feed their helpless offspring. Thus natural affection appears to be a branch of self-love, good in the animal race, and in us likewise with



proper limitations; but otherwise it is productive of evil, by exciting desires to promote some by means prejudicial to others.

Our blessed Saviour seems to give a check to this irregular fondness in nature, and, at the same time, a precedent for us: "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" thereby intimating, that the earthly ties of relationship are, comparatively, inconsiderable to those who, through a steady course of obedience, have come to the happy experience of the spirit of God bearing witness with their spirits that they are his children. "And he stretched forth his hand towards his disciples, and said, behold my mother and my brethren: for whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven," arrives at the noble part of true relationship, "the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." Matt. xii. 49. This doctrine agrees well with a state truly complete, in which love necessarily operates according to the agreeableness of things, on principles unalterable, and in themselves perfect.

If endeavoring to have my children eminent among men after my death, be what no reasons grounded on these principles, can be brought to support; to be temperate in my pursuit after gain, and to keep always within the bounds of these principles, is then an indispensable duty, and to depart from it, a dark, unfruitful toil. In our present condition, to love our children is needful; but except this love proceeds from the true heavenly principle, which sees beyond earthly treasures, it will rather be injurious than of any real advantage to them. When the fountain is corrupt, the streams must necessarily be impure.

That important injunction of our Savior, (Matt. vi. 33.) with the promise annexed, contains a short but comprehensive view of our duty and happiness. If it is then the business of mankind in this life first to seek another; if this cannot be done but by attending to the means: if a summary of the means is, not to do that to another which, in like circumstances, we would not have done unto us, these are points of moment, and worthy of our most serious consideration.

I write with reluctance on this subject, and the hints

given are in as general terms as my concern will allow. I know it is a point about which, in all its branches, men who appear to aim well are not generally agreed; and for that reason, I choose to avoid being very particular. If I may happily let drop any thing that may induce those who are concerned in the practice to a close thinking on the subject, the candid among them may easily do it such further justice as, on an impartial inquiry, it may appear to deserve; and such an inquiry I would earnestly recommend.

## SOME CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

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“ Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.”—MATT. xxv. 40.

There are often different motives for the same actions; one person does that from a generous heart, which another does for selfish ends; the like may be said in this case. There are various circumstances among those that keep negroes, and different ways by which they fall under their care; and I doubt not, there are many well-disposed persons among them, who desire rather to manage wisely and justly in this difficult matter, than to make gain of it. But the disadvantage which these poor Africans lie under, in an enlightened Christian country, having often filled me with real sadness, and been like undigested matter on my mind, I now think it my duty, through Divine aid, to offer some thoughts thereon to the consideration of others.

When we remember that all nations are of one blood, Gen. iii. 20. that in this world we are but sojourners, that we are subject to the like afflictions and infirmities of body, the like disorders and frailties of mind, the like temptations, the same death, and the same judgment, and that the all-wise Being is Judge and Lord over us all, it seems to raise an idea of a general brotherhood, and a disposition easy to be touched with a feeling of each other's afflictions; but when we forget these things, and look chiefly at our outward circumstances, in this and some ages past, constantly retaining in our minds the distinction between us and the negroes, with respect to our knowledge and improvement in things divine, natural and artificial, our breasts being apt to be filled with fond notions of superiority, there is danger of erring in our conduct towards them.



We allow them to be of the same species with ourselves; the difference is, we are in a higher station, and enjoy greater favors than they. And when our Heavenly Father thus endoweth some of his children with distinguished gifts, they are intended for good ends; but if those who are thus gifted are thereby lifted up above their brethren, not considering themselves as debtors to the weak, nor behaving themselves as faithful stewards, none who judge impartially can suppose them free from ingratitude.

When a people dwell under the liberal distribution of favors from heaven, it behoves them carefully to inspect their ways, and to consider the purposes for which those favors were bestowed; lest through forgetfulness of God, and misusing his gifts, they incur his heavy displeasure, whose judgments are just and equal, who exalteth and humbleth to the dust as He sees meet.

It appears by holy record, that men under high favors have been apt to err in their opinions concerning others. Thus Israel, according to the description of the prophet, though exceedingly corrupted and degenerated, yet remembered they were the chosen people of God; and could say, "Stand by thyself, come not near to me, for I am holier than thou." Isa. lxxv. 5. That this was no chance language, but their common opinion of other people, more fully appears, by considering the circumstances which attended, when God was beginning to fulfil his precious promises concerning the gathering of the Gentiles.

The Most High, in a vision, undeceived Peter; He first prepared his heart to believe; and at the house of Cornelius, showed him of a certainty that God was no respecter of persons. The effusion of the Holy Ghost upon a people, with whom the Jewish Christians would not so much as eat, was strange to them. All they of the circumcision were astonished to see it; and the apostles and brethren of Judea contended with Peter about it, till he, having rehearsed the whole matter, and fully shown that the Father's love was unlimited, they were struck with admiration, and cried out, "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life!"

The opinion of peculiar favors being confined to them, was deeply rooted, or else the above instance had been less strange to them, for the following reasons: First, they were generally acquainted with the writings of the prophets, by whom this time was repeatedly spoken of, and pointed at. Secondly, Our blessed Lord a short time before, had expressly said, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold, them also I must bring," &c. Lastly, his words to them after his resurrection, at the very time of his ascension, "Ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." Acts i. 8. These concurring circumstances might have raised a strong expectation of seeing such a time; yet when it came, it proved matter of offence and astonishment.

To consider mankind otherwise than brethren, to think favors are peculiar to one nation, to the exclusion of others, plainly supposes a darkness in the understanding; for as God's love is universal, so when the mind is sufficiently influenced by it, it begets a likeness of itself, and the heart is enlarged towards all men. Again, to conclude a people who ungratefully receive favors, and apply them to bad ends, froward, perverse, and worse by nature than others, will excite a behavior towards them unbecoming the excellence of true religion.

To prevent such error, let us calmly consider their circumstances; and to do it the better, make their case ours. Suppose that our ancestors and we had been exposed to constant servitude in the more servile and inferior employments of life; that we had been destitute of the help of reading and good company; that among ourselves we had few wise and pious instructors; that the religious among our superiors seldom took notice of us; that while others, in ease, had plentifully heaped up the fruit of our labor, we had received barely sufficient to relieve nature; and being wholly at the command of others, had generally been treated as a contemptible, ignorant part of mankind; should we, in that case, be less abject than they now are? Again, if oppression be so hard to bear, that a wise man is made mad by it, Eccl. vii. 7. then we may reasonably expect

that a series of those things would alter the behavior and manners of a people.

When our property is taken contrary to our mind, by means appearing to us unjust, it is only through Divine influence, and the enlargement of heart thence proceeding, that we can love our reputed oppressors. If the negroes fall short in this, an uneasy, if not a disconsolate disposition, will be awakened, and remain like seeds in their minds, producing sloth and many other habits that appear odious to us; with which had they been freemen, they perhaps would not have been chargable. These, and other circumstances rightly considered, will lessen that too great disparity which some make between us and them.

Integrity of heart hath appeared in some of them, so that if we continue in the word of Christ (previous to discipleship, John viii. 31.) and our conduct towards them be seasoned with his love, we may hope to see the good effect of it; this is in a good degree, the case with some into whose hands they have fallen; but that too many treat them otherwise, not seeming conscious of any neglect, is alas! too evident.

When self-love presides in our minds, our opinions are biased in our own favor. In this condition, being concerned with a people so situated, that they have no voice to plead their own cause, there is danger of using ourselves to an undisturbed partiality, till by long custom, the mind becomes reconciled to it, and the judgment itself infected.

Humbly to apply to God for wisdom, that we may be enabled to see things as they are, and as they ought to be, is very needful; hereby the hidden things of darkness may be brought to light, and the judgment made clear; we shall then consider mankind as brethren. Though different degrees, and a variety of qualifications and abilities, one dependent on another, be admitted; yet high thoughts will be laid aside, and all men will be treated as becometh the sons of one father, agreeably to the doctrine of Christ Jesus, who hath laid down the best criterion, by which mankind ought mutually to judge of their own conduct, and be judged by others, viz. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." I take it that all men



by nature are equally entitled to the equity of this rule, and are under the indispensable obligations of it. One man ought not to look upon another man, or society of men, as so far beneath him that he should not put himself in their place, in all his actions towards them, and bring all to this test, viz. "How should I approve of this conduct, were I in their circumstance, and they in mine?" A. Arscot's Considerations, p. iii. fol. 107.

This doctrine being of a moral unchangeable nature, hath been likewise inculcated in the former dispensation; "If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him; but the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself;" Lev. xix. 33, 34. Had these people come voluntarily and dwelt among us, to have called them strangers would be proper. But their being brought by force, with regret, and a languishing mind, may well raise compassion in a heart rightly disposed; and there is nothing in such treatment, which on a wise and judicious consideration, will in any wise lessen their right of being treated as strangers. If the treatment which many of them meet with, be rightly examined and compared with these precepts, "Thou shalt not vex him nor oppress him; he shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself;" there will appear an important difference between them.

It may be objected, there is cost of purchase, and risk of life to them who possess them, and therefore it is needful that they make the best use of their time. In a practice just and reasonable, such objections may have weight; but if the work be wrong from the beginning, there is little or no force in them. If I purchase a man who hath never forfeited his liberty, the natural right of freedom is in him; and shall I keep him and his posterity in servitude and ignorance?

"How should I approve of this conduct, were I in his circumstances, and he in mine?" It may be thought, that to treat them as we would willingly be treated, our gain by them would be inconsiderable; and it would be better in divers respects, that there were none in our country.

We may further consider, that they are now among us, and

that those of our nation are the cause of their being here; that whatsoever difficulty accrues therefrom, we are justly chargeable with it; and to bear all inconveniences attending it, with a serious and weighty concern of mind to do our duty by them, is the best we can do. To seek a remedy by continuing the oppression, because we have power to do so, and see others do it, is, I apprehend, not doing as we would be done by.

How deeply soever men are involved in the most exquisite difficulties, sincerity of heart, and upright walking before God, and freely submitting to his Providence, is the most sure remedy. He only is able to relieve, not only persons but nations in their greatest calamities. David in a great strait, when the sense of his past error, and the full expectation of an impending calamity as the reward of it, were united to the aggravating of his distress, said after some deliberation, "Let me fall now into the hand of the Lord, for very great are his mercies; but let me not fall into the hand of man." 1 Chron. xxi. 13.

To act continually with integrity of heart, above all narrow or selfish motives, is a sure token of our being partakers of that salvation which God hath appointed for walls and bulwarks; Isaiah, xxvi. 1. and is beyond all contradiction, a more happy situation than can ever be promised by the utmost reach of art and power united, not proceeding from heavenly wisdom.

A supply of nature's lawful wants, joined with a peaceful, humble mind, is the truest happiness in this life; and if we arrive at this, and continue to walk in the path of the just, our case will be truly happy. And though herein we may part with, or miss of some glaring shows of riches, and leave our children little but wise instructions, a good example, and the knowledge of some honest employment; yet these, with the blessing of Providence, are sufficient for their happiness, and are more likely to promote it, than laying up treasures for them, which are often rather a snare, than any real benefit; especially to those who instead of being exampled to temperance, are in all things taught to prefer the getting of riches as the principal business of this life; and to covet the temporal distinctions they give.

These readily overlook the true happiness of man, as it results from the enjoyment of all things in the fear of God; and miserably substituting an inferior good, dangerous in the acquiring, and uncertain in the fruition, they are subjected to many disappointments, and every sweet carries its sting.

It is the conclusion of our blessed Lord and of his apostles, as appears by their lives and doctrines, that the highest delights of sense, or the most pleasing visible objects, ought ever to be accounted infinitely inferior to that real intellectual happiness suited to man in his primitive innocence, and now to be found in true renovation of mind: and that the comforts of our present life, the things most grateful to us, ought always to be received with temperance, and should never be made the chief objects of our desire, hope, or love; but that our whole heart and affections be principally engaged in looking to that "city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God." Did we so improve the gifts bestowed on us, that our children might have an education suited to these doctrines, and our example to confirm it, we might rejoice in the hope of their being heirs of an inheritance incorruptible. This inheritance, as Christians, we esteem the most valuable; and how then can we fail to desire it for our children? O that we were consistent with ourselves, in pursuing means necessary to obtain it!

It appears by experience, that when children are educated in fulness, ease, and idleness, evil habits are more prevalent, than they commonly are among such as are prudently employed in the necessary affairs of life. If children are not only educated in the way of great temptation, but have also the opportunity of lording it over their fellow-creatures, and being masters of men in their childhood, how can we hope otherwise than that their tender minds will be possessed with thoughts too high for them; which gaining strength by continuance like a slow current, will gradually separate them from an acquaintance with that humility and meekness in which alone lasting happiness can be enjoyed?

Man is born to labor, and experience abundantly show-



eth that it is for our good; but when the powerful lay the burden on the inferior, without affording them a Christian education, and suitable opportunity of improving the mind, and such a treatment as we in their case should approve, in order that the powerful may live at ease, fare sumptuously, and lay up riches for their posterity, it seems to contradict the design of Providence, and I doubt is sometimes the effect of a perverted mind. For while the life of one is made grievous by the rigor of another, it entails misery on both.

Among the manifold works of Providence, displayed in the different ages of the world, the following, as well as many others, may afford instruction.

Abraham was called of God to leave his country and kindred, to sojourn among strangers; through famine, and danger of death, he was forced to flee from one kingdom to another. At length he not only had assurance of being the father of many nations, but became a mighty prince. Gen. xxiii. 6.

Remarkable were the dealings of God with Jacob in a low estate; the just sense he retained of them, after his advancement, appears by his words: "I am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies." Gen. xxxii. 10 xlviii. 15.

The numerous afflictions of Joseph are very singular; and the particular providence of God therein is no less manifest. He at length became governor of Egypt, and famous for wisdom and virtue.

Few amongst us are ignorant of the series of troubles which David passed through, and yet he afterwards became as one of the great men of the earth. Some evidence of the Divine wisdom appears in these things; some who were intended for high stations, have first been very low and dejected, that truth might be sealed on their hearts; and that the characters there imprinted by bitterness and adversity, might in after years remain, suggesting compassionate ideas, and in their prosperity quicken their regard to those in the like condition; this further appears in the case of Israel. They were well acquainted with grievous sufferings, with a long and rigorous servitude; and then through many notable events, were made chief among the

nations. To them we find a repetition of precepts to the purpose aforesaid; though, for ends agreeable to infinite wisdom, they were chosen as a peculiar people for a time; yet the Most High acquaints them that his love is not confined, but extends to the stranger; and, to excite their compassion, reminds them of times past; "Ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." Deut. x. 19. Again, "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." Exod. xxiii. 9.

If we call to mind our beginning, some of us may find a time wherein our fathers were under afflictions, reproaches, and manifold sufferings. Respecting our progress in this land, the time is short since our beginning was small and our number few, compared with the native inhabitants. He that sleeps not by day nor by night, hath watched over us, and kept us as the apple of his eye. His Almighty arm hath been round about us, and hath saved us from dangers.

The wilderness and solitary deserts in which our fathers passed the days of their pilgrimage, are now turned into pleasant fields; the natives are gone from before us, and we are peaceably established in the possession of the land, enjoying our civil and religious liberties; and while many parts of the world have groaned under the heavy calamities of war, our habitation remains quiet, and our land fruitful.

When we trace back the steps we have trodden, and see how the Lord hath opened a way for us in the wilderness, it will easily appear to the wise, that all this was not done to be buried in oblivion; but to prepare a people for more fruitful returns; the remembrance thereof ought to humble us in prosperity, and to excite in us a Christian benevolence towards our inferiors.

If we do not consider these things aright, but, through a stupid indolence, conceive views of interest separate from the general good of the great brotherhood, and in pursuance thereof, treat our inferiors with rigor to increase our wealth, and gain riches for our children; what shall we do "when God riseth up; and when he visiteth, what shall

we answer Him? Did not He that made us make them; and did not one fasaion us in the womb?" Job xxxi, 13, 14. To our great Master we stand or fall, to judge or condemn us as is most suitable to his wisdom or authority. My inclination is to persuade, and intreat, and simply give hints of my way of thinking.

If the Christian religion be considered, both with regard to its doctrines, and the happy influence which it hath on the minds and manners of all real Christians, it is reasonable to think, that the miraculous manifestation thereof to the world, is a kindness beyond expression. Are we the people thus favored? are they whose minds are opened, influenced and governed by the Spirit of Christ, and thereby made sons of God? Is it not a fair conclusion that we, like our heavenly Father, ought in our degree to be active in the same great cause—the eternal happiness of our whole families, at least, and more if thereto capacitated?

If we, by the operation of the Spirit of Christ, become heirs with him in the kingdom of his Father, and are redeemed from the alluring counterfeit joys of this world, and the joy of Christ remain in us, it seems a contradiction to suppose that one remaining in this happy condition, can, for the sake of earthly riches, not only deprive his fellow-creatures of the sweetness of freedom, (which rightly used, is one of the greatest temporal blessings) but also neglect to use proper means for their acquaintance, with the Holy Scriptures, and the advantage of true religion.

Whoever rightly advocates the cause of some, thereby promotes the good of all. The state of mankind was harmonious in the beginning; and though sin hath introduced discord, yet through the wonderful love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, the way is open for our redemption, and means are appointed to restore us to primitive harmony: so that if one suffer by the unfaithfulness of another, the mind, the most noble part of him that occasions the discord, is thereby alienated from its true and real happiness.

Our duty and interest are inseparably united, and when we neglect or misuse our talents, we necessarily depart from the heavenly fellowship, and are in the way to the greatest of evils. Therefore to examine and prove our-



selves, to find what harmony the power presiding in us bears with the Divine nature, is a duty not more incumbent and necessary, than it is beneficial.

In Holy Writ the Divine Being saith of Himself, "I am the Lord, which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord." Jer. ix. 24. Again, speaking in the way of man, to show his compassion to Israel, who were then humbled under a calamity, occasioned by their wickedness, it is said, His soul was grieved for their miseries. Judges x. 16. If we consider the life of our blessed Savior when on earth, as it is recorded by his followers, we shall find, that one uniform desire for the eternal and temporal good of mankind, discovered itself in all his actions.

If we observe men, both apostles and others, in many different ages, who have really come to the unity of the Spirit, and the fellowship of the saints, we shall still find the like disposition; and that the desire of the real happiness of mankind, has in them out-balanced the desire of ease, liberty, and many times of life itself. If upon a true search, we find that our natures are so far renewed, that to exercise righteousness and loving-kindness, according to our ability, towards all men, without respect of persons, is easy to us, or is our delight; if our love be so orderly and regular, that he who doeth the will of our Father who is in heaven, appears in our view to be our nearest relation, our brother, and sister, and mother; if this be our case, there is a good foundation to hope, that the blessing of God will sweeten our treasures during our stay in this life, and that our memory will be savory when we are entered into rest.

To conclude, it is a truth most certain, that a life guided by wisdom from above, agreeable with justice, equity, and mercy, is throughout consistent and amiable, and truly beneficial to society; the serenity and calmness of mind which attend it, affords an unparalleled comfort in this life, and the end of it is blessed. And it is no less true that they who, in the midst of high favors, remain ungrateful, and under all the advantages that a Christian can desire, are selfish, earthly, and sensual, do miss the true fountain

of happiness, and wander in a maze of dark anxiety, in which all their treasures are insufficient to quiet their minds. Hence, from an insatiable craving, they neglect doing good with what they have acquired, and too often add oppression to vanity, that they may compass more. "O that they were wise, *that* they understood this, *that* they would consider their latter end!" Deut. xxxii. 29.

CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
KEEPING OF NEGROES,

RECOMMENDED TO THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY  
OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

[*First printed in the Year 1762.*]

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PART THE SECOND.  
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P R E F A C E .

All our actions are of the like nature with their root; and the Most High weigheth them more skilfully than men can weigh them one for another. I believe that one Supreme Being made and supports the world; nor can I worship any other Deity without being an idolater, and guilty of wickedness.

Many nations have believed in, and worshipped a plurality of deities; but I do not believe they were therefore all wicked. Idolatry indeed is wickedness; but it is the thing, not the name, which is so. Real idolatry is to pay that adoration to a creature, which is known to be due only to the true God.

He who professeth to believe in one Almighty Creator, and in his son Jesus Christ, and is yet more intent on the honors, profits, and friendships of the world, than he is, in singleness of heart, to stand faithful to the Christian religion, is in the channel of idolatry; while the Gentile, who notwithstanding some mistaken opinions, is established



in the true principle of virtue, and humbly adores an Almighty power, may be of that number who fear God, and work righteousness.

I believe the bishop of Rome assumes a power that does not belong to any officer in the church of Christ; and if I should knowingly do any thing tending to strengthen him in that capacity, it would be great iniquity. There are many thousands of people who, by their profession, acknowledge him to be the representative of Jesus Christ on earth; and to say that none of them are upright in heart, would be contrary to my sentiments.

Men who sincerely apply their minds to true virtue, and find an inward support from above, by which all vicious inclinations are made subject; who love God sincerely, and prefer the real good of mankind universally to their own private interest; though these, through the strength of education and tradition, may remain under some great speculative errors, it would be uncharitable to say, that therefore God rejects them. The knowledge and goodness of Him, who creates, supports, and gives understanding to all men, are superior to the various states and circumstances of his creatures, which to us appear the most difficult.

The apostles and primitive Christians did not censure all the Gentiles as wicked men, Rom. ii. 14.; Col. iii. 11.; but as they were favored with a gift to discern things more clearly, respecting the worship of the true God, with much firmness they declared against the worshipping of idols; and with true patience, endured many sufferings on that account. Great numbers of faithful Protestants have contended for the truth, in opposition to papal errors; and, with true fortitude, have laid down their lives in the conflict, without saying, that no man was saved who made profession of that religion.

While we have no right to keep men as servants for term of life, but that of superior power; to do this, with a design to profit ourselves and our families, by their labor, is I believe wrong; but I do not believe that all who have kept slaves, have therefore been chargeable with guilt. If their motives were free from selfishness, and their slaves content, they were a sort of freemen; which I believe hath sometimes been the case.

Whatever a man does in the spirit of charity, to him it is not sin; and while he lives and acts in this spirit, he learns all things essential to his happiness as an individual: and if he doth not see that any injury or injustice to any other person, is necessarily promoted by any part of his form of government, I believe the merciful Judge will not lay iniquity to his charge. Yet others, who live in the same spirit of charity, from a clear conviction, may see the relation of one thing to another, and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding on them to desist from some part of conduct, which some good men have pursued.

## CONSIDERATIONS, &amp;c.



“Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; *but* ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God’s!”—DEUT. i. 17.

As some in most religious societies among the English, are concerned in importing or purchasing the inhabitants of Africa as slaves, and as the professors of Christianity of several other nations do the like; these circumstances tend to make people less apt to examine the practice so closely as they would if such a thing had not hitherto been, but was now for the first time proposed. It is however our individual duty, as creatures accountable to our Creator, to employ rightly the understanding which He hath given us, in humbly endeavoring to be acquainted with his will concerning us, and with the nature and tendency of those things which we practice: for so long as justice remains in the world, so many people of reputation being engaged with wrong things, is no excuse for others joining with them, nor does it make the consequence of their proceedings less dreadful in the final issue, than it would otherwise be.

When unrighteousness is justified from one age to another, it is like dark matter gathering into clouds over us. We may know that this gloom will remain till the cause be removed by a reformation, or change of times; and we may feel a desire, from a love of equity, to speak on the occasion; yet when error is so strong that it may not be spoken against without some prospect of inconvenience to the speaker, this difficulty is likely to operate on our weak-



ness, and to quench the good desire in us; except we dwell so steadily under the weight of it, as to be made willing to "endure hardness" on that account.

When men exert their talents against vices, generally accounted such, the ill effects whereof are presently perceived in a government, all who regard their own temporal good, are likely to approve the work. But when that which is inconsistent with perfect equity, hath the law or countenance of the great in its favor, though the tendency thereof be contrary to the true happiness of mankind, in an equal if not a greater degree than many things accounted reproachful to Christians; yet, as these ill effects are not generally perceived, they who labor to dissuade from those things, which people believe accord with their interest, have many difficulties to encounter.

The repeated charges which God gave to his prophets, imply the danger they were in of erring on this hand. "Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee, to deliver thee, saith the Lord."—Jer. i. 8. "Speak all the words that I command thee to speak to them; diminish not a word."—Jer. xxvi. 2. "And thou, son of man, be not afraid of them, nor dismayed at their looks. Speak my words to them, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear."—Ezek. ii. 6, 7.

Under an apprehension of duty, I offer some further considerations on this subject, having endeavored some years to consider it candidly. I have observed people of our own color, whose abilities have been unequal to the management of the affairs which relate to their convenient subsistence, taken care of by others, and the profit of such work as they could do, applied towards their support. I believe there are such among negroes; and that some people, in whose hands they are, keep them with no view of outward profit, do not consider them as black men, who, as such, ought to serve white men; but account them persons who have need of guardians, and as such take care of them: yet, where equal care is taken to educate both classes, I do not apprehend cases of this sort are likely to occur more frequently among one sort of people than another.

It appears to me that the slave trade was founded, and hath generally been carried on, in a wrong spirit; that the effects of it are detrimental to the real prosperity of our country; and will become more so, except we cease from the common motives for keeping them, and treat them in future agreeably to truth and pure justice.

Negroes may be imported, who, for their cruelty to their countrymen, and the evil disposition of their minds, may be unfit to be at liberty; and if we, as lovers of righteousness, undertake the management of them, we should have a full and clear knowledge of their crimes, and of those circumstances which might operate in their favor; but the difficulty of obtaining this is so great, that we have great reason to be cautious therein. But, should it plainly appear, that absolute subjection is a condition the most proper for the person purchased, yet the innocent children ought not to be made slaves because their parents sinned.

We read in Holy Scripture of some families suffering, where mention is only made of the heads of the family committing wickedness; and it is likely that the degenerate Jews, misunderstanding some occurrences of this kind, took occasion to charge God with being unequal; so that a saying became common, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Jeremiah and Ezekiel, two of the inspired prophets, who lived near the same time, were concerned to correct this error. Ezekiel enlarges on the subject. First he reproves them for their error. "What mean ye, that ye do so," chap. xviii. verse 2. "As I live saith the Lord God, ye shall not have *occasion* any more to use this proverb in Israel." The words "any more" have reference to time past; intimating, that though they had not rightly understood some things they had heard or seen, and thence supposed the proverb to be well grounded; yet henceforth they might know of a certainty, that the ways of God are all equal; that as sure as the Most High liveth, so sure men are only answerable for their own sins. He thus sums up the matter. "The soul that sinneth it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the

righteous shall be upon him; and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him." v. 20.

Wicked men are commonly a means of corrupting the succeeding age; and thereby of hastening those outward calamities, which fall on nations, when their iniquities are full. Men may pursue means which are not agreeable to perfect purity, with a view to increase the wealth and happiness of their offspring, and may thereby make the way of virtue more difficult to them. And though the ill example of a parent, or a multitude, does not excuse a man in doing evil, yet the mind being early impressed with vicious notions and practices, and nurtured up in ways of getting treasure, which are not the ways of truth; this wrong spirit by being strengthened and first getting possession, frequently prevents due attention to the true spirit of wisdom, so that they exceed in wickedness those who lived before them. And though parents labor, and think by so doing to forward the happiness of their children, it proves a means of forwarding their calamity. This being the case in the age preceding the grievous calamities in the siege of Jerusalem, and carrying Judah captive to Babylon, they might say with propriety, this came upon us because our fathers forsook God, and because we did worse than our fathers. See Jer. vii. 26.

As the generation preceding them inwardly turned away from God, who yet waited to be gracious; and as they in the succeeding age, continued in those things which necessarily separated from perfect goodness, growing more stubborn, till the judgments of God were poured upon them; they might properly say, "Our fathers have sinned, and we have borne their iniquities." Lam. v. 7. And yet wicked as their fathers were, had they not succeeded them in their wickedness, they had not borne their iniquities.

To suppose that an innocent man shall at this day be excluded from the common rules of justice; be deprived of that liberty, which is the natural right of human creatures; and be a slave to others during life, on account of a sin committed by his immediate parents, or by Ham, the son of Noah; is a supposition too gross to be admitted into the



mind of any person who sincerely desires to be governed by solid principles.

It is alleged, in favor of the practice, that Joshua made slaves of the Gibeonites. What men do by the command of God, and what comes to pass as a consequence of their neglect, as in the latter case, are different. It was the express command of the Almighty to Israel, concerning the inhabitants of the promised land, "Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their gods: they shall not dwell in thy land."—Exod. xxiii. 32, 33. The Gibeonites came craftily, telling Joshua, that they were come from a far country; that their elders had sent them to make a league with the people of Israel; and as an evidence of their being foreigners, showed their old clothes, &c. "And the men took of their victuals, and asked not *counsel* at the mouth of the Lord; and Joshua made peace with them, and made a league with them, to let them live; and the princes of the congregation sware unto them."—Josh. ix. 14, 15.

When the imposition was discovered, the congregation murmured against the princes: "But all the princes said unto all the congregation, we have sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel; now, therefore, we may not touch them; we will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us; but let them be hewers of wood, and drawers of water into all the congregation." Omitting to ask counsel, involved them in great difficulty. The Gibeonites were of those cities, of which the Lord said, "Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth;" and of the stock of the Hivites, concerning whom he commanded by name, "Thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them." Thus Joshua and the princes unwittingly had made a league with them, to let them live; and in this strait they resolve to make them servants. Joshua and the princes suspected them to be deceivers: "Peradventure you dwell among us; and how shall we make a league with you?" Which words show that they remembered the command before mentioned; and yet did not inquire at the mouth of the Lord, as Moses directed Joshua, when he gave him a charge respecting his duty as chief man among that people. Numb. xxvii. 21.

By this omission things became so situated, that Joshua and the princes could not execute the judgments of God on the Gibeonites, without violating the oath which they had made.

Moses transgressed at the waters of Meribah; and doubtless he soon repented; for the Lord was with him. And it is likely that Joshua was deeply humbled, under a sense of his omission; for it appears that God continued him in his office, and spared the lives of those people, for the sake of the league and oath made in his name.

The wickedness of these people was great, and they were worthy to die, or perfect justice would not have passed sentence of death on them; and as their execution was prevented by this league and oath, they were, it appears, content to be servants: "As it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do." Instead of death, these criminals had the sentence of servitude pronounced on them, in these words: "Now therefore ye *are* cursed; and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God."

We find, Deut. xx. 10, that there were cities far distant from Canaan, against which Israel went to battle; unto which they were to proclaim peace, and if the inhabitants made answer of peace, and opened their gates, they were not to destroy them, but to make them tributaries. The children of Israel were then the Lord's host, and the executioners of his judgments on people hardened in wickedness. They were not to go to battle, but by his appointment. The men who were chief in his army, had their instruction from the Almighty; sometimes immediately, and sometimes by the ministry of angels. Of these, among others were Moses, Joshua, Othniel, and Gideon; see Exod. iii. 2, and xviii. 19. Josh. v. 13. Those people far off from Canaan, against whom Israel was sent to battle, were so corrupt, that the Creator of the universe saw it good to change their situation; and their subjection, though probably more mild than absolute slavery, was to last little or no longer than while Israel remained in the true spirit of government.

It was pronounced by Moses, the prophet, as a consequence of their wickedness. "The stranger that is with thee shall get up above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low. He shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail." Deut. xxviii. 43, 44. This we find in some measure verified in their being made tributaries to the Moabites, Midianites, Amorites and Philistines.

It is alleged in favor of the practice of keeping slaves, that the Jews by their law made slaves of the heathen. "Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit *them* for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever." Lev. xxv. 45. 46." It is difficult for us to have any certain knowledge of the mind of Moses, in regard to keeping slaves, any other way than by looking upon him as a true servant of God, whose mind and conduct were regulated by an inward principle of justice and equity. To admit a supposition that he in that case was drawn from perfect equity, by the alliance of outward kindred, would be to disown his authority.

Abraham had servants born in his house, and bought with his money; "And the Almighty said of Abraham, I know him, that he will order his house after him." Which implies, that he was a father, an instructor, and a good governor over his people. And Moses, considered as a man of God, must necessarily have had a prospect of some real advantage in the strangers and heathens being servants for a time to the Israelites.

As mankind had received and established many erroneous opinions and hurtful customs, their living and conversing with the Jews, while the Jews stood faithful to their principles, might be helpful to remove those errors, and reform their manners. But for men, with private views, to assume an absolute power over the persons and properties of others; and to continue it from age to age in the line of natural generation, without regard to the virtues and vices of their successors, being manifestly contrary to



true universal love, and attended with great evils, it requires the clearest evidence to convince us, that Moses intended that the strangers should, as such, be slaves to the Jews.

He directed them to buy strangers and sojourners. It appears that there were strangers in Israel who were free men; and considering with what tenderness and humanity the Jews, by their law, were obliged to use their servants, and what care was to be taken to instruct them in the true religion, it is not unlikely that some strangers, in poverty and distress, were willing to enter into bonds to serve the Jews as long as they lived; and in such case the Jews, by their law, had a right to that service.

When the awl was bored through the ear of the Hebrew servant, the text saith, "He shall serve for ever;" yet we do not suppose that by the words "for ever," it was intended that none of his posterity should afterwards be free. When it is said in regard to the strangers which they bought, "They shall be your possession," it may be well understood to mean only the persons so purchased; all preceding relates to buying them; and what follows, to the continuance of their service, "Ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you; they shall be your bondmen for ever."

Moses directing Aaron and his sons to wash their hands and feet, when they went into the tabernacle of the congregation, saith, "It shall be a statute forever to them, *even* to him and to his seed throughout their generations." Exodus, xxx. 21. And to express the continuance of the law, it was his common language, "It shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations." So that had he intended the posterity of the strangers so purchased to continue in slavery to the Jews, it is likely that he would have used some terms clearly to express it. The Jews undoubtedly had slaves, whom they kept as such from one age to another; but that this was agreeable to the genuine design of their inspired law-giver, is far from being a clear case.

Making constructions of the law contrary to its true meaning, was common among that people. Samuel's sons took bribes, and perverted judgment—Isaiah complained

that they justified the wicked for reward—Zephaniah, contemporary with Jeremiah, on account of the injustice of the civil magistrates, declared that those judges were evening wolves; and that the priests did violence to the law.

Jeremiah acquaints us, that the priests cried peace, peace! when there was no peace; by which means the people grew bold in their wickedness; and having committed abominations, were not ashamed; but through wrong constructions of the law, they justified themselves, and boastingly said, “We are wise; and the law of the Lord is with us.” These corruptions continued till the days of our Saviour, who told the Pharisees, “Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition.” Mark xv. 6.

Thus it appears that in many ways they corrupted the law of Moses; nor is it unlikely that among others the oppressing of the strangers was one; this was a heavy charge against the Jews, and was very often strongly represented by the Lord’s faithful prophets. That the liberty of man was, by the inspired law-giver, esteemed precious, appears in this; that such as unjustly deprived men of it, were to be punished in like manner as if they had murdered them. “And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.” Exodus xxi. 16. This part of the law was so considerable, that Paul the learned Jew, giving a brief account of the uses of this law, adds this, “It was made for men-stealers.” 1 Tim. i. 10.

The great men among that people were exceedingly oppressive: and it is likely, exerted their whole strength and influence to have the law construed to suit their turns. The honest servants of the Lord had heavy work with them in regard to their oppression. They were fully resolved to have slaves, even of their own brethren, notwithstanding the promises and threatenings of the Lord, by the prophet, and their solemn covenants to set them free, confirmed by the imprecation of passing between the parts of a calf cut in twain; intimating by that ceremony, that on breach of the covenant, it were just for their bodies to be so cut in pieces. Yet after all they held fast to their old

customs, and called home the servants whom they had set free—Jer. xxiv. 15. 16. 17. 18.

Soon after this their city was taken and burnt, the king's sons and the princes were slain, and the king with the chief men of his kingdom, carried captive to Babylon. Ezekiel, prophesying the return of that people to their own land, directs, "Ye shall divide the land by lot, for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn among you; in what tribe the stranger sojourneth, there shall he give him his inheritance, saith the Lord God." Nor is this particular direction, and the authority with which it is enforced, without a tacit implication, that their ancestors had erred in their conduct toward's the stranger.

Some who keep slaves, have doubted the equity of the practice; but as they knew men, noted for their piety, who were in it, this they say, has made their minds easy. If we keep slaves from no other motive than a real sense of duty, and true charity governs us in all our proceedings towards them, we are so far safe; but if another spirit, which inclines our minds to the ways of this world, prevail upon us, and we are concerned for our own outward gain more than for their real happiness, it will avail us nothing that some good men have had the care and management of negroes.

Since mankind spread upon the earth, many have been the revolutions attending the various families, and their customs and ways of life greatly differ. This diversity of manners operates not in favor of any, so far as to justify them to do violence to innocent men, or to bring them from their own to another way of life. The mind when moved by a principle of true love, may feel a warmth of gratitude to the universal Father, and a lively sympathy with those nations, where Divine Light has been less manifest; and this desire for their real good may beget a willingness to undergo hardships for their sakes, that the true knowledge of God may be spread among them: but to take people from their own land, with views of profit to ourselves, by means inconsistent with pure justice, is foreign to that principle which seeks the happiness of the whole creation. Forced subjection of innocent persons of full age, is inconsistent



with right reason; on one side, the human mind is not naturally fortified with that firmness in wisdom and goodness, which are necessary to an independent ruler; on the other side, to be subject to the uncontrollable will of man, liable to err, is most painful and afflicting to a conscientious creature.

It is our happiness faithfully to serve the Divine Being who made us. His perfection makes our service reasonable. Men who undertake to govern others, may intend to govern reasonably, and to make their subjects more happy than they would otherwise be; but, as absolute command belongs only to Him who is perfect, when frail men, in their own wills, assume such command, it hath a direct tendency to vitiate their minds, and make them more unfit for government.

Placing on men the ignominious title SLAVE, dressing them in uncomely garments, keeping them to servile and dirty labor, tends gradually to fix a notion in the mind, that they are a sort of people below us by nature. If a person who in our esteem is mean and contemptible, should use language or behavior towards us which is unseemly or disrespectful, it excites wrath more powerfully than the like conduct in one, whom we account our equal or superior; and when this happens to be the case, it disqualifies for candid judgment; for it is unfit for a person to sit as judge in a case in which his own personal resentments are stirred up. As members of society in a well-framed government, we are mutually dependent. Present interest incites to duty, and makes each man attentive to the convenience of others; but he whose will is a law to others, and who can enforce obedience by punishment; he whose wants are supplied without feeling any obligation to make equal returns to his benefactor; is in danger of growing hard, and inattentive to their convenience who labor for his support; his irregular appetites find an open field for motion, and he loses that disposition in which alone men are fit to govern.

The English government hath been commended by candid foreigners for the disuse of racks and tortures, so much practiced in some states: but this multiplying of slaves now leads to it; for when people exact hard labor of others,

without a suitable reward, and are resolved to continue in that way, severity to such as oppose them becomes the consequence; and several negro criminals, among the English in America, have been executed in a lingering, painful way, very terrifying to others.

It is a happy case to set out right, and to persevere in the same way. A wrong beginning leads into many difficulties. To support one evil, another is committed; two produce more; and the further men proceed in this way, the greater are their dangers, doubts, and fears, and the more painful and perplexing are their circumstances; so that such as are true friends to the real and lasting interests of our country, and who candidly consider the tendency of things, cannot but feel some concern on this account.

There is that superiority in men over the brute creatures, and some of them are so manifestly dependent on men for a living, that for them to serve us in moderation, so far as relates to the right use of things, seems consonant to the design of our Creator. There is nothing in their frame, nothing relative to the propagation of their species, which argues the contrary; but in men there is. The frame of men's bodies and the disposition of their minds are different. Some who are tough and strong, and their minds active, choose ways of life requiring much labor to support them; others are soon weary; and though use makes labor more tolerable, yet some are less capable of toil than others, and their minds are less sprightly. These latter laboring for their subsistence, commonly choose a life easy to support, being content with a little. When they are weary they may rest, take the most advantageous part of the day for labor; and in all cases so proportion one thing to another, that their bodies be not oppressed.

Now, while each is at liberty, the latter may be as happy, and live as comfortably as the former; but when men of the first sort have the latter under absolute command, and not considering the difference in strength and firmness, do sometimes lay on them burdens grievous to be borne, by degrees grow rigorous, and aspiring to greatness, increase oppression, the true order of kind Providence is subverted.

There are weaknesses sometimes attending us, which make little or no alteration in our countenances, nor much lessen our appetite for food, and yet so affect us, as to make labor very uneasy. In such cases, masters intent on putting forward business, and jealous of the sincerity of their slaves, may disbelieve what they say, and grievously afflict them. Action is necessary for all men, and our exhausting frame requires a support, which is the fruit of action. The earth must be labored to keep us alive: labor is a proper part of our life; to make one support the other in some useful exertions, seems agreeable to the design of our Creator. Motion, rightly managed, tends to our satisfaction, health, and support.

Those who quit all useful business, and live wholly on the labor of others, have their exercise to seek; some such use less than their health requires; others choose that which, by the circumstances attending it, proves utterly reverse to true happiness. Thus while some are divers ways distressed for want of an open channel of useful action, those who support them sigh, and are exhausted in a stream too powerful for nature, spending their days with too little cessation from labor. Seed sown with the tears of a confined, oppressed people, corn cut down by an over-borne, discontented reaper, makes bread less sweet to the taste of an honest man, than that which is the produce, or just reward of that voluntary action which is one proper part of the business of human creatures.

Again the weak state of the human species, in bearing and bringing forth their young, and the helpless condition of their offspring beyond that of other creatures, clearly show that Perfect Goodness designs a tender care and regard should be exercised towards them; and that no imperfect, arbitrary power should prevent the cordial effects of that sympathy, which exists in the minds of well-met pairs towards each other, and their offspring. In our species the mutual ties of affection are more rational and durable than in others below us; the care and labor of raising our offspring is much greater. The satisfaction arising to us in their innocent company, and in their advances from one rational improvement to another is great,



when two are thus joined, and their affections are sincere. It however happens among slaves, that they are often situated in different places; and their seeing each other depends on the will of men, liable to human passions and to a bias in judgment; who with views of self-interest may keep them apart more than is right. Being absent from each other, and often with other company, there is a danger of their affections being alienated, jealousies arising, the happiness otherwise resulting from their offspring frustrated, and the comforts of marriage destroyed. These things being closely considered as happening to a near friend, will appear to be hard and painful.

He who reverently observes the goodness manifested by our gracious Creator towards the various species of beings in this world, will perceive, that our frame and constitution clearly proves that innocent men, capable to manage for themselves, are not intended to be slaves. A person lately travelling among the negroes near Senegal, makes this remark; "Which way soever I turned my eyes on this pleasant spot, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature; an agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by charming landscapes, the rural situation of cottages in the midst of trees. The ease and indolence of the negroes reclined under the shade of their spreading foliage; the simplicity of their dress and manners; the whole revived in my mind the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state." M. Adanson, page 55.

Some negroes in these parts, who have had a suitable education, have manifested a brightness of understanding equal to many of us. A remark of this kind we find in Bosman, page 328. "The negroes of Fida, saith he, are so accurately quick in their merchandize accounts, that they easily reckon as justly and quickly in their heads only, as we do with the assistance of pen and ink, though the sum amounts to several thousands."

Through the force of long custom, it appears needful to speak in relation to color. Suppose a white child, born of parents of the meanest sort, who died and left him an infant, should fall into the hands of a person who should endeavor to keep him a slave; some men would account

the man unjust in doing so, who themselves appear easy while many black people of honest lives and good abilities, are enslaved in a more shocking manner than the case here supposed. This is owing chiefly to the idea of slavery being connected with the black color, and liberty with the white; and when false ideas are insinuated into our minds, it is with difficulty they get fairly disentangled.

A traveller, missing his way in cloudy weather, makes many turns while he is lost, and forms in his mind the bearing and situation of places; and though these ideas are wrong, they fix as firmly as if they were right. Finding how things are, we see our mistake; yet the force of reason, with repeated observations on places and things, does not soon remove these false notions which are fastened upon us; it may seem in the imagination that the annual course of the sun is altered; and though by recollection we are assured it is not, yet the idea does not suddenly leave us.

Selfishness clouds the understanding; and when selfish men, for a long time, proceed on their way without opposition, the deceivableness of unrighteousness gets so rooted in their minds, that a candid examination of things relating to self-interest is prevented; in this circumstance, some who would not enslave a person whose color is like their own, seem willing to make slaves of those of a different color, though their understanding and morals be equal to the generality of men of their own color. The color of a man avails nothing in matters of right and equity. Consider color in relation to treaties, by which disputes between nations are sometimes settled. And should the Father of us all so dispose things, that treaties with black men should sometimes be necessary, how then would it appear for the princes and ambassadors, to insist on the prerogative of the white color?

How is it that men, who believe in a righteous omnipotent Being, to whom all nations stand equally related, and are equally accountable, remain so easy about enslaving their fellow creatures? Is it not that the idea of negro and slave is so interwoven in the mind, that they do not discuss this matter with that candor and freedom of thought which the case justly calls for? To come at a

right feeling of their condition, requires humble, serious thinking; for in their present situation, they have but little to engage our natural affection in their favor. Had we a son or a daughter involved in a case similar to what many of them are, it would alarm us, and make us feel their condition without seeking for it. The adversity of an intimate friend will incite our compassion, while others equally good, in the like trouble, will but little affect us. And if a man in worldly honor whom we consider as our superior, treats us with kindness and generosity, it begets a return of gratitude and friendship towards him. We may receive as great benefits from men a degree lower than ourselves, in the common way of reckoning, and feel ourselves less engaged in favor of them. Such is our condition by nature; and these things being narrowly watched and examined, will be found to centre in self-love.

The blacks seem far from being our kinsfolks; and did we find an agreeable disposition and sound understanding in some of them, which appeared as a good foundation for a true friendship between us, the disgrace arising from an open friendship with a person of so vile a stock, in the common esteem, would naturally tend to hinder it. They have neither honors, riches, outward magnificence, nor power; their dress being coarse, and often ragged; their employment drudgery, and much in the dirt, they have little or nothing at command, but must wait upon and work for others, to obtain the necessaries of life; so that in their present situation, there is not much to engage the friendship or move the affection of selfish men; but it is a thing familiar to such as live in the spirit of true charity, to sympathize with the afflicted in the lowest stations of life.

Such is the kindness of our Creator, that people applying their minds to sound wisdom, may, in general, with moderate exercise, live comfortably when no misapplied power hinders it; which we, in these parts, have cause gratefully to acknowledge. But when men leave the true use of things, their lives are less calm, and they have less of real happiness. Many are desirous of purchasing and keeping slaves, that they may live in some measure conformably to the luxurious customs of the times; for when we in



the least degree depart from that use of the creatures, for which the Creator of all things intended them, then luxury begins. If we consider this way of life seriously, we shall see there is nothing in it sufficient to induce a wise man to choose it, before a plain, simple way of living. If we examine stately buildings and equipage, delicious food, superfine clothes, silks, and linens; if we consider the splendor of choice metal fastened upon raiment, and the most showy inventions of men; it will yet appear that the humble-minded man, who is contented with the true use of houses, food, and garments, and cheerfully exercises himself agreeably to his station in civil society to earn them, acts more reasonably, and discovers more soundness of understanding in his conduct, than such as lay heavy burdens on others, to support themselves in a luxurious way of living.

In true gospel simplicity, free from all abuse of things, a spirit which breathes peace and good will is cherished; but when we aspire after imaginary grandeur, and apply to selfish means to attain our end, this desire in its origin is the same with that of the Picts, in cutting figures on their bodies; but the evil consequences attending our proceedings are the greatest.

A covetous mind, which seeks opportunity to exalt itself, is a great enemy to true harmony in a country; envy and grudging usually accompany this disposition, and it tends to stir up its likeness in others. And when this disposition ariseth so high, as to embolden us to look upon honest industrious men as our own property during life, and to keep them to hard labor, to support us in those customs which have not their foundation in right reason, or to use any means of oppression; a haughty spirit is cherished on one side, and the desire of revenge frequently on the other, until the inhabitants of the land are ripe for great commotion and trouble; and thus luxury and oppression have the seeds of war and desolation in them.

In Randal's Geography, printed 1744, we are informed, "That in a time of full peace, nothing is more common than for the negroes of one nation to steal those of another, and sell them to the Europeans. It is thought that the English transmit annually near fifty thousand of these un-

happy creatures; and the other European nations, together about two hundred thousand more.”

It is through the goodness of God that a reformation from gross idolatry and barbarity hath been partly effected; if we consider our conditions as Christians, and the benefits we enjoy, and compare them with the condition of the negroes, and consider that our nation trading with them for their country produce, have had an opportunity of imparting useful instructions to them, and remember that but little pains have been taken therein, it must look like an indifference in us. But when we reflect on a custom the most shocking of any among them, and remember that with a view to outward gain, we have joined as parties in it; that our concurrence with them in their barbarous proceedings, has tended to harden them in cruelty, and has been the means of increasing calamities in their country; we must own that herein we have acted contrary to those worthies, whose lives and substance were spent in propagating truth and righteousness among the heathen.

Were many who are parties in this trade, by keeping slaves with views of self-interest, to go as soldiers in one of these inland expeditions to catch slaves, they must necessarily grow dissatisfied with such employment, or cease to profess their religious principles. And though the first and most striking part of the scene is done at a great distance, and by other hands, yet every one who is acquainted with the circumstances, and notwithstanding joins in it for the sake of gain only, must, in the nature of things, be guilty with the others.

Should we consider ourselves present as spectators, when cruel negroes privately catch innocent children, who are employed in the fields, hear their lamentable cries, under the most terrifying apprehensions; or should we look upon it as happening in our own families, having our children carried off by savages, we must needs own that such proceedings are contrary to the nature of Christianity;—should we meditate on the wars which are greatly increased by this trade, and on that affliction which many thousands live in, through apprehensions of being taken or slain; on the terror and amazement of the villagers when surrounded

by these troops of enterprizers; on the great pain and misery of dying men, who get wounded in those skirmishes; we should necessarily see, that it is impossible to be parties in such trade on the motives of gain, and retain our innocence.

Should we consider the case of multitudes of those people, who in a fruitful soil and hot climate, with little labor, raise grain, roots and pulse, to eat; spin and weave cotton, and fasten together the large feathers of fowls, to cover their nakedness; many of whom, in much simplicity, live inoffensively in their cottages, and take great comfort in raising up children; should we contemplate their circumstances when suddenly attacked, and labor to understand their inexpressible anguish of soul who survive the conflict: should we think on inoffensive women who fled at the alarm, and at their return saw that village, in which they and their acquaintance were raised up, and had pleasantly spent their youthful days, now lying in gloomy desolation; some shocked at finding the mangled bodies of their near friends among the slain; others bemoaning the absence of a brother, a sister, a child, or a whole family of children, who by cruel men were bound and carried to market, to be sold without the least hopes of seeing them again: should we in addition consider the afflicted condition of these poor captives, who are separated from family connexions, and all the comforts arising from friendship and acquaintance, carried among a people of a strange language, to be parted from their fellow-captives, put to labor in a manner more servile and wearisome than they were used to, with many sorrowful circumstances attending their slavery: we must necessarily conclude that it belongs not to the followers of Christ to be parties in such a trade, on the motives of outward gain.

Though there were wars and desolation among the negroes before the Europeans began to trade for slaves, yet now the calamities are greatly increased, so many thousands being annually imported; and we, by purchasing them are become parties with them, and accessory to that increase. In this case we are not joining against an enemy who is fomenting discords on our continent, and using all



possible means to make slaves of us and of our children; but against a people who have not injured us. It would seem rigorous to candid men, if those who were spoiled and wronged should at length make slaves of their oppressors, and continue slavery to their posterity; but to act that part towards a people, when neither they nor their fathers have injured us, hath something in it extraordinary, and requires our serious attention.

Our children breaking a bone, getting so bruised that a leg or an arm must be taken off; lost for a few hours, so that we despair of their being found again; a friend hurt, so that he dieth in a day or two; these things move us with grief. Did we attend to those scenes in Africa, as if they were transacted in our presence; and sympathize with the negroes in all their afflictions and miseries, as we do with our children or friends; we should be more careful to do nothing in any degree to help forward a trade productive of so many and so great calamities. Great distance is nothing in our favor. Willingly to join with unrighteousness to the injury of men who live some thousand miles off, is the same in substance as joining with it to the injury of our neighbors.

In the eye of pure justice, actions are regarded according to the spirit and disposition from which they arise. Some evils are accounted scandalous, and the desire of reputation may keep selfish men from appearing openly in them; but he who is shy on that account, and yet by indirect means promotes that evil, and shares in the profit of it, cannot be innocent. He who, with a view to self-interest, buys a slave made so by violence, and only on the strength of such purchase holds him a slave, thereby joins hands with those who committed that violence, and in the nature of things becomes chargeable with the guilt.

Suppose a man wants a slave, and being in Guinea, goes and hides himself by the path where boys pass from one little town to another, and there catches one on the day he expects to sail; and taking him on board, brings him home, without any aggravating circumstances: suppose another buys a man, taken by them that live by plunder and the slave-trade; who often steal them privately; and often shed

much blood in getting them. He who buys the slaves thus taken, pays those men for their wickedness, and makes himself party with them. Whatever nicety of distinction there may be between going in person on expeditions to catch slaves, and buying those with a view to self-interest which others have taken; it is clear and plain to an upright mind, that such distinction is in words not in substance; for the parties are concerned in the same work, and have a necessary connexion with, and dependence on each other. Were there none to purchase slaves, they who live by stealing and selling them, would of consequence soon cease to do so.

Some would buy a negro brought from Guinea, and keep him a slave, who yet would scruple to take arms and join with men employed in taking slaves. Others have civil negroes, who were born in our country, capable and likely to manage well for themselves; whom they keep as slaves, without ever trying them with freedom, and take the profit of their labor as a part of their estates, and yet disapprove bringing them from their own country. If those negroes had come here as merchants, with their ivory and gold-dust, in order to trade with us, and some powerful person had taken their effects to himself, and then put them to hard labor, and ever after considered them as slaves, the action would be looked upon as unrighteous.

If those negro merchants had children after they came among us, whose endowments and conduct were like other people's in common, and on their attaining to mature age, and requesting to have their liberty, should be told they were born in slavery, and were lawful slaves, and therefore their request should be denied; such conduct towards them would be looked upon as unfair and oppressive.

In the present case, relating to home born negroes whose understandings and behavior are as good as is common among other people, if we have any claim to them as slaves, that claim is grounded on their being children or offspring of slaves, who in general were made such through means as unrighteous, and attended with more terrible circumstances than the case last supposed; so that when we trace our claim to the bottom, we have no more equitable

right to the service of these home-born negroes, having paid for their education, and given reasonable security to those who owned them, in case of their becoming chargeable, than we should have if they were the children of honest merchants, who came from Guinea in an English vessel to trade with us. If we claim any right to them as the children of slaves, we build on the foundation laid by those who enslaved their ancestors; so that of necessity we must either justify the trade, or relinquish our right to them, as being the children of slaves.

Why should it seem right to honest men to make gain by these people more than by others? Others enjoy freedom, and receive wages equal to their work, at or near the time when they have discharged the equitable obligations they are under to those who educated them. The negroes have made no contract to serve; have been no more expensive in bringing up than others, and many of them appear as likely to make a right use of freedom as other people; how then can an honest man withhold from them that liberty, which is the free gift of the Most High to his rational creatures? The upright in heart cannot succeed the wicked in their wickedness, nor is it consonant to the life they live, to hold fast an advantage unjustly gained.

The negroes who live by plunder and the slave-trade, steal poor innocent children, invade their neighbors' territories, and spill much blood to get the slaves; and can it be possible for an honest man to suppose, that with a view to self-interest, we may continue the offspring of these unhappy sufferers in slavery, merely because they are the children of slaves, and not be partakers of this guilt? It is granted by many, that the means used to get the negroes are unrighteous, and that buying them, when brought here, is wrong; yet, since setting them free is attended with some difficulty, they will not do it; but seem to be of the opinion, that to keep them servants without any other wages than food and raiment, is the best way to manage them that they know of; and hoping that their children after them will not be cruel to the negroes, conclude to leave them as slaves to their children.



While present outward interest is the chief object of our attention, we feel many objections in our minds against renouncing our claim to the children of slaves: being prepossessed with wrong opinions, prevents our seeing things clearly, which by uninterested persons are easily perceived.

Suppose a person seventy years past, in low circumstances, bought a negro man and woman, and that the children of such person are now wealthy, and have the children of such slaves. Admit that the first negro man and his wife did as much business as their master and mistress, and that the children of the slaves have done some more than their young masters. Suppose that on the whole, the expense of living has been less on the negroes' side than on the other (all which are no improbable suppositions) it follows, that in equity these negroes have a right to a part of this increase: and should some difficulties arise on their being set free, there is reason for us patiently to labor through them.

As the conduct of men varies in relation to civil society, so different treatment is justly due to them. Indiscreet men occasion trouble in the world; and it remains to be the care of such as seek the good of mankind, to admonish as they find occasion. The slothfulness of some of them, in providing for themselves and families, would probably require the notice of their neighbors; nor is it unlikely that some would with justice be made servants, and others punished for their crimes. Pure justice points out to each individual his due; but to deny a people the privilege of human creatures, on a prejudice that being free many of them would be troublesome to us, is to mix the condition of good and bad men together, and to treat the whole as the worst of them deserve.

If we seriously consider that liberty is the right of innocent men; that the mighty God is a refuge for the oppressed; that in reality we are indebted to slaves; that they being set free, are still liable to the penalties of our laws, and as liable to punishment for their crimes as other people; this may answer all our objections. To retain them in perpetual servitude without just cause for it, will produce effects, in the end more grievous than setting them free

would do, when a real love to truth and equity was the motive to it. Our authority over them stands originally in a purchase made from those who, in general, obtained them by unrighteousness. Whenever we have recourse to such authority, it tends more or less to obstruct the channels through which the perfect plant in us receives nourishment.

There is a principle which is pure, placed in the human mind; which in different places and ages hath had different names; it is however pure, and proceeds from God. It is deep and inward, confined to no forms of religion, nor excluded from any, when the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows, of what nation soever, they become brethren in the best sense of the expression. Using ourselves to take ways which appear most easy to us, inconsistent with that purity which is without beginning, we set up a government of our own, and deny obedience to Him, whose service is true liberty.

He that hath a servant, and knows him to be made so wrongfully, and treats him otherwise than a free man, in reaping the benefit of his labor, without paying him such wages as are reasonably due to freemen; such things though done in calmness, without any show of disorder, do yet deprave the mind with as great certainty, as prevailing cold congeals water. Such conduct will be very striking to the minds of children while young, and will leave less room for that which is good to work upon them. Conceiving ideas of things and modes of conduct, from the custom of their parents, their neighbors, and the people with whom they converse, the entrance into their hearts becomes, in a great measure, shut up against the gentle movings of uncreated purity. From one age to another, the gloom grows thicker and darker, till error gets established by general opinion. Whoever remains under the melting influence of perfect goodness, finds a path unknown to many, and sees the necessity to lean upon the arm of Divine strength, and dwell alone; or with a few in the right, committing their cause to Him, who is a refuge for his people in all their troubles.

When, through the agreement of a multitude, some chan-

nels of justice are stopped, and men may support their characters as just men, by being just to a party, there is great danger of contracting an alliance with that spirit which stands in opposition to the God of love, and spreads discord, trouble, and vexation, among such as give up to the influence of it.

Negroes are our fellow-creatures, and their present condition among us requires our serious consideration. We know not the time when those scales, in which mountains are weighed, may turn. The Parent of mankind is gracious: his care is over his smallest creatures; and a multitude of men escape not his notice. And though many of them are trodden down and despised, yet He remembers them. He seeth their affliction, and looketh upon the spreading, increasing, exaltation of the oppressor. He turns the channels of power, humbles the most haughty people, and gives deliverance to the oppressed, at such periods as are consistent with his infinite justice and mercy. And whenever gain is preferred to equity, and wickedness is publicly encouraged to that degree, that it takes root, and spreads wide among the inhabitants of a country, there is real cause for sorrow to all those whose love to mankind stands on a true principle, and who wisely consider the end of things.



CONSIDERATIONS  
 ON  
 PURE WISDOM, AND HUMAN POLICY;  
 ON  
 LABOR;  
 ON SCHOOLS;  
 AND ON  
 THE RIGHT USE OF THE LORD'S OUTWARD GIFTS.

[*First printed in the year 1768.*]

INTRODUCTION.

My mind hath often been affected with sorrow on account of the prevailing of that spirit, which leads from an humble waiting on the inward teaching of Christ, to pursue ways of living attended with unnecessary labor, and which draws forth the minds of many people to seek after outward power, and to strive for riches, which frequently introduce oppression, and bring forth wars and grievous calamities.

It is with reverence that I acknowledge the mercies of our heavenly Father, who in infinite love did visit me

in my youth, and wrought a belief in me, that through true obedience, a state of inward purity may be known in this life, in which we may love mankind in the same love with which our Redeemer loveth us, and therein learn resignation to endure hardships, for the good of others.

“While the eye is single, the whole body is full of light;” but selfish desires, and an imaginary superiority, darken the mind; hence injustice frequently proceeds; and when this is the case, to convince the judgment is the most effectual remedy.

When violent measures are pursued in opposing injustice, the passions and resentments of the injured frequently operate in the prosecution of their designs; and after conflicts productive of very great calamities, the minds of contending parties often remain as little acquainted with the pure principle of Divine love, as they were before; but when people walk in that pure light in which all their deeds are wrought in God,” John iii. 21, and under oppression, persevere in the meek spirit, and abide firm in the cause of truth, without actively complying with oppressive demands, the Lord hath often manifested his power through them in opening the understanding of others, to the promoting of righteousness in the earth.

A time I believe is coming, wherein this Divine work will so spread and prevail, that “Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.” Isaiah ii. 4. And as we, through the tender mercies of God, feel that this precious work is begun, I am concerned to encourage my brethren and sisters in a holy care and diligence, that each of us may so live under the sanctifying power of truth, as to be redeemed from all unnecessary cares; that our eye being single to Him, no customs however prevalent, which are contrary to the wisdom from above, may hinder us from faithfully following His holy leadings, in whatsoever He may graciously appoint for us.

## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

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“The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.”—JAMES iii. 17.

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### *On Pure Wisdom, and Human Policy.*

To have our trust settled in the Lord, and not to seek after nor desire outward treasures, any further than his Holy Spirit leads us therein, is a happy state, as saith the prophet, “Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is.” Jer. xvii. 7.

Pure wisdom leads people into lowliness of mind, in which they learn resignation to the Divine will, and contentment in suffering for his cause, when they cannot keep a clear conscience without suffering. In this pure wisdom the mind is attentive to the root and original spring of motions and desires; and as we know “the Lord to be our refuge,” and find no safety but in humbly walking before Him; we feel an holy engagement that every desire which leads therefrom may be brought to judgment.

While we proceed in this precious way, and find ardent longings for a full deliverance from every thing which defiles, all prospects of gain, that are not consistent with the wisdom from above, are considered as snares; and an inward concern is felt that we may live under the cross, and faithfully attend to that Holy Spirit which is sufficient to preserve us from them. When I have considered that saying of Christ, Matt. vi. 19, “Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth;” His omnipotence hath often occur-



red to my mind. While we believe that He is every where present with his people, and that perfect goodness, wisdom, and power, are united in Him, how comfortable is the consideration.

Our wants may be great, but his power is greater. We may be oppressed and despised, but he is able to turn our patient sufferings into profit to ourselves, and to the advancement of his work on earth. His people, who feel the power of his cross to crucify all that is selfish in them; who are engaged in outward concerns, from a conviction that it is their duty, and resign themselves and their treasures to Him; feel that it is dangerous to give way to that which craves riches and greatness in this world.

The heart, truly contrite, earnestly desires "to know Christ, and the fellowship of his sufferings," Phil. iii. 10, so far as the Lord, for gracious ends, may lead into them; and such feel that it is their interest to put their trust in God, and to seek no gain but that which He, by his Holy Spirit, leads into. On the contrary, they who do not reverently wait for this Divine teacher, and are not humbly concerned, according to their measure, "to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ," Col. i. 24, in patiently suffering for the promoting of righteousness in the earth; but have an eye towards the power of men, and the outward advantages of wealth, are often engaged in such trade and business as proceeds from the workings of that spirit, which is estranged from the self-denying life of an humble, contrite Christian.

While I write on this subject, I feel my mind tenderly affected towards those honestly disposed people, who have been brought up in employments attended with these difficulties. To such I may say, in the feeling of our heavenly Father's love, and number myself with them, O that our eyes may be single to the Lord! May we reverently wait on Him for strength, to lay aside all unnecessary expense of every kind, and to learn contentment in a plain simple life. May we in lowliness submit to the leadings of his spirit, and enter upon any outward employment which he may graciously point out to us; and then whatever difficulties arise, in consequence of our faithfulness, I trust they

will work for our good. Small treasure for a resigned mind is sufficient. How happy it is to be content with little, to live in humility, and to feel that in us which breathes out this language, Abba! Father. If that called the wisdom of this world had no resemblance to true wisdom, the name of wisdom, I suppose, would not have been given to it.

As wasting outward substance to gratify vain desires, often involves men and their families in trouble, so slothfulness and neglect frequently reduce them to want and distress. To shun both these opposite vices is good in itself, and hath a resemblance to wisdom; but when people thus provident, have it principally in view to get riches, and power, and the friendship of this world, and do not humbly wait for the spirit of truth to lead them into purity; these through an anxious care to obtain the end desired, reach forth for gain in worldly wisdom, and in regard to their inward state, fall into divers temptations and snares. And though such may think of applying wealth to good purposes, and of using their power to prevent oppression, yet wealth and power are often applied otherwise; nor can we depart from the leadings of our Holy Shepherd, without going into confusion.

Great wealth is frequently attended with power, which nothing can qualify the mind to use rightly but Divine love; and as to the humility and uprightness of our children after us, how great is the uncertainty! If, in acquiring wealth, we take hold of the wisdom which is from beneath, and depart from the leadings of truth, and example our children herein, we have great cause to apprehend that wealth may be a snare to them; and prove an injury to others over whom their wealth may give them power.

To be redeemed from that wisdom which is from beneath, and to walk in the light of the Lord, is a precious state; thus His people are brought to put their trust in Him; and in this humble confidence in His wisdom, goodness, and power, the righteous find a refuge in adversities superior to the greatest outward helps; and a comfort more certain than any worldly advantage can afford.

*On Labor.*

Having from my childhood been used to bodily labor for a living, I may express my experience therein.

Moderate exercise affords an innocent pleasure, and prepares us to enjoy the sweetness of rest; but from extremes either way arise inconveniences. Moderate exercise opens the pores, gives the blood a lively circulation, and enables us to judge rightly respecting that portion of labor which is the true medium. "The fowls of the air sow not, nor gather into barns, yet our heavenly Father feedeth them," Matt. vi. 26; and I believe that infinite goodness and power would not have allotted labor to us, had He not seen that labor was proper for us in this life.

The original design, and true medium of labor, is a subject that to me appears worthy of our serious consideration. Idle men often neglect the duty they owe to their families, and become burdensome to themselves and others. As outward labor, directed by the wisdom from above, tends to our health, and adds to our happiness in this life; so, on the contrary, entering upon it in a selfish spirit, and pursuing it too long, or too hard, has a contrary effect.

I have observed that too much labor not only makes the understanding dull, but so disturbs the harmony of the body, that after ceasing from our toil, we have more to pass through before we can be so composed as to enjoy the sweetness of rest. From too much labor in the heat, immoderate sweats frequently proceed, which often I believe open the way for disorders, and impair our constitutions. When we go beyond the true medium, and feel weariness approaching, but think business may suffer if we cease, spirituous liquors are frequently taken, with a view to support nature under these fatigues.

I have found that too much labor in the summer, heats the blood; that taking strong drink to support the body un-



der such labor, increases that heat; and though a person may be so far temperate as not to manifest the least disorder, yet the mind, in such circumstances, doth not retain that calmness and serenity in which we should endeavor to live, and is very much disqualified from successfully following Him who was "meek and low of heart."

As laying out business beyond what is consistent with pure wisdom is an evil, so this evil frequently leads into more: too much business leads to hurry. In the hurry and toil, too much strong drink is often used, and hereby many proceed to noise and wantonness; and some, though more considerate, do often suffer loss as to a true composedness of mind. I feel sincere desires in my heart, that no rent, or interest, may be laid so high as to be a snare to tenants; that no desire of gain may draw any too far in business; that no cares to support customs, which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, may have place in our minds; but that we may build on the sure foundation, and feel our holy Shepherd to lead us, who alone is able to preserve us from every thing that defiles.

Having several times, in my travels, had opportunity to observe the labor and manner of life of great numbers of slaves, it appears to me that the true medium is lamentably neglected by many who assign them their portion of labor. Without saying much at this time, concerning buying and selling men for term of life, who have as just a right to liberty as we have, or about the great miseries, and effusion of blood, consequent on promoting the slave trade; and to speak as favorably as may be, with regard to continuing those in bondage who are among us, we cannot say there is no partiality in it. For, whatever tenderness may be manifested by individuals in their life time, towards them, yet for people to be transmitted from a man to his posterity, in the helpless condition of slaves, appears inconsistent with the gospel spirit. From such proceedings it often follows, that persons in the decline of life, are deprived of monies equitably due to them, and committed to the care, and subjected to the absolute power of young inexperienced men, who know little about the weakness of old age, nor understand the language of declining life.

When parents give estates to their children, and then depend on them for a maintenance, they sometimes meet with great inconveniences: but if the power of possession thus obtained, often reverses the obligations of gratitude and filial duty, and makes manifest that youth are often ignorant of the language of old age, how hard is the case of aged negroes; who, deprived of the wages equitably due to them, are left to young people who have been used to look upon them as their inferiors.

For men to behold the fruits of their labor withheld from them, and possessed by others, and in old age when they feel pains, and stiffness in their joints and limbs, weakness of appetite, and that a little labor is wearisome, and behold themselves in the neglected, uncomfortable condition of slaves, oftentimes to the young and unsympathizing—when they are thus treated, from one generation to another, and besides their own distresses, think on the slavery entailed on their posterity; what grievous thoughts must they have of the professed followers of Jesus! and how must their groans ascend to that Almighty Being, who “will be a refuge for the oppressed!” Psalm ix. 9.

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*On Schools.*

“Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.”—MARK. x. 14.

To encourage children to do things with a view to get praise of men, appears an obstruction to their being inwardly acquainted with the spirit of truth. For it is the work of the Holy Spirit to direct the mind to God; that in all our proceeding we may have a single eye to Him; may give alms in secret; fast in secret; and labor to keep clear of that disposition reproved by our Saviour, “But all their works they do for to be seen of men.” Matt. xxiii. 5.

That Divine light which enlightens all men, does, I believe, often shine in the minds of children very early;

and humbly to wait for wisdom that our conduct towards them may tend to forward their acquaintance with it, and strengthen them in obedience thereto, appears to me to be a duty on us all. By cherishing in them the spirit of pride, and the love of praise, I believe they may sometimes improve faster in learning, than they otherwise would; but to take measures to forward children in learning, which naturally tend to divert their minds from true humility, appears to me to savor of the wisdom of this world. If tutors are not acquainted with sanctification of spirit, nor experienced in an humble waiting for the leadings of truth, but follow the maxims of the wisdom of this world, such children as are under their tuition, appear to me to be in danger of imbibing thoughts and habits the reverse of that meekness and lowliness of heart, which is necessary for all the true followers of Christ.

Children at an age fit for schools, are at a time of life which requires the patient attention of pious people; and if we commit them to the tuition of those, whose minds we believe are not rightly prepared to "train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," we are in danger of not acting the part of faithful parents towards them. Our heavenly Father doth not require us to do evil, that good may come of it; and it is needful that we deeply examine ourselves, lest we get entangled in the wisdom of this world, and through wrong apprehensions, take such methods in education as may prove a great injury to the minds of our children. It is a lovely sight to behold innocent children; and when they are sent to schools where their tender minds are in imminent danger of being led astray by tutors, who do not live a self-denying life, or by the conversation of such children as do not live in innocence, it is a case much to be lamented.

While a pious tutor hath the charge of no more children than he can take due care of, and keeps his authority in the truth, the good spirit in which he leads and governs, works on the minds of such as are not hardened; and his labors not only tend to bring them forward in outward learning, but to open their understandings with respect to the true Christian life; but when a person hath charge of



too many; and his thoughts and time are so much employed in the outward affairs of his school, that he does not so weightily attend to the spirits and conduct of each individual, as to be enabled to administer rightly to all in due season; through such omission, he not only suffers as to the state of his own mind, but the minds of the children are in danger of suffering also.

To watch the spirits of children, to nurture them in gospel love, and labor to help them against that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them; and a faithful performance of our duty not only tends to their lasting benefit, and to our own peace, but also renders their company agreeable to us. Instruction thus administered, reaches the pure witness in the minds of such children as are not hardened, and begets love in them towards those who thus lead them on; but where too great a number are committed to one tutor, and he, through much cumber, omits a careful attention to the minds of his scholars, there is danger of disorders gradually increasing among them, until they grow too strong to be easily remedied. A care hath lived on my mind, that more time might be employed by parents at home, and by tutors at school, in weightily attending to the spirit and inclinations of children, and that we may so lead, instruct, and govern them, in this tender part of life, that nothing may be omitted which is in our power, to help them on their way to become the children of our Father who is in heaven.

Meditating on the situation of schools in our provinces, my mind hath at times been affected with sorrow; and under this exercise, it hath appeared to me, that if those who have large estates were faithful stewards, and laid no rent, nor interest, nor other demand, higher than is consistent with universal love; and if those in lower circumstances would under a moderate employ, shun unnecessary expense, even to the smallest article; and all unite in humbly seeking to the Lord, He would graciously instruct, and strengthen us to relieve the youth from various snares, in which many of them are entangled.

*On the right use of the Lord's outward gifts.*

As our understandings are opened by the pure light, we experience, that through an inward approaching to God, the mind is strengthened in obedience; and that by gratifying those desires which are not of his begetting, these approaches to Him are obstructed, and the deceivable spirit gains strength.

These truths being as it were engraven on our hearts, and our everlasting interest in Christ evidently concerned therein, we become fervently engaged that nothing may be nourished which tends to feed pride or self-love in us. Thus in pure obedience, we are not only instructed in our duty to God, but also in the affairs which necessarily relate to this life, and the Spirit of truth which guides into all truth, leavens the mind with a pious concern, that whatsoever we do in word or deed, may be done in his name. Col. iii. 17. Hence such buildings, furniture, food, and raiment, as best answer our necessities, and are the least likely to feed that selfish spirit which is our enemy, are the most acceptable to us.

In this state the mind is tender, and inwardly watchful, that the love of gain draw us not into any business, which may weaken our love to our heavenly Father, or bring unnecessary trouble to any of his creatures. And thus the way would gradually open to cease from that spirit which craves riches, and things fetched from afar, and which so mix with the customs of this world, and so intrude upon the true harmony of life, that the right medium of labor is very much departed from. If the minds of people were thus settled in a steady concern, not to hold nor possess any thing but what may be held consistent with the wisdom from above, they would consider what they possess as the gift of God; and would be inwardly exercised, that in all parts of their conduct they might act agreeably to the nature of the peaceable government of Christ.

Such a life is supported with little; and in a state truly resigned to the Lord, the eye is single to see what outward

employ He leads into, as a means of our subsistence; and a lively care is maintained to hold to that without launching further. There is harmony in the several parts of this Divine work in the hearts of people. He who leads them to cease from those gainful employments, which are carried on in that wisdom which is from beneath, delivers also from the desire after worldly greatness, and reconciles the mind to a life so plain, that a little doth suffice. Here the real comforts of life are not lessened. Moderate exercise, in the way of true wisdom, is pleasant both to mind and body. Food and raiment sufficient, though in the greatest simplicity, are accepted with contentment and gratitude.

The mutual love subsisting between the faithful followers of Christ, is more pure than that friendship which is not seasoned with humility, how spacious soever the appearance. Where people depart from pure wisdom in one case, it is often an introduction to depart from it in many more; and thus a spirit which seeks for outward greatness, and leads into worldly wisdom to attain and support it, gets possession of the mind.

In beholding the customary departure from the true medium of labor, and that unnecessary toil which many go through, in supporting outward greatness, and procuring delicacies: in beholding how the true calmness of life is changed into hurry, and that many, by eagerly pursuing outward treasure, are in great danger of withering, as to the inward state of the mind: in meditating on the works of this spirit, and on the desolations it makes among the professors of Christianity, I may thankfully acknowledge, that I often feel pure love beget longings in my heart, for the exaltation of the peaceable kingdom of Christ, and an engagement to labor according to the gift bestowed on me, for the promoting an humble, plain, temperate way of living: a life in which no unnecessary cares, or expenses, may encumber our minds, or lessen our ability to do good; in which no desires after riches, or greatness, may lead into hard dealings; no connexion with worldly-minded men, may abate our love to God, or weaken a true zeal for righteousness: a life, wherein we may diligently labor for re-



signedness to do, and to suffer, whatever our heavenly Father may allot for us, in reconciling the world to Himself.

When the prophet Isaiah had uttered his vision, and declared that a time was coming wherein swords should be beaten into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and that nation should not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more; he immediately directs the minds of people to the Divine teacher, in this remarkable language, "O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord." Isaiah ii. 5. It is necessary to wait for the direction of this light, in all temporal as well as spiritual concerns; for if in any case we enter lightly into temporal affairs, without feeling this Spirit of truth to open our way therein, and, through the love of this world, seek for gain by that business or traffic which "is not of the Father, but of the world," 1 John ii. 16, we fail in our testimony to the purity and peace of His government; and get into that which is for chastisement.

This matter hath lain heavy on my mind, it being evident that a life less humble, less simple and plain, than that which Christ leads his sheep into, does necessarily require a support which pure wisdom does not provide for; hence, there is no probability of our being "a peculiar people," so zealous of good works, as to have no fellowship with works of darkness, while we have wants to supply, which have their foundation in custom, and do not come within the meaning of those expressions, "your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." Matt. vi. 32. These things which he beholds necessary for his people, He fails not to give them, in his own way and time; but, as his ways are above our ways, and his thoughts above our thoughts, so imaginary wants are different from the things which he knoweth that we have need of.

As my meditations have been on these things, compassion hath filled my heart towards my fellow-creatures who are involved in customs, grounded on "the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God," 1 Cor. iii. 19. O that the youth may be so thoroughly experienced in an humble walking before the Lord, that they may be his children; and know Him to be their safe unfailing refuge,

through the various dangers of this uncertain state of being! If those whose minds are redeemed from the love of wealth, and who are content with a plain simple way of living, do nevertheless find that in conducting the affairs of a family, without giving countenance to unrighteous proceedings, or having fellowship with works of darkness, the most diligent care is necessary: if customs distinguishable from universal righteousness, and opposite to the true self-denying life, are now prevalent, and so mixed with trade, and with almost every employ, that it is only through humble waiting on the inward guidance of Truth, that we may reasonably hope to walk safely, and support an uniform testimony to the peaceable government of Christ: if this be the case, how lamentably do they expose themselves to temptations, who give way to the love of riches, conform to expensive living, and strive for gain to support customs which our Holy Shepherd leads not into.

CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
TRUE HARMONY OF MANKIND,  
AND  
HOW IT IS TO BE MAINTAINED.

[*First Printed in 1770.*]

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INTRODUCTION.

As mankind from one parent are divided into many families, and as trading to sea is greatly increased within a few ages past; amidst this extended commerce, how necessary it is that the professed followers of Christ keep sacred his holy name, and be employed about trade and traffic no farther than justice and equity evidently accompany; that we may give no just cause of offence to any, however distant, or unable to plead their own cause; and may continually keep in view the spreading among our fellow-creatures, of the true and saving knowledge of God, and his son Jesus Christ; which, through his infinite love, some feel to be more precious than any other treasure.



## CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

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“ And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men.”—MICAH v. 7.

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### CHAPTER I.

*On serving the Lord in our outward employments.*

Under the humbling dispensations of the Father of Mercies, I feel an inward labor for the good of my fellow-creatures, and a concern that the Holy Spirit, which alone can restore mankind to a state of true harmony, may, with singleness of heart, be waited for and followed. I trust there are many under that visitation, which, if faithfully attended to, will make them quick of understanding in the fear of the Lord, and qualify with firmness to be true patterns of the Christian life, who in living and walking may hold forth an invitation to others, to come out of the entanglements of the spirit of this world.

I feel a care for those who are in difficult circumstances with respect to supporting their families in a way answerable to pure wisdom: that they may not be discouraged, but remember that in humbly obeying the leading of Christ, he owneth them as his friends: “Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you;” and to be a friend to Christ, is to be united to Him who hath all power in Heaven and in Earth; and though a woman may forget her sucking child, yet will He not forget his faithful ones.

The condition of many who dwell in cities hath often affected me with a brotherly sympathy, attended with a desire, that resignation may be labored for; and when the Holy Leader directeth to a country life, or to some change

of employ, He may be faithfully followed. For, under the refining hand of the Lord, I have seen that the inhabitants of some cities are greatly increased through some branches of business, which his Holy Spirit doth not lead into; and that being entangled in these things, tends to bring a cloud over the minds of people who are convinced of the leadings of this holy Director, and to obstruct the coming of the kingdom of Christ on earth.

Now, if we indulge a desire to imitate our neighbors in those things which harmonize not with the true Christian walking, these entanglements may cleave fast to us; and some, who in an awakening time, feel tender scruples with respect to their manner of life, may look on the example of others more noted in the church, who yet may not be refined from every degree of dross. By looking on these examples, and desiring to support their families in a way pleasant to the natural mind, there may be danger of the worldly wisdom gaining strength in them, and of their departure from that pure feeling of truth which, if faithfully attended to, would teach contentment in the Divine will, even in a very low estate.

One formerly, speaking on the profitableness of true humility, saith, "He that troubles not himself with anxious thoughts for more than is necessary, lives little less than the life of angels; whilst, by a mind content with little, he imitates their want of nothing."—Cave's Primitive Christianity, p. 31.

"It is not enough, says Tertullian, that a christian be chaste and modest, but he must appear to be so: a virtue of which he should have so great a store, that it should flow from his mind upon his habit, and break from the retirements of his conscience, into the superficies of his life."—Ibid. p. 43.

"The garments we wear, says Clemens, ought to be mean and frugal. That is true simplicity of habit, which takes away what is vain and superfluous; that the best and most solid garment, which is the farthest from curiosity."—Ibid. p. 49.

Though the change from day to night is so gradual as scarcely to be perceived, yet when night is come, we be-

hold it very different from the day; and thus, as people become wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight, customs rise up from the spirit of this world, and spread by little and little, till a departure from the simplicity that there is in Christ, becomes as distinguishable as darkness from light, to such as are crucified to the world.

Our holy Shepherd, to encourage his flock in firmness and perseverance, reminds them of his love for them: "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you; continue ye in my love;" and in another place He graciously points out the danger of departing therefrom, by going into unsuitable employments. This he represents in the similitude of offence from that useful, active member, the hand; and to fix the instruction deeper, names the right hand; "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee." If thou feelest offence in thy employment, humbly follow Him who leads into all truth, and who is a strong and faithful friend to those who are resigned to Him.

Again, he points out those things which appear pleasant to the natural mind, but which are not best for us, by the similitude of offence from the eye, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee." To pluck out the eye, or to cut off the hand, is attended with sharp pain; and how precious is the instruction which our redeemer thus opens to us, that we may not faint under the most painful trials, but put our trust in Him, even in Him who sent an angel to feed Elijah in the wilderness, who fed a multitude with a few barley loaves, and who is now as attentive as ever to the wants of his people.

The prophet Isaiah represents the unrighteous doings of the Israelites towards the poor, as the fruits of an effeminate life: "As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord God." Then he mentions the haughtiness of the daughters of Zion, and enumerates many ornaments as instances of their vanity, to uphold which the poor were so hardly dealt with, that he sets forth their poverty, their leanness, and inability to help themselves, in the similitude



of a man maimed by violence, or "beaten to pieces," and forced to endure the painful operation of having his face gradually worn away by grinding.

I may here add that at times, when I have felt true love open my heart towards my fellow-creatures, and have been engaged in weighty conversation in the cause of righteousness, the instructions I have received under these exercises, in regard to the true use of the outward gifts of God, have made deep and lasting impressions on my mind. I have beheld how the desire to provide wealth, and to uphold a delicate life, hath grievously entangled many, and have been like snares to their offspring; and though some have been affected with a sense of their difficulties, and have appeared desirous at times to be helped out of them; yet for want of abiding under the humbling power of truth they have continued in these entanglements; this expensive way of living in parents and children, hath called for a large supply; and in answering this call, "the faces of the poor" have been ground away, and made thin through hard dealing.

There is balm; there is a physician! and O, what longings do I feel that we may embrace the means appointed for our healing; may know that removed which now ministers cause for the cries of many people to ascend to Heaven against their oppressors; and that we may see the true harmony restored! Behold "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." The nature of this unity is thus opened by the apostle; "If we walk in the light, as Christ is in the light, we shall have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ will cleanse us from all sin." The land may be polluted with innocent blood, which like the blood of Abel may cry to the Almighty; but they who "walk in the light, as Christ is in the light," know the "Lamb of God who taketh away sin."

Walking is a phrase frequently used in Scripture to represent our journey through life, and appears to comprehend the various affairs and transactions relating to our being in this world. Christ being the light, dwells always in the light; and if our walking be thus, and in every affair and

concern we faithfully follow this Divine Leader, he will preserve from giving just cause for any to quarrel with us. When this foundation is laid and mutually kept to, by families conversant with each other, the way is open for those comforts in society, which our heavenly Father intends as a part of our happiness in this world; and then we may experience the goodness and pleasantness of dwelling together in unity; but when ways of living take place which tend to oppression, and in the pursuit of wealth, people do that to others which they know would not be acceptable to themselves, either in exercising an absolute power over them, or otherwise laying on them unequitable burdens; they are afraid lest that measure should be meted to them, which they have measured to others; and therefore endeavor to support by craft and cunning devices that which stands not on the firm foundation of righteousness: thus the harmony of society is broken, and hence commotions and wars do frequently arise in the world.

“Come out of Babylon, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.”—Rev. xviii. 4. This Babel or Babylon, was built in the spirit of self-exaltation: “Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, and let us make us a name.”—Gen. xi. 4. In departing from an humble trust in God, and following a selfish spirit, people have intentions to get the upper hand of their fellow-creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, and have a language in their hearts which is hard to understand. In Babel the language is confounded: this city is represented as a place of business, and those employed in it as merchants of the earth: “The merchants of the earth are waxed rich, through the abundance of her delicacies.” Rev. xviii. 3. It is remarkable that the language in this call from the Father of Mercies, is, “Come out of Babylon, my people!” Thus, his tender mercies are towards us in any imperfect state; and, as we faithfully attend to the call, the path of righteousness is more and more opened: cravings which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, more and more cease; and in an inward purity of heart, we experience a restoration of that which was lost at Ba-

bel, represented by the inspired prophet in the "returning of a pure language," Zeph. iii. 9.

Happy for those who humbly attend to the call, "Come out of Babylon, my people!" For though in going forth we may meet with trials, which for a time may be painful, yet as we bow in true humility, and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wise; and that in weaning us from all that is selfish, He prepares the way to a quiet habitation, in which all our desires are bounded by his wisdom. An exercise of spirit attends me, that we who are convinced of the pure leadings of truth, may bow in the deepest reverence, and so watchfully regard this Leader, that many who are grievously entangled in a wilderness of vain customs, may look upon us and be instructed. And O that such as have plenty of this world's goods, may be faithful in that with which they are entrusted, and example others in the true Christian walking!

Our blessed Saviour, speaking on worldly greatness, compares himself to one waiting on a company at dinner: "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am amongst you as he that serveth." Luke xxii. 27. Thus in a world greatly disordered, where men aspiring to outward greatness were wont to oppress others to support their designs, he who was of the highest descent, being the Son of God, and greater than any among the greatest families of men, by his example and doctrines foreclosed his followers from claiming any show of outward greatness, and from any supposed superiority either in themselves, or derived from their ancestors.

He who was greater than earthly princes, was not only meek and low of heart; but his outward appearance was plain and lowly, and free from every stain of the spirit of this world. Such was the example of our blessed Redeemer, of whom the beloved disciple said, "He that saith he abideth in Him, ought also to walk, even as he walked."

John Bradford, who suffered martyrdom, under Queen Mary, wrote a letter to his friends out of prison, a short time before he was burnt, in which are these expressions: "Consider your dignity as children of God, and temples



of the Holy Ghost, and members of Christ; be ashamed therefore to think, speak, or do any thing unseemly for God's children and the members of Christ." Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 1177.

## CHAPTER II.

### *On the Example of Christ.*

As my mind hath been brought into a brotherly feeling with the poor, who are under trials in regard to getting a living, in a way answerable to the purity of truth; a labor of heart hath attended me, that their way may not be made difficult through the love of money, in those who are tried with plentiful estates, but that they with tenderness of heart may sympathize with them. It was the saying of our blessed Redeemer, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." There is a deep feeling of the way of purity, a way in which the wisdom of the world hath no part, but which is opened by the spirit of truth, and is "called the way of holiness:" a way in which the traveller is employed in watching unto prayer; and the outward gain we get in this journey is considered as a trust committed to us, by HIM who formed and supports the world, and is the rightful director of the use and application of the produce of it.

Now, except the mind be preserved chaste, there is no safety for us; but in an estrangement from true resignation, the spirit of the world casts up a way, in which gain is many times principally attended to, and in which there is a selfish application of outward treasures. How agreeable to the true harmony of society, is that exhortation of the apostle; "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus."

A person in outward prosperity may have the power of obtaining riches, but the same mind being in him which is in Christ Jesus, he may feel a tenderness of heart towards those of low degree; and instead of setting himself above them, may look upon it as an unmerited favor, that his way

through life is more easy than the way of many others; he may improve every opportunity of leading forth out of those customs which have entangled the family; employ his time in looking into the wants of the poor members, and hold forth such a perfect example of humiliation, that the pure witness may be reached in many minds; and the way opened for an harmonious walking together.

Jesus Christ, in promoting the happiness of others, was not deficient in looking for the helpless who lay in obscurity; nor did he save anything to render himself honorable among men, which might have been of more use to the weaker members in his Father's family. Of his compassion towards us, I may now speak a little. He who was perfectly happy in himself, moved with infinite love, "took not upon him the nature of angels," but our imperfect nature, and therein wrestled with the temptations which attend us in this life; and being the son of him who is greater than earthly princes, yet he became a companion to poor, sincere-hearted men; and though he gave the clearest evidence that Divine power attended him, yet the most unfavorable constructions were framed by a self-righteous people; the miracles he performed were represented as the effect of a diabolical power, and endeavors were used to render him hateful, as having his mission from the prince of darkness; nor did their envy cease till they took him like a criminal, and brought him to trial. Though some may affect the appearance of being unmoved at the apprehension of distress, our dear Redeemer, who was perfectly sincere, having the same human nature as we have, and feeling a little before he was apprehended, the weight of that work upon him, for which he came into the world, was "sorrowful, even unto death." Here the human nature struggled to be excused from a cup so bitter; but his prayers centred in resignation, "Not my will, but thine be done." In this conflict so great was his agony, that "sweat like drops of blood fell from him to the ground."

Behold now, as foretold by the prophet, he is in a judicial manner "numbered with the transgressors." Behold him, as some poor man of no reputation, standing before the high priest and elders, and before Herod and Pilate,

when witnesses appear against him; and he, mindful of the most gracious design of his coming, declined to plead in his own defence, "but as a sheep that is dumb before his shearer," so, under many accusations, revilings, and buffetings, he remained silent. And though he signified to Peter, that he had access to power sufficient to overthrow all their outward forces; yet, retaining a resignation to suffer for the sins of mankind, he exerted not that power, but permitted them to go on in their malicious designs, and pronounce Him to be worthy of death, even Him who was perfect in goodness. Thus, "in his humiliation his judgment was taken away," and He, like some vile criminal, was led as a lamb to the slaughter." Under these heavy trials (though poor unstable Pilate was convinced of his innocence) the people generally looked on him as a deceiver, and a blasphemer, and the approaching punishment as a just judgment upon Him. "They esteemed him smitten of God, and afflicted." So great had been the surprise of his disciples, at his being taken by armed men, that they "forsook him and fled;" thus they hid their faces from him, he was despised, and by their conduct it appeared as though "they esteemed him not."

But contrary to the opinion of his being smitten of God and afflicted, it was for our sakes that "he was put to grief; he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities;" and under the weight of them, manifesting the deepest compassion for the instruments of his misery, He labored as their advocate, and in the depths of affliction, with an unconquerable patience cried out, "Father forgive them; for they know not what they do!"

Now this mind being in us, which was in Christ Jesus, it removes from our hearts the desire of superiority, worldly honor, or greatness; a deep attention is felt to the Divine counsellor, and an ardent engagement to promote, as far as we may be enabled, the happiness of mankind universally. This state, in which every motion from a selfish spirit yieldeth to pure love, I may with gratitude to the Father of mercies acknowledge, is often opened before me as a pearl to dig after; attended with a living concern, that among the many nations and families of the earth, those



who believe in the Messiah, that "he was manifested to destroy the works of the Devil," and thus to "take away the sins of the world," may experience the will of our heavenly Father "to be done on earth as it is Heaven." Strong are the desires I often feel, that this holy profession may remain unpolluted, and that the believers in Christ may so abide in the pure, inward feeling of His spirit, that the wisdom from above may shine forth in their lives, as a light by which others may be instrumentally helped on their way, in the true harmonious walking.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *On Merchandizing.*

When the treasures of pure love are opened, and we obediently follow Him who is the light of life, the mind becomes chaste; and a care is felt, that the unction from the Holy one may be our leader in every undertaking.

In being crucified to the world, broken off from that friendship which is enmity with God, and dead to the customs and fashions which have not their foundation in the truth; the way is prepared for lowliness in outward living, and for a disentanglement from those snares which attend the love of money; and when the faithful friends of Christ are so situated that merchandize appears to be their duty, they feel a restraint from proceeding farther than He owns their proceeding; being convinced that we are not our own, but are bought with a price, that none of us may live to ourselves, but to Him who died for us. Thus they are taught, not only to keep to moderation and uprightness in their dealings, but to consider the tendency of their proceeding; to do nothing which they know would operate against the cause of universal righteousness; and to keep continually in view the spreading of the peaceable kingdom of Christ among mankind.

The prophet Isaiah spake of the gathered church, under the similitude of a city, in which many being employed, were all preserved in purity: "They shall call them the

holy people, the redeemed of the Lord; and thou shalt be called Sought out, A city not forsaken." lxii. 12. And the apostle after mentioning the mystery of Christ's sufferings, exhorts, "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation." 1 Pet. i. 15. There is a conversation necessary in trade; and there is a conversation so foreign from the nature of Christ's kingdom, that it is represented under the similitude of one man pushing another with a warlike weapon; "There is that speaketh like the piercings of a sword." Prov. xii. 18. Now in all our concerns it is necessary that the leading of the Spirit of Christ be humbly waited for, and faithfully followed, as the only means of being preserved chaste as an holy people, who "in all things are circumspect," Exod. xxiii. 13; that nothing which we do may carry the appearance of an approbation of the works of wickedness, make the unrighteous more at ease in unrighteousness, or occasion the injuries committed against the oppressed to be more lightly regarded.

When morality is kept to, and supported by the inhabitants of a country, a certain reproach attends those individuals among them, who manifestly deviate therefrom. Thus, if a person of good report be charged with stealing goods out of an open shop, in the day time, and on a public trial be found guilty, and the law be put in execution, he sustains a loss of reputation; but if he be convicted a second and third time of the like offence, his good name would cease among them who knew these things. If his neighbor, reputed an honest man, be charged with buying goods of this thief, knowing they were stolen, and on a public trial be found guilty, this purchaser would meet with dis-esteem; but if he knowingly persisted in buying stolen goods, and was publicly convicted thereof a second and a third time, he would no longer be considered an honest man by those who knew these things; nor would it appear of good report, to be found in his company or buying his traffic, till some evident tokens of sincere repentance appeared in him; but when iniquity is committed openly, and the authors of it are not brought to justice, nor put to shame, their hands grow strong. Thus, the general corruption of the Jews, shortly before their state was broken up by the

Chaldeans, is described by their boldness in impiety; for as their leaders were connected together in wickedness, they strengthened one another, and grew confident; "Were they ashamed when they had committed abominations? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush:" Jer. vi. 15. On which account the Lord thus expostulates with them. "What hath my beloved to do in my house, seeing she hath wrought lewdness with many, and the holy flesh is passed from thee? when thou doest evil, then thou rejoicest." Jer. xi. 15.

Now—the faithful friends of Christ, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and who inwardly breathe that His kingdom may "come on earth as it is in heaven," are taught to be quick of understanding in his fear, and to be very attentive to the means he may appoint for promoting pure righteousness in the earth; and as shame is due to those whose works manifestly operate against the gracious design of his suffering for us, a care lives on their minds that no wrong customs, however supported, may bias their judgments; but that, they may humbly abide under the cross, and be preserved in a conduct which may not contribute to strengthen the hands of the wicked in their wickedness, or to remove shame from those to whom it is justly due. The coming of that day is precious in which we experience the truth of this expression, "The Lord our righteousness;" Jer. xxiii. 6., and feel him to be made "unto us wisdom and sanctification."

The example of a righteous man is often looked at with attention. When righteous men join in business, they give encouragement to others; one grain of incense deliberately offered to the prince of this world, renders an offering to God unacceptable; and, from those esteemed leaders of the people, may be injurious to the weak; it therefore requires deep humility of heart, to follow Him faithfully, who alone gives sound wisdom, and the spirit of true discerning. O how necessary it is to consider the weight of a holy profession! The conduct of some formerly, gave occasion of complaint against them, "Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic;" Ezek. xxviii. 18; and in several places it is



charged against Israel that they had polluted the Holy name.

The prophet Isaiah represents inward sanctification under the similitude of being purged from that which is fuel for fire; and particularly describes the outward fruits, brought forth by those who dwell in this inward holiness; "they walk righteously, and speak uprightly." By walking, he represents the journey through life, as a righteous journey; and by speaking uprightly, he seems to point at that which Moses appears to have had in view, when he thus expressed himself, "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment." Exod. xxiii. 2.

He goes on to show their firmness in equity; representing them as persons superior to all the arts of getting money, which have not righteousness for their foundation; "They despise the gain of oppressions;" and he further shows how careful they are that no prospects of gain, may induce them to become partial in judgment respecting an injury; "They shake their hands from holding bribes."

Again, when any interest is so connected with shedding blood, that the cry of innocent blood goes also with it; he points out their care to keep innocent blood from crying against them, under the similitude of a man stopping his ears to prevent a sound from entering his head, "They stop their ears from hearing blood;" and when they know that wickedness is committed, he points out their care, that they should not, by an unguarded friendship with the authors of it, appear like unconcerned lookers on, but as people so deeply affected with sorrow, that they cannot endure to stand by and behold it; this he represents under the similitude of a man "shutting his eyes from seeing evil."

He proceeds, in the spirit of prophecy, to show how the faithful, being supported under temptations, would be preserved from defilement by the love of money; that as they, who in a reverent waiting on God, feel their strength renewed, are said to "mount upward;" so here their preservation from the snare of unrighteous gain, is represented by the likeness of a man borne up above all crafty, artful means of getting the advantage of another, "He shall

dwell on high ;” and he points out the stability and firmness of their condition, “ His place of defence shall be the munition of rocks;” and that, under all outward appearance of loss, in denying himself gainful profits for righteousness’ sake, through the care of him who provides for the sparrows, he should yet have a supply answerable to His infinite wisdom, “ Bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure.” As our Saviour mentions the sight of God to be attainable by “ the pure in heart;” so here the prophet points out how, in true sanctification, the understanding is opened to behold the peaceable, harmonious nature of His kingdom, “ Thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty;” and that looking beyond all the afflictions which attend the righteous, to “ a habitation eternal in the heavens,” they with an eye divinely opened, “ shall behold the land that is very far off.”

I often remember, and to me the subject is awful, that the great judge of all the earth doeth that which is right, and that He “ before whom the nations are as the drop of a bucket,” is “ no respecter of persons.” Happy for those who, like the inspired prophet, “ in the way of his judgments wait for Him.” When we feel Him to sit as a refiner with fire, and know a resignedness wrought in us, to that which He appoints for us, his blessing in a very low estate will be found to be more precious, than much outward treasure in those ways of life, in which the leadings of His spirit are not followed.

The prophet foreseeing a Divine work among many people, declared in the name of the Lord, “ I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory.” Isaiah lxvi. 18. And again, “ from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering.” Malachi i. 11. From this it is evident that the prophets had an inward sense of the spreading of the kingdom of Christ: He was spoken of as one who should take the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. Psal. ii. 8. Also that He should

be given for a light to the Gentiles; and for salvation unto the ends of the earth. Isaiah. xlix. 6.

When we meditate on this Divine work, as a work of ages; a work which the prophets felt long before Christ appeared visibly on earth, and remember the bitter agonies He endured when He “poured out his soul unto death,” that the Heathen nations as well as others, might come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved;—When we contemplate this marvellous work, as that which “the angels desire to look into,” 1 Pet. i. 12; and behold people among whom this light hath eminently broken forth, and who have received many favors from the bountiful hand of our Heavenly Father, not only indifferent with respect to publishing the glad tidings among the Gentiles, who are sitting in darkness, and entangled with many superstitions; but who, aspiring after wealth and worldly honors, and taking such means to obtain their ends, as tend to stir up wrath and indignation, and to beget an abhorrence in them to the name of Christianity;—When these things are weightily attended to, how mournful is the subject?

It is worthy of remembrance, that people in different ages, deeply baptized into the nature of that work for which Christ suffered, have joyfully offered up their liberty and lives for the promoting of it in the earth.

Polycarp, who was reputed a disciple of the apostle John, having attained to great age, was at length sentenced to die for his religion; and being brought to the fire, prayed nearly as follows, “Thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom I have received the knowledge of thee! O God of the angels and powers, and of every living creature, and of all sorts of just men which live in thy presence; I thank thee that thou hast graciously vouchsafed this day and this hour to allot me a portion among the number of martyrs, among the people of Christ, unto the resurrection of everlasting life; among whom I shall be received in thy sight this day, as a fruitful and acceptable sacrifice; wherefore for all this I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the everlasting High-priest, Jesus Christ, thy well beloved son; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all glory, world without end. Amen.”



Bishop Latimer, when sentence of death by fire was pronounced against him, on account of his firmness in the cause of religion, said, "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end; that I may, in this case, glorify him by this kind of death." Fox's Acts and Mon. 936.

William Dewsbury, who had suffered much for his religion, in his last sickness, encouraging his friends to faithfulness, made mention like good old Jacob, of the loving kindness of God to him in the course of his life, and that through the power of Divine love, he, for Christ's sake, had joyfully entered prisons. See introduction to his works.

I mention these, as a few examples out of many, of the powerful operation of the spirit of Christ, when people are fully devoted to it, and of the ardent longings in their minds for the spreading of his kingdom among mankind. Now to those in the present age, who truly know Christ, and who feel the nature of his peaceable government opened in their understandings, how loudly is the call to faithfulness; that in following this pure Light of life, "we, as workers together with Him," may labor in that great work for which He was offered as a sacrifice on the cross; and that His peaceable doctrines may shine through us in their real harmony, at a time when the name of Christianity is become hateful to many of the heathens.

When Gehazi had obtained treasures, which the prophet, under Divine direction, had refused, and was returned from the business; the prophet troubled at his conduct, queried if it was a time thus to prepare for a specious living. "Is it a time to receive money, and to receive garments, men servants and maid servants? the leprosy therefore of Naaman shall cleave unto thee and unto thy seed for ever." 2 Kings v. 26. O that we may lay to heart the condition of the present time; and humbly follow His counsel, who alone is able to prepare the way for a true harmonious walking among mankind!

## CHAPTER IV.

*On Divine Admonitions.*

Such are the perfections of our Heavenly Father, that in all the dispensations of his providence, it is our duty "in every thing to give thanks." Though from the first settlement of this part of America, He hath not extended his judgments so as to produce famine, yet worms at times have come forth beyond numbering, and have laid waste fields of grain and grass; another kind also in great multitudes, working out of sight in grass ground, have so eaten the roots, that the surface, being loosened from the soil beneath, might be taken off in great sheets.

These devouring creatures appearing seldom, and in such multitudes, their generation appears different from most other reptiles, and they were called by the prophet "God's army sent among the people." Joel ii. 25.

There have been tempests of hail, which have very much destroyed the grain where they extended. Through long drought in summer, grain in some places hath been less than half the usual quantity;\* and I have beheld with attention, from week to week, how dryness from the top of the earth hath extended deeper and deeper, while the corn and plants have languished; and, with reverence, my mind hath been turned towards HIM, who being perfect in goodness, wisdom and power, doeth all things right. After long drought, when the sky hath grown dark with a collection of matter, and clouds like lakes of water have hung over our heads, from which the thirsty land hath been soaked; I have at times with awfulness beheld the vehement operation of lightning, made sometimes to accompany these blessings, as a messenger from Him who created all things, to remind us of our duty in a right use of those benefits, and to give striking admonitions, that we do not mis-

\* When crops fail, I often feel a tender care that the case of poor tenants may be mercifully considered.

apply those gifts, which an Almighty power bestows upon us.

When I consider that many of our fellow creatures suffer much in some places, for want of the necessaries of life, whilst those who rule over them are too much given to luxury, and divers vanities; and behold the apparent deviation from pure wisdom among us, in the use of the outward gifts of God; those marks of famine appear like humbling admonitions from Him, that we might be instructed by gentle chastisements, and might seriously consider our ways; and remember that the outward supply of life is a gift from our heavenly Father, and that we should not venture to use, or to apply his gifts, in a way contrary to pure wisdom.

Should we continue to reject those merciful admonitions, and to use his gifts at home, contrary to the gracious design of the giver, or to send them abroad in a way of trade, which the spirit of truth doth not lead into; and should He, whose eyes are upon all our ways, extend his chastisements so far as to reduce us to much greater distress than hath yet been felt by these provinces, with what sorrow of heart might we meditate on this remonstrance, “Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, when He led thee by the way? Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee; know therefore and see, that it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of hosts.” Jer. ii. 17—19.

My mind hath often been affected with sorrow, in beholding a wrong application of the gifts of our heavenly Father; and these expressions concerning the defilement of the earth have been opened to my understanding, “The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence.” Gen. vi. 11. Again, “The earth also is defiled under the inhabitants thereof, because they have broken the everlasting covenant.” Isaiah xxiv. 5. The earth being the work of a Divine power, may not as such be accounted unclean; but when violence is committed thereon, and the channel of righteousness is so obstructed,



that "in our skirts is found the blood of the souls of poor innocents; not by a secret search, but upon all these;" Jerem. ii. 34.\*—when blood shed unrighteously, remains unatoned for, and the inhabitants are not effectually purged from it, when they do not wash their hands in innocency, as was figured in the law, in the case of one being found slain; but seek for gain arising from scenes of violence and oppression, it may be said, "the land is polluted with blood." Moreover, when the earth is planted and tilled, and its fruits are applied to support unrighteous purposes, the gracious design of infinite goodness, in these his gifts, being perverted, the earth is defiled; and the complaint formerly uttered becomes applicable: "Thou hast made me to serve with thy sins; thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities." Isaiah xliii. 24.

\* See a caution and warning to Great Britain and her colonies by Anthony Benezet, page 31.

REMARKS  
ON  
SUNDRY SUBJECTS.

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CHAPTER I.

*On Loving our Neighbors as ourselves.*

When we love the Lord with all our hearts, and his creatures in his love, we are then preserved in tenderness both towards mankind and the animal creation; but if another spirit gets room in our minds, and we follow it in our proceedings, we are then in the way of disordering the affairs of society. People may have no intention to oppress, yet by entering on expensive ways of life, their minds may be so entangled, and so engaged to support expensive customs, as to be estranged from the pure, sympathizing spirit.

As I have travelled in England, I have had a tender feeling of the condition of poor people, some of whom, though honest and industrious, have nothing to spare towards paying for the schooling of their children. There is a proportion between labor and the necessaries of life, and in true brotherly love, the mind is open to feel after the necessities of the poor. Among them there are some that are weak through age, and others of a weakly nature who pass through straits, in very private life, without asking relief from the public.

Weakly persons in the field and in the shops, and women who spin and knit in the manufactories, in performing

what is esteemed a day's labor by the strong and healthy, often experience much weariness, and many sighs I believe are uttered in secret, unheard by some who might ease their burdens. The hardships of the poor are sometimes increased through want of more agreeable nourishment, more plentiful fuel, and warmer clothing in the winter, than their wages will procure.

When I have beheld plenty in some houses to a degree of luxury; the condition of poor children who are brought up without learning, and the weakly and aged who strive to live by their labor, have often revived in my mind; and of which some who live in fulness need to be put in remembrance. Few if any could behold their fellow creatures lie long in distress, and forbear to help them, when they could do it without any inconvenience; but customs requiring much labor to support them, often lie heavy on the poor; while they who live in these customs are so entangled in a multitude of unnecessary concerns, that they think but little of the hardships which the poor people go through.

If several principal men in business to provide for unnecessary expense in their families, unite in fixing the wages of those who work for hire, so that by moderate industry they will not afford a comfortable living for their families, and a proper education for their children; it is like laying a temptation in the way of some to strive for a higher place than they are in, when they have not stock sufficient for it.

Now I feel a concern in the spring of pure love, that all who have plenty of outward substance, may example others in the right use of things; and carefully look into the condition of poor people, not abridging them of their due with regard to wages. While hired laborers may, by moderate industry and the Divine blessing, live comfortably, raise up families, and give them suitable education, it appears reasonable for them to be content with their wages. If they who have plenty love their fellow creatures in that love which is Divine, and in all their proceedings have an equal regard to the good of mankind universally, their place in society is a place of care, an office requiring attention.



The more we possess, the greater is our trust, and with an increase of treasure, an increase of care becomes necessary.

When our will is subject to the will of God, and in relation to the things of this world, we have nothing in view but a comfortable living, equally with the rest of our fellow-creatures, then outward treasures are no farther desirable than as we feel a gift in our minds equal to the trust, and strength to act as dutiful children in His service, who hath formed all mankind, and appointed a subsistence for us in this world. A desire of treasures from any other motive, appears to be against that command of our blessed Saviour, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth." Matt. vi. 19. He forbids not laying up in the summer against the wants of winter; nor doth he teach us to be slothful in worldly business; but in this prohibition He puts in *yourselves*; "Lay not up for *yourselves* treasures upon earth."

Now in the pure light, this language is understood; for in the love of Christ there is no respect of persons: and while we abide in his love, we live not to ourselves, but to Him who died for us. And as we are thus united in spirit to Christ, we are engaged to labor in promoting that work in the earth for which he suffered. In this state of mind our desires are, that every honest member in society may have a portion of treasure, and a share of trust, answerable to that gift, with which our heavenly Father hath gifted us; for to abide in the love of Christ, and to enjoy a comfortable living in this world, is all that is aimed at by those members in society, to whom Christ is made wisdom and righteousness. But when they who have much treasure, are not faithful stewards of the gifts of God, great difficulties attend it.

Now this matter hath deeply affected my mind. The Lord, through merciful chastisements, hath given me a feeling of that love in which the harmony of society standeth, and a sight of the growth of that seed which bringeth forth wars and great calamities in the world; and a concern attends me to open it to others. To act with integrity, according to that strength of mind and body with which our Creator hath endowed each of us, is necessary for all;

and he who thus stands in the lowest station, is entitled to as comfortable and convenient a living, as he whose gifts of mind are greater, and whose cares are more extensive.

If some endowed with strong understandings as men, abide not in the harmonious state in which we "love our neighbors as ourselves," but walk in that spirit in which the children of this world are wise in their generation; they may, by the strength of contrivance, sometimes gather great treasure. But "the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God;" and if we gather treasures in worldly wisdom, we lay up "treasures for ourselves;" and great treasures managed in any other spirit than the spirit of truth, disorder the affairs of society; hereby the good gifts of God are turned into the channels of worldly honor, and are frequently applied to support luxury; while the wages of poor laborers are such, that with moderate industry and frugality, they are unable to live comfortably, raise up families, and give them suitable education; but through the straitness of their condition, they are often drawn on to labor under weariness, to toil through hardships themselves, and frequently to oppress those useful animals with which we are entrusted. Throughout all ages, Divine love is that alone in which dominion has been, is, and will be rightly conducted.

In this harmony, the endowments of men are so employed that the friend and the governor are united in one; and oppressive customs come to an end. Riches in the hands of individuals in society, are attended with some degree of power; and so far as power is put forth separate from pure love, so far the government of the Prince of peace is interrupted; and as we know not that our children after us will dwell in that state in which power is rightly applied, to lay up riches for them appears to be against the nature of his government.

The earth, through the labor of men under the blessing of Him who formed it, yieldeth a supply for the inhabitants from one generation to another, and they who walk in the pure light, are prepared to taste and relish, not only the blessings which are spiritual, but also to feel a sweetness and satisfaction in a right use of the good gifts of God in

the visible creation. Thus we see that man's happiness stands not in great possessions, but in a heart devoted to follow Christ, in that use of things, in which customs contrary to universal love have no power over us. In this state, our hearts are prepared to trust in God, and our desires for our children and posterity are, that they, with the rest of mankind in ages to come, may be of that number of whom He hath said, "I will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters." 2 Cor. vi. 18.

In laboring to attain a right end it is necessary to keep to right means. If, in striving to shun poverty, we strive only in that state in which Christ is the light of our life, our labors will stand in the true harmony of society: but if people are confident that the end aimed at is good, and in this confidence pursue it so eagerly as not to wait for the Spirit of truth to lead them, then they come to loss. Christ is given to be "a leader and commander to the people." Isaiah lv. 4. Again; "The Lord shall guide thee continually." Isaiah lviii. 11. Again; "Lord thou wilt ordain peace for us: for thou also hast wrought all our works in us." Isaiah xxvi. 12. "In the Lord have I righteousness and strength." Isaiah xlv. 24.

In this state our minds would be preserved watchful; we should follow the leadings of the spirit of Christ in all our proceedings in this world; and a care would be felt for a general reformation; that our own posterity, with the rest of mankind in succeeding ages, might not be entangled by oppressive customs, transmitted through our hands. But if people in the narrowness of natural love, are afraid that their children will be oppressed by the rich; and, through an eager desire to get treasures, depart from the pure leadings of truth in one case, though it may seem to be a small matter, yet the mind, even in that small matter, may be emboldened to continue in a way of proceeding without waiting for the Divine Leader. Thus people may grow expert in business, wise in the wisdom of this world, retain a fair reputation among men, and yet, being strangers to the voice of Christ, the safe leader of his flock, the treasures thus gotten may be like snares to the feet of their posterity. But in keeping faithful to the pure counsellor, and,



under trying circumstances, suffering adversity for righteousness' sake, there is a reward.

If we, being poor, are hardly dealt with by those who are rich, and under this difficulty are frugal and industrious, and in true humility open our case to them who oppress us, the pure witness in their minds may be reached; and though we should remain under difficulties as to the outward, yet if we abide in the love of Christ, all will work for our good. When we feel what it is to suffer in the suffering state, we experience the truth of these expressions; "As the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ." 2 Cor. i. 5. But if we who are of a middle station between riches and poverty, are affected at times with the oppression of the poor, and feel a tender regard for our posterity after us; O how necessary it is that we wait for the pure counsel of truth! Many have seen the hardships of the poor, and feel an eager desire that their children may be put in a way to escape these hardships; but how few have continued in that pure love which openeth our understandings to proceed rightly under these difficulties! How few have faithfully followed that Holy Leader, who prepares his people to labor for the restoration of true harmony among our fellow-creatures!

In the pure gospel spirit, "we walk by faith and not by sight." 2 Cor. v. 7. In the obedience of faith we die to self-love, and our life being "hid with Christ in God," our hearts are enlarged towards mankind universally; but in departing from the true light of life, many in striving to get treasures have "stumbled on the dark mountains." That purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the pure spirit of truth, that state in which our minds are devoted to serve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wisdom; has often been opened to me, as a place of retirement for the children of the light, in which we may be separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of society, and may have a testimony for our innocence in the hearts of those who behold us.

Through departing from the truth as it is in Jesus, and introducing ways of life attended with unnecessary expen-

ses, many wants have arisen, the minds of people have been employed in studying to get wealth, in the pursuit of which some departing from equity, have retained a profession of religion; others have looked at their example, and have thereby been strengthened to proceed further in the same way: thus many have encouraged the trade of taking men from Africa, and selling them as slaves.

It hath been computed, that near one hundred thousand negroes have, of late years, been annually taken from that coast, by ships employed in the English trade. As I have travelled on religious visits in some parts of America, I have seen many of these people under the command of overseers, in a painful servitude. I have beheld them as Gentiles, under people professing Christianity, not only kept ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, but under great provocations to wrath; of whom it may truly be said, "They that rule over them make them to howl," Isaiah lii. 5. and the Holy Name is abundantly blasphemed. When children are taught to read the sacred writings while young, and exemplated in meekness and humility, it is often helpful to them, nor is this any more than a debt due from us to a succeeding age. But when youth are pinched for want of the necessaries of life, forced to labor hard under the harsh rebukes of rigorous overseers, and many times endure unmerciful whippings; in such an education, how great are the disadvantages they lie under! And how forcibly do these things work against the increase of the government of the Prince of peace!

Humphrey Smith in his works, p. 125, speaking of the tender feeling of the love of God in his heart when he was a child, says, "By the violent wrathful nature that ruled in others, was my quietness disturbed, and anger bogotten in me toward them; yet that of God in me was not wholly overcome, but his love was felt in my heart, and great was my grief when the earthly-mindedness and wrathful nature so provoked me that I was estranged from it. And this I write as a warning to parents and others, that in the fear of the living God, you may train up the youth, and may not be a means of bringing them into such alienation."

Many are the vanities and luxuries of the present age,

and in laboring to support a way of living conformable to the present world, the departure from that wisdom which is pure and peaceable, hath been great. Under the sense of a deep revolt, and an overflowing stream of unrighteousness, my life has often been a life of mourning, and tender desires are raised in me, that the nature of this practice may be laid to heart.

I have read some books written by people who were acquainted with the manner of getting slaves in Africa. I have had verbal relations of this nature from several negroes brought from Africa, who have learned to talk English. I have also sundry times heard Englishmen speak on this subject, who have been in Africa on this business; and from all these accounts it appears that great violence is committed, and much blood is shed in getting slaves from Africa.

When three or four hundred slaves are put in the hold of a vessel in a hot climate, their breathing soon infects the air. Were that number of free people to go as passengers with all things proper for their voyage, inconvenience would arise from their number: but slaves are taken by violence, and frequently endeavor to kill the white people, that they may return to their native land. Hence they are often kept under such confinement, that a scent ariseth in the hold of the ship, and distempers often break out among them, of which many die. Of this tainted air in the hold of ships freighted with slaves, I have had several accounts, some in print, and some verbal, and all agree that the scent is grievous. When these people are sold in America, and in the islands, they are made to labor in a manner more servile and constant, than that which they were used to at home; thus, with grief, with different diet from what has been common with them, and with hard labor, some thousands are computed to die every year in what is called the seasoning.

Thus it appears that great numbers of these people are every year brought to an untimely end; being innocent people who suffer under hard-hearted men, even unto death; and the channels of equity are so obstructed, that the cause of the sufferers is not judged in righteousness, "but the land is defiled with blood." Numb. xxxv. 33.



When blood hath been shed unrighteously, and remains unatoned for, the cry thereof is very piercing. Under the humbling dispensations of Divine Providence, this cry hath deeply affected my heart, and I feel a concern to open, as I may be enabled, that which lieth heavy on my mind.

When "the iniquity of the house of Israel and Judah was exceeding great, when the land was defiled with blood, and the city full of perverseness," Ezek. ix. 9. "some were found sighing and crying for the abominations of the times;" Ezek. ix. 4. and such as live under a right feeling of our condition as a nation, will I trust be sensible, that the Lord at this day doth call to mourning, though many are ignorant of it. So powerful are bad customs when they become general, that people growing bold through the example of others, have often been unmoved at the most serious warnings.

Through abiding in the love of Christ, we feel a tenderness in our hearts towards our fellow-creatures who are entangled in oppressive customs; and a concern so to walk, that our conduct may not be a means of strengthening them in error. It was the command of the Lord through Moses, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him." Lev. xix. 17. Again, "Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not." Exod. xxiii. 7.

The prophet Isaiah mentions that the true church, in time of outward quiet, should not only be clear of oppression, but should be far from it, "Thou shalt be far from oppression." Isaiah liv. 14. Now these words, far from, appear to have an extensive meaning, and to convey instruction in regard to that of which Solomon speaks, "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished." Prov. xvi. 5. It was a complaint against one of old, "When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him." Psalm. l. 18.

The prophet Jeremiah represents the degrees of preparation towards idolatrous sacrifice, by the similitude of a work carried on by children, men, and women: "The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and

the women knead their dough to make cakes to the queen of heaven." Jer. vii. 18. It was a complaint of the Lord against Israel, through his prophet Ezekiel, that "they strengthened the hands of the wicked, and made the heart of the righteous sad." Ezek. xiii. 22. Some works of iniquity carried on by the people, were represented by the prophet Hosea, in the similitude of ploughing, reaping, and eating the fruit: "Ye have ploughed wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity, ye have eaten the fruit of lies, because thou didst trust in thy way, in the multitude of thy mighty men." Hosea x. 13.

Our blessed Saviour, speaking of the people in the old world, said, "They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all." Luke xvii. 27. The like he spake concerning the people of Sodom, who are also represented by the prophet as haughty, luxurious, and oppressive: "This was the iniquity of Sodom: pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her, and in her daughters; neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy." Ezek. xvi. 49.

Now in a revolt so deep as this, when much blood has been shed unrighteously in carrying on the slave trade, and in supporting the practice of keeping slaves, which at this day is unatoned for, and crieth from the earth and from the seas against the oppressor:—while this practice is continued, and under a great load of guilt more unrighteousness is committed, the state of things is very moving.

There is a natural love; and when a parent beholds his child in misery, he hath a feeling of his affliction; but in Divine love, the heart is enlarged towards mankind universally, and prepared to sympathize with strangers, though in the lowest stations in life. Of this the prophet appears to have had a feeling, when he said, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?" Mal. ii. 10.

He who of old heard the groans of the children of Israel, under the hard task-masters in Egypt, hath, I trust,

looked down from his holy habitation on the miseries of these deeply oppressed people. Many lives have been shortened through extreme oppression, by laboring to support luxury and worldly greatness; and though many people in outward prosperity may think little of these things, yet the gracious Creator hath regard to the cries of the innocent, however unnoticed by men. The Lord, in the riches of his goodness, is leading some into the feeling of the condition of this people, who cannot rest without laboring as their advocates; of which in some measure I have had experience; for, in the movings of his love in my heart, these poor sufferers have been brought near to me.

The unoffending, aged, and infirm, being made to labor too hard, are kept on a diet less comfortable than their weak state requires, and are exposed to great difficulties under hard-hearted men. To their sufferings I have often been a witness; and under the heart-melting power of Divine love, their misery hath felt to me like the misery of my parents. Innocent youths are taken by violence from their friends and native land, and put on board ships with hearts laden with sorrow; exposed to great hardships at sea; and placed under people, where their lives are attended with great provocation to anger and revenge. With the condition of these youths my mind hath often been affected, as with the afflictions of my children; and, in a feeling of the misery of these people, and of that great offence which is ministered to them, my tears have often been poured out before the Lord.

That Holy Spirit which affected my heart when I was a youth is, I trust, often felt by the negroes in their native land, inclining their minds to that which is righteous; and had the professed followers of Christ, in all their conduct towards them, manifested a disposition answerable to the pure principle in their hearts, how might the Holy Name have been honored among the Gentiles! and how might we have rejoiced in the fulfilling of that prophecy, "I the Lord love judgment, I hate robbery for burnt-offering; and I will direct their work in truth, and I will make an everlasting covenant with them. And their seed shall be known among the Gentiles, and their offspring among the people:



all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed." Isaiah lxi. 8. 9.

But in the present state of things, how contrary is this practice to that meek spirit in which our Savior laid down his life for us, that all the ends of the earth might know salvation in his name! How are the sufferings of our blessed Redeemer set at nought, and his name blasphemed among the Gentiles, through the unrighteous proceedings of his professed followers!

My mind hath often been affected, even from the days of my youth, under a sense of that marvellous work, for which God, in infinite goodness, sent his Son into the world. The opening of that spring of living waters, which the true believers in Christ experience, by which they are redeemed from pride and covetousness, and brought into a state of meekness, their hearts being enlarged in true love towards their fellow-creatures universally, is precious to me; and the spreading of the knowledge of the truth among the Gentiles is very desirable. But the professed followers of Christ joining in customs evidently unrighteous, manifestly tending to stir up wrath, and increase wars and desolations, hath often covered my mind with sorrow.

If we bring this matter home, and as Job proposed to his friends, "Put our souls in their souls stead;" if we consider ourselves and our children as exposed to the hardships which these people lie under, in supporting an imaginary greatness; did we in such case behold an increase of luxury and superfluity among our oppressors, and therewith felt an increase of the weight of our burdens, and expected our posterity to groan under oppression after us:—under all this misery, had we none to plead our cause, nor any hope of relief from man, how would our cries ascend to the God of the spirits of all flesh, who judgeth the world in righteousness, and in his own time is a refuge for the oppressed!

If they who thus afflicted us, continued to lay claim to religion, and were assisted in their business by others, who were esteemed pious people, and, through a friendship with them, strengthened their hands in tyranny; when we were hunger-bitten, and could not have sufficient nourishment,

but saw them in fulness pleasing their tastes with things fetched from afar; when wearied with labor, if we were denied the liberty to rest, and saw them spending their time at ease: if garments answerable to our necessities were denied us, while we saw them clothed in that which was costly and delicate: under such affliction, how would these painful feelings rise up as witnesses against their pretended devotion! And if the name of their religion was mentioned in our hearing, how would it sound in our ears like a word which signified self-exaltation, and hardness of heart!

When a trade is carried on, productive of much misery, and they who suffer by it are some thousand miles off, the danger is the greater of not laying their sufferings to heart. In procuring slaves on the coast of Africa, many children are stolen privately; wars also are encouraged among the negroes, but all is at a great distance. Many groans arise from dying men which we hear not. Many cries are uttered by widows and fatherless children, which reach not our ears. Many cheeks are wet with tears, and faces sad with unutterable grief, which we see not. Cruel tyranny is encouraged. The hands of robbers are strengthened, and thousands reduced to the most abject slavery, who never injured us.

Were we, for the term of one year only, to be eye-witnesses of what passeth in getting these slaves; were the blood that is there shed, to be sprinkled on our garments; were the poor captives, bound with thongs, and heavily laden with elephants' teeth, to pass before our eyes on their way to the sea; were their bitter lamentations, day after day, to ring in our ears, and their mournful cries in the night to hinder us from sleeping; were we to hear the sound of the tumult, when the slaves on board the ships attempt to kill the English, and behold the issue of those bloody conflicts; what pious man could behold these things, and see a trade carried on in this manner, without being deeply affected with sorrow!

## CHAPTER IV.\*

*On Silent Worship.*

Worship in silence hath often been refreshing to my mind, and a care attends me that a young generation may feel the nature of this worship.

Great expense attends that which is called Divine worship: a considerable part of this expense is applied towards outward greatness, and many poor people in raising of tithe, labor for the support of customs contrary to the simplicity which is in Christ; towards them my mind hath often been moved with pity.

In pure, silent worship, we dwell under the Holy anointing, and feel Christ to be our Shepherd. Here the best of teachers ministers to the several conditions of his flock, and the soul receives, immediately from the Divine fountain, that with which it is nourished.

As I have travelled at times where those of other societies have attended our meetings, and have perceived how little some of them know of the nature of silent worship; I have felt tender desires in my heart that we, who often sit silent in our meetings, may live answerable to the nature of an inward fellowship with God, that no stumbling-block through us may be laid in their way.

Such is the load of unnecessary expense which attends what is called Divine service in many places, and so much are the minds of many people employed in outward forms and ceremonies, that the introduction of an inward, silent worship in this nation, hath appeared to me to be a precious opening.

Within the last four hundred years, many pious people have been deeply exercised in soul on account of the su-

\* Chapter 2nd and 3rd "On Trading in Superfluities," and "On a Sailor's life," are omitted, being principally a repetition of the sentiments which have already appeared in the journal. See pages 139, 140, 152, &c.



perstition which prevailed among the professed followers of Christ; and in support of their testimony against oppressive idolatry, have finished their course in the flames. It appears by the history of the reformation, that through the faithfulness of the martyrs, the understandings of many were gradually opened, and the minds of people, from age to age, were prepared for a real spiritual worship.

My mind is often affected with a sense of the condition of those people who, in different ages, have meekly and patiently followed Christ through great afflictions: and while I behold the several steps of reformation, and that clearness to which, through Divine goodness, it hath been brought by our ancestors; I feel tender desires that we, who sometimes meet in silence, may never, by our conduct, lay stumbling-blocks in the way of others, and hinder the progress of reformation in the world.

It was a complaint against some who were called the Lord's people, that they brought polluted bread to his altar, and said the table of the Lord was contemptible. In real silent worship, the soul feeds on that which is divine; but we cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and that table which is prepared by the god of this world. If Christ is our shepherd, and feedeth us, and we are faithful in following Him, our lives will have an inviting language, and the table of the Lord will not be polluted.

AN

# EPISTLE

TO THE

## QUARTERLY AND MONTHLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS.

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Beloved Friends,

Feeling at this time a renewed concern, that the pure principle of light and life, and the righteous fruits thereof, may spread and prevail among mankind, there is an engagement on my heart to labor with my brethren in religious profession, that none of us may be a stumbling-block in the way of others; but may so walk, that our conduct may reach the pure witness in the hearts of such as are not in profession with us.

And, dear friends, while we publicly own that the Holy Spirit is our leader, the profession is in itself weighty, and the weightiness thereof increaseth in proportion as we are noted among the professors of truth; and are active in dealing with such as walk disorderly.

Many under our profession, for want of due attention, and a perfect resignation to this Divine Teacher, have in some things manifested a deviation from the purity of our religious principles, and these deviations having crept in among us by little and little, and increasing from less to greater, have been so far unnoticed, that some living in them have been active in putting discipline in practice,

with relation to others, whose conduct hath appeared more dishonorable in the world.

Now as my mind hath been exercised before the Lord, I have seen that the discipline of the church of Christ standeth in that which is pure; that it is the wisdom from above which gives authority to discipline; and that the weightiness thereof standeth not in any outward circumstances, but in the authority of Christ who is the author of it; and when any walk after the flesh, and not according to the purity of truth, and at the same time are active in putting discipline in practice, a veil is gradually drawn over the purity of discipline, and over that holiness of life, which Christ leads those into, "in whom the love of God is verily perfected." 1 John ii. 5.

When we labor in true love with offenders, and they remain obstinate, it is sometimes necessary to proceed as far as our Lord directed, "Let him be unto thee as an heathen man, and a publican." Matt. xviii. 17. Now when such are disowned, and they who act therein feel Christ made unto them wisdom, and are preserved in his meek, restoring spirit, there is no just cause of offence ministered to any; but when those who are active in dealing with offenders, indulge themselves in things which are contrary to the purity of truth, and yet judge others whose conduct appears more dishonorable than theirs, here the pure authority of discipline ceaseth as to such offenders, and a temptation is laid in their way to wrangle and contend.—"Judge not," said our Lord, "that ye be not judged." Now this forbidding alludes to man's judgment, and points out the necessity of our humbly attending to that sanctifying power, under which the faithful experience the Lord to be "a spirit of judgment to them." Isaiah xxviii. 6. And as we feel his Holy Spirit to mortify the deeds of the body in us, and can say, "it is no more I that live, but Christ that liveth in me," right judgment is known.

While Divine love prevails in our hearts, and self in us is brought under judgment, a preparation is felt to labor in a right manner with offenders; but if we abide not in this love, our outward performance in dealing with others, de-



generates into formality; for “this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments.” 1 John v. 3.

How weighty are those instructions of our Redeemer, concerning religious duties, in which He points out, that they who pray, should be so obedient to the teachings of the Holy Spirit, that humbly confiding in his help, they may say, “Thy name O Father be hallowed! Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.”—In this awful state of mind is felt that worship which stands in doing the will of God, on earth as it is done in Heaven, and keeping the Holy Name sacred. To take a holy profession upon us is awful, nor can we keep this Holy Name sacred, but by humbly abiding under the cross of Christ. The apostle made a heavy complaint against some who profaned this Holy Name by their manner of living; “through you,” he says, “the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles.” Rom. ii. 24.

Some of our ancestors through many tribulations, were gathered into the state of true worshippers, and had fellowship in that which is pure; and as one was inwardly moved to kneel down in their assemblies, and publicly call on the name of the Lord, those present, in the harmony of united exercise, joined in the prayer. I mention this, in order that we of the present age, may look unto the Rock from whence we were hewn, and remember, that to unite in worship is a union in prayer, and that prayer acceptable to the Father, is only in a mind truly sanctified, in which the sacred name is kept holy, and the heart resigned to do his will “on earth, as it is done in Heaven.” “If ye abide in me,” saith Christ, “and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will in my name, and it shall be done unto you,”—Now we know not what to pray for as we ought, but as the Holy Spirit doth open and direct our minds, and as we faithfully yield to its influences, our prayers are in the will of our Heavenly Father, who fails not to grant that which his own spirit, through his children, asketh;—thus preservation from sin is known, and the fruits of righteousness are brought forth by such as inwardly unite in prayer.

How weighty are our solemn meetings when the name of

Christ is kept holy! How precious is that state in which the children of the Lord are so redeemed from the love of this world, that they are accepted and blessed in all that they do!" R. Barclay's Apology, p. 404. How necessary is it that we who profess these principles, and are outwardly active in supporting them, should faithfully abide in Divine strength; that as He who hath called us is holy, so we may be holy in all manner of conversation! 1 Pet. i. 15.

If one professing to be influenced by the spirit of Christ, proposeth to unite in a labor to promote righteousness in the earth, and in time past hath manifestly deviated from the path of equity, to act consistently with this principle, his first work is to make restitution so far as he may be enabled; for if he attempts to contribute towards a work, intended to promote righteousness, while it appears that he neglects, or refuses to act righteously himself, his conduct has a tendency to entangle the minds of those who are weak in the faith, and to draw a veil over the purity of righteousness, by carrying an appearance, as if that was righteousness which is not.

Again, if I propose to assist in supporting those doctrines, wherein that purity of life is held forth, in which customs proceeding from the spirit of this world, have no place; and at the same time, strengthen others in those customs by my example; the first step, in an orderly proceeding, is to cease from those customs myself, and afterwards to labor, as I may be enabled, to promote the like disposition and conduct in others.

To be convinced of the pure principle of truth, and diligently exercised in walking answerable thereto, is necessary, before I can consistently recommend this principle to others. I often feel a labor in spirit, that we, who are active members in religious society, may experience in ourselves the truth of those expressions of the Holy One—"I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me." Lev. x. 3. In this case, my mind hath been often exercised when alone, for many years; and in the renewings of Divine love, a tender care hath been incited in me, that we who profess the inward principle of light to be our teacher, may

be a family united in that purity of worship, which comprehends a holy life, and ministers instruction to others.

My mind is often drawn towards children in the truth, who having a small share of the things of this life, and coming to have families, may be inwardly exercised before the Lord, to support them in a way agreeable to the purity of truth, in which they may feel his blessing upon them in their labors; the thoughts of such being entangled with customs contrary to pure wisdom, conveyed to them through our hands, doth often very tenderly and movingly affect my heart; and when I look towards and think on the succeeding generation, fervent desires are raised in me, that we, by yielding to that Holy Spirit which leads into all truth, may not do the work of the Lord deceitfully, may not live contrary to the purity of the Divine principle we profess; but that as faithful laborers in our age, we may be instrumental in removing stumbling-blocks out of the way of those who may succeed us.

So great was the love of Christ, that He gave himself for the church, that He might sanctify and cleanse it, that it should be holy, and without blemish, "not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing." Eph. v. 27. And when any take the name of Christ upon them, profess to be members of his church, and led by his Holy Spirit, and yet manifestly deviate from the purity of truth, they act against his gracious design in giving himself for them and minister cause for the continuance of his afflictions, viz. in his body, the church.

Christ suffered afflictions in a body of flesh prepared by the Father; but the afflictions of his mystical body are yet unfinished; for they who are baptized into Christ are baptized into his death. And as we humbly abide under his sanctifying power, and are brought forth into newness of life, we feel Christ to live in us, who being the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and always at unity with himself, his spirit, in the hearts of his people, leads to an inward exercise for the salvation of mankind, and when under a travail of spirit, we behold a visited people entangled by the spirit of this world, with its wickedness and customs, and thereby rendered incapable of being faithful ex-



amples to others, sorrow and heaviness, under a sense of these things, are often experienced; and thus, in some measure, is filled up that which remains of the afflictions of Christ.

Our blessed Saviour, speaking concerning gifts offered in Divine service, says, "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Matt. v. 23, 24. Now there is no true unity, but in that wherein the Father and Son are united; nor can there be a perfect reconciliation, but in ceasing from that which ministers cause for the continuation of the afflictions of Christ; and if any, professing to bring their gift to the altar, remember the customary contradiction which some of their fruits bear to pure, spiritual worship, it appears necessary to lay to heart this command, "leave thy gift before the altar."

Christ graciously calls his people brethen; "whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother." Mark i. i. 35. Now, if we walk contrary to the truth as it is in Jesus, while we continue to profess it, we offend against Christ; and if, under this offence, we bring our gift to the altar, our Redeemer doth not direct us to take back our gift, he doth not discourage our proceeding in a good work; but graciously points out the necessary means by which the gift may be rendered acceptable, "leave," saith he, "thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother;" cease from that which grieves the Holy Spirit, cease from that which is against the truth as it is in Jesus, and then come and offer thy gift.

I feel while I am writing, a tenderness to those who, through Divine favor, are preserved in a lively sense of the state of the churches, and at times may be under discouragements with regard to proceeding in that pure way which Christ, by his Holy Spirit, leads into. The depth of disorder and weakness which so much prevails, being opened, doubtings are apt to arise, as to the possibility of proceeding as an assembly of the Lord's people, in the pure counsel of truth; and I therefore feel a concern to

express, in uprightness, that which hath been opened in my mind, under the power of the cross of Christ, relating to a visible gathered church, whose members are guided by the Holy Spirit.

The Church is called the body of Christ, Col. i. 24.

Christ is called the head of the church, Eph. i. 22.

The church is called the pillar and the ground of the truth, 1 Tim. iii. 15.

Thus, the church hath a name that is sacred, and the necessity of keeping this name holy, appears evident; for when a number of people unite in a profession of being led by the spirit of Christ, and publish their principles to the world, the acts and proceedings of that people may, in some measure, be considered such as Christ is the author of.

Now while we stand in this station, if the pure light of life is not followed and regarded in our proceedings, we are in the way of profaning the Holy Name, and of going back towards that wilderness of sufferings and persecution, out of which, through the tender mercies of God, a church hath been gathered. Christ liveth in sanctified vessels, Gal. ii. 20. and when his Holy Name is profaned, and the pure gospel light eclipsed, through the unfaithfulness of any who, by their station, appear to be standard-bearers under the Prince of Peace, the living members in the body of Christ, in beholding these things, in some degree experience the fellowship of his sufferings; and as the wisdom of the world more and more takes place in conducting the affairs of this visible gathered church, and the pure leadings of the Holy Spirit are less waited for and followed, the true suffering seed is more and more oppressed.

My mind is often affected with a sense of the condition of sincere-hearted people, in some kingdoms where liberty of conscience is not allowed, many of whom being burdened in their minds with prevailing superstition joined with oppressions, are often under sorrow; and when such have attended to that pure light which hath in some degree opened their understandings, and, for their faithfulness thereto, have been brought to examination and trial, how heavy are the persecutions which, in divers parts of

the world are exercised upon them! How mighty, as to the outward, is that power, by which they are borne down and oppressed! How deeply affecting is the condition of many upright-hearted people who are taken into the Papal inquisition! What lamentable cruelties, in deep vaults, in a private way, are exercised on many of them! and how lingering is that death, by a small slow fire, which they have frequently endured who have been faithful to the end!

How many tender-spirited Protestants have been sentenced to spend the remainder of their lives in a galley chained to oars, under hard-hearted masters, while their young children are placed out for education, and taught principles so contrary to the consciences of the parents, that, by dissenting from them, they have hazarded their liberty, lives, and all that was dear to them of the things of this world!

There have been, in times past, severe persecutions under the English government, and many sincere-hearted people have suffered death for the testimony of a good conscience, whose faithfulness hath ministered encouragements to others, and hath been a blessing to many who have succeeded them. Thus, from age to age, the darkness being more and more removed, through the tender mercies of God, a channel hath at length been opened for the exercise of the pure gift of the gospel ministry, without interruption from outward power, a work which is rare and unknown in many parts of the world.

As these things are often fresh in my mind, and this great work of God going on in the earth has been open before me, that liberty of conscience with which we are favored hath not appeared as a light matter. A trust is committed to us, a great and weighty trust, to which our diligent attention is necessary. Whenever the active members of this visible gathered church use themselves to that which is contrary to the purity of our principles, it appears to be a breach of this trust, and one step back towards the wilderness; one step towards undoing what God, in infinite love, hath done through his faithful servants, in a work of several ages, and is like laying the foundation for future sufferings.

I feel a living invitation in my mind to such as are active in our religious society, that we may lay this matter to



heart, and consider that we stand in a state of outward liberty, under the free exercise of our conscience towards God, obtained through the great and manifold afflictions of those who lived before us. Gratitude is due from us to our Heavenly Father, and justice to our posterity. Can our hearts endure, or our hands be strong, if we desert a cause so precious, if we turn aside from a work under which so many have patiently labored?

May the deep sufferings of our Saviour be so dear to us, that we may never trample under foot the adorable Son of God, nor count the blood of the covenant unholy. May the faithfulness of the martyrs when the prospect of death by fire was before them, and the patient constant sufferings of the upright-hearted servants of God, in later ages, be revived in our minds; and may we so follow on to know the Lord, that neither the faithful in this age, nor those in ages to come, may ever be brought under suffering, through our sliding back from the work of reformation in the world.

While the active members in the church stand upright, and the affairs thereof are carried on, under the leadings of the Holy Spirit, although disorders may arise among us, and cause many exercises to those who feel the care of the churches upon them; yet, while these continue under the weight of the work, and labor in the meekness of wisdom for the help of others, the name of Christ, in the visible gathered church, will be kept sacred; but, while they who are active in the affairs of this church continue in a manifest opposition to the purity of our principles, this, as the prophet expresseth it, is "as when a standard-bearer fainteth": Isaiah, x. 18. and thus the way opens to great and prevailing degeneracy, and to sufferings, as for such through the power of Divine love, are separated to the gospel of Christ, and cannot unite with any thing in opposition to its purity.

The necessity of an inward stillness hath, under these exercises, appeared clear to my mind. In true silence strength is renewed, and the mind is weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the Divine will; and a lowliness in outward living, opposite to worldly honor, becomes truly acceptable to us. In the desire after out-

ward gain, the mind is prevented from a perfect attention to the voice of Christ ; yet being weaned from all things, except as they may be enjoyed in the Divine will, the pure light shines into the soul. Where the fruits of the spirit which is of this world, are brought forth by many who profess to be led by the spirit of truth, and cloudiness is felt to be gathering over the visible gathered church, the sincere in heart, who abide in true stillness, and are exercised therein before the Lord for his name's sake, have knowledge of Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings; and inward thankfulness is felt at times, that through Divine love, our own wisdom is cast out, and that forward, active part in us is subjected, which would rise and do something in the Church, without the pure leadings of the Spirit of Christ.

While aught remains in us contrary to a perfect resignation of our wills, it is like a seal to a book, wherein is written "that good and acceptable and perfect will of God" concerning us. Rom. xii. 2. But when our minds entirely yield to Christ, that silence is known which followeth the opening of the last of the seals, Rev. viii. 1. In this silence, we learn to abide in the Divine will, and there feel, that we have no cause to promote except that alone in which the light of life directs us in our proceedings ; and that the only way to be useful in the church of Christ, is to abide faithfully under the leadings of his Holy Spirit in all cases, and being preserved thereby in purity of heart and holiness of conversation, a testimony to the purity of his government may be held forth through us to others.

As my mind hath been thus exercised, I have seen, that to be active and busy in the Church, without the leading of the Holy Spirit, is not only unprofitable, but tends to increase dimness; and when way is not open to proceed in the light of truth, a stop is felt by those who humbly attend to the Divine Leader, a stop which, in relation to good order, is of the greatest consequence to be observed. Thus Robert Barclay, in his treatise on discipline, (see pages 65, 68, 84.): "That the judgment or conclusion of the church or congregation is no further effectual, as to the true end and design thereof, but as such judgment or con-

clusion proceeds from the Spirit of God, operating on their minds who are sanctified in Christ Jesus.”

Now in this stop I have learned the necessity of waiting on the Lord in humility, that the works of all may be brought to light, and those to judgment which are wrought in the wisdom of this world; and I have also seen, that in a mind thoroughly subjected to the power of the cross, there is a savor of life to be felt, which evidently tends to gather souls to God, while the greatest works in the visible gathered church, brought forth in man's wisdom, are unprofitable.

When people are divinely gathered into a holy fellowship, and faithfully abide under the influence of that Spirit which leads into all truth, “They are the light of the world.” Matt. v. 14. Now, holding this profession hath appeared to me weighty, even beyond what I can fully express, and is what our blessed Lord seemed to have in view, when he proposed the necessity of counting the cost before we begin to build.

I trust there are many who feel at times, under Divine visitation, an inward inquiry after God; and, when such in the simplicity of their hearts, observe the lives of a people who profess to walk by the leadings of his Spirit, of what great concernment is it that our lights shine clear, that nothing in our conduct carry a contradiction to the truth as it is in Jesus, or be a means of profaning his Holy Name, and be a stumbling-block in the way of those sincere inquirers.

When such seekers as are weary with empty forms, look towards uniting with us as a society, and behold active members among us depart, in their customary way of living, from that purity of life which, under humbling exercises, hath been opened before them as the way of the Lord's people, how mournful and discouraging is the prospect! and how strongly doth such unfaithfulness operate against the spreading of the peaceable, harmonious principle, and testimony of truth among mankind!

In entering into that life which is hid with Christ in God, we behold his peaceable government, where the whole family being governed by the same spirit, and “doing to



others as we would they should do unto us," grow up as good fruit from a good tree. The peace, quietness, and harmonious walking in this government, is beheld with humble reverence to Him who is the author of it; and in partaking of the Spirit of Christ, we partake of that which labors and suffers for the increase of this peaceable government, among the inhabitants of the world. I have felt a labor of long continuance, that we who profess this peaceable principle, may be faithful standard bearers under the Prince of Peace; and that nothing of a defiling nature, tending to discord and wars, may remain among us. May each of us query with ourselves, have the treasures I possess, been gathered in that wisdom which is from above, so far as hath appeared to me? Have none of my fellow-creatures an equitable right to any part which is called mine? Have the gifts and possessions received by me from others, been conveyed in a way free from all unrighteousness, so far as I know?

The principle of peace, in which our trust is only in the Lord, and our minds are weaned from a dependence on the strength of armies, appears to me very precious; and I often feel strong desires, that we who profess this principle, may so walk as not to give just cause for any of our fellow-creatures to be offended at us; that our lives may evidently manifest, that we are redeemed from that spirit in which wars are. Our blessed Saviour, in pointing out the danger of so leaning on man as to neglect the leadings of his Holy Spirit, said, "Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father which is in heaven." Matt. xxiii. 9. When the wisdom from above is faithfully followed, and we are therein intrusted with substance, it is a treasure committed to our care in the nature of an inheritance from Him who formed and supports the world. Now, in this condition, the true enjoyment of the good things of this life is understood, and that blessing is felt in which is real safety. This is what I apprehend our blessed Lord had in view, when he said, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

Selfish worldly-minded men may hold lands in the selfish spirit; and depending on the strength of outward power,

be perplexed with secret uneasiness, lest the injured should sometime overpower them, and that measure should be meted to them which they measure to others. Thus, selfish men may possess the earth; but it is the meek who inherit it, and enjoy it as an inheritance from their Heavenly Father, free from all the defilements and perplexities of unrighteousness.

When proceedings have been in that wisdom which is from beneath, and inequitable gain hath been gathered by a man, and left as a gift to his children, who, entangled by the same worldly spirit, have not attained to that clearness of light in which the channels of righteousness are opened, and justice done to those who remain silent under injuries; it hath under humbling exercise of mind, appeared to me, that the sins of the fathers are embraced by the children, and become their sins; and thus, in the days of tribulation, the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon these children, who take hold of the unrighteousness of their fathers, and live in that spirit in which those iniquities were committed. To this agreeth the prophecy of Moses; concerning a rebellious people: "They that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity in your enemies' lands; and also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them." Lev. xxvi. 39. Our blessed Lord, in beholding the hardness of heart in that generation, and feeling in himself, that they lived in the same spirit in which the prophets had been persecuted unto death, signified, "that the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world, should be required of that generation, from the blood of Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple." Luke xi. 50, 51.

Tender compassion fills my heart towards my fellow-creatures, estranged from the harmonious government of the Prince of Peace, and a labor attends me that they may be gathered to this peaceable habitation. In being inwardly prepared to suffer adversity for Christ's sake, and weaned from a dependance on the arm of flesh, we feel that there is a rest for the people of God, and that it stands in our perfect resignation to his Holy will. In this condition,

all our wants and desires are bounded by pure wisdom, and our minds are wholly attentive to the counsel of Christ, inwardly communicated. This appears to me a habitation of safety for the Lord's people, in times of outward commotion and trouble; and desires from the fountain of pure love are opened in me, to invite my brethren and fellow-creatures to feel for, and seek after that which gathers the mind into it.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

Mount Holly, New Jersey, 4th Month, 1772.



A

WORD OF REMEMBRANCE

AND

CAUTION TO THE RICH.

[*First Printed in 1793.*]

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SEC. I.

Wealth desired for its own sake, obstructs the increase of virtue; and large possessions in the hands of selfish men, have a bad tendency; for by their means too small a number of people are employed in useful things; and some of them are necessitated to labor too hard, while others would want business to earn their bread, were not employments invented which, having no real usefulness, serve only to please the vain mind.

Rents on lands are often so high, that persons of but small substance are straitened in taking farms; and while tenants are healthy and prosperous in business, they often find occasion to labor harder than was intended by our gracious Creator. Oxen and horses are often seen at work, when through heat and too much labor, their eyes and the motions of their bodies, manifest that they are oppressed. Their loads in waggons are frequently so heavy, that when weary with haling them far, their drivers find occasion in going up hills, or through mire to get them forward by whipping. Many poor people are so thronged in their business, that it is difficult for them to provide shelter for their cattle against the storms. These things are common

when in health; but through sickness and inability to labor, through loss of cattle, and miscarriage in business, many are so straitened, that much of their increase goes to pay rent, and they have not wherewith to buy what they require.

Hence one poor woman, in providing for her family, and attending the sick, does as much business as would for the time, be suitable employment for two or three; and honest persons are often straitened to give their children suitable learning. The money which the wealthy receive from the poor, who do more than a proper share of business in raising it, is frequently paid to other poor people, for doing business which is foreign to the true use of things. Men who have large estates, and live in the spirit of charity; who carefully inspect the circumstances of those who occupy their estates; and regardless of the customs of the times, regulate their demands agreeably to universal love, being righteous on principle, do good to the poor without placing it to an act of bounty. Their example in avoiding superfluities, tends to excite moderation in others; their uprightness in not exacting what the laws and customs would support them in, tends to open the channel to moderate labor in useful affairs, and to discourage those branches of business which have not their foundation in true wisdom.

To be busied in that which is but vanity, and serves only to please the insatiable mind, tends to an alliance with those who promote that vanity, and is a snare in which many poor tradesmen are entangled. To be employed in things connected with virtue, is most agreeable with the character and inclinations of an honest man.

While industrious frugal people are borne down with poverty, and oppressed with too much labor in useful things, the way to apply money without promoting pride and vanity, remains open to such as truly sympathize with them, in their various difficulties.

## SEC. II.

The Creator of the earth is the owner of it: He gave

us being thereon, and our nature requires nourishment, from the produce of it. He is kind and merciful to his creatures; and while they live answerably to the design of their creation, they are so far entitled to convenient subsistence, that we may not justly deprive them of it. By the agreements and contracts of our predecessors, and by our own doings, some enjoy a much greater share of this world than others; and while those possessions are faithfully improved for the good of the whole, it agrees with equity: But he who, with a view to self exaltation, causeth some to labor immoderately, and with the profits arising therefrom employs others in the luxuries of life, acts contrary to the gracious designs of Him who is the owner of the earth; nor can any possessions, either acquired or derived from ancestors, justify such conduct. Goodness remains to be goodness, and the direction of pure wisdom is obligatory on all reasonable creatures.

Though the poor occupy our estates by a bargain, to which they in their poor circumstances, agree; and we may ask even less than a punctual fulfilling of their agreement; yet if our views are to lay up riches, or to live in conformity to customs which have not their foundation in the truth, and our demands are such as require from them greater toil or application to business than is consistent with pure love, we invade their rights as inhabitants of a world, of which a good and gracious God is the proprietor, and under whom we are tenants.

Were all superfluities, and the desire of outward greatness laid aside, and the right use of things universally attended to, such a number of people might be employed in things useful, as that moderate labor with the blessing of Heaven, would answer all good purposes, and a sufficient number would have time to attend to the proper affairs of civil society.

### SEC. III.

While our spirits are lively, we go cheerfully through business; either too much or too little action is tiresome;



but a right portion is healthful to the body, and agreeable to an honest mind.

Men who have great estates stand in a place of trust; and to have it in their power to live without difficulty in that manner which occasions much labor, and at the same time to confine themselves to that use of things prescribed by our Redeemer, and confirmed by his example, and the examples of many who lived in the early age of the Christian church, that they may more extensively relieve objects of charity, requires close attention to Divine love.

Our gracious Creator cares and provides for all his creatures: his tender mercies are over all his works, and so far as true love influences our minds, so far we become interested in his workmanship; and feel a desire to make use of every opportunity to lessen the distresses of the afflicted, and to increase the happiness of the creation. Here we have a prospect of one common interest from which our own is inseparable, so that to turn all we possess into the channel of universal love, becomes the business of our lives.

Men of large estates whose hearts are thus enlarged, are like fathers to the poor; and in looking over their brethren in distressed circumstances, and considering their own more easy condition, they find a field for humble meditation, and feel the strength of the obligations they are under, to be kind and tender-hearted towards them. Poor men eased of their burdens, and released from too close an application to business, are enabled to hire assistance, to provide well for their cattle, and to find time to perform those duties among their neighbors, which belong to a well-guided social life. When the latter reflect on the opportunity such had to oppress them, and consider the goodness of their conduct, they behold it lovely and consistent with brotherhood; and as the man whose mind is conformed to universal love, hath his trust settled in God, and finds a firm foundation in any changes or revolutions that happen among men, so also the goodness of his conduct tends to spread a kind benevolent disposition in the world.

## SEC. IV.

Our blessed Redeemer, in directing us how to conduct ourselves one towards another, appeals to our own feelings: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Now when some who have never experienced hard labor themselves, live in fulness on the labor of others, there is often a danger of their not having a right feeling of the laborers' condition, and of being thereby disqualified to judge candidly in their case; not knowing what they themselves would desire, were they to labor hard from one year to another, to raise the necessaries of life, and pay high rent besides. It is good for those who live in fulness, to cultivate tenderness of heart, and to improve every opportunity of being acquainted with the hardships and fatigues of those who labor for their living; and thus to think seriously with themselves; Am I influenced by true charity in fixing all my demands? Have I no desire to support myself in expensive customs, because my acquaintances live in such customs?

If a wealthy man on serious reflection, finds a witness in his own conscience, that he indulges himself in some expensive customs, which might be omitted, consistently with the true design of living, and which, were he to change places with those who occupy his estate, he would desire to be discontinued by them; whoever is thus awakened will necessarily find the injunction binding, "Do ye even so to them." Divine Love imposeth no rigorous or unreasonable commands; but graciously points out the spirit of brotherhood, and the way to happiness; in attaining which, it is necessary that we relinquish all that is selfish.

## SEC. V.

To enforce the duty of tenderness to the poor, the inspired law-giver referred the children of Israel to their

own experience; “Ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.” He who hath been a stranger among unkind people, or under the government of those who were hard-hearted, has experienced this feeling; but a person who hath never felt the weight of misapplied power, comes not to this knowledge but by an inward tenderness, in which the heart is prepared to sympathize with others.

Let us reflect on the condition of a poor innocent man, on whom the rich man, from a desire after wealth and luxuries, lays heavy burdens: when this laborer looks over the cause of his heavy toil, and considers that it is laid on him to support that which hath no foundation in pure wisdom, we may well suppose that an uneasiness ariseth in his mind towards one who might without any inconvenience, deal more favorably with him. When he considers that by his industry his fellow-creature is benefited, and sees that this wealthy man is not satisfied with being supported in a plain way, but to gratify a desire of conforming to wrong customs, increaseth to an extreme the labors of those who occupy his estate; we may reasonably judge that he will think himself unkindly used. When he considers that the proceedings of the wealthy are agreeable to the customs of the times, and sees no means of redress in this world; how will the sighings of this innocent person ascend to the throne of that great and good Being who created all, and who hath a constant care over his creatures! He who toils year after year to furnish others with wealth and superfluities, until by over much labor he is wearied and oppressed, understands the meaning of that language; “Ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.”

Many at this day, who know not the heart of a stranger, indulge themselves in ways of life, which occasion more labor than Infinite goodness intends for man; and yet compassionate the distresses of such as come directly under their observation; were these to change circumstances awhile with their laborers, were they to pass regularly through the means of knowing the heart of a stranger, and come to a feeling knowledge of the straits and hardships which many poor innocent people pass through, in obscure



life; were these who now fare sumptuously every day, to act the other part of the scene, until seven times had passed over them, and return again to their former states; I believe many of them would embrace a less expensive life; and would lighten the heavy burdens of some who now labor out of their sight, and who pass through straits with which they are but little acquainted. To see their fellow-creatures under difficulties, to which they are in no degree accessory, tends to awaken tenderness in the minds of all reasonable people; but if we consider the condition of those who are depressed in answering our demands, who labor for us out of our sight, while we pass our time in fulness; and consider also, that much less than we demand would supply us with things really useful; what heart will not relent, or what reasonable man can refrain from mitigating that grief, of which he himself is the cause, when he may do so without inconvenience?

## SEC. VI.

If more men were usefully employed, and fewer ate bread as a reward for doing that which is not useful, food and raiment would, on a reasonable estimate, be more in proportion to labor, than it is at present; for if four men working eight hours per day, can do a portion of labor in a certain number of days; then five men equally capable, may do the same business in the same time, by working only six hours and twenty-four minutes per day. In proceeding agreeably to sound wisdom, a small portion of daily labor might suffice, to keep a proper stream gently circulating through all the channels of society; and this portion of labor might be so divided, and taken in the most advantageous parts of the day, that people would not have that plea for the use of strong liquors, which they have at present. The quantity of spirituous liquors imported and made in our country is great; nor can so many thousand hogsheads of it be drunk every year, without having a powerful effect on our manners.

People spent with much labor, often take strong liquor

to revive them. The portion of the necessaries of life is such, that those who support their families by day labor, find occasion to labor hard, and many of them think strong drink a necessary part of their entertainment.

When people are spent with action, and take these liquors not only as a refreshment from past labors, but also to enable them to go on, without giving sufficient time to recruit by resting; it gradually turns them from that calmness of thought, which attends those who apply their hearts to true wisdom. That the spirits being scattered by too much bodily motion, and again revived by strong drink, makes a person unfit for Divine meditation, I suppose will not be denied; and as multitudes of people are in this practice, who do not take so much as to hinder them from managing their affairs, this custom is strongly supported; but as, through Divine goodness, I have found that there is a more quiet, calm, and happy way intended for us to walk in, I am engaged to express what I feel in my heart concerning it. As cherishing the spirit of love and meekness belongs to the family of Jesus Christ; so to avoid those things which are known to work against it is an indispensable duty. Every degree of luxury, of what kind soever, and every demand for money inconsistent with Divine order, hath some connexion with unnecessary labor. By too much labor the spirits are exhausted, and nature craves help from strong drink; and the frequent use of strong drink works in opposition to the celestial influence on the mind. There is in the nature of people, some degree of likeness with that food and air, to which they have been accustomed from their youth; this frequently appears in those who, by a separation from their native air and usual diet, grow weak and unhealthy for want of them; nor is it reasonable to suppose, that so many thousand hogsheads of fiery liquor can be drunk every year, and the practice continued from age to age, without altering in some degree the natures of men, and rendering their minds less apt to receive the pure truth in the love of it.

As many who manifest some regard to piety, in degree conform to those ways of living, and of collecting wealth which increase labor beyond the bounds fixed by Divine

wisdom; my desire is that they may so consider the connexion of things, as to take heed, lest, by exacting of poor men more than is consistent with universal righteousness, they promote that by their conduct which in word they speak against. To treasure up wealth for another generation, by means of the immoderate labor of those, who in some measure depend upon us, is doing evil at present, without knowing that wealth, thus gathered, may not be applied to evil purposes when we are gone. To labor hard, or cause others to do so, that we may live conformably to customs which Christ our Redeemer discountenanced by his example, in the days of his flesh, and which are contrary to Divine order, is to manure a soil for propagating an evil seed in the earth. They who enter deeply into these considerations, and live under the weight of them, will feel these things so heavy, and their ill effects so extensive, that the necessity of attending singly to Divine wisdom will be evident; and will thereby be directed in the right use of things, in opposition to the customs of the times: and will be supported to bear patiently the reproaches attending singularity. To conform a little, strengthens the hands of those who carry wrong customs to their utmost extent; and the more a person appears to be virtuous, and heavenly minded, the more powerfully does his conformity operate in favor of evil doers. Lay aside the profession of a pious life, and people expect little or no instruction from the example; but while we profess, in all cases, to live in constant opposition to that which is contrary to universal righteousness;—what expressions are equal to the subject, or what language is sufficient to set forth the strength of the obligations we are under, to beware lest by our example we lead others astray!

## SEC. VII.

If by our wealth we make our children great, without a full persuasion that we could not bestow it better, and thus give them power to deal hardly with others more virtuous



than they, it can after death give us no more satisfaction, than if by this treasure we had raised others above our own, and had given them power to oppress them.

Did a man possess as much land, as would suffice for twenty industrious frugal people, and supposing that, being the lawful heir to it, he intended to give this great estate to his children; yet if he found on research into the title, that one half of this estate was the undoubted right of a number of poor orphans, who as to virtue and understanding, appeared to him as hopeful as his own children; the discovery would give him an opportunity to consider, whether he was attached to any interest distinct from the interest of those orphans.

Some of us have estates sufficient for our children, and as many more to live upon, if they all employed their time in useful business, and lived in that plainness which becomes the true disciples of Christ; and we have no reason to believe that our children will be more likely to apply them to benevolent purposes, than would some poor children with whom we are acquainted; and yet, did we believe that after our decease these estates would go equally among our children, and the children of the poor, it would be likely to give us uneasiness. This may shew to a thoughtful person, that to be redeemed from all the remains of selfishness, to have an universal regard to our fellow-creatures, and to love them as our Heavenly Father loves them, we must constantly attend to the influence of his spirit.

When our hearts are enlarged to contemplate the nature of this Divine love, we behold it harmonious; but if we attentively consider that moving of selfishness, which makes us uneasy at the apprehension of that which is in itself reasonable, and which, when separated from all previous conceptions and expectations, appears so, we see an inconsistency in it; for the subject of such uneasiness is future, and will not affect our children, until we are removed into that state of being, in which there is no possibility of our taking delight in any thing contrary to the pure principle of universal love.

As that natural desire of superiority in us, when given way to, extends to such of our favorites, as we expect

will succeed us; and as the grasping after wealth and power for them, adds greatly to the burdens of the poor, and increaseth the evil of covetousness in this age; I have often desired that, in looking towards posterity, we may remember the purity of that rest, which is prepared for the Lord's people; the impossibility of our taking pleasure in any thing distinguishable from universal righteousness; and how vain and weak it is, to give wealth and power to those, who appear unlikely to apply it to the general good when we are gone.

As christians, all we possess is the gift of God; and in the distribution of it we act as his stewards; it becomes us therefore to act agreeably to that Divine wisdom, which He graciously gives to his servants. If the steward of a great family, takes that with which he is intrusted, and bestows it lavishly on some, to the injury of others, and to the damage of his employer, he degrades himself, and becomes unworthy of that office.

The true felicity of man in this life, and in that which is to come, is in being inwardly united to the fountain of universal love and bliss. When we provide for posterity, and make settlements which will not take effect, until after we are centred in another state of being; if we therein knowingly act contrary to universal love and righteousness, such conduct must arise from a false, selfish pleasure; and if, after such settlements, our wills continue to stand in opposition to the fountain of universal light and love; will there not be an impassable gulph between the soul and true felicity? But if after such a settlement, and when too late for an alteration, we attain to that purified state which our Redeemer prayed his Father that his people might attain to, of being united to the Father, and to the Son; must not a sincere repentance, for all things done in a will separate from universal love, precede this inward sanctification? And though in such depth of repentance and reconciliation, all sins may be forgiven, can we reasonably suppose, that our partial determinations in favor of those whom we selfishly loved, will then afford us pleasure?

## SEC. VIII.

To labor for an establishment in Divine love, in which the mind is disentangled from the power of darkness, is the great business of man's life; the collecting of riches, covering the body with fine wrought, costly apparel, and having magnificent furniture, operate against universal love, and tend to feed self; so that it belongs not to the children of the light to desire these things. He who sent ravens to feed Elijah in the wilderness, and increased the poor woman's small remains of meal and oil, is now as attentive as ever to the necessities of his people. When He saith unto his people, "Ye are my sons and daughters," no greater happiness can be desired by them, who know how gracious a Father He is.

The greater part of the necessaries of life, are so far perishable, that each generation hath occasion to labor for them; and when we look towards a succeeding age, with a mind influenced by universal love, instead of endeavoring to exempt some from those cares, which necessarily relate to this life, and to give them power to oppress others; we desire that they may all be the Lord's children, and live in that humility and order becoming His family. Our hearts being thus opened and enlarged, will feel content with a state of things, as foreign to luxury and grandeur, as that which our Redeemer laid down as a pattern.

By desiring wealth for the power and distinction it gives, and gathering it on this motive, a person may become rich; but his mind being moved by a draught distinguishable from the drawings of the Father, he cannot be united to the heavenly society, where God is the strength of their life. "It is easier," saith our Saviour, "for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." Here, our Lord uses an instructive similitude, for as a camel, while in that form, cannot pass through the eye of a needle, so a man who trusteth in riches, and holds them for the sake of the power and distinction attending them, cannot in that spirit enter into the



kingdom. Now every part of a camel may be so reduced, as to pass through a hole, as small as the eye of a needle; yet such is the bulk of the creature, and the hardness of its bones and teeth, that it could not be so reduced without much labor; so must man cease from that spirit which craves riches, and be brought into another disposition, before he inherits the kingdom, as effectually as a camel must be changed from the form of a camel, in passing through the eye of a needle.

When our Saviour said to the rich youth, "Go sell what thou hast and give to the poor;" though undoubtedly it was his duty to have done so; yet to enjoin the selling of all, as a duty on every true Christian, would be to limit the Holy One. Obedient children, who are intrusted with much outward substance, wait for wisdom to dispose of it agreeably to His will, "in whom the fatherless find mercy." It may not be the duty of every one to commit at once their substance to other hands; but rather from time to time to look round among the numerous branches of the great family, as the stewards of him who provides for the widows and fatherless; and as disciples of Christ, however intrusted with much goods, they may not conform to sumptuous or luxurious living; for as He lived in perfect plainness and simplicity, the greatest in his family, cannot by virtue of his station, claim a right to live in worldly grandeur, without contradicting His doctrine who said, "It is enough for the disciple to be as his master."

When our eyes are so single as to discern the selfish spirit clearly, we behold it the greatest of all tyrants. Many thousand innocent people, under some of the Roman emperors, being confirmed in the truth of Christ's religion, by the powerful effects of his Holy Spirit upon them, and scrupling to conform to heathenish rites, were put to death by various kinds of cruel and lingering torments; as is largely set forth by Eusebius.

Now if we single out Domitian, Nero, or any other of the persecuting emperors, the man, though terrible in his time, will appear as a tyrant of small consequence, compared with this selfish spirit; for though his bounds were large, yet a great part of the world was out of his reach;

and though he grievously afflicted the bodies of those innocent people, yet the minds of many were divinely supported in their greatest agonies; and being faithful unto death, they were delivered from his tyranny. His reign, though cruel for a time, was soon over; and he, in his greatest pomp, appears to have been a slave to a selfish spirit.

Thus tyranny as applied to a man, riseth up, and soon has an end; but if we consider the numerous oppressions in many states, and the calamities occasioned by contending nations in various countries and ages of the world, and remember that selfishness hath been the original cause of them all; if we consider that those who are unredeemed from this selfish spirit, not only afflict others, but are afflicted themselves, and have no real quietness in this life, nor in futurity; but according to the sayings of Christ, have their portion, "Where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;" If we consider the havoc that is made in this age, and how numbers of people are hurried on, striving to collect treasure to please that mind which wanders from perfect resignedness; and in that wisdom which is foolishness with God, are perverting the true use of things, laboring as in the fire, contending with one another, even unto blood, and exerting their power to support ways of living, foreign to the life of one wholly crucified to the world:—If we consider what great numbers of people are employed in preparing the articles of war, and the labor and toil of armies, set apart for protecting their respective territories from invasion; and the extensive miseries which attend their engagements; while they who till the land, and are employed in other useful things in supporting themselves, and those employed in military affairs, and also those who own the soil, have great hardships to encounter, through too much labor; while others, in several kingdoms, are busied in fetching men to help to labor, from distant parts of the world, to spend the remainder of their lives in the uncomfortable condition of slaves; and that self is the bottom of these proceedings: amidst all this confusion, and these scenes of sorrow and distress can we remember that we are the disciples of the Prince of Peace, and the example of humility and plainness which he set for us, with-

out feeling an earnest desire to be disentangled from every thing connected with selfish customs in food, in raiment, in houses, and all things else ? That being of Christ's family, and walking as He walked, we may stand in that uprightness wherein man was first made, and have no fellowship with those inventions, which men in their fallen wisdom have sought out.

## SEC. IX.

The way of carrying on wars, common in the world is so far distinguishable from the purity of Christ's religion, that many scruple to join in them. Those who are so redeemed from the love of the world, as to possess nothing in a selfish spirit, have their "life hid with Christ in God," and He preserves them in resignedness, even in times of commotion.

As they possess nothing but what pertains to his family, anxious thoughts about wealth or dominion have little or nothing in them on which to work ; and they learn contentment in being disposed of according to his will, who being omnipotent, and always mindful of his children, causeth all things to work for their good : but when that spirit works which loves riches, and in its working gathers wealth, and cleaves to customs which have their root in self-pleasing : whatever name it hath it still desires to defend the treasures thus gotten: This is like a chain in which the end of one link incloseth the end of another ; the rising up of a desire to obtain wealth is the beginning ; this desire being cherished, moves to action ; and riches thus gotten, please self ; and while self has a life in them, it desires to have them defended. Wealth is attended with power, by which bargains and proceedings contrary to universal righteousness are supported ; and hence oppression, carried on with worldly policy and order, clothes itself with the name of justice, and becomes like a seed of discord in the soul : and as a spirit which wanders from the pure habitation prevails, so the seeds of war swell, and sprout, and grow, and become strong until much fruit is ripened. Then cometh



the harvest spoken of by the prophet, which "is a heap, in the day of grief and desperate sorrows." Oh! that we who declare against wars, and acknowledge our trust to be in God only, may walk in the light, and therein examine our foundation and motives in holding great estates! May we look upon our treasures, the furniture of our houses, and our garments, and try whether the seeds of war have nourishment in these our possessions. Holding treasures in the self-pleasing spirit is a strong plant, the fruit whereof ripens fast. A day of outward distress is coming, and Divine love calls to prepare against it.

## SEC. X.

"The heaven, even the heavens are the Lord's; but the earth hath he given to the children of men." As servants of God, our land or estates we hold under Him as his gifts; and in applying the profits, it is our duty to act consistently with the designs of our Benefactor. Imperfect men may give from motives of misguided affection, but perfect wisdom and goodness gives agreeably to his own nature; nor is this gift absolute, but conditional, for us to occupy as dutiful children, and not otherwise; for He alone is the true proprietor. "The world" saith He, "is mine, and the fulness thereof." The inspired lawgiver directed, that such of the Israelites as sold their inheritance, should sell it for a term only; and that they or their children should again enjoy it in the year of jubilee, settled on every fiftieth year. "The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine saith the Lord, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me." This was designed to prevent the rich from oppressing the poor by too much engrossing the land; and our blessed Redeemer said, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."

When Divine love takes place in the hearts of any people, and they steadily act in a principle of universal righteousness, then the true intent of the law is fulfilled, though their outward modes of proceeding may be various; but

when men are possessed by that spirit, hinted at by the prophet, and looking over their wealth, say in their hearts, "Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?" they deviate from the Divine law, and do not count their possessions so strictly God's, nor the weak and poor entitled to so much of the increase thereof, but that they may indulge their desires, in conforming to worldly pomp. Thus when house is joined to house, and field laid to field, until there is no place, and the poor are thereby straitened, though this is done by bargain and purchase, yet so far as it stands distinguished from universal love, so far that woe predicted by the prophet will accompany their proceedings. As he who first founded the earth was then the true proprietor of it, so he still remains, and though He hath given it to the children of men, so that multitudes of people have had their sustenance from it, while they continued here; yet He hath never alienated it, but his right is as good as at first; nor can any apply the increase of their possessions contrary to universal love, nor dispose of lands in a way, which they know tends to exalt some, by oppressing others, without being justly chargeable with usurpation.

## SEC. XI.

If we count back one hundred and fifty years, and compare the inhabitants of Great Britain, with the nations of North America, on the like compass of ground, the latter I suppose would bear a small proportion to the former. On the discovery of this fertile continent, many of those thickly settled inhabitants coming over, the natives at first generally treated them with kindness; and as they brought iron tools, and a variety of things for man's use, they gladly embraced the opportunity of traffic, and encouraged these foreigners to settle: I speak only of improvements made peaceably.

Thus our Gracious Father, who beholds the situation of all his creatures, hath opened a way for a thickly settled land; now if we consider the turning of God's hand, in thus far giving us some room in this continent, and that the

offspring of those ancient possessors of the country, in whose eyes we appear as new-comers, are yet owners and inhabitants of the land adjoining us, and that their way of life, requiring much room, hath been transmitted to them from their predecessors, and probably settled by the custom of a great many ages: we may see the necessity of cultivating the lands already obtained of them, and applying the increase consistently with true wisdom, so as to accommodate the greatest number of people, before we have any right to plead, as members of the one great family, the equity of their assigning to us more of their possessions, and living in a way requiring less room.

Did we all walk as became the followers of our blessed Saviour; were all the fruits of the country retained in it, which are sent abroad in return for strong drink, costly array, and other luxuries; and the labor and expense of importing and exporting applied to husbandry, and useful trades; a much greater number of people than now reside here, might, with the Divine blessing, live comfortably on the lands already granted us, by those ancient possessors of the country. If we faithfully serve God, who has given us some room in this land, I believe He will make some of us useful among them, both in publishing the doctrines of His Son, our Saviour, and in pointing out to them the advantages of cultivating the earth; while people are so much more thickly settled in some parts than others, a trade in some serviceable articles, may be to mutual advantage, and may be carried on with much more regularity and satisfaction to a sincere christian, than trade now generally is.

One person continuing to live contrary to true wisdom, commonly draws others into connexion with him, and when these embrace the way the first hath chosen, their proceedings are like a wild vine, which springing from a single seed, and growing strong, its branches extend, and their little tendrils twist round all herbs and boughs of trees within their reach; and are so braced and locked in, that without much labor and great strength, they are not disentangled. Thus these customs, small in their beginning, as they increase promote business and traffic, and many depend on



them for a living; but it is evident that all business, which hath not its foundation in true wisdom, is not becoming a faithful follower of Christ, who loves God, not only with all his heart, but with all his strength and ability. And as the Lord is able, and will support those whose hearts are perfect towards him, in a way agreeably to his unerring wisdom, it becomes us to meditate on the privileges of his children, to remember that "where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," and that in joining to customs which we know are wrong, there is a departing from His government, and a certain degree of alienation from Him. Some well inclined people are entangled in such business, and at times may have a desire of being freed from it; our ceasing from these things may therefore be made helpful to them; and though for a time their business may fail; yet if they humbly ask wisdom of God, and are truly resigned to Him, he will not fail them, nor forsake them. He who created the earth, and hath provided sustenance for millions of people in past ages, is as attentive to the necessities of His children as ever. To press forward to perfection is our duty; and if herein we lessen some business, by which some poor people earn their bread, the Lord who calls to cease from those things, will take care of those whose business fails by it, if they sincerely seek to Him. If the connexion we have with the inhabitants of these provinces, and our interest considered as distinct from others, engage us to promote plain living, in order to enrich our country; though a plain life is in itself best, yet by living plain in a selfish spirit, we advance not in true religion.

Divine love, which enlarges the heart towards mankind universally, is that alone which stops every corrupt stream, and opens those channels of business and commerce, in which nothing runs that is not pure; and so establishes our goings, that when in our labors we meditate on the universal love of God, and the harmony of Holy Angels, the serenity of our minds may never be clouded, by remembering that some part of our employments tends to support customs, which have their foundation in the self-seeking spirit.

## SEC. XII.

While our minds are prepossessed in favor of customs, distinguishable from perfect purity, we are in danger of not attending with singleness to that light, which opens to our view the nature of universal righteousness.

In the affairs of a thickly settled country, are variety of useful employments, besides tilling the earth; so that, for some men to have more land than is necessary to build upon, and to answer the occasions of their families, may consist with brotherhood; and from the various gifts which God hath bestowed on those employed in husbandry, for some to possess and occupy much more than others, may likewise so consist; but when any, on the strength of their possessions, demand such rent or interest, as necessitates their tenants to a closer application to business than our merciful Father designed for us, it puts the wheels of perfect brotherhood out of order, and leads to employments, the promoting of which belongs not to the family of Christ, whose example in all points being a pattern of wisdom, the plainness and simplicity of his outward appearance may well make us ashamed to adorn our bodies with costly array, or treasure up wealth by the least oppression.

Though by claims grounded on prior possession, great inequality appears among men; yet the instructions of the Great Proprietor of the earth, are necessary to be attended to in all our proceedings, as possessors or claimers of the soil. "The steps of a good man are ordered of the Lord," and those who are thus guided, and whose hearts are enlarged in His love, give directions concerning their possessions agreeably thereto; and that claim which stands on universal righteousness, is a good right; but the continuance of that right depends on properly applying the profits thereof. The word right, commonly relates to our possessions: We say, a right of propriety to such a division of a province, or a clear indisputable right to the land within certain bounds. Thus, this word is continued as a remembrancer of the original intent of dividing the

land by boundaries; and implies, that it was equitably or rightly divided, that is divided according to righteousness. In this, that is in equity and righteousness, consists the strength of our claim. If we trace an unrighteous claim, and find gifts or grants proved by sufficient seals and witnesses, it gives not the claimant a right; for that which is opposite to righteousness, is wrong; and the nature of it must be changed before it can be right.

Suppose twenty free men, professed followers of Christ, discovered an island, and that they with their wives, independent of all others, took possession of it, and dividing it equally, made improvements, and multiplied; suppose these first possessors, being generally influenced by true love, did with paternal regard look over the increasing condition of the inhabitants, and near the end of their lives, gave such directions concerning their respective possessions, as best suited the convenience of the whole, and tended to preserve love and harmony; and that their successors in the continued increase of people, generally followed their pious example, and pursued means the most effectual to keep oppression out of their island; but that one of these first settlers, from a fond attachment to one of his numerous sons, no more deserving than the rest, gives the chief of his lands to him; and by an instrument sufficiently witnessed, strongly expressed his mind and will:—Suppose this son, being landlord to his brethren and nephews, demands such a portion of the fruits of the earth, as may supply himself, his family, and some others; and that these others, thus supplied out of his store, are employed in adorning his building with curious engravings and paintings, preparing carriages to ride in, vessels for his house, delicious meats, fine wrought apparel and furniture, all suiting that distinction lately arisen between him and the other inhabitants; and that having the absolute disposal of these numerous improvements, his power so increaseth, that in all conferences relative to the public affairs of the island, these plain, honest men, who are zealous for equitable establishments, find great difficulty in proceeding agreeably to their righteous inclinations:—Suppose this son from a fondness to one of his children, joined with a desire to continue this



grandeur under his own name, confirms the chief of his possessions to him, and thus, for many ages, there is one great landlord over near a twentieth part of this island, and the rest are poor oppressed people; to some of whom, from the manner of their education, joined with a notion of the greatness of their predecessors, labor is disagreeable; who therefore, by artful applications to the weakness, unguardedness, and corruptions of others, in striving to get a living out of them, increase the difficulties among them, while the inhabitants of other parts, who guard against oppression, and, with one consent, train up their children in frugality and useful labor, live more harmoniously:—If we trace the claims of the ninth or tenth of these great landlords, down to the first possessor, and find the claim supported throughout by instruments strongly drawn and witnessed; after all, we could not admit a belief into our hearts, that he had a right to so great a portion of land, after such a numerous increase of inhabitants.

The first possessor of that twentieth part, held no more, we suppose, than an equitable portion; but when the Lord, who first gave these twenty men possession of this island, unknown to all others, gave being to numerous people who inhabited the twentieth part, whose natures required the fruits thereof for their sustenance, this great claimer of the soil, could not have a right to the whole, to dispose of it in gratifying his irregular desires; but they, as creatures of the most high God, possessor of Heaven and earth, had a right to part of what this great claimer held, though they had no instruments to confirm their right: Thus oppression in the extreme appears terrible; but oppression in more refined appearances, remains to be oppression, and when the smallest degree of it is cherished, it grows stronger and more extensive.

To labor for a perfect redemption from this spirit of oppression, is the great business of the whole family of Christ Jesus, in this world.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

*A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY*

OF

JOHN WOOLMAN.

---

There is glory to me in thy name,  
    Meek follower of Bethlehem's Child !  
More touching by far than the splendors of fame,  
    With which the vain world is beguil'd :—  
'Tis the glory of goodness, the praise of the just,  
Which outlives even death, and is fragrant in dust.

The warrior may win for his brow  
    The proud victor chaplet of bay ;—  
But innocent blood sheds a stain on the bough,  
    And dims its most beautiful ray ;  
While Humanity turns from the pageant aside ;  
By the sorrows and suff'rings of others supplied.

Success on the Bard may bestow  
    The myrtle-wreath meed of his lays ;  
And brightly and gaily that trophy may glow  
    In the sunshine of popular praise :—  
But if Virtue have turn'd from his page with disgust,  
Soon, soon shall the trophy surrender its trust.

A King in his crown may rejoice :  
    And Rank of its titles be proud ;  
The Singer exult in the charms of his voice ;  
    And Pomp in the gaze of a crowd ;  
And the martyr of wealth render'd poor by his store,  
Be bow'd to by those who his idol adore.

Yet the King must descend from his throne,  
 When the day of Jehovah shall come ;  
 And titles be trustless and pomp stand alone,  
 And the voice of the Singer be dumb ;—  
 And Mammon, once worshipp'd, be loath'd and abhorr'd,  
 In the just, and the terrible day of the LORD !

Then who with acceptance shall stand  
 In the presence of glory and light ;  
 Having palm-branch, or censer, or harp in the hand,  
 And array'd in apparel of white—  
 While that volume its awful contents shall reveal,  
 Which the LION OF JUDAH alone can unseal ?

Even they who through great tribulation  
 Have worshipp'd the Holy I AM !  
 Whose spiritual garments are pure by lavation  
 In the all-cleansing blood of the LAMB !  
 Tis these, and these only, by day, and by night,  
 Shall kneel in his temple, and stand in his sight.

From them must the chorus ascend  
 Which shall peal through the confines of space,  
 Of Holy! thrice Holy! and praise without end  
 Unto GOD for the gift of HIS GRACE ;  
 And praise to the Lamb, who for mortals was slain,  
 Yet liveth, for ever and ever to reign!"

In that heavenly and heart-thrilling song,  
 O Woolman! can silence be thine ?  
 Or wilt thou not join with the jubilant throng,  
 In hosannas to glory divine ?  
 Even such the fruition Faith whispers for thee  
 Nor happier, nor holier, could recompense be.

For since those miraculous days  
 When marvellous wonders were rife,  
 When the blind gaz'd with joy, and the dumb sang with praise,  
 And the dead were restored unto life,—  
 I know not of one whom my heart could allow  
 More worthy the name of APOSTLE than thou.



Though not upon thee were outpour'd  
 The gifts of that primitive age,  
 When wonders and signs spoke the power of the Lord,  
 And baffled Priest, Monarch, and Sage—  
 In the heart's secret temple an altar was thine,  
 And a priesthood was given in the innermost shrine.

Not to outward and visible sense  
 Did that priesthood, or altar appeal;  
 Yet pure were the oracles uttered from thence,  
 And stamped with a questionless seal,—  
 A seal—which the spirit that felt them confess  
 By the power of thy CRUCIFIED MASTER imprest.

HIS glory alone was thy aim;—  
 HIS kingdom's advance was thy scope;—  
 And THE CROSS which HE bore, with its suff'ring and shame,  
 The object and end of thy hope!  
 By faith in this hope was thy spirit sustain'd,  
 Through that Cross was the crown of apostleship gain'd.

Then well may I think of thy name  
 Meek follower of Bethlehem's Child!  
 As enwreath'd with a glory more touching than fame,  
 By which the vain world is beguil'd;—  
 That glory by CHRIST and HIS GOSPEL made known,  
 Which proclaims not THY praise but THY MASTER's alone!

BERNARD BARTON.

12th mo. 8th, 1823.



## ERRATA.

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- On page 20, 3d line from the bottom, for wordly, read worldly.
- |      |        |      |   |                                                                      |
|------|--------|------|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 20,  | 17th   | "    | " | top, for feeling, read feeling.                                      |
| 21,  | 17th   | "    | " | bottom, for wordly, read worldly.                                    |
| 31,  | 17th   | "    | " | top, insert I, before was watching.                                  |
| 37,  | 2d     | "    | " | " ales, read absolute.                                               |
| 60,  | 2d     | "    | " | bottom, for too, read two.                                           |
| 64,  | 20th   | "    | " | " tohers, read others.                                               |
| 66,  | 3d     | "    | " | " appoitting, read appointing.                                       |
| 69,  | 9th    | "    | " | " exorcise, read exercise.                                           |
| 73,  | 11th   | "    | " | top, " enabling, read enabled.                                       |
| 93,  | 4th    | "    | " | " coast, read cost.                                                  |
| 97,  | 14th   | "    | " | " state, read estates.                                               |
| 115, | 19th   | "    | " | " favorod, read favored.                                             |
| 118, | 18th   | "    | " | " specious, read spacious.                                           |
| 133, | bottom | line |   | " unde, read under.                                                  |
| 149, | 26th   | "    | " | " out proceedings, read our proceedings.                             |
| 161, | 14th   | "    | " | " freely given them up, read freely give them up.                    |
| 168, | 10th   | "    | " | bottom, " attended, read attend.                                     |
| 191, | 2d     | "    | " | top, " fasaion, read fashion.                                        |
| 196, | 11th   | "    | " | " part, read parts.                                                  |
| 201, | 16th   | "    | " | bottom, " into, read unto.                                           |
| 206, | 5th    | "    | " | " may be spread, omit be.                                            |
| 206, | 1st    | "    | " | top, " customs, read custom                                          |
| 233, | 15th   | "    | " | " spacious, read specious.                                           |
| 241, | 5th    | "    | " | bottom for any, read an.                                             |
| 243, | 13th   | "    | " | " enstrangement. read estrangement.                                  |
| 246, | 4th    | "    | " | top " as it is Heaven, read as it is in Heaven                       |
| 261, | 9th    | "    | " | top, " to suffer in, omit in.                                        |
| 261, | 10th   | "    | " | top, " for in the suffering state, read in the true suffering state. |
| 26,  | 4th    | "    | " | bottom, " for our innocence, read of our innocence.                  |
| 292, | 11th   | "    | " | " for irom, read from.                                               |





















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