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JOHN WOOLMAN

HIS LIFE & OUR TIMES

BEING A STUDY IN APPLIED CHRISTIANITY

BY

W. TEIGNMOUTH SHORE

AUTHOR OF 'A SOUL'S AWAKENING,' 'EGOMET,' 'CANTERBURY,' 'CHARLES DICKENS AND HIS FRIENDS,' ETC.

"Get the writings of John Woolman by heart; and love the early Quakers."—CHARLES LAMB.

"How very hard it is to be
A Christian!"
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TO

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CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD

It is strange that the world should take so little heed of John Woolman, of whose life this work is a narrative and a study. He was one of those who have followed closely in the footsteps of Jesus of Nazareth; one of the few Christlike Christians. In addition, therefore, to its intrinsic interest, his life is worthy of close scrutiny in these latter days, when the Church of Christ is held by many to have strayed so far from Christianity and when Christians by their acts and deeds often seem determined to prove that it is impossible to render complete obedience to the commands of their Lord. That which John Woolman and some other few have accomplished has proved that Christianity can be practised in and applied to the every-day affairs of social, business and domestic life. Yet only some score or so of years ago, one of the leaders of the Church of England pronounced that

"the principles which order us to forgive our enemies, to turn our other cheek to the smiter, and to have all things in common and share with the brethren, cannot be carried out literally and strictly. Still less can they serve as a foundation of a civil polity." [1]

. . . . . .

The materials for a Life of John Woolman are scanty and scattered,[2] the main authority being his own Journal, from which it will be necessary to quote often and at length. It is an almost unconscious record of what he was, but it tells us little of what he did. Throughout it is written in a key of simple sincerity and of true humbleness. John Woolman was without pride, but was one of whom the world can be proud. The Journal strikes straight to the heart, and has been to many a lamp and a guide. Says Charles Lamb, in the Essay on "A Quakers' Meeting": "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart."

It is a book which has influenced many, of which the following two examples must suffice.

[1] Archbishop Magee, at the Diocesan Conference at Leicester, October 25, 1889.

[2] For help, without which this book could not have been written, I heartily acknowledge the unfailing kindness of Mr. Norman Penney, F.S.A., Librarian of the Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street, London. The majority of the quotations from Woolman's Journal are from the admirable *New Century* edition.

Henry Crabbe Robinson, the diarist, writes, under date January 22, 1824 :

Rode to London from Bury on the " Telegraph." I was reading all the time it was light, Irving's *Argument of Judgment to Come*, which I have since finished.[1] How different this from John Woolman's Journal, I have been reading at the same time—a perfect gem ! His is a *schöne seele* (beautiful soul). An illiterate tailor, he writes in the style of the most exquisite purity and grace. His moral qualities are transferred to his writings. Had he not been so very humble, he would have written a still better book ; for, fearing to indulge in vanity, he conceals the events in which he was a great actor. His religion is love. His whole existence and all his passions were love. If one could venture to impute to his creed, and not to his personal character, the delightful frame of mind which he exhibited, one could not hesitate to be a convert. His Christianity is most inviting—it is fascinating.

The second testimony comes from one Mildred Ratcliff, who in early life was a Baptist, living in Virginia. She often went with her husband to Friends' Meetings, and her testimony is vivid and profound.

Going sometimes with my husband to these silent meetings, I sat among them, wondering at such a manner of holding a religious meeting, it being to me as lost time—time that I might have improved at my own meeting. Truly, a silent meeting was all foolishness to me. At that time I had not read a page in a Friends' book that I remember. But after this, my mind being prepared, I

[1] Edward Irving, founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

picked up John Woolman's Journal, and said in my heart, "I will look in this book to see if there is any sense in anything a Quaker can write." Before I had read many pages my spirit was broken and my heart contrited under a sense that the want of sense was in me, and not in the Quakers. I was blinded with tears, and had to shut the book.

. . . . . .

John Woolman was born in August of the year 1720, at the home of his father, Samuel Woolman, a farm named "The Plantation," Mount Holly, Burlington County, New Jersey, America. Mount Holly is situated in the western part of the township of Northampton, on Rancocas Creek, which runs into the Delaware, and in Woolman's time was almost entirely occupied by members of the Society of Friends. His own later home, pictured in a woodcut in Bowden's *History of the Society of Friends in America*, was a plain building of two stories, whitewashed, surrounded by a four-barred fence, and sheltered by trees which he loved and tended; situated upon the highest ground in the county, a mount rising some two hundred feet above the sea-level, from which was obtained a broad view of the rich plain around, covered to a great extent with dense woods, interspersed with comfortable farmsteads. This house was built by John Woolman; therein his wife and daughter continued to reside after his death. It stood a little way out of the village, on the road to

Springfield, and a late visitor to it described it as a "very humble" abode.

In the Testimony of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, held in Burlington, the First Day of the Eighth Month,[1] 1774, "concerning our esteemed friend, John Woolman, deceased," we read that he was born "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."

John was one of thirteen children, the others being—Elizabeth, born September 1715; Sarah, in January 1717; Patience, in October 1718; then John; Asher, in April 1722; Abner, in May 1724; Hannah, in April 1726; Uriah, in April 1728; Hester, in April 1730; Jonah, in February 1733; Rachel, in September 1735; Abraham, in October 1737; Eber, in December 1739.

Of other members of the family, we shall meet with a cousin John, and two aunts, sisters of his father.

Concerning his childhood days Woolman does not give many details in the Journal, which he did not commence to write—"Some hints in writing of my experience of the goodness of God"—until

[1] The Quaker way for August. Of course down to the middle of 1752, the *first* month was March, and so on.

his thirty-sixth year. He deals chiefly with the internal rather than the external events of his life. He learned to read at an early age, and narrates that

> . . . 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 twenty-second chapter of Revelation: "He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb," etc. 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.

He relates an early incident, which illustrates the tender love he bore not only to all his fellow-men, but also to all living things:

> I may here mention a remarkable circumstance that occurred in my childhood. On going to a neighbour'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 of 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.

What manner of schooling in worldly knowledge he received cannot be stated with certainty. As regards religious matters it is best to quote his own words:

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 among people in the present age often troubled me while I was a child.

As we have seen, Woolman did not commence to write his Journal until he had reached an age when the events of childhood would not only be blurred by distance, but coloured by the matured spirit of the grown and experienced man. Much stress should not be laid upon the wickedness of

the children who were his comrades. Still, it can scarcely be doubted that Woolman early reached years of discretion in matters spiritual, and that his faith was very real to him even when a young child. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that it was scarcely possible for him not to read into the simple faith of the child the stronger and more searching beliefs of the man.

Of his parents we can gather no very distinct pictures; they were folk of a humble position, and devout Quakers, so that we know that he was bred up in an atmosphere devoted exclusively to the following of the doctrines and beliefs taught by George Fox. Early in the Journal we obtain a glimpse of his father and mother, and of the home life. He writes:

> About the twelfth year of my age, my father being abroad, my mother reproved 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 advised me to be more careful in future. I knew myself blamable, 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 prayed to the Lord to forgive me, and I do not remember that I ever afterwards spoke unhandsomely to either of my parents, however foolish in some other things.

To which may be added this:

Having attained the age of sixteen years, I began to love wanton company; and though I was preserved from profane language or scandalous conduct, yet I perceived a plant in me which produced 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 affected 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 hastened toward destruction. While I meditate on the gulf towards which I travelled, and reflect on my youthful disobedience, for these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water.

John Woolman was one of those who, while ever magnifying their own backslidings, are always tender and sympathetic to the sins of others. Of the many beautiful traits which made up his character, there is none which impresses more deeply than his ability to forgive others their trespasses and to feel grief over, not anger at, the errors into which they fell.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS

BEFORE proceeding further it is necessary to understand somewhat of the faith into which John Woolman was born, and to learn something of the Quaker settlement in New Jersey. It need scarcely be said that an attempt will not be made to attack or to defend the Quaker position; but in the course of this work it will have to be that the outcome of the Quaker doctrines will be traced, both the good fruit and the evil being set forth.

In the beginning of their history the Friends did not count themselves as a "Peculiar People," as a sect in any way set apart from their fellow-Christians of all Churches, but merely as holding to the pure and simple doctrine of Christ and, therefore, called upon to preach to those who had strayed from the narrow way. Gradually, however, as they found that they were speaking to those who having ears to hear with would not hear, they began to a great extent to keep themselves to themselves,

to which seclusion must be attributed the lethargy which for many later years quelled their spirit. "The world-vision faded out, and the attention focussed on 'Quakerism' as an end in itself."[1]

William Penn, when asked by Charles II. wherein their religious beliefs differed, made reply, "The difference is the same as between thy hat and mine; mine has no ornaments," which was witty, and true as far as it went. Elsewhere he says:

> The bent and stress of their ministry was *conversion* to God, *regeneration*, and *holiness*. Not schemes of doctrines, and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving in religion the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonies, and formal part, and pressing earnestly the *substantial*, the *necessary* and profitable part, to the soul.

And again he tells us, in *Some Fruits of Solitude*, speaking of Christ:

> He was Holy, Humble, Harmless, Meek, Merciful, etc., when among us; to teach us what we should be, when he was gone. And yet he is among us still, and in us too, a living and perpetual Preacher of the same Grace, by his Spirit in our consciences.

To George Fox, to his disciples and followers, religion was not of man's life a thing apart; it was the whole of life; social, political and religious reform were one, not separate, or rather it should be said they believed that upon religion must be

[1] *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, by Rufus M. Jones.

built the superstructure of social and political life, a doctrine which, as we have seen and as we know from daily observation, does not to-day commend itself to the whole of the Christian community. In theory, doubtless, it does do so, but not in practice. A recent writer put the Quaker aspiration very clearly:

> To *live* the Sermon on the Mount, and the rest of the Gospel teaching, and in all things to listen for the living voice of the Good Shepherd, watching constantly that no human tradition divert our attention from it—this is our acknowledged aim and bond of union as a Society.[1]

In another place the same writer says:

> The one corner-stone of belief upon which the Society of Friends is built is the conviction that God does indeed communicate with each one of the spirits He has made, in a direct and living inbreathing of some measure of the breath of His own Life; that He never leaves Himself without a witness in the heart as well as in the surroundings of man; that the measure of life, light or grace thus given increases by obedience; and that in order clearly to hear the Divine Voice speaking within us we need to be still; to be alone with Him, in the secret place of His Presence; that all flesh should keep silence before Him.

George Fox's younger days coincided with the religious persecutions of Charles I., Laud and Strafford; then followed the years when the Puritans proved themselves to be equally bigoted and intolerant. The preaching of Fox, it must be

[1] *Quaker Strongholds*, by Caroline Emilia Stephen.

borne in mind, was a protestation against the rule of Papist, Episcopalian and Puritan alike; he cried aloud for universal toleration and for the abolition of dogma and ceremonies, for individual independence of any Church government and individual dependence upon the light and guidance given by God to each soul; "... it was a portable and verifiable religion—a religion which required truth in word and deed, plain dealing and kindness and self-control, and which did not require ceremonial observances or priestly guarantees"; in short, applied Christianity. That the preachers and practitioners of such a creed met with ridicule and bitter persecution is only natural.

The Quaker attitude toward the Bible gave great offence to Protestants of all communions, with whom the verbal inspiration, and therefore the infallibility and all-sufficiency of the Scriptures was accepted as a belief necessary to salvation; to the Protestant the Bible is the only court of appeal for the conduct of a Christian life. "The Bible was the religion of Protestants," says Bancroft, adding that to the Quakers "the Bible is not religion, but a record of religion."

For authoritative statement upon any point of primitive Quaker doctrine we cannot do better than go to Robert Barclay, who issued in 1675 *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the*

same is Held Forth and Preached by the People, in scorn, called Quakers. He sets forth and argues in detail fifteen propositions, of which it is well that we quote a great part of the third, "Concerning the Scriptures." He has been speaking of immediate revelation by God to each human being, and then says:

From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the Saints, have proceeded the Scriptures of Truth, which contain, (1) a faithful historical account of the acts of God's people in divers ages, with many singular and remarkable providences attending them. (2) A prophetical account of several things, of which some are already past, and some yet to come.

So far no matter for controversy in those days, but he continues:

(3) A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations and Sentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at several times, and upon sundry occasions, spoken and written unto some churches and their pastors: nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the *fountain*[1] and not the *fountain* itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the *adequate primary* rule of *faith* and *manners*. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a *secondary rule, subordinate* to the *Spirit*, from which they have all their excellency and certainty; for as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we

[1] The italics are Barclay's.

do alone truly know them, so they testify that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into *all truth* : therefore, according to the Scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal leader

—and so on, for a few lines more.

In the second proposition he argues that " . . . the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the knowledge of God hath been, is, and can only be revealed."

In short, the Quakers hold firmly to the belief that while the Bible is a sure and steadfast guide it is not the *only* guide, but that each man has in his heart the voice of God directing him whither he shall bend his steps and how he shall conduct his life unto salvation; which guide is never contradictory to the teaching of the Scriptures, but is often supplementary and always of equal value. Fox writes in his Journal :

Though I read the Scriptures that spoke of Christ and of God, yet I knew Him not but by revelation, as He who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to His Son by His Spirit.

William Penn, in *Primitive Christianity Revived*, says :

That which the Quakers lay down as a main fundamental in religion is this : That God through Christ hath placed His Spirit in every man to inform him of his duty, and to enable him to do it, and that those who live up to this are

the people of God, and those that live in disobedience to it are not God's people, whatever name they may bear or profession they may make of religion. This is their ancient first-standing testimony. . . . By this Spirit they understand something that is Divine, and though in man yet not of man, but of God. . . . There are divers ways of speaking by which they declare and express what this spirit is, viz. they call it the Light of Christ within man, or Light Within, which is their ancient and most general or familiar phrase; also the manifestation or appearance of Christ, the Witness of God, the Seed of God, the Seed of the Kingdom, Wisdom, the Word in the heart, the grace that appears to all men, the Spirit given to every man to profit withal, the truth in the inward part, the spiritual leaven that leavens the whole lump of man.

This doctrine of the Inner Light brought the Quakers into bitter and often envenomed controversy with their fellow-Christians, coupled as it was with practices which seemed to be defiant of all established authority and custom. In order to understand the mainspring of the life of John Woolman, it is essential to grasp fully the bearing of this doctrine upon the conduct of life.

Cotton Mather, who bore a bitter and quite un-Christian hatred toward the Quakers, states: "They call men to attend to the mystical dispensation of a Light within, as having the whole of religion contained therein."

The Quakers held, and hold, that in every man there is something of God Himself, an Inner Light

which enables each man to judge for himself unfailingly between good and evil, a guide showing him the way of light and life. A form of mysticism, certainly, but one which did not set the Quakers apart from the ordinary affairs of life. "Some seek truth in books, some in learned men, but what they seek for is in themselves."

In short, every human being must act in accord with the dictates of the Light Within, a universal and supreme conscience.

In 1747 Sophia Hume, a native of South Carolina, sent forth a small book, printed in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin, entitled *An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of South Carolina*, from which a few extracts will make plain what this doctrine of the Inner Light meant to a devout Friend. She says:

> There is one truth on which all I have to say to you greatly depends, namely, that *all mankind* have within them a measure and manifestation of the Light, Spirit, or Grace of God, so that salvation is a matter of personal obedience.

And later:

> Religion is a heart-work, the battle is an inward one, nothing counts but victory over sin, nothing but the inward possession of the Love of God. God visits you, the voice of the Spirit calls you. Obedience will bring the Light and Truth into your inward parts, and you may be redeemed of the Lord.

Bancroft sums up the Quaker faith thus:

The nobler instincts of humanity are the same in every age and in every breast The exalted hopes that have dignified former generations of men will be renewed as long as the race shall survive. A spiritual unity binds together the members of the human family; and every heart contains an incorruptible seed, capable of springing up and producing all that man can know of God and duty and the soul. An inward voice, uncreated by schools, independent of refinement, opens to the unlettered hind, no less than to the polished scholar, a sure pathway to immortal truth.

And in that excellent work, *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, Professor Rufus M. Jones puts this matter in a way wholly admirable and, we hold, also wholly just:

The Quakers' supreme passion was the cultivation of inward religion and an outward life consistent with the vision of their souls. "Experiments in government," whether successful or unsuccessful, whether wise or unwise, were never their primary aim. Beneath these ventures there always existed a deeper purpose—to make a fresh *experiment in spiritual religion*—as the living pulse of all Quaker aspiration, and by this central aim the movement must be finally estimated and judged. These American Quakers . . . believed, with a white-hot intensity, that they had discovered, or rediscovered, a new spiritual Principle which they thought was destined to revolutionise life, society, civil government, and religion. The Principle (and they always spelled it with a capital P) which they claimed to have discovered was the presence of a Divine Light in man, a radiance from the central Light of the spiritual universe, penetrating the deeps of every soul,

which if responded to, obeyed and accepted as a guiding star, would lead into all truth and into all kinds of truth. They thought that they had found a way to the direct discovery of the Will of God, and that they could thereby put the Kingdom of God into actual operation here in the world. The whole momentous issue of life, they insisted, is settled by personal obedience or disobedience to the inward divine revelation. The wisdom of the infinite God is within reach of the feeblest human spirit; the will of the eternal is voiced in the soul of every man; it is life to hear and obey; it is death to follow other voices. This underlying conception forms the spring and motive of all the distinctive activities of Colonial Quakers. They risked everything they had on the truth of this Principle, and they must be judged by the way in which they worked out their experiment in religion. They were champions of causes, which seemed new and dangerous to those who heard them, but behind all their propaganda there was one live central faith from which everything radiated—the faith that God speaks directly to the human spirit, and that religion, to be true and genuine, must be first-hand experience.

That there are stumbling-blocks in the way of the acceptance of this doctrine of the Light Within cannot be denied. For example, how is a Christian to decide to which voice he is listening, the voice of God or the voice of the devil? In ordinary matters of conscience, which are decided by what may be termed social morals, this difficulty does not exist, maybe, but there are crises of life, often unrecognised as such, when a man has to determine for himself what he shall or shall not do, and at

such times is it not difficult to decide whether the inner light be false or true ?

> Nothing, I believe, can really teach us the nature and meaning of inspiration but personal experience of it,

we read in *Quaker Strongholds*.

> That we may all have such experience if we will but attend to the Divine influences in our own hearts, is the candid doctrine of Quakerism.

Which seems to beg the question, for who shall say which influences are divine and which Satanic ? In a later passage the same writer draws a subtle distinction between conscience and the Light Within ; the former she describes as " liable to perversion, to morbid exaggeration, to partial insensibility, to twists and crochets of all sorts," and as therefore not a " supreme and absolute " guide. It is by the Light Within that this fallible conscience must be ruled, that " power in which we live and move and have our being—the power and the presence of God."

Without claiming to set out any authoritative solution of the difficulty, we would urge that the Light Within is in truth an intense and burning desire to fulfil the spirit of the teaching of Christ and to obey His commands in everything and always. Such a faith is and must be a matter of first-hand experience, when faithfully followed

leading the Christian to make every effort to bring about that for which he is taught to pray: "Thy kingdom come, Thy Will be done *on earth,* as it is in heaven." This desire may be, or may not be, inherent in all human hearts, but, if it be so, surely the surroundings of childhood can crush just as they can cultivate and encourage it? Is this voice heard by the sybarite brought up to lust after every selfish indulgence, or by, say, the son of a drunken thief and a gin-sodden mother? We must leave the point in obscurity, and should not, indeed, have alluded to it but that the Light Within guided John Woolman in all his doings.

To other matters of Quaker faith and practice allusion will be made as occasion arises in the course of our story.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW JERSEY QUAKERS

It was not long after the foundation of the Society of Friends by George Fox and his immediate disciples that members of it began to find their way across the Atlantic, but our concern here is only with those who settled in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania. For a full story, lucid and frank, of early Quaker days in America, recourse should be had to a work already cited, *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, by Rufus M. Jones ; [1] other works which should be consulted are James Bowden's *History of the Society of Friends in America*, Robert Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, and that charming volume, *The Story of an Old Farm*, by Andrew D. Mellick, Jun.

New Jersey, stretching south-west from New York, is bounded upon the east by the ocean, upon the west by the broad stream of the Delaware, beyond which lies the State of Pennsylvania, and

[1] Assisted by Isaac Sharples, President of Haverford College, and Amelia M. Gummere, the author of an interesting study in Quaker costume.

on the south by Delaware Bay, the farthest point south being Cape May, round which many a tempest-tossed barque fought its way in those far-off days, and which gladdened the eyes of voyagers who had forsaken an old world of persecution for the promised land of peace and freedom.

New Jersey was at the first, as was New York, a Dutch colony, but in 1664 New Amsterdam became New York, and the country between the Hudson River and the Delaware was designated New Jersey. Again the Dutch reconquered it, but finally, in 1674, it became British, remaining so till the American colonies asserted their independence of the mother-country. It should be mentioned also, that, encouraged by Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedes in 1637 formed a settlement in what is now Pennsylvania. Quakers apparently first entered New Jersey as fugitives from the bitter persecution with which they were treated in the New England States, gradually but slowly settlements forming here and there in the north of the State, later on in the vicinity of Delaware Bay.

In 1672 George Fox journeyed from Newcastle across the Delaware opposite the south-western corner of New Jersey, to Middletown in the north-east, and his account gives some idea of the state of the country some forty years only before John Woolman was born.

I with some others, whose horses were strong, got to the town that night, exceedingly tired and wet to the skin, but George Pattison and Robert Widders, being weaker horsed, were obliged to lie in the woods also that night. It was a Dutch town that we went to, called Newcastle. . . . We departed thence and got over the river Delaware, not without great danger of some of our lives. When we were over we were troubled to procure guides, which were hard to get and very chargeable. Then we had that wilderness country to pass through, since called West Jersey, not then inhabited by English, so that we have travelled a whole day together without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and sometimes in the Indians' wigwams. We came one night to an Indian town and lay at the Chief's house. Both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants, (such as they were) were very respectful to us. They laid us mats to lie on; but provisions were very short with them, having caught but little that day. At another Indian town where we stayed, the Chief came to us, and he could speak some English. I spoke to him much, and also to his people; and they were very loving to us. At length we came to Middletown, an English plantation in East Jersey; and there were some Friends; but we could not stay to have a meeting at that time, being earnestly pressed in our spirits to get to the half-year's meeting of Friends at Oyster Bay, in Long Island, which was near at hand. We went with a Friend, Richard Hartshorn, brother to Hugh Hartshorn, the upholsterer in London, who received us gladly to his house, where we refreshed ourselves, and then he carried us and our horses in his own boat over a great water, which held us most part of the day in getting over, and set us upon Long Island.

The return journey in June was equally strenuous.

Leaving the same Friend's house, at Middletown—

Next day we rode about thirty miles into that country (Jersey), through the woods, and over very bad bogs; one worse than all the rest, the descent into which was so steep that we were fain to slide down with our horses, and then let them lie and breathe themselves before they could go on. This place the people of the country called Purgatory. We got at length to Shrewsbury in East Jersey, and on the First day had a precious meeting there, to which Friends and other people came far; and the blessed presence of the Lord was with us. The same evening we had a men's and women's meeting out of most parts of New Jersey. They are building a meeting-place in the midst of them, and there is a monthly and general meeting set up. . . . Afterwards we went to Middletown Harbour, about five miles, in order to take our long journey next morning through the woods toward Maryland, having hired Indians for our guides. I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of Delaware Bay, that we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. The ninth of the Seventh month we set forward, passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs.

In 1664, what is now known as New Jersey was granted to the Duke of York, who quickly transferred his property to others. It is no part of our task to trace in detail the history of the colony; the main points for our purpose are that in 1674 John Fenwick, a Buckinghamshire yeoman, and Edward Byllynge, a London merchant, both Quakers, purchased the territory of West Jersey

for the price of one thousand pounds; that later on the property came into the hands of three other Quakers, of whom one was William Penn, and that the "Concessions" under which the land was to be governed were tolerant and free. In 1681 East Jersey also came into the hands of Penn and eleven other members of the Society of Friends.

Quaker emigration to West Jersey began with the sailing from London in 1675 of the *Griffin*, and the landing of its passengers at a place afterwards called Salem, near the mouth of the Delaware. Salem cannot have been an altogether desirable place of residence, having in the neighbourhood great swamps, which emitted a "disagreeable stench. . . . The vapours of the putrid water are carried to those inhabitants which live next to the marshes; and enter the body along with the air, and through the pores, and thus are hurtful to health." In the fall of the year fever was rife. Other emigrants followed in due course; Burlington, much farther up the river, was founded, chiefly by Friends from London and Yorkshire, the land being bought by degrees from the native owners, the price being paid in assorted goods such as jews'-harps, brass buttons, kettles, guns, petticoats, knives, tobacco, tongs, looking-glasses and so forth. The first Governor of New Jersey was Robert Barclay of Ury, from whose *Apology* we have quoted.

It was a rough country to which these Quaker Pilgrims came, but they fled from a land of persecution and of religious intolerance to breathe the pure air of religious freedom. Gradually the richer portions of the land were brought into cultivation, villages and towns sprang up, and the Quakers ruled in the land, or at any rate in the western and southern portions of it.

It was therefore in a thriving, busy country that John Woolman spent his youth, in an atmosphere almost purely Quaker.

As time went on Woolman found that the enlarging circle of his friends interfered with his study of the Scriptures, and he yielded to "youthful vanities and diversions." A serious illness brought in its train a very abasement of repentance and horror, and so deep was his affliction for a time that he was filled with confusion:

> At length that word which is as a fire and a hammer broke and dissolved my rebellious heart; and 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.

He tells us that with the return of health came renewed failure and further association with wanton companions. But on his own statement he did not commit anything scandalous, but

merely entertained himself with harmless jollity and mirth.

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 covereth 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.

That these alternations of remorse and of "backsliding" caused the boy acute suffering cannot for a moment be questioned, and they lasted until he reached the age of eighteen.

"At length," he writes, "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 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 led 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.

Steady attendance at Meetings and constant reading of the Bible proved very present helpers in the time of his trouble, and gradually he settled down to confident and complete trust in the Quaker faith and unremitting endeavour to learn "to exercise true justice and goodness, not only toward all men, but also toward the brute creatures." In tenderness to animals, as in many other matters, the Quakers were far ahead of their contemporaries, many of whom scarcely accounted them to be Christians. Woolman also says of himself, and truly, as his manner of life proved, "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," and a little further on uses a memorable phrase: "Some glances of real

beauty may be seen in their faces who dwell in true meekness."

The Journal is written throughout without any attempt at literary art or grace, with the natural result that, being a true record of human emotions and entirely successful in conveying the meaning of the writer, it is a work of supreme literary merit. The style is never pedantic, but simple, natural, expressive, on occasion in its vividness reminding us of the Defoe of *Robinson Crusoe* and *The Journal of the Plague.*

The constant reading of the Scriptures, the frequent retreat " into private places," the teaching of the Quaker faith in the Light Within, and attendance at Meetings, must have stimulated to a high degree of intensity the mysticism which was inborn in his character. In the lives of most pious Quakers is found a very strong leaven of mysticism, though not of that character which destroys the will-power and tempts to a withdrawal from the ordinary interests of the work-a-day world.

Mysticism, unfortunately, as is the case with so many other English words, has come to be used loosely, its technical and its popular meaning being far different. In the sense in which we here apply it to John Woolman, it may be taken to be a feeling of close and intimate, almost familiar communion with God, and, also, that this and the

other world are in close and daily touch. It was not merely that Woolman felt that he could go to God, but also that God would, and did, uncalled upon, come to him, guiding him in all his actions and in his every word and thought and desire. So that this world came to be one with the world to come, with death as a door between, a passing from one room of life to another.

CHAPTER IV

MANHOOD

So, amid quiet surroundings, though not without much spiritual strife, John Woolman grew to be a man, and took his place in the work-a-day world. He lived with his parents, worked upon the plantation, and received the schooling which was given to the sons of Quakers who were not too well endowed with wealth, improving himself in his evening and other leisure hours. The school-house maybe built of logs, the floor rough, perhaps simply mother earth, the roof of bark or shingles; the benches rude enough. The practice of whipping was held in high repute and carried to excessive severity, even among the Gentle Quakers—quakers, in good sooth, the small folk must have been. In his twenty-first year he began to earn his living, working as shopman and book-keeper with a baker at Mount Holly, about five miles from his home, living at the shop. Here his old acquaintances visited him, but he preferred to spend his evenings alone, so

that after a while these young folk left him to himself. His feeling toward them was not in any way one of superiority, but of love, tenderness and sympathy for those who were not as happy as himself. He attended Meeting regularly. It will be well here to say somewhat of the organisation of the Society of Friends and of their mode of worship and their ministry.

The Quaker organisation, as is the case with every institution which has lived, grew rather than was created. Naturally those who belonged to the faith would meet together upon Sunday, or, as the Friends prefer to call it, First Day, for worship, so forming a congregation, or Meeting. Gradually it came about that these Meetings, in convenient number, grouped themselves into Monthly Meetings, these in turn into Quarterly Meetings, and these in turn into a Yearly Meeting, the chief authority in matters of doctrine, practice and discipline. From time to time it will be necessary to refer to the duties and powers of these several groups, but here it will best serve our purpose to see something of the manner in which the Quakers worship God, their practice differing very greatly from that of other Christian Churches, and approaching, as they maintain, far more closely to the practices of the primitive Church and to the commands and institutions of their Founder.

All members of the Society, men and women alike, are held to be equal, both in matters of rule and in matters of worship. Ministers, elders and overseers are chosen simply for their spiritual qualifications, and often from among the humblest and poorest. Each Meeting regulates its own particular affairs, subject not so much to discipline as to guidance by and advice from the authority above, and so on, up to the Yearly Meeting. Questions of all kinds are settled not by voting, but by simply taking the "sense of the meeting," which the brotherly love which should be practised by all Christians renders practicable. This procedure has been found to work admirably, and, surely, possesses advantages over the methods which in other Churches have so often led to conflict and schism.

There is not any distinction between laity and clergy, as in other Christian bodies, Quaker ministers not being ordained by human agency, or permitted to take up the ministry as a calling. They are simply those members of the Society, men and women, who are recognised by their brethren as having been endowed by God with the gift of ministration, of speaking the word put into their mouths by their Master. They do not possess any power or authority, they simply render service, and are free, even expected, to continue in their

ordinary avocations and businesses. A passage from *Quaker Strongholds* will help us here :

We do not regard those who have the gift of ministry as infallible, or even as necessarily closer to God than many of the silent worshippers who form the great majority in every congregation. We feel that the gift is from above, and that on all of us lies the responsibility of being open to it, willing to receive it, should it be bestowed, and to use it faithfully while entrusted with it. But we fully recognise that to do this perfectly requires a continual submission of the will, and an increasing watchfulness. We know that to " keep close to the gift " is not an easy thing.

Barclay argues that as by the Light of God

all this knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed ; so by the same, as it is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, every true minister of the Gospel is ordained, prepared, and supplied in the work of the ministry ; and by the leading, moving and drawing hereof, ought every evangelist and Christian pastor to be led and ordered in his labour and work of the Gospel, both as to the place where, as to the persons to whom, and as to the times when he is to minister. Moreover, those who have this authority may and ought to preach the gospel, though without human commission or literature ; as, on the other hand, those who want the authority of this divine gift, however learned or authorized by the commissions of men and churches, are to be esteemed but as deceivers, and not *true ministers of the gospel.* Also, those who have received this holy and unspotted gift, *as they have freely received, so are they freely to give*, without hire or bargaining, far less to use it as a trade to get money by it : yet if God hath called any from their employments, or trades, by which they acquire their livelihoods, it may be

lawful for such (according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord) to receive such temporals (to wit, what may be needful to them for meat and clothing) as are freely given them by those to whom they have communicated spirituals.

In short, the ministry must not be a business.

The ministry being such, and practically all forms and ceremonies being abolished, a Quaker Meeting differs widely from worship as practised in other Churches. Again no better can be done than to quote Barclay, who says :

All true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the *inward* and *immediate* moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, nor persons. For though we be to worship him always, in that we are to fear before him ; yet as to the outward signification thereof in prayers, praises, or preachings, we ought not to do it where and when we will, but where and when we are moved thereunto by the secret inspiration of his Spirit in our hearts, which God heareth and accepteth of, and is never wanting to move us thereunto, when need is, of which he himself is the alone proper judge.

Following upon this reasoning came the practice of silent worship, a service—if so it can be called—without prearrangement, and silent unless the Spirit moved one or more to speak. Often there was speech, often there was not.

Silence is the basis of their worship—silence not merely of words, but that stilling of the whole being before the infinite majesty of the Divine, which sets man in his true

place, and tunes his pulses to spiritual keys. Out of such a silence there may come words of prayer, of praise, of aspiration, or it may be of confession or warning: they may come from those recognised as Ministers, but just as truly may they fall from other lips: any one may be called to vocal service.[1]

In *Some Fruits of Solitude,* William Penn says:

Serving God, People generally confine to the Acts of Publick and Private Worship: and those, the more zealous do oftener repeat, in hopes of Acceptance.

And in another place:

This World is a Form; our Bodies are Forms; and no visible Acts of Devotion can be without Forms. But yet the less Form in Religion the better, since God is a Spirit: For the more mental our Worship, the more adequate to the Nature of God; the more silent, the more suitable to the Language of a Spirit.

Before returning to John Woolman, it will be helpful to visit some Quaker Meetings in varied company.

Brissot de Warville thus describes a Quakers' Meeting in old America:

The most profound silence reigned for near an hour; when one of their ministers, or elders, who sat on the front bench, rose, pronounced four words—then was silent for a minute, then spoke four words more; and his whole discourse was pronounced in this manner. This method is generally followed by their preachers; for, another who spoke after him, observed the same intervals. . . . The

[1] *For Fellowship and Freedom,* by Joan Mary Fry.

prayer which terminated this meeting was fervent; it was pronounced by a minister who fell on his knees. The men took off their hats, and each retired, after having shaken hands with his neighbour.

Catherine Phillips, who came from England in 1753 on a visit to Friends in America, writes, regarding the matter of silent worship, of a meeting in Piney Woods:

There is a number of valuable friends in this county, who were under suffering from the prevalence of a spirit of carnal ease, and also from the ministry of some who will not be restrained by wholesome counsel; wherewith a number are amused rather than profitably fed; and instead of being solidly settled in a silent exercise of spirit, they are in a continued expectation of words, and remain in sorrowful ignorance of the operation of the Truth in themselves.

De Chastellux in 1780 attended a meeting at Philadelphia, and has left us a curious and not very sympathetic account:

The hall the Quakers meet in is square; there are, on every side, and parallel with the walls, benches and desks, by which means they are placed opposite to each other, without either altar or pulpit to attract attention. As soon as they are assembled, one of the more elderly makes an extempore prayer, of whatever comes uppermost in his mind; silence is then observed until some man or woman feels inspired and rises to speak. . . . I arrived at the moment a woman was done holding forth; she was followed by a man who talked a great deal of nonsense about internal grace, the illumination of the spirit, and the other dogmas of his sect, which he bandied

about, but took special care not to explain them, and at length finished his discourse to the great content of the brethren, and the sisterhood, who had all of them a very inattentive and listless air. After seven or eight minutes' silence, an old man went on his knees, dealt us all out a very unmeaning prayer, and dismissed the audience.

Lastly, from Charles Lamb:

The Abbey Church of Westminster hath nothing so solemn, so spirit-soothing, as the naked walls and benches of a Quakers' Meeting. Here are no tombs, no inscriptions—

> . . . Sands, ignoble things,
> Dropt from the ruined sides of Kings—

but here is something which throws Antiquity herself into the foreground—*Silence*—eldest of things—language of old Night—primitive discourser—to which the insolent decays of mouldering grandeur have but arrived by a violent, and, as we may say, unnatural progression. . . . I have seen faces in their assemblies upon which the dove sate visibly brooding. Others, again, I have watched, when my thoughts should have been better engaged, in which I could possibly detect nothing but a blank inanity. But quiet was in all, and the disposition to unanimity, and the absence of fierce controversial workings. If the spiritual pretensions of the Quakers have abated, at least they make few pretences. Hypocrites they certainly are not in their preachings. It is seldom, indeed, that you shall see one get up amongst them to hold forth. . . . More frequently the Meeting is broken up without a word having been spoken. But the mind has been fed. You go away with a sermon not made with hands. . . . You have bathed with stillness.—O, when the spirit is sore fretted, even tired to sickness of the janglings and nonsense-noises of the world, what a balm

and solace it is to go and rest yourself for a quiet half-hour upon some undisputed corner of a bench among the gentle Quakers. Their garb and stillness conjoined present a uniformity, tranquil and herd-like—as in the pasture—"forty feeding like one."—The very garments of a Quaker seem incapable of receiving a soil; and cleanliness in them something more than the absence of its contrary. Every Quakeress is a lily; and when they come up in their bands to their Whitsun conferences, whitening the easterly streets of the metropolis, . . . they show like troops of the Shining Ones.

How did these silent Meetings of worshippers affect John Woolman? He tells us:

I went to meetings in an awful frame of mind, and endeavoured 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 anything. 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.

Elsewhere he writes more definitely and deliberately on the subject of Silent Worship, and it will be helpful to quote fully:

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 Expence ariseth in Relation to that which is call'd Divine Worship.

A considerable part of this Expence is applied toward outward Greatness, and many poor People in raising of Tithe, labour in supporting Customs contrary to the Simplicity that there is in Christ, toward whom 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 immedi-

ately 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 perceiv'd how little some of them knew 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 Expence which lieth on that which is called Divine Service in many Places, and so much are the Minds of many People employ'd in outward Forms and Ceremonies, that the opening of an inward silent Worship in this Nation to me hath appeared to be a precious Opening.

Within the last four Hundred Years, many pious People have been deeply exercised in Soul on Account of the Superstition which prevailed amongst the professed Followers of Christ, and in support of their Testimony against oppressive Idolatry, some in several Ages 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 have been opened, and the Minds of People, from Age to Age, been more and more 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 been meek and patient, following 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 the 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.

Of the practical nature of his Christianity and at the same time of the purity of his motives and the humbleness of his heart he gives us a graphic example :—

About the time called Christmas I observed many people, both in town and 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.

In worldly matters his affairs progressed satisfactorily; he secured the esteem of his fellows and was respected by his master and his family, who came to reside at Mount Holly about two years after he himself had taken up his residence there.

CHAPTER V

SLAVERY

In 1742 Woolman was appointed Minister at the Mount Holly particular Meeting, and we are told that—

> 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 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,

of which matter more anon. His keen interest in the young was also proved by the fact that—

> 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 were truly great, recommending the Parents and those who have the charge of them, to chuse conscientious and pious Tutors, saying, "It is a lovely sight to behold innocent

Children " and that " to labour for their Help against that which would mar the Beauty of their Minds, is a Debt we owe them."

John Woolman fully paid the debt he owed to all who were in need, in trouble, or in darkness.

Thus early in life his attention was called to the question of slavery, by an incident which brought it practically before him.

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 in 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 goodwill, 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.

In the early part of November 1743, Woolman set out, with his friend, Abraham Farrington, to visit the Quakers resident in the eastern parts of New Jersey, the journey occupying some two weeks. At New Brunswick they held an evening Meeting, unattended by other Friends, of whom there were none resident in the town, the room being full and the people attentive. New Brunswick was then a small, pretty town, situated high on the banks of the Raretan; an old-fashioned place to our eyes, the houses mostly of brick and wood, roofed with shingles, and with stoops before them, where in the cool of the day the good folk would gather for chat and gossip. There was a ferry here, and hence set out small yachts, which plied to New York, a journey of about forty miles. It is on the oldest highway in New Jersey, a road first trodden by the aboriginal inhabitants of the land long years before the white man came; an Indian pathway through vast and dark forests between the Delaware and the sea. The colonists followed the same track, which gradually grew to the dignity of what then passed for a road; the undergrowth was cut away; clearings made here and there, and primitive log bridges built across the streams. In Woolman's time a considerable portion of the country had been reclaimed from the wilderness; there were wide fields of corn, flourishing orchards, snug homesteads

and great barns, for which New Jersey was famous, housing horses and cattle, sheltering grain and threshing-floor.

Eight miles beyond the town the road divides, and Woolman and his companion took the way to the left to Amboy, journeying through a country pretty and charming, hills and valleys well cultivated, a goodly prospect of "houses, farms, gardens, corn-fields, forests, lakes, islands, roads and pastures," as a traveller of those days tells us.

Amboy, or Perth Amboy, was one of the chief centres of the slave-trade, there being barracks there for stowing till scattered to the various markets the newly imported "merchandise." Woolman must have heard tell of the insurrection of the negroes here in 1734, and of the mob who gathered some years later when a "bad nigger" was burned alive for the salvation of his own soul and as an edifying warning to the multitude of his fellows who were compelled to witness his punishment.

Perth Amboy was beautifully situated, commanding a fine panorama of sea and land, "of grove-crowned knolls, meadows of waving grass, bay, rivers and varied beaches." In an early advertisement issued by the proprietors it is said that "Amboy Point is a sweet, wholesome and delightful place," also that "covered with

grass growing luxuriantly, the forest trees as distributed in groups, diversifying the landscape with light and shade, and all nature wearing the fresh aspect of a new creation," in short, a new Garden of Eden, with variations. The town-green was the centre of life in Amboy, a pleasant, open space, rendered unpleasing, however, to evil-doers by reason of the prominence given to stocks, pillory and whipping-post, and also by the court-house and jail, which was the meeting-place of the General Assembly. Of many queer enactments issued by the members of the Assembly one may be quoted—

> That all women of whatever age, rank, profession, or degree, whether virgins, maids or widows, who shall after this act impose upon, seduce, and betray into matrimony any of his Majesty's subjects by virtue of scents, cosmetics, washes, paints, artificial teeth, false hair, or high-heeled shoes, shall incur the penalty of the law now in force against witchcraft and like misdemeanours.

A motley crowd greeted the eyes of John Woolman and his companion as they made their way through the streets of Amboy to their lodging and later to the Court-house, in which they held a Meeting in the evening 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." A motley crowd: Indians, be-feathered and be-painted, stately, solemn, silent as Quakers at a meeting; trappers, lumberers, Irishmen, Dutchmen, Germans, Englishmen; well-to-do cits and thriving farmers, richly dressed and poorly, gay and grave, and many slaves.

At that day it does not seem to have occurred to Christians of any sect that there was anything unchristian in the importation and keeping of negro slaves. If a Christian was enslaved by an Algerian, there was, of course, much to which objection should be taken. Early, however, among the Quakers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania there were individuals whose consciences were uneasy in this matter, and as far back as 1688 the Mennonites, the German Quakers, at Germantown, sent a Memorial to the Yearly Meeting against "the buying and keeping of negroes," and now and again, with little practical result, there were similar stirrings in the succeeding years. In 1712 William Southeby, a Friend, endeavoured to move the legislature in Pennsylvania to abolish slavery, with the only result of the imposition of a heavy tax upon imported slaves, which the Queen in her wisdom repealed.

As already mentioned, Perth Amboy was the

chief port of unlading for "fresh" negroes, wild from the New Guinea coast. Raw slaves would be bought by the settlers at from £40 to £100 for a grown male or female, a much smaller sum being given for a child. Among the chattels of a settler who died in 1764 were: "One negro named Ham, valued at £70; one negro named Isaac, valued at £30; one negro named Sam, valued at £70; one negro girl named Betty, valued at £10; one negro named Jane, valued at £60; one negro wench named Sawr, valued at £30"—Sawr being a Dutch variant on Sarah.

In order to keep the blacks in due order and submission, laws of iniquitous severity were enacted and abominable punishments inflicted.

In 1726 the population of New Jersey was 32,442, of which the slaves numbered 2581; in 1738, of a total of 47,369 the slaves were 3981; in 1790, of a total of 169,954, the negroes accounted for 11,423.

From Perth Amboy the travellers made their way northward to Woodbridge, Rahway and Plainfield, and then turned homeward.

Woolman tells us that at the Meetings they attended during this journey, "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."

His employer not thriving in his general business, Woolman decided to learn from him that which was his real trade, namely tailoring, so that he might settle himself down to an occupation which would provide him with a plain living, for more than which he had no desire. He was content with the necessary conveniences of life. He tells us :

> 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 to be profitable, but I did not see my way clear to accept 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.

In May 1746 Woolman, accompanied by Isaac Andrews, set out on a journey south to Maryland, Virginia and Carolina. Crossing the Susquehanna, they reached a new settlement called the Red Lands, and Woolman notes :

> 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 sympathise 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.

It is characteristic of Woolman that he gives us very few details of the happenings of this journey. Now and again a hint peeps through which shows us that much might have been told of the hardships and dangers which he had to face in travelling a wild country with equipment little more comprehensive than that with which Jesus Christ commanded the Apostles to go forth. Here is one such hint. After mentioning that they held meetings at various settlements, he continues:

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.

They went on into North Carolina, then back again to Virginia, "labouring amongst the Friends." There is a touch of depression in this:

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 journeyings to and fro, we found some honest-hearted Friends, who appeared to be concerned for the cause of truth among a backsliding people.

They travelled on, visiting various Meetings, by the western shore of Maryland, eventually reaching home on August 16. At the conclusion of his brief account of this long journey he writes:

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 labour 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 labour 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 labour, 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.

CHAPTER VI

WOOLMAN AND THE NEGROES

WOOLMAN did not rest for long at home, for on October 8 he set out to visit the Friends on the coast of New Jersey, accompanied by his neighbour and friend, Peter Andrews, brother of his companion on his recent journey to the south. He tells us little of his travelling, save that "we were out twenty-two days, and rode, by computation, three hundred and forty miles."

During the winter his eldest sister, Elizabeth, died of the smallpox, at the age of thirty-one. Of this sister we have a pleasing account in the Journal:

> She was from her youth of a thoughtful disposition; and very compassionate to her Acquaintance in their sickness or distress, being ready to help 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 off; whose Company, I believe,

would have done them no Good. They expressed their Desire to our Parents; who were dissatisfied with the Proposal, and stopped 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.

In 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; still she retained a

Hope, which was as an Anchor to her: And 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 sevenfold; 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 died the next Evening.

In May 1747 John Woolman and Peter Andrews obtained certificates from their Monthly Meeting, permitting them to visit the Friends in New England, reaching home again in mid September, "having rode about fifteen hundred miles, and sailed about one hundred and fifty."

Another lengthy journey in the succeeding year, 1748, is briefly dismissed by Woolman in a few lines, concluding: "We were abroad about six weeks, and rode, by computation, about five hundred and fifty miles."

In the summer of this year we find Woolman in touch with a very different world from that in which we have hitherto seen him. John Smith, son of Richard Smith of Burlington, was a Quaker of the Penn rather than of the Woolman pattern.

He was brought up to a business life, and practised as a merchant in Philadelphia, his affairs going well. He married Hannah, daughter of James Logan, a very prominent member of the Government in Pennsylvania and a man of considerable scientific acquirements. Of his courtship John Smith has left a singularly charming account in his Journal.[1] In this we are given a most agreeable picture of the life of the cultured and well-to-do Friends of Philadelphia, and we may note that among the books he read were Pope's *Poems*, Addison's *Essays*, Steele's plays, and the novels of Henry Fielding. His wife died in 1762, and he then retired to Burlington, where he died at the early age of forty-nine.

In May 1748, we find from his diary that he entertained at his house in Burlington John Woolman, Abraham Farrington, P. Fearn and Samuel Galloway, and that "the three former lodged at my house, being come down to take their leaves of the friends who are to leave us." The rest, alas, is silence, and it is not for the writer of biography to indulge in the pleasant recreation of conjecture.

Burlington was situated on the eastern bank of the Delaware, upon a fine turnpike road, about twenty miles distant from Philadelphia. A small

[1] *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, edited by Albert Cook Myers.

town, or big village, of about 170 houses, chiefly built of stone and set well apart; described by Governor Belcher in 1747 thus:

This is a fine Climate and a Country of great Plenty, tho' but of little profit to a Governour. The inhabitants are generally rustick and without education.

This self-same Governor, however, was apparently comfortably housed, for he writes:

. . . have taken a house standing on the Banks of the Beautiful River Delaware and from my window I have a pleasant view up and down the River for 10 miles. I have a handsome Garden of near an acre inclosed with a Brick Wall, a good Orchard of 6 Acres, and 60 Acres of Pasturing and mow^{g} Land and these things may give me many necessaries of Life for my Family, as well as support my horses, Cows, sheep and Poultry, and when I am tired at my Library this little Farm may be an Innocent Amusement as well as an Advantage to my Health.

This reminds one of the description given by John Smith in his diary of an agreeable day:

The first appearance of greenness in the meadows, with the Singing of Blackbirds, the chirping of Bluebirds, with the Voice of the Turtle, a little Moderate Exercise, and a useful Book by turns all helped to make this an Agreeable day.

Of the comfortable home life of the farmers around the little town in 1788 we gain a peep in Brissot de Warville:

Never was I so much edified as in this house; it is the asylum of union, friendship and hospitality. The beds were neat, the linen white, the covering elegant; the

cabinets, desks, chairs and tables, were of black walnut, well polished, and shining. The garden furnished vegetables of all kinds, and fruits. There were ten horses in the stable; the Indian corn of the last year, still on the cob, lay in large quantities in a cabin, of which the narrow planks, placed at small distances from each other, leave openings for the circulation of the air. The barn was full of wheat, oats, etc.; their cows furnish delicious milk for the family, of which they make excellent cheeses; their sheep give them the wool of which the cloth is made which covers the father and the children. The cloth is spun in the house, wove and fulled in the neighbourhood. All the linen is made in the house.

On December 4, 1739, John Smith records a Monthly Meeting at Burlington, and continues:

. . . that Night, through the Carelessness (as was Supposed) of Ann White (that us'd to mind It) the fire In the Upper Chamber of the little Meeting House kindled, and (as it was Supposed) Some of it fell off the hearth on the floor and so set It afire; But it Was not Discovered till about 11 o'clock the next Day, when (thro' Mercy) by the help of the Engine and Many People Most Part of the Roof of the Great house was saved and the Lower floor and the timbers of the Upper In the little one, were also Saved, but the Roof of the little House and the S.W. Side of the Roof, and the Lanthorn of the Great House were All Burnt. As the Engine was playing In the Great House, some timbers of the terret fell and hurt Several people.

In John Smith's Journal we find, under date November 8, 1746, this entry:

Had part of the Evening the Comp^{y} of B. Lay, the Comi-Cynic Philosopher,

who was a companion in arms of John Woolman in the warfare against slavery. This Benjamin Lay was a quaintly pathetic figure, the exterior of a Punchinello cloaking an intensity of enthusiasm and of religious fervour. He was born at Colchester, England, in the year 1677, and was by birthright a member of the Society of Friends. Eccentricity of conduct brought him into disfavour, and in 1718 he emigrated to Barbadoes, where first his interest in the question of slavery was aroused. His violent outspokenness upon the subject naturally provoked the enmity of the planters, and, hoping to find a better state of affairs in Philadelphia, he proceeded thither in 1731, at once embarking upon an anti-slavery crusade, which he pursued with vigour and extravagance. He was wont to visit Meetings for the purpose of protesting against the abomination, and his outspoken denunciations were not always kindly received. It is related of a visit of his to the Market Street Meeting that a prominent Friend requested his removal, which was promptly effected by a brawny blacksmith, with the result that Lay fell into the gutter. There, when the Meeting closed, he was still sprawling, exclaiming, "Let those who cast me here raise me up. It is their business, not mine."

His appearance was as unusual as his conduct.

Robert Vaux, one of his biographers, thus describes him :

> He was only four feet seven inches in height ; his head was large in proportion to his body ; the features of his face were remarkable, and boldly delineated, and his countenance was grave and benignant. He was hunch-backed, with a projecting chest, below which his body became much contracted. His legs were so slender as to appear almost unequal to the purpose of supporting him, diminutive as his frame was, in comparison with the ordinary size of human stature. A habit he had contracted of standing in a twisted position with one hand resting on his left hip, added to the effect produced by a large white beard, that for many years had not been shaved, contributed to render his figure perfectly unique. It is singular that his wife very much resembled him in size, having a crooked back like her husband, and the similarity of their appearance even excited the remark of the slaves in Barbadoes, who used to say when they saw them together, " That ittle backararar man, go all over world see for that backararar woman for himself."

He determinedly refused to eat any food or to clothe himself in any garment which was either the product of slave labour or which was made at the cost of animal life. This eccentric being lived six miles out of Philadelphia, on the old York Road, at Abington, his dwelling-place being a small cave, to which he made some little addition, and around which was a small orchard and several chestnut trees. Here he dwelt, living chiefly on fruits, vegetables and milk, clothed in raiment

spun by himself out of tow, and it is recorded that on one occasion he attempted a forty days' fast, with disastrous results.

Strange stories are told of the means wherewith he strove to arouse the sleeping consciences of his fellow Friends. For example, he made his appearance at the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, clad in his long white gown, and when in the midst, cried out, "You slave-holders! Why don't you throw off your Quaker coats, as I do mine, and show yourselves as you are?" Thereupon he threw off his gown, showing himself to the amazed spectators in a military coat and armed with a sword. In one hand he held a great book, with the other he unsheathed his sword, exclaiming, "In the sight of God you are as guilty as if you stabbed your slaves to the heart as I do this book!" Whereupon he did stab a bladder filled with blood-red juice of the poke-weed, sprinkling it over those around.

It is not improbable that John Woolman was a witness of this curious outburst.

Lay died February 3, 1759, aged eighty-two, and was interred in the Friends' Burial Ground at Abington. A fanatic, maybe, but withal on the right side.

Of Woolman's marriage we must let himself tell the story in brief:

About this time, believing it to be 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 18th of the eighth month 1749.

That his married life was happy we have not any reason to doubt. Of his children but one grew to maturity, a daughter, who married one John Comfort. We are told, and can well believe, that Woolman "was a loving husband, a tender father."

From the same source of information we take this:

He was desirous to have his own 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, endeavouring 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 endeavouring to become an Example of Temperance and Self-denial, which he believed himself called unto, and was favoured 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 Labour and Anxiousness 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 Favour, and by no Means abuse them; that the Gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the Uses they were designed for.

It was the Quaker rule that Friend must marry Friend, and the "keeping company" with one of another creed was a matter which it was part of the labour of the Monthly Meeting to put down with severity. It was considered desirable, also, that the contracting parties should obtain the consent of their parents, armed with which they severally announced their intention twice or three times at Meeting. A committee of men and another of women were entrusted with the duty of inquiring into the "clearness from similar engagement" of the parties; the parents' consents were announced by them publicly. The actual ceremony was simplicity itself; supported by their fathers and mothers, the bride and bridegroom took each other as man and wife before the Meeting; there was no joining in the bonds of matrimony by priest or other official; no ring; no music; they took each for better or for worse, in some such words as those used by John Pemberton in 1684:

Friends, you are here to witness, in the presence of God and this Assembly of his people, I take this maid, Margaret Matthews, to be my loving and lawful wife, promising to be

a true and faithful husband unto her till death shall us part.

To which the said Margaret:

Friends, before God, and you his people, I take John Pemberton to be my husband, promising to be a loving and faithful wife until death shall us part.

It is typical of the care extended to even the most private affairs of life by the Meeting that it was seen to that the wedding feast was orderly and simple.

In the autumn of 1750 Woolman's father, aged about sixty years, died of a fever. On his death-bed he referred to a manuscript which his son had written, being "Some Observations on keeping Slaves," prepared by Woolman after his return from Carolina. In the Journal we read:

After my return from Carolina in 1746, I made some observations on keeping slaves, which some time 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."

The day following he was visited by his sister Elizabeth, whose hard task it was to announce to the dying man the death, a few days previously, of their sister Ann. To her he said, "I reckon sister Ann was free to leave this world?" And Elizabeth said she was. He then added, "I also am free to leave it," and, being in great weakness, "I hope I shall shortly go to rest."

Passing over visits in 1751 to the upper part of West Jersey and in 1753 to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, we come to an incident that once again brought home to John Woolman the subject of slavery. He tells 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 the 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.

Other such incidents of a slightly later date fit in well at this point. He tells us :

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 goodwill of their customers ; nor is it a pleasant thing for young men to be under 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 negro'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 sale-masters over others during life.

About this time an ancient man of good esteem in the neighbourhood 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 to me 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 the last mentioned Friend first spoke to me, a neighbour 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 among 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.

The manuscript to which reference has been made was still unpublished, and Woolman now obtained the assistance of several Friends in its revision, the printing of the pamphlet being undertaken by Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. The first part of *Some Considerations on the Keeping*

of Negroes recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every Denomination appeared in 1752, followed ten years later by a second part. A few extracts will show very clearly Woolman's attitude of mind in this matter—and in some others.

To act continually with integrity of heart, above all narrow or selfish motives, is 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.

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 process so closely as they would do if such a thing had not hitherto been, but was now for the first time proposed.

Man is born to labour, and experience abundantly showeth 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 sometimes the effect of a perverted mind.

It is our duty, as Creatures accountable to our Creator, to employ rightly the understanding which He hath given us, in humbly endeavouring to be acquainted with his will concerning us, and with the nature and tendency of those things which we practise: 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.

It appears to me that the slave trade was founded, and hath greatly 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 the countrymen, and the evil disposition of their minds, may be unfit to be set 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 favour; 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 persons purchased, yet the innocent children ought not to be made slaves because their parents sinned.

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.

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.

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 return to his benefactor, is in danger of growing hard, and inattentive to their convenience who labour 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.

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.

CHAPTER VII

PHILADELPHIA

On what date, and upon what occasion John Woolman first visited Philadelphia we know not; but he must early have been acquainted with what may be called the Quaker capital, and must have had many good friends there, among them, doubtless, Anthony Benezet, who was an ardent opponent of slavery, and who may have been the author of the letter to the Society which was issued by the Yearly Meeting of 1754, and which set forth very frankly the impossibility of being both a Christian and a slave-owner: "If we continually bear in mind the royal law of 'doing to others as we would be done by,' we should never think of bereaving our fellow-creatures of that valuable blessing, liberty; we endure to grow rich by their bondage."

De Chastellux narrates an interview in 1780 with the said Benezet—"an old Quaker of the name of Benezet, of diminutive figure and humble and

scanty physiognomy. This Mr. Benezet," he goes on, " may rather be regarded as the model than as a specimen of the sect of Quakers; wholly occupied with the welfare of mankind, his charity and generosity made him held in great consideration. . . ."

Another describes him as " dear, quaint, humorous, straightforward, kind-hearted," and, indeed, he must have been a very human and estimable Friend, ready of wit and of a playful turn. Of his quickness we may quote a characteristic example. One day, in Philadelphia, he met a man who was noted for always being in a hurry, who said in reply to Anthony's salutation, " I am now in haste, and will speak with you when we next see each other." To which came the ready response, " Dost thou think thou wilt ever find time to die ? "

Benezet was born in the year 1713, at St. Quentin in France, being descended from an old and well-to-do family. Holding Protestant opinions, his father lost both property and country, emigrating to London. Anthony, his son, owning and acting upon conscientious objections to trade, was apprenticed to the calling of a cooper. His father and himself joined the Society of Friends in London. In 1731 the family passed over to America, taking up their residence in Philadelphia,

Anthony securing occupation as a teacher and proof-reader in Germantown. In 1742 he was appointed to the mastership of the Friends' school founded by Penn, and in 1755 started a school on his own account. About 1750 he began his life-work, interesting himself in the question of slavery, and showing his practical goodwill by founding a night school for negroes in Philadelphia. He published much, writing chiefly, as became a Quaker, against slavery, war and drink. In 1766 he went to reside at Burlington, but died at Philadelphia in 1784. Disapproving of the fulsome eulogies so often pronounced upon the dead, he suggested for himself the eulogium, "Anthony Benezet was a poor creature, and, through Divine favour, was enabled to know it."

Another man of note with whom Woolman must have come into touch was Samuel Fothergill, who in 1754 came from England on a visit to North America. His own account of his journey is worth giving, if only because it is typical of many such journeys undertaken by English Friends. He writes:

I left Warrington on the 2nd of 8th month 1754; dear wife, with some others, accompanied me to Leek, where we parted on the 3rd, and I came to London, being met at Albans by my sister, on the 5th, and stayed in London until the 9th, when dear John Churchman

and myself, accompanied by many Friends, went down to Gravesend.

1754, 8th Mo., 10th.—Went on board the *Caroline*, Stephen Mesnard, commander; had, with many friends who went on board, a precious opportunity, in the humbling sense of divine regard. We returned to Gravesend to dine; and afterwards parted from our dear friends, and went on board the ship. Fell down the river; we were detained in the Downs and the channel until the 17th, when we lost the sight of land, and pursued our voyage. Had a comfortable passage, in which time we always kept up (though only two) our religious meetings, and the Lord of all mercies was often and mercifully near to our comfort.

9th Mo., 23rd.—We first discovered the Capes of Delaware River, and took in a pilot, being favoured with a good wind, we came 120 miles up the river, and cast anchor above Wilmington.

24th.—Went ashore and hired horses to Wilmington, where we were very kindly received by William and Elizabeth Shipley; immediately after our arrival William Brown and Joshua Dixon came in, who were just landed, though they sailed three weeks before us. Dear John Churchman went home that evening, and William Brown, Joshua Dixon and myself went up that evening to Philadelphia and Schuylkill. I lodged at Israel Pemberton's, where I met a kind reception.

Welcome, in truth, after the long days at sea, must have been the sight of the shores of Delaware Bay, finely wooded with oak, hiccory and firs, which supplied timber for the shipyards of Philadelphia. Restful, too, sailing up the broad river—the luxuriant forests, farmsteads surrounded by golden cornfields, green meadows, pasture-lands

well stocked with kine, and on occasions the air laden with the scent of flowers and of new-mown hay.

Forty days was a quick voyage from Gravesend to Philadelphia ; in winter time three months and more was not unusual.

Of the powerful and persuasive speech of Samuel Fothergill, Friend Emlen gives the following example :

That during a visit which he paid to a few Friends scattered in the back parts of Pennsylvania, they had to endure much hardship, were sometimes obliged to pass the night in the woods, having the sky for their canopy, and using their saddles for pillows. Late one night they arrived at a solitary house in a lonely place ; here they requested lodgings for the night, which were granted. They found that the house and extensive farm around it belonged to an individual, the mistress of many servants employed upon the land : she was of masculine character, and strong powers of mind, but of an unregenerate heart, and under the influence of unsubdued passions, and greatly addicted to profane swearing. S. Fothergill told his companion that from what he had observed, he thought her the most wicked woman he had ever seen. She nevertheless treated them with civility, and even kindness. The situation of the family, with such a character for its head, caused some exercise of mind to S. Fothergill, and in the morning he requested that the household might be collected, and that they might sit down together ; this was complied with, and the whole family was assembled. He addressed them in a remarkable manner, and in particular he was led to lay open the wickedness of the human heart in its unre-

generate state, and the awful consequences of remaining in such a state; his language and expressions were so powerful, that the mistress of the house was greatly affected, her spirit was broken, and she wept much. After this, feeling at liberty, the Friends prepared to depart, they took leave of the family, and desired to pay for their entertainment. She refused to accept anything, but said they were quite welcome to everything they had had; adding that she was unworthy to receive such guests under her roof; and so powerfully had the word preached wrought upon her heart, that she exclaimed, "You are angels, but I am a devil!"

Samuel Fothergill wrote in 1756, after his visit to America:

To begin with Pennsylvania, where I landed. There are a very great body of people who bear our name,[1] and many who deserve to bear it. A noble seed of several classes respecting age, though too few of the aged amongst them, who have kept their garments clean, and whose hands are strong. Their fathers came into the country in its infancy, and bought large tracts of land for a trifle; their sons found large estates come into their possession, and a profession of religion which was partly national, which descended like the patrimony from their fathers, and cost as little. They settled in ease and affluence, and while they made the barren wilderness as a fruitful field, suffered the plantation of God to be as a field uncultivated, and a desert. Thus, decay of discipline and other weakenings prevailed, to the eclipsing of Zion's beauty; yet was there a noble remnant whose love was strong, and who remembered the Lord of the whole earth and his house, whilst they built their own.

[1] Friends.

What manner of city was Philadelphia in those days? Let us see it as John Woolman saw it.

It is indeed essential that we should have some general idea, at least, of the Philadelphia of Woolman's time, its outward appearance and the manner of life led by its good citizens. In 1725 the poet Thomas Makin wrote thus:

> Fair Philadelphia next is rising seen,
> Between two rivers plac'd, two miles between;
> The *Delaware* and *Sculkil*, new to fame,
> Both ancient streams, yet of a modern name.
> The city, form'd upon a beauteous plan,
> Has many houses built, tho' late began;
> Rectangular the streets, direct and fair. . . .

and so on, prose in verse.

The town stood upon the bank of the beautiful Delaware river, here about a mile broad, the stream being frozen over every winter for some weeks; on the other hand, in summer the heat is excessive, the climate varying thus from extreme heat to extreme cold, and thunderstorms, cold winds and rains being not infrequent in the warmer seasons. "The snows," we read in Proud's history, "are frequently very deep in winter, and the frosts so intense that it has not been very uncommon for the large river *Delaware*, even, where it is near a mile broad, to be frozen over in one night, so as to bear people walking upon the ice in the morning; which river sometimes, in the winter season, for

several weeks together, even, opposite to *Philadelphia*, is as much frequented with loaded carriages of all sorts, bringing country produce upon the ice to the city, as any part of *terra firma*."

The New Jersey shore on the opposite side of the river is low-lying, but in the other direction, toward the Schuylkill, the surrounding country was beautiful, as indeed it was all around the city, a country of hills and valleys, streams and fine woods. Approaching the town from the south-west, and crossing the Schuylkill, a way often pursued by John Woolman, the road passed through dense woods, with here and there a settler's house, the traveller now catching a glimpse of the wild deer, now, perchance, of a flock of wild turkeys. The Swedish traveller, Kalm, describes his ride to a country seat some nine miles north-west of the town, which will serve to show what manner of country lay around Philadelphia :

> The country on both sides of the road was covered with a great forest. The trees were all with annual leaves, and I did not see a single fir or pine. Most of the trees were different sorts of oak; but we likewise saw chestnut, walnut, locust and apple trees, with hiccory, blackberry bushes, and the like. The ground ceased to be so even as it was before, and began to look more like the English ground, diversified with hills and vallies. We found neither mountains nor great stones, and the wood was so much thinned, and the ground so uniformly even, that we could see a

great way between the trees, under which we rode without any inconvenience, for there were no bushes to stop us. . . . As we went on in the wood we continually saw, at moderate distances, little fields which had been cleared of the wood. Each of them was a farm. These farms were commonly very pretty, and a walk of trees frequently led from them to the high-road. The houses were all built of brick, or of the stone which is here commonly met with. . . . After a ride of six English miles, we came to Germantown; this town has only one street, but is nearly two English miles long.

In another place he writes that "every countryman, even a common peasant, has commonly an orchard near his house, in which all sorts of fruit, such as peaches, apples, pears, cherries, and others, are in plenty."

What like was the city set against this pleasant background?

Fenced around by dark woods and forests stood the little town, from any part of which a short walk took the citizens out into the country; a town of broad, roomy streets, with euphonious names which breathed of sweet-scented trees, such as Mulberry Street, Chestnut, Walnut, Spruce, Pine, Cedar and so forth. Proud, in his history of Pennsylvania, tells us:

The original plan of this city, as confirmed by charter, dated October 25th, 1701, extends, in length, between the river *Delaware*, on the east, and *Sculkil*, on the west of it, about two miles; and is, in breadth, one mile nearly,

on each river. The streets which run right, and exactly parallel to each other, nearly east and west, from river to river, are nine in number, and they are intersected, at right angles, by twenty-three others, running nearly parallel with the rivers, north and south; none being less than fifty, nor more than a hundred feet broad.

Streets regular, indeed, and fine withal, the majority fifty feet wide, and Market Street near a hundred; bordered with footways of brick and sometimes of flag-stones, with gutters of brick or wood, with stout posts to prevent vehicles, for the most part handsome waggons, encroaching on the pathway; not always over cleanly, for in 1750 the Grand Jury speak of "the extreme dirtiness and miry state" of the streets; fairly well lighted at night. On October 21, 1749, John Smith mentions attending at "the Tavern where the Owners of Lamps were met to consult on methods for the better Lighting them. We signed an agreement with a man each of us to pay him 3/9£ per month for Lighting them every night for a month."

The houses were for the most part built of brick, one or two stories high, covered with neat shingles of cedar; with garrets and cellars "in the interior part of the town." A stoop before almost every house, and a bench beside the doorway, whereon the good folk sat in the heat of the day or at eventide, to survey man and womankind. The worthy

citizens of those days dwelt, as did those of old-time London, at their places of business.

Among the more prominent buildings were the State House, with its tall spire, where sat the General Assembly and the Supreme Court, the prison, the workhouse, Christ Church, belonging to the Episcopalians, and the Meeting-Houses of the Friends, of which more in their proper place. It is claimed that the first hospital, the first medical school, and the first dispensary in America were set up in Philadelphia.

George Fox left by will a piece of ground near the town "for a playground for the children of the town to play on and for a garden to plant with physical plants, for lads and lassies to know simples, and learn to make oils and ointments." Nowadays they buy patent medicines.

It was a gay, bright, bustling, busy place. Let us take a walk through its streets and an occasional glance into its houses. Not a big town, though, to our modern eyes, Franklin in 1766 estimating the population at 160,000 whites, of whom one-third would be Quakers and another third Germans. It was a smaller place when Woolman was a young fellow, far smaller—indeed no more than a fairish country town. The streets will present many a novel scene to our modern eyes. Then the centre of the town, at any rate from a business, both

wholesale and retail, point of view, was Water Street, skirting the bank of the river. As we turn up one of the side streets, may be Chestnut Street, we shall not unlikely have to stand aside for a gang of negroes newly landed from the Guinea Coast. Did John Woolman ever pause, sick at heart, at, say, the London Coffee House, before which, at the corner of Front and Walnut Streets, crowds would gather to watch the slave sale? The arrival of a new cargo has been advertised; the auctioneer mounts an improvised rostrum, and the "goods" also are set above the crowd, so that their points may be seen. Men, women, children of all ages and both sexes, are bid for, their limbs, muscles, teeth, carefully and expertly examined by the bidders. Kalm gives us the market rates: "The price of negroes differs according to their age, health, and abilities. A full-grown negro costs from forty pounds and upwards to a hundred. A negro boy or girl of two or three years old can hardly be got for less than eight or fourteen pounds."

Perhaps we shall meet a hunter from up-country, with his train of horses laden with skins, or we may pause to watch some unhappy wight expiating his offence in the pillory, or tied to the tail of a cart and shuddering beneath the merciless whip of the constable which falls upon his bared back.

It was a picturesque period, but not a pleasant one, at any rate for the evil-doer. Perchance it is the weekly market-day, or, if May or November, the gay doings of the fair will be keeping the city in a merry uproar. At night, by ten of the clock at latest, the streets will be quiet enough, the last fashionable coach will have rumbled home, the last sedan-chair have rocked by, and the silence will be broken only by the call of the watchmen.

Franklin, in his *Autobiography*, tells us that a constable of Philadelphia was a very fine personage, and that his office was one of considerable emolument. Into their hands was entrusted the charge of the city watch, it being the duty of the constable of each ward to summon a sufficient number of trustworthy cits to aid him in keeping the peace by night. Not an altogether welcome task, but one which could be escaped by paying the sum of six shillings for the hire of a substitute.

Of the " sights," let us take a look at the house of William Penn in Second Street: a building as stout as the man himself, the main portion set back from the street and surrounding an open court, with a fine garden at the back. Or we may pause at Christ Church, whose spire was built out of the profits of a lottery; or at the red-brick State House.

A quotation from that quite delightful book,

The Story of an Old Farm, will help us to realise the aspect of the throng that crowded the footways :

It seemed very singular to meet so many long-drawn Quakers, moving at measured pace, with solemn visage, clad in lengthy, shad-breasted drab coats adorned with horn buttons, their flapping waist-coats extending far down over the small-clothes that covered their sober strides. The long straight hair of these peripatetic monuments of sedateness was covered by broad-brimmed felt hats, looped at the side with strings. These Quakers offered an excellent foil to the brilliantly arrayed young gallants, who tripped jauntily by, under gold-laced cocked hats, with their gaily embroidered coats cut low at the neck behind, that the great silver buckles fastening their plaited stocks might be displayed. In that picturesque period it was the fashion for young gentlemen to wear short, straight steel rapiers, often with jewelled hilts, which gave them quite a martial appearance, though not altogether in keeping with their clocked silk stockings, paste-buckled shoes and ruffled wrists and throats. Gay apparel was not confined by any means to the younger men. Old gentlemen . . . were frequently resplendent in plush breeches, vests of various hues, and skirts stiffened with buckram till they stood out at an angle. Often double rows of solid silver buttons extended down their coats, and it was not uncommon to see suits decorated with conch-shells set in silver. A brilliant sight they presented in all the glint of polished metal, as they stamped along, shaking their powdered wigs, striking the pavement with their long silver-headed canes, stopping occasionally to greet some old friend and extend a pinch of snuff, not so much because of generous proclivities, as the desire to display their chased silver and gold snuff-boxes, which were generally carried in the hand. The kaleidoscopic changes of colours to be noted among the people

thronging the streets . . . were not all to be attributed to the well-to-do of the populace : body-servants contributed their full share to the brilliant hues of the colonial costumes, and as they minced over the pavements at a respectful distance behind their masters and mistresses, often presented a gorgeous appearance.

Many members of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia yielded to the lust for finery which distinguished that time, and even those who remained fairly faithful succumbed to the charms of gold-headed canes, gold snuff-boxes, silver buttons and sumptuous buckles. In fact, Philadelphia was a very gay, sprightly place, and not a little worldly.

It is sad to learn that gout was a common complaint! Which may be accounted for by the heady though excellent liquors drunk at home and at the numerous taverns. Cheap lodgings could be obtained by those who preferred them in private houses. Kalm, writing in 1748, says :

I took up my lodging with a grocer who was a Quaker ; and I met with very good honest people in this house, such as most people of this profession appeared to me. I . . . and the companion of my voyage had a room, candles, beds, attendance and three meals a day, if we chose to have so many, for twenty shillings per week in Pennsylvanian currency. But wood, washing and wine, if required, were to be paid for besides.

Those who cared for more robust entertainment would naturally put up at a tavern. Curiously

enough, in this respectable town, at first tavern licences were only granted to widows, and to old decrepit men of blameless life. Private, and quite unlicensed drinking-shops, however, soon became a bane, and in 1744 the constable reported no less than a hundred such, which, together with the other sellers of liquor, made up no less than a tenth part of the houses in the city; surely a drawing of the long bow? The Crooked Billet Inn, near Chestnut Street, was the first house in Philadelphia entered by Mr. Benjamin Franklin, who, nevertheless, was a water drinker; the front of this inn was upon Water Street, with view over the broad Delaware; a low, one-story, rambling house, where, as at other "houses" there were suppers with a plenty of hard drinking. As to what in the way of strong liquors could be obtained at these taverns, Robert Proud tells us that "Cyder is the common drink of this country, and very plentiful and easy to be procured, yet it is not made by the inhabitants to such perfection as it is capable of. Besides, *Lisbon* and *Madeira* wines, among the higher rank, and *West India* rum and spirits are much drunk, in mixture, by the people in general. And sometimes a kind of weak beverage is used, made of a mixture of molasses, etc., which is called molasses beer."

At the corner of Second and Arch Street stood

the George Inn, from which started the New York stages. The Blue Anchor, corner of Second and Dock Street, was another well-known house of call, as old as the town itself, said to be the first house in Philadelphia entered by William Penn.

Turning again to *The Story of an Old Farm*:

As (they) walked along the street the bordering, detached houses had a kindly, domestic presence, due to their comely little porches with pent-house roofs shading wooden seats, seemingly extending to the passer-by a hospitable invitation to tarry. This air of hospitality was further enhanced by the attractive balconies that faced even the smaller dwellings, on which their occupants were wont to gather to enjoy the air at the cool of day. Occasional glimpses of quaint interiors were obtained, through open windows that swung on hinges inward with small panes of glass set in their leaden-framed lattices. In some of the finer houses the best rooms were wainscotted in oak and red cedar, but in most instances the walls were plainly whitewashed. No carpets were to be seen, the floors being covered with silver sand, drawn into fanciful figures by a skilful use of the sweeping brush, in which the housekeepers took much pride. Lofty chests of drawers, with round black balls for legs, extended nearly to the ceiling, and all the family china was to be seen through the diamond lights of odd little corner cupboards. On the massive Dutch dresser were displayed highly polished porringers and plates of pewter, the dinner plates of that day being nearly altogether of that metal, though the use of wooden trenchers was not entirely out of date. Sometimes, through farther doors opening into the kitchen . . . before cavernous fireplaces, often girt with ancient Dutch tiles, were set baking ovens, whose spits were turned by little bow-legged dogs trained

to run in a hollow cylinder, like a squirrel, by which means was the roasting meat kept revolving. "Mine host" Clark, of the State House Inn, advertises about this time in Andrew Bradford's weekly *Mercury*, and in Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* that he has for sale several dogs and wheels, much preferable to any jacks for roasting any joints of meat.

There were notable housekeepers in those days, and it was a woman's point of honour that her establishment should be well-regulated and her hospitality both lavish and of good quality. The Marquis de Chastellux describes a Philadelphian dinner of a somewhat later date as served "in the American, or if you will, in the English fashion; consisting of two courses, one comprehending the entrées, the roast meat, and the warm side dishes; the other the sweet pastry and confectionary. When this is removed, the cloth is taken off, and apples, nuts and chestnuts are served; it is then that healths are drank; the coffee which comes afterwards serves as a signal to rise from table."

The hour of dinner was from four to five. Morning calls were fashionable, also afternoon visits and *tea*.

Accomplished housekeepers were addicted to the making of wine, from white and red currants, from strawberries, which sounds rather too luscious, blackberries, cherries and raspberries. It may not be without interest to give the recipe for

blackberry wine: "The juice of the blackberries is pressed out and put into a vessel, with half a gallon of this juice, an equal quantity of water is well mixed. Three pounds of brown sugar are added to this mixture, which must then stand for a while, and after that it is fit for use."

Yes, Philadelphia was quite a gay place to live in, plenty of good company, and plenty of good cheer, with society cultured and refined. Of this bright life the Rev. Dr. Andrew Burnaby, Archdeacon of Leicester and Vicar of Greenwich, who visited Philadelphia in 1759, was a partaker, and writes:

> Amusements are dancing in the winter, and in the summer, forming parties of pleasure upon the Schuylkill and in the country. There is a society of sixteen ladies and as many gentlemen, called the fishing company, who meet once a fortnight upon the Schuylkill. They have a very pleasant room erected in a romantic situation upon the banks of that river, where they generally dine and drink tea.

Philadelphia throve commercially as well as socially, and the Friends were shrewd and successful merchants and traders. In 1731 we have a description of the commerce conducted by the town, which shows not only its thriving but its varied character. Wheat, flour, biscuits, beef, bacon, butter, cider, apples, tanned leather, candles, beer, skins, lumber, are amongst the

exports; 2000 tons of shipping were built for sale each year, and 6000 for the use of the port; the trade was with England, Portugal, Spain, Holland, Curaçoa, Surinam, Hispaniola, the Azores and elsewhere.

In that delightful land which is washed with the Delaware's waters,
Guarding in sylvan shades the name of Penn, the apostle,
Stands on the banks of its beautiful stream the city he founded,

sings Longfellow, with poetic licence, for it stands upon one bank only.

CHAPTER VIII

OTHER FRIENDS

JOHN WOOLMAN possessed many friends in Philadelphia, with some of whom it will be pleasant for us to make acquaintance.

Between John Woolman and Rebecca Jones, whose brother lived at Mount Holly, there was an affectionate friendship, and sometimes of a summer she would be a visitor at his house, and they often met in Philadelphia. He would set copies for her scholars; from those which survive the following are selected:

Happy hours are quickly followed by amazing vexations.

Just be thy thought and every word sincere,
And know no wish but what the world may hear.

Censure none rashly; Nature's apt to halt;
Look inward; he's unborn that has no fault.

On the night following the Select Quarterly Meeting in February of the year 1762, or thereabouts, there was a heavy fall of snow, which the wind piled up in drifts against the doors of the

houses in Drinker's Alley. Prepared to sweep the snow from her step in the morning, Rebecca opened her door, but—the snow had been cleared away by some kindly hand and a path swept down to Front Street. Then, while the morning meal was being made ready, enter John Woolman, saying that he thought he had earned his breakfast.

It took a great deal to keep a worthy Quaker from Meeting, as is noted in a Philadelphian rhyme, which ran :

> The Quakers will to meeting go,
> And if their streets be full of snow,
> They sweep it with their besom.

Rebecca Jones was a woman of striking character. She was born in Drinker's Alley, Philadelphia, in the year 1739 ; daughter of William and Mary Jones, her father a sailor and therefore often from home, her mother the mistress of a school and an adherent of the Church of England. Rebecca early in her childhood acquired the habit of attending Meeting, not altogether to the pleasure of her mother, who once asking why she did so, received the reply, " I don't know ; but I believe they are a good people, and I like their way ; for there is not so much rising up and sitting down among them as at church." A healthy, sane child, full of good spirits, so gay that Anthony Benezet described her as " romping Beck Jones."

She tells us that her mind was turned "towards this people, not only to go to their Meetings, but I loved even the sight of an honest Friend"; she admired "the beautiful order and becoming deportment in their Meetings." She, like Woolman, counted herself a sinner in her youth: "I loved vanity and folly, and to keep unprofitable company, by which I was led into many evils. . . . Frequently when in bed or alone, my heart was made uneasy for the multitude of my transgressions, so that I often promised to amend; for I greatly feared to die."

She attended Meeting regularly, though with some compunction at going against her mother's wish, and eventually formally joined the Society. But for long her heart was troubled:

> I went alone; I kept silence; I refrained from my natural food, and my sleep departed from me; "I was stricken of God, and afflicted." . . . In an evening Meeting . . . I stood up in great fear and trembling, and expressed a few sentences very brokenly, and returned home with the promised reward of peace, which I had long sought in vain.

In May 1760 she was approved as a minister. When her mother heard this, she said, "Beck, your friends have placed you on a pedestal; take care you don't fall." The warning was not needed; till her death in 1818 she was a fervent and wise worker in good and charitable causes.

Philadelphia was a "Quaker" city, founded, built, peopled and governed by the Society of Friends, a Quaker "preserve." It is not necessary here to recount the happenings which led up to the founding of Pennsylvania in 1681 by William Penn, who himself landed at Newcastle, Delaware, in October 1682, from the ship *Welcome*, after a dreary voyage of over two months' duration. The new province was rapidly settled, as far as concerned its eastern parts, by "godly people," who sought for happiness, moral and physical, under the broad-minded constitution of this new world. The government was free and democratic, and there were not any religious or political limitations. In Pennsylvania the Quakers established a Christian government, and experimented in "applied Christianity."

The association between the Friends in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania was naturally close, and the Yearly Meetings from 1685 on till 1760 were held alternately in Burlington and Philadelphia; from the later date they were held in the latter centre.

As regards the secular government, it was practically a Quaker preserve until after the middle of the eighteenth century, the Friends retaining till then an almost unquestioned supremacy in the Colonial legislature, and, as we have

said, applying the principles of Christianity to affairs of state and to questions of social politics.

Of course all was not peace, which was only to be expected where rival communities dwelt in disunity. We find an Episcopalian minister writing from Chester :

> The flock committed to my charge is indeed small ; but God be thanked, generally sound, which is as much as can be expected, considering the religion of the bulk of the people among whom they live. I need not tell you that Quakerism is generally preferred in Pennsylvania, and in no county of the province does the haughty tribe appear more rampant than where I reside, there being by a modest comparison twenty Quakers, besides dissenters, to one true Churchman.

But on the whole, at any rate in the earlier years, the government was conducted liberally and sanely ; "free institutions brought free thought" ; the province rapidly advanced in prosperity, and Philadelphia soon became the leading, most wealthy, and best-governed city in the colonies. Liberty and peace was the motto.

> "The wilderness and solitary deserts in which our fathers passed the days of their pilgrimage," writes Woolman, "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."

It will be interesting and profitable to pay a visit to what was probably the best known of the Meeting-houses in Philadelphia. What was known as the Friends' Bank Meeting-house, in Front Street, above Mulberry Street, was erected in 1685, and taken down in 1789. It is thus described: "The Bank Meeting . . . had its front on the Front Street. The pediment at the front of the house was supported by columns—at that door the men entered. On the southern side was a double door, covered by a shed, by one of which the women entered." Elsewhere we read: "The meeting on Front Street was opened first for worship in the *afternoon*, and began on the 1st day the 20th of 7th mo., 1685." The building was elevated some twelve feet above the level of the street, with a turfed yard in front. A quiet, unadorned edifice; inside, against the far wall, stood a platform, rising in three equal steps, upon which were set wooden benches, whereon sat the ministers and elders; no altar, no pulpit, no organ, no "storied windows richly dight," little more than a seemly shelter from the elements. Down the centre of the body of the hall ran an aisle, dividing the seats of the men from those of the women.

Another Meeting-house, standing at the corner of Centre Square, from which it took its name,

was built in 1684, in what then was the primeval forest. Robert Turner writes to Penn in that year: "We are now laying the foundation of a large, plain brick building for a meeting-house in the Centre, sixty feet long by fifty feet broad, and hope to have it soon up, there being many hearts and hands at work that will do it."

A third was founded in High Street in 1695.

Of other friends of Woolman we must meet with John Churchman, the Pembertons, and Samuel Emlen.

John Churchman was born in June 1705, at Nottingham, in the county of Chester, Pennsylvania, his parents being members of the Society. In his journal he relates of himself, when but eight years of age: "As I sat in a small Meeting, the Lord, by the reaching of his heavenly love and goodness, overcame and tendered my heart—Oh! the stream of love which filled my heart with solid joy at that time, and lasted for many days, is beyond all expression." Then in his twentieth year: "My heart was made exceeding tender; I wept much, and an evidence was given me that the Lord heard my cry." He and his wife and son dwelt at East Nottingham, Pennsylvania, where Woolman sometimes lodged with him when on his travels.

With him, as with so many other Quakers, the mild sins of childhood seem to have borne an extravagant weight. He writes: "I saw myself and what I had been doing, and what it was which had reproved me for evil, and was made, in the secret of my heart, to confess that childhood and youth, and the foolish actions and words to which they are propense, are truly vanity."

Notable, too, was what he describes as a "humbling time," which "was of singular service to me." He was attending the Yearly Meeting at Flushing on Long Island:

> On First-day I thought I had an engagement to stand up, and considerable matter before me; and after speaking three or four sentences which came with weight, all closed up, and I stood still and silent for several minutes, and saw nothing more, not one word to speak. I perceived the eyes of most of the people were upon me, they, as well as myself, expecting more; but nothing further appearing, I sat down, I think I may say in reverent fear and humble resignation, when that remarkable sentence of Job was presented to my mind, "Naked I came out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." I suppose for nearly a quarter of an hour I remained in a silent quiet; but afterwards let in great reasonings and fear lest I had not waited the right time to stand up, and so was suffered to fall into reproach; for the adversary, who is ever busy and unwearied in his attempts to devour, persuaded me to believe that the people would laugh me to scorn, and I might as well return home immediately and privately,

as attempt any further visit on the island. After Meeting I hid my inward exercise and distress as much as I could. I lodged that night with a sympathizing friend and experienced elder, who began to speak encouragingly to me; but I said to him, that I hoped he would not take it amiss if I desired him to forbear saying anything, for if he should say good things, I had no capacity to believe, and if otherwise, I could not then understand so as to be profitably corrected or instructed, and after some time I fell asleep. When I awoke I remembered that the sentences I had delivered in the Meeting, were truths which could not be wrested to the dis-advantage of Friends, or dishonour of the cause of Truth, though they might look like roots or something to paraphrase upon; and although my standing some time silent before I sat down might occasion the people to think me a silly fellow, yet they had no cause to blame me for delivering words without sense or life. Thus I became very quiet, and not much depressed, and was favoured with an humble resignation of mind, and a desire that the Lord would be pleased to magnify his own name and truth, and preserve me from bringing any reproach thereon.

This touching passage is typical of the Quaker attitude of mind toward God and religion; typical, too, of innumerable passages of like character in Quaker journals.

Of another occasion he writes:

One Meeting we were at was remarkably hard, and my companion was exceedingly exercised, under a sense that the people were too rich, full and whole in their own eyes; but he sat the Meeting through, and suffered in silence. I had something to say which was very close,[1] and felt a

[1] To the circumstances of his hearers.

degree of the strength and power of Truth to clear myself in an innocent and loving manner; and remembering they were brethren, I did not preach myself out of charity toward them, and so had peace. We went home with an elderly Friend, who, in a stern manner, asked me from whence I came, and said I was a stranger to him. I answered him with a cheerful boldness. He asked me what my calling was; I told him husbandry. He queried if I was used to splitting wood; I let him know I had practised it for many years. He asked me if I knew the meaning of a common saying among those who were used to that business, "'Tis soft knocks must enter hard blocks." I told him I knew it well; but that to strike with a soft or gentle blow at a wedge in blocks of old wood that was rather decayed at heart, would drive it to the head without rending them, and the labour would be lost, when a few smart, likely strokes would burst them asunder. Whereupon he laid his hand on my shoulder, saying, "Well, my lad, I perceive thou art born for a warrior, and I commend thee."

He died in 1775.

Israel Pemberton, a very leading Quaker, was born in Pennsylvania in 1684; to him were born three sons—Israel, who died in 1779, aged sixty-four, "feared as well as beloved"; James, who died aged eighty-six, in 1809; and John, who died aged sixty-seven, in 1795—all friends of John Woolman; all friends, too, of the slaves and of the Indians. James, on his death-bed, cried out, "What a blessed company are already gone before me!" During the days of the Revolution the

three brothers suffered greatly because of their testimony against war.

Samuel Emlen was a native of Philadelphia, born in 1730, his parents being members of the Society. He was a good classical scholar and an accomplished linguist. He served his apprenticeship in the counting-house of John Pemberton, but inheriting a considerable estate, did not embark upon business for himself. He is described as a "neatly built man of slender person, and a light, quick step. . . . His dress was generally of a drab colour, and very neatly made. When the weather rendered an over-coat necessary, he wore one of a dark mixture, which he was wont to keep folded over his breast, by the pressure of his left arm. . . . Sometimes while passing along the street at his usual quick pace, he would suddenly fall into a slower motion, and his steps almost cease. On such occasions he would frequently turn into some neighbouring dwelling; and soon—sometimes while still in the entry—commence ministering in Gospel power, and in the true spirit of prophetic discernment, to those within." [1] He was gifted, apparently, with a very keen insight into character, and could, with a few direct words, stir a slumbering conscience to activity. He

[1] *Biographical Studies and Anecdotes of the Members of the Religious Society of Friends*, Philadelphia, 1870.

was of humble mind; said he on one occasion, when desperately ill, "Thanks be to the Lord for the hope I have in his mercy."

So it will be seen that John Woolman numbered among his friends those in all ranks of Quaker society, but always men and women of humble minds and contrite hearts.

CHAPTER IX

TROUBLES

THE physical earthquake with which Philadelphia was visited in 1755 may be taken as symbolical of the social and political upheavals which were now to upset the serene rule of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania.

Samuel Fothergill wrote from Philadelphia in November 1755:

About four o'clock in the morning, on the 18th instant, this province was pretty generally alarmed with the shock of an earthquake, which occasioned great consternation, but I do not hear of any damage that ensued, unless the breaking of some chinaware and glasses. I was then at Aaron Ashbridge's house, and being in some pain of mind, my sleep was taken from me, and thereby I was enabled to observe the progress of it with some accuracy. I heard no noise like that of a rushing wind, which was heard in many places, but a gentle shaking of my bed in such a manner as convinced me what it was, which continued to increase, and the windows, by the increasing trepidation of the earth, began to rattle; some china upon a chest of drawers was moved pretty much, as I conjectured; it gradually

increased for one minute, and opened the door of my chamber by drawing the bolt out of the staple.

As the increase was gradual, so was its decrease; and of the same duration, viz., about one minute; it did not much exceed in all two minutes, nor was it any less. . . . Here are numbers, as in England, who, in order to take off any awful impressions from the people, immediately resolve their being [1] into natural causes, lest the Lord of nature should be remembered and inquired after. True it is, he hath commanded the subserviency of the elements to himself, and his merciful regard to unworthy mankind, yet hath he them in readiness to execute his purposes of chastisement and reproof. Though they bear a part in the general song of praise to the author of their being, yet, at times, their language relative to mortals is, "My Father, shall I smite them, shall I smite them?"

In 1755 Braddock's force of British and Colonial troops and of Indian allies was annihilated before Fort Du Quesne by the French and their Indian comrades—an event vividly described by Thackeray in *The Virginians*, and in the same year the Friends again won a large majority in the Pennsylvanian Assembly. It was only natural that grave questioning should arise over the Quaker attitude toward war and their policy of what may be called "passive resistance"; though, in truth, it was something more, and something better; they argued that if only Christian men would obey the law of Christ, to do as they would be done by, there would not be offence or cause for strife. That

[1] *I.e.* earthquakes.

this contention is correct is beyond argument or denial.

Quakers, both those who were taking an active part in the government of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and private citizens, were placed, by the tenets of the Society as regards war, in a situation of extreme difficulty, which eventually led to the fall of the rule of the Friends. Catherine Payton, an English visitor, writes in this year, 1755:

> The minds of some members of our society were at this time much unsettled through government affairs. A war with the French seemed likely to break out; and some were for deviating from our Christian testimony, which is against defensive as well as offensive war; consistently with that pure charity which "beareth all things, and seeketh not its own" by means contrary to the tendency of the peaceable gospel dispensation. Against this spirit we had to testify, I hope to good purpose, for the power of the Truth was over the Meetings in an eminent degree, whereby the doctrine preached was enforced.

And later she writes:

> And now, as it was our lots in the wise direction of Providence, to be in the province of Pennsylvania, at a time when the minds of Friends were more than commonly exercised, on account of publick and political affairs; by reason of the French making encroachments on some of the British colonies; and some of the Indian tribes having committed great outrages on their frontiers, and murdered many of the back inhabitants; the conduct of us who were concerned to labour for the support of our peaceable Christian testimony, was harshly censured by the unthinking

multitude; and by such of our own society as were one with them in spirit; who insinuated that we intruded into matters foreign to our proper business, and were in part the cause of the continuation of the calamities which attended the provinces, through our testifying against the spirit of war, and advising Friends to support our Christian testimony faithfully;

and then an account of her own particular work in this direction in Philadelphia in 1755.

Robert Barclay sets forth very clearly and amply the Quaker position as regards resistance to evil, to fighting and to war of any kind, urging that revenge and war are contrary to the spirit of the teaching of Christ, the Prince of Peace. He quotes from the Gospel according to St. Matthew, chapter v. verse 38 to the end of the chapter—words often in men's mouths but seldom in their hearts:

Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:

But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.

And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also.

And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.

Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.

But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that

curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you ;

That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye ? do not even the publicans the same ?

And if ye salute your brethren, what do ye more than others ? do not even the heathens this ?

Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

Not being so wise in their generation as Archbishop Magee was in his, Barclay and the Quakers did take the express commandments of Christ "as a foundation of a civil polity," and did make effort to carry them out "literally and strictly." The Quaker apologist puts it thus :

Truly the words are so clear in themselves, that, in my judgment, they need no illustration to explain their sense : for it is as easy to reconcile the greatest contradictions, as these laws of our Lord Jesus Christ with the wicked practices of wars ; for they are plainly inconsistent . . . whosoever, I say, can find a means to reconcile these things, may be supposed also to have found a way to reconcile God with the devil, Christ with Antichrist, light with darkness, and good with evil.

It would be useless, as well as out of place, maybe, to follow his arguments in detail. To those who object "*That defence is of natural right, and that religion destroys not nature,*" he answers :

Be it so; but to obey God and to commend ourselves to him in faith and patience, is not to destroy nature, but to exalt and perfect it; to wit, to elevate it from the natural to the supernatural life, by Christ living therein, and comforting it, that it may do all things, and be rendered more than conqueror.

And lastly:

If to revenge ourselves, or to render injury, evil for evil, wound for wound, to take eye for eye, tooth for tooth; if to fight for outward and perishing things, to go a warring one against another, whom we never saw, and with whom we never had any contests, nor anything to do; being moreover altogether ignorant of the cause of the war, but only that the magistrates of the nations foment quarrels one against another, the causes whereof are for the most part unknown to the soldiers that fight, as well as upon whose side the right or wrong is; and yet to be so furious, and rage one against another, to destroy and spoil all, that this or the other worship may be received or abolished; if to do this, and much more of this kind, be to fulfil the law of Christ, then are our adversaries indeed true Christians, and we miserable heretics, that suffer ourselves to be spoiled, taken, imprisoned, banished, beaten, and evilly entreated, without any resistance, placing our trust only in God, that he may defend us, and lead us by the way of the cross unto his kingdom. But if it be otherwise, we shall certainly receive the reward which the Lord hath promised to those that cleave to him, and, in denying themselves, confide in him.

In order to understand the story of John Woolman, it is necessary not only to understand the Quaker faith, but also to learn something of

the results of putting it into practice. We must turn, therefore, to the question of the Indians, with whom trouble was now brewing. Thanks to Penn's treaty with them, its strict and faithful observance, and the general policy of "doing as you would be done by," even in dealings with uncivilised folk, the peace of Pennsylvania was not broken until the French and Indian wars of 1755. An unkindly Indian chieftain is reported to have declared that the Quakers—whom the Indians called "Quekels"—could not be Christians in that they neither got drunk nor quarrelled.

Penn's policy may be summed up as a preference for purchasing over stealing; he acknowledged that the Indians owned the lands he wanted for his settlers and he bought them.

Of a conference between some of the Friends, by leave of the Governor, and some friendly-disposed Indian chiefs, Catherine Payton writes:

> As we were admitted to attend this conference, I mention it. It evinces the veneration the Indians retained for the memory of William Penn, and for his pacific principles; and their great regard to Friends, whom they stiled his children. Several of their women sat in this conference, who, for fixed stolidity, appeared to me like Roman matrons. They scarcely moved, much less spoke, during the time it was held; and there was a dignity in the behaviour and countenance of one of them that I cannot forget. I was informed that they admit their most respected women into their counsels.

Fair treatment preserved the peace for some sixty years, and never were the Friends molested, in any serious way, by their friends the Indians. In what manner the Friends dealt with the Indians will be best shown by quoting a few extracts from the minutes of the Yearly Meeting :

1685. This Meeting doth unanimously agree and give as their judgment, that it is not consistent with the Honour of Truth, for any that makes Profession thereof, to sell Rum or other strong Liquors to the Indians, because they use them not to moderation, but to Excess and Drunkenness.

1722. When way was made for our worthy Friends, the Proprietors and owners of Lands in these provinces to make their first Settlements, it pleased Almighty God by his over-ruling Providence to influence the native Indians so as to make them very helpful and serviceable to those early Settlers, before they could raise Stocks, or provisions to sustain themselves and families : it being soon observed that those people when they got Rum, or other strong Liquors, set no Bounds to themselves, but were apt to be abusive, and sometimes destroyed one another, there came a Religious Care and Concern upon Friends both in their Meetings and Legislature, to prevent those abuses. Nevertheless, some people preferring their filthy lucre before the common Good, continued in this evil practice, so that our Yearly Meeting, held in Philadelphia in the year 1687, testified " That the practice of selling Rum, or other strong Liquors to the Indians, directly or indirectly, or exchanging the same for any Goods or Merchandise with them (considering the abuse they make of it) is a thing displeasing to the Lord, a Dishonour to Truth, and a Grief to all good people."

1759. The Empires and Kingdoms of the Earth are subject to the 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 parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the Days of our Fathers; it was he who strengthened them to labour thro' 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.

Robert Proud quotes Calden's *History of the Five Nations*:

There is one vice which all the Indians have fallen into, since their acquaintance with the *Christians*; of which they could not be guilty before that time, that is, *drunkenness*. It is strange how all the Indian nations, and almost every person among them, male and female, are infatuated with the love of *strong drink*; they know no bounds to their desire, while they can swallow it down; and then indeed the greatest man among them scarcely deserves the name of a brute.

Calden declares that the traders encouraged them in this vice, which "has destroyed greater numbers than all their wars and diseases put together."

But all was not either plain sailing or plain dealing, and those in power were often out of touch with Quaker sentiment and opposed to Quaker policy. In September 1737, Thomas Penn violated the spirit of an old agreement by which

William Penn had secured a right to certain territory in Bucks County, land extending as far northward as a man could walk in a day and a half. By trickery the "Walk" was made by two trained men; the undergrowth was cleared away, horses provided to carry the baggage, and boats for the crossing of the streams; so in the wild woodland, their happy hunting-grounds—the trees bright with the colouring of early autumn; gum trees with splashes of red, sumachs with their deeper tones; chestnuts with leaves of yellow-brown, the oaks taking on the livery of brown and red, and an undergrowth like brocade of glorious hues,—amid all this wild beauty was sown the dishonest seed of hatred and bloodshed, and the Delawares robbed of their birthright. In 1754 the quarrel, egged on by the French, came to a head, war was declared by the Governor and his Council, and the Quakers on the Legislature resigned.

But though the Friends gave up their place in the Government, they founded "The Friendly Association for gaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures," and did much worthy work. Samuel Fothergill writes home to his wife from Philadelphia in December 1755:

> The consternation in which this province hath been thrown by the Indians is not diminished. The Assembly have sold their testimony as Friends to the people's fears,

and not gone far enough to satisfy them; the Indians have complained without redress, and are now up in arms, and have destroyed many people; there were the bodies of two men whom the Indians had killed and scalped, brought down in great parade to this city, from the back parts; multitudes went to see them, and seem loudly to clamour for war. The ancient methods of dealing with the Indians upon the principles of equity and justice seem neglected, the spirit of war and destruction endeavouring to break loose, in order to reduce this pleasant, populous province to its ancient wilderness condition. Few, very few there are to stand in the gap, and spread innocent hands towards the holy sanctuary, in intercession for the people; too many, under our name, and even among our professed chiefs, unsound in the faith, having lost their habitation in the fold of rest, are looking at and calling for the arm of flesh, and the sword to defend them.

To which must be added that to relieve the distress caused by the Indian raids, which were accompanied by all the wonted horrors of the tomahawk and the scalping knife, the Friends raised a large sum at the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and also, as noted, engaged in efforts to bring about a reconciliation, which efforts were not supported by the Government. It was in order to arouse public rage that the mangled bodies of the murdered settlers were conveyed to Philadelphia, and displayed in the streets. Writes John Churchman: "Many people following, cursing the Indians, and also the Quakers, because they would not join in war for their destruction. The sight

of the dead bodies, and the outcry of the people, were very afflicting and shocking."

At the same Yearly Meeting it was decided to establish a Meeting for Sufferings, following the example of the Friends in England. The objects of this Meeting were :

To hear and consider the cases of any Friends under sufferings, and to administer relief as necessity is found to require, or to apply to the government, or persons in power, on their behalf : To correspond with the Meetings for Sufferings or the Yearly Meeting in London, and to represent the state of Friends here, and in general to represent this (the Yearly) Meeting, and to appear in all cases where the reputation and interest of truth and our religious Society are concerned, but not to interfere in matters of faith and discipline, which are not already determined by the Yearly Meeting : To receive an account from the several particular meetings, of any sufferings to which Friends may be subjected for the testimony of truth.

Fothergill fairly summed up the situation thus :

The frontiers of Pennsylvania continue to be harassed by barbarous Indians, who destroy man, woman and child ; all attempts to defend themselves against them seem vain, and the means of restoring peace, (to wit) doing the Indians justice, by fully paying them for their lands, were in the beginning shamefully neglected, and will now be very difficult to bring about.

CHAPTER X

TRAVELS AND TRAVAIL

In May 1756, Woolman, armed—if such a word may be used of a Quaker—with the necessary Certificate from his Monthly Meeting, again visited Long Island, of which expedition he writes :

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 labour 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 ; . . . The public meetings were large and measureably favoured 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 laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however disagreeable to my own inclination. After this I went homeward, 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.

Woolman's mind was now turned to matters which were to him of deep import, and we cannot do better than quote at length what he has to say:

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 towards merchandise, yet I believed truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers; 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 resigned 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 merchandise, 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 merchandise it is the custom where I lived to sell chiefly on credit, and poor people often get into 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 appeared 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 labour which extends beyond what our Heavenly Father intends for us. And by

great labour, and often by much sweating, there is even among such as are not drunkards a craving for 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 labour), 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 connection with evil; and if those who profess to be disciples of Christ, and are looked upon as the 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 neighbours 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 labouring 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 merchandise 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 a letter to a friend who has been sorely ill, he writes:

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 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 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 vigour to us.

The year 1757 was occupied by much travelling. On May 13 we find him staying at a Friend's house in Burlington, and while there a strange vision came to him :

"Going to bed about the time usual with me," he writes, "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 in exactly the same manner, and then the light disappeared."

On the fifth of the same month he set out, accompanied by one of his brothers, who lived in Philadelphia, on a journey to the south, stopping at Nottingham, at John Churchman's. Proceeding thence, they crossed the Susquehanna and so into Maryland. Now again the question of slavery

pressed heavily upon him. His story, as usual, is best told in his own words :

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 labour 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 the Divine prohibition : " Thou shalt not receive any gift ; for a gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous " (Exodus 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 labour 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 esteem 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 favour 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 favoured 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 counsellor 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 often times 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, being 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 11th 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 labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour 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 labourers 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 labouring 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 for 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 endeavours 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 unhappily in Africa is far from being an argument in our favour. 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 sometimes 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 12th; and the next day rode in company with several of them, 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 need 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 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 the 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 favour of such 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" (Isa. 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. 1).

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 labour 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 labour 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 among their master's children. Some of our Society, and some of the society called Newlights, use some endeavours to instruct those they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but disapproved. These are the people by whose labour 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 respector 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.

Then later :

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 favoured 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 favour 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 merchandise 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 merchandise, 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 labour 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 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 obligation 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 for worship began, which was a solid meeting.

He journeyed, pleading the cause of the negroes, on through Virginia and Carolina ; back into Virginia, and eventually home, after having been "out about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles."

CHAPTER XI

TURMOIL

The question of payment of taxes levied in support of troops and to provide munitions of war was one which naturally exercised John Woolman. He was told that of the Friends in England many paid such taxes, and also, by several foremost Friends, that they were in favour of such payment. For a time this quieted him, but he was not of a temperament for temporising, and he was scrupulous over refusing to take up arms while paying others to do so. Indeed such a position is unreasonable, and the examples even of those whom he respected did not suffice to set his conscience at rest. On the other hand, it was no agreeable action to him to refuse to pay that which other Friends did pay. At the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia in 1755 he was glad to find that his was not the only mind troubled in this matter. Again it will be best to allow him to state his own case :

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, it appears to me 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 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 tired with favour and prosperity, this world appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to the merchandise 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 a 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.

Then, dealing with a more general point, he continues :

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.

A man's Christianity could scarcely be put to a greater test.

Woolman notes how the stress of the Indian war was increasing and relates briefly the bringing into the streets of one—so he gives it—of the victims who had been slain, in order to excite the minds of the people. Notes also that refusal to pay the tax might be counted as an act of disloyalty and calculated to arouse the enmity of the rulers, both in America and in England. The outcome of a conference was that " 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 afterwards sent to the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings."

On the night of August 8, 1757, orders were delivered to the military commanders in Burlington County to draft the militia and to enrol men for the relief of Fort William Henry in New York. A few days later there was a review at Mount Holly, and men and officers were duly despatched. On the 17th there was a council of officers at the same place to select men for a further draft, and among those chosen were many members of the Society of Friends.

"When officers who are anxiously endeavouring to get troops to answer the demands of their superiors," writes Woolman, "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 favoured 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 drafted, after some days' march, had orders to return home, and those on the second draft were no more called upon on that occasion."

A more directly personal trial came to him in April 1758, when he was ordered to prepare lodging and entertainment in his house for two soldiers, an allowance to be made him of six shillings a week for each man.

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 here for 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 a soldier.

From a letter of Samuel Fothergill, written some two years previously from Philadelphia, a passage may be quoted, showing briefly but vividly the situation:

The circumstances of this province still continue fluctuating and unpleasant. Many thousand pounds of the province's money have, by the Assembly's committee, been laid out in erecting forts upon the frontiers, and placing men in them; a step as prudent and likely to be attended with as much success, as an attempt to hedge out birds or the deer. The neighbourhoods of these forts have been, since their being erected, the scenes of the greatest barbarity; in contempt and mockery of the attempt, eleven people being destroyed a few days ago within a mile of one of their forts.

Later in the same year he writes:

"The distress of this province is great, its commotions violent,—all the desolations of an Indian war impendent, and the legislature in a great degree infatuated. . . . Friends have interposed for the restoration of peace, and borne their testimony faithfully; I hope it will issue"—as it did—"in their dismission from government, their connexion with which hath been of great dis-service of later times to the real end of our being raised up as a peculiar people, to bear testimony to Him whose kingdom is peace and righteousness."

Fothergill had departed far and dangerously from the position taken up by George Fox, who did not look upon the Friends as a peculiar people, but simply as simple Christians who would gather all men into the true fold. This attitude of "peculiarity" was the beginning of the end of the Quaker power in the government of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the first step toward their decline as a propagandist church.

Amid this turmoil Woolman steadily continued his work in the cause of the slaves. A short passage in the Journal shows the working of the Quaker organisation very clearly:

> 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 up 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.

This Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia was both a crisis in the life-work of John Woolman and a turning-point in the crusade which more than a hundred years later culminated in the bloody ending of negro slavery [1] in America. There were many important matters discussed at this Meeting, and, toward the close, the most important, namely the policy which should be pursued with regard to those members of the Society who purchased slaves. But that we know from other sources the great part played by Woolman, we should not gather it from his own account:

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

[1] White slavery still flourishes.

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 appear 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 exercise 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 favour. 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 immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extra-

ordinary means to bring about their deliverance, God may by terrible things in righteousness answer us in this matter."

Many faithful Brethren laboured 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 negro's right ; to which, at length, no opposition was publicly made. A minute was made more fully 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.

Woolman steadfastly carried out his duty of visiting such Friends as kept slaves. In December of this year, 1758, he attended the Quarterly Meetings in Chester County, and found that there was much division on account of the decision arrived at by the Yearly Meeting. With Daniel Stanton, his senior by some twelve years, a native of Philadelphia, and another, one John Scarborough, he commenced the visiting of Friends who owned slaves. Of the Meetings, which were large, he tells us little in detail, but says of himself, with his usual humility :

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 labour 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.

Commenting upon his visits, he tells us that in some places and by some people his coming was welcomed gladly, while in others the way was difficult, adding:

I . . . 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.

In the early part of 1759 he joined with his friend John Churchman in visiting some of the prominent members of the Society in Philadelphia, who were slave-owners, and found peace in his heavy labours. He relates:

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.

There is a touch of humble pathos in his comment upon the Yearly Meeting at which, as usual, he was attendant :

As the epistles which were to be sent to the Yearly Meetings [1] on this continent were read, I observed that in most of them, both this year and the last, it was recommended to Friends to labour 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 labours 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.

The tone of this Meeting, and the Friends' view of the general situation are very fully set forth in the Epistle sent out to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. It is worth quoting in full :

[1] Elsewhere than Philadelphia.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—In an awful Sense of the Wisdom and Goodness of the Lord our God, whose tender Mercies have long 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 Parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the Days of our Fathers: It was he who strengthened them to labour 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 one towards another, and towards the Natives, and in Life and Conversation to manifest the Excellency of the Principles and Doctrines of the *Christian* Religion; and thereby they retain their Esteem and Friendship: Whilst they were labouring for the Necessaries of Life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote Piety and Virtue in the Earth, and 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, gave us a Being in a Part so signally favoured with Tranquility 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, depend 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 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, by many Instances, that where "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 Backslidings 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." *Jer.* 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 Desarts 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 such as fear the Lord, and think often upon his Name, see and feel that a wrong Spirit is spreading among 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 been reduced to Want, have come to our Houses asking Relief.—It is not long since it was the Case of many young Men, in one of these Provinces, to be 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 little 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 Tranquility. 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 Favour 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 fore 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 to contend 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 labour, 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 them Enemies to the Cross of Christ, who submit to the Influence of it.

To keep a watchful eye towards real Objects of Charity, to visit the Poor in their lonesome Dwelling-places, to comfort them who, through the Dispensations of divine Providence, are in strait and painful Circumstances in this Life, and steadily to endeavour to honour God with our Substance, from a real Sense of the Love of Christ influencing our Minds thereto, is more likely to bring a Blessing to our Children, and will afford more Satisfaction to a *Christian* favoured 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."

In the winter of this year, 1759, smallpox was rife at Mount Holly, and many persons tested the

efficacy of inoculation, not always with satisfactory results. Upon this matter Woolman 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 of 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 favourable 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 labour, 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 labour 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 favour 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 ought 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 labour according to our capacities, to have health and soundness restored to 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 a 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 from 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, endeavour 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 XII

TRAVELLING

In April 1760, Woolman again went out travelling, and it will be helpful to our understanding of his doings and of the difficulties which he overcame, if we take a brief review of what, at its best, travelling meant in those days in the American settlements, remembering always that Woolman journeyed in humble manner, often on foot. Here are extracts from two records. Joseph Wing, in his Journal, tells us :

> Sometimes travelled from 12 to 17 miles between houses, and had the advantage of a footpath with marked trees to Gide us. Sometimes got but two meals a Day and them were Corse tu ; There were Walks not very pleasant to the Natural part, but so it is, and it is Not best that we should have smooth things all the time : we had once to lay in the bottom of a Small bote and covered us with our Sales, once laid on the beach by the side of a Fier and had our Saddle bags to lay our heads on and our Great Coats and Misketers to cover us, and once Expected to have laid in the woods without the advantage of Fier or victuals and had Come to a Conclusion in what manner it should take

place, but jest before Daylight left us we saw a lite which proved to be a hous to our great joy and Satisfaction— So the Great Master is pleased at times to try us with the Site of Danger and then from time to time doth preserve us from it: in this Dessolate Wilderness there was many kinds of Wild Varmants which had been known to pray upon people.

More closely applicable in date and detail this quite graphic description of a mid-eighteenth century Quaker on his travels:

During his preaching expedition, he went out mounted on a pacing horse, a pair of leather saddle-bags, containing his wardrobe, being behind the saddle, a silk oil-cloth cover for his hat, and an oil-cloth cape over the shoulders, which came down nearly to the saddle, as a protection from storms. Stout corduroy overalls, with rows of buttons down the outside to close them on, protected the breeches and stockings. A light walking-stick did double duty, as a cane when on foot, and a riding whip when mounted. . . .

He wore a black beaver hat, with a broad brim turned up at the sides so as to form a point in front and rolled up behind; a drab coat, with broad skirts reaching to the knee, with a low standing collar; a collarless waistcoat, bound at the neck, reaching below the hips, with broad pockets, and pocket flaps over them; a white cravat served for a collar; breeches with an opening a few inches wide above and below the knee, closed with a row of buttons and a silver buckle at the bottom; ample silver buckles to fasten the shoes with; fine yarn stockings. . . . In winter, shoes gave place to high boots, reaching to the knee in front, and cut lower behind to accommodate the limb.[1]

[1] Mahlon S. Kirkbride, *Domestic Portraiture of the Ancestors Kirkbride, 1650–1824.*

Of the roads, if such they can be called, there are many painful accounts. In *The Story of an Old Farm*, we read:

> The road . . . was but little more than a broad path cut through the woods; the trees pressed close on either side of the ruts and wheel tracks, often the bark of the flanking oaks and hickories showing the marks made by the hubs of passing vehicles. It must have been pleasant riding along for miles under the arching branches, the air surcharged with the balsam of the aromatic breath of thousands of acres of giant trees: monarchs of the forest that for centuries had towered over the hills and dales, enriching the ground with their yearly falling leaves, till the soil, rank with vitality, only needed the warm sun and man's commands, to blossom into fields of abundance. Occasionally, on the roads emerging from its long green arcade, our traveller came upon isolated dwellings, seated amid little clearings, from which, in many instances, the stumps had not yet disappeared.

This was written of a more northern district, but is equally true of that with which we are concerned.

We must not be led astray, however, into permitting distance of time to lend an unreal enchantment to our view; the "going" was by no means pleasant; a track not at all easy, ragged with tree-stumps and punctured with holes; rivers and brooks to be crossed as best might be; mud and bogs. Franklin, speaking in 1768, said of the roadways, "Even those which lie between the

two principal trading cities in North America are seldom passable without danger or difficulty." We may note that there were not any milestones on the Philadelphia-Boston road until this practical Benjamin Franklin set them there.

Kalm tells us :

> The roads are good or bad according to the difference of the ground, in a sandy soil the roads are dry and good ; but in a clayey one they are bad. The people here are likewise very careless in mending them. If a rivulet be not very great, they do not make a bridge over it ; and travellers may do as well as they can to get over : therefore many people are in danger of being drowned in such places, where the water is risen by a heavy rain. When a tree falls across the road, it is seldom cut off, to keep the road clear, but the people go round it. . . . Hence the roads here have so many bendings.

The journey between Philadelphia and New York was made, at a dreadfully slow pace, by coach, or on horseback, and partly by water. An outline of such a three days' trip is given in an advertisement in the *Weekly Mercury*, March 8, 1759, which runs as follows :

> Philadelphia Stage Waggon and New York Stage Boat perform their stages twice a week. John Butler with his waggon sets out on Monday from his house at the sign of the " Death of the Fox " in Strawberry Alley, and drives the same day to Trenton Ferry, where Francis Holman meets him, and the passengers and goods being shifted into the waggon of Isaac Fitzrandolph, he takes them to the New

Blazing Star to Jacob Fitzrandolph's the same day, where Rubin Fitzrandolph, with a boat well suited, will receive them and take them to New York that night: John Butler returning to Philadelphia on Tuesday with the passengers and goods delivered to him by Francis Holman, will set out again for Trenton Ferry on Thursday, and Francis Holman, &c., will carry his passengers and goods with the same expediation as above to New York.

In another advertisement of a "line" established in 1751, we are notified of the starting of a sloop from the Crooked Billet Wharf in Philadelphia, weekly, for Burlington, "from where at the sign of the Blue Anchor, a stage waggon with a good awning will run to the house of Obediah Ayres at Perth Amboy, where good entertainment is to be had for man and beast."

This stage would be a New Jersey waggon, springless, with a hooped canvas shelter; a bumping, creaking, comfortless concern. The whole journey might occupy some six days!

"Imagine," we read in the *Farm*, "for a moment the discomforts and actual pains of such a journey during the winter months. Huddled on a crowded sloop [1] for from twelve to forty-eight hours, fighting icy head-tides, beating against winds, chill, drear and contrary, eating cold snacks supplied by yourself—even 'a fine cabin fitted up with a tea-table' [2] could hardly have palliated the miseries of such a voyage. In October 1723 Benjamin Franklin, when

[1] That is, starting from New York.

[2] As advertised.

making his first visit to Philadelphia, was thirty hours on his passage from New York to Amboy. His sloop was nearly lost in a squall, and one of the passengers falling overboard narrowly escaped being drowned. . . . On reaching Amboy passengers were lodged in uncomfortable taverns; they slept on straw-filled ticks, usually with two or three bed-fellows, and with but little choice as to company."

Of the prices charged at these inns we find at the Quarter Sessions in October 1748 the justices at Amboy fixed the following rates: "Hot meal of meat, etc., 10d.; cold meat do., 7d.; lodging per night, 4d.; rum by the quartern, 4d.; brandy do., 6d.; wine by the quartern, 2s. 8d.; strong beer do., 5d.; cyder do., 4d.; metheglin[1] do., 1s. 6d.; lunch, 1s. 2d."

Of a journey to Philadelphia in the Revolution days the Marquis de Chastellux gives an interesting account:

I took the road to Bristol, crossing the river three miles below Trenton. Six miles from thence you pass a wood: and then approach the Delaware, which you do not quit till you arrive at Bristol. It was night when I got to this town. The inn I alighted at is kept by a Mr. *Benezet*, of French extraction, and of a very respectable *Quaker* family; but he is a deserter from their communion. . . . His inn is handsome, the windows look upon the Delaware,

[1] An English sixteenth-century writer gives this recipe: "Metheglyn is made of honny and water, and herbes boyled and soden together; yf it be fyned and stale, it is better in the regyment of helth than meade,"—which was also a honey-made liquor, but "not good for them the whiche have the colycke."

and the view from them is superb ; for this river is nearly a mile broad, and flows through a very delightful country. I left Bristol between nine and ten in the morning, and arrived at Philadelphia at two. The road leading to this city is very wide and handsome ; one passes through several small towns or villages, nor can one go five hundred paces without seeing beautiful country houses. As you advance you find a richer and better cultivated country, with a great number of orchards and pastures ; everything, in short, answers the neighbourhood of a large town, and this road is not unlike those round London. Four miles from Bristol you pass the creek of *Neshaminy* over a ferry. . . . The town of Frankfort, which is about fifteen miles from Bristol, and five from Philadelphia, is pretty considerable.

And a poet sings :

Long ago, at the end of the route,
The stage pulled up, and the folks stepped out.
They have all passed under the tavern door—
The youth and his bride and the gray three-score.
Their eyes were weary with dust and gleam,
The day had gone like an empty dream.
Soft may they slumber, and trouble no more
For their eager journey, its jolt and roar,
In the old coach over the mountain.

Of journeying by such roads and by such means, of sojourning at such inns, of his adventures by the way, Woolman tells very little. Here is how he sums up his lengthy journey in April 1760 :

We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield, and were at their Monthly Meeting of ministers and elders in Rahway. We laboured 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.

On the 24th of the same month he writes from Jericho, on Long Island:

24th of the fourth month, 1760.

DEARLY BELOVED WIFE,—We are favoured 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 upon

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.

Of the crossing from Long Island to New London, a passage of some thirty miles made in an open boat, we are allowed a slight glimpse :

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.

From Newport, Rhode Island, he writes to his brother Abner on June 17 :

Dear Brother,—I have remembered (since I left home) thee and thy family very often with much nearness of love.

We are at Newport, and expect to go to Nantucket soon, if way open. . . . I am pinched for time, but wanted to let thee know I often thought of you.

He was distressed to note the large number of slaves in those parts and the continuance of their importation from Guinea.

On a return visit to Newport for the Yearly Meeting, he found that a great number of negroes had been landed, and were on sale by a member of the Society. He writes :

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 trembled, 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 endeavours 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.

It was but to be expected that he would be faced by difficulties in the way of such a plan of procedure, and he was tempted to speak of the matter before the House of Assembly, which was then sitting. In the event he prepared a draft of a Petition, and put his case to the Meeting for Business, speaking thus :

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.

The draft was held over for consideration.

In a Minute adopted by the Meeting we find this :

We fervently warn all in profession with us, that they be careful to avoid being in any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits of that iniquitous practice in dealing in negroes. We can do no less than, with the greatest earnestness, impress it upon Friends everywhere, that they endeavour to keep their hands clear of this unrighteous gain of oppression.

Later in the Meeting Woolman drew attention to the matter of the lotteries, which were frequently opened.

I had mentioned the subject in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favour 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 among 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 labour 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 laboured. 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 savour amongst us.

Of another visit to Nantucket he writes:

. . . I observed many shoals in their bay, which make sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also that a great shoal, which encloses their harbour, 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 cost 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 labour to get timber and wood. I understood that the whales, being much hunted and sometimes wounded and not killed, grow 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 to the women Friends in their Monthly meeting of business, many being present, and in the fresh springs 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; showing, 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 vexations which frequently attended the minds of people who depend on slaves to do their labour.

On the return journey he visited New York, then a town of spacious streets, many of them lined with trees, which afforded welcome shade; with houses mostly of brick, with shingle roofs.

There was then there an influential number of members of the Society. Without doubt this visit of Woolman's aided greatly the movement against slavery in New York.

He reached home on August 10, and found his family well.

This chapter will fitly conclude with an extract from a Minute made by the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia :

> As the growing concern which hath appeared amongst us for some years past to dis-courage the practice of making slaves of our fellow creatures hath been visibly blessed with success, we earnestly exhort that Friends do not abate their diligence in this weighty matter. . . .

for the which blessing John Woolman was in no small degree accountable.

CHAPTER XIII

CHARACTERISTICS

During 1761 Woolman continued his travelling and teaching on behalf of the slaves, and wrote the second part of *Considerations on the keeping of Negroes*, which was issued in the following year at Philadelphia.

Of his attitude toward other worldly matters we gain some knowledge from the following entry in his Journal:

In my youth I was used to hard labour, 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 sympathise with those whose circumstances in life, as free men, required constant labour 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 labour, 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 laboured 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 estates generally lived in that humility and plainness which belong to a Christian life, and laid much easier rents and interests on their lands and moneys, and thus led the way to a right use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things useful, that labour 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 labour 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 a 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 thought of my wearing hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, has made lasting impression on me.

In visiting people of note in the Society who had slaves,

and labouring 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 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 labour 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 connection with some degree of oppression, and with that spirit which leads to self-exultation and strife, and which frequently brings calamities on countries by parties contending about their claims.

In May and June he suffered from a severe attack of fever, and for a week was in deep distress. Then he tells us:

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.

One of these matters of conformity with hurtful customs was the wearing of dyed clothes, and though his mind was determined to alter his habit in this regard, he felt himself at liberty to wear those which he had already by him, continuing to do so for some nine months. He procured a hat of the natural colour of the fur, but was uneasy in the wearing of it, fearing to present an appearance of singularity. In a much later entry, made when he was in England, he writes :

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 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 colouring 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.

And it was written of him:

He was desirous to have his own, 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, endeavouring 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 endeavouring to become an Example of Temperance and Self-denial, which he believed himself called unto, and was favoured with Peace therein, although it carried the Appearance of great Austerity in the View of some.

It may seem strange that a Quaker should fear

to be singular in his mode of attire, but it must be recalled that the Quaker costume was not "peculiar" in the early years of the Society. Penn summed up the Quaker view when he said, "Excess in Apparel is another costly Folly. The very Trimming of the vain World would cloath all the naked one." In its inception the Quaker garb was a protest against prodigality in adornment, and was little more than a removal of, or rather abstinence from, fashionable ornaments, the abandonment of rich and costly materials, and so forth. Their dress was a translation of the Court costume into terms of simplicity and seemliness. Fox but followed the example set by the Puritans in condemning foppery and frippery. Their hats were broad-brimmed because in those days all folk wore broad-brimmed hats; so far they were in the fashion; but feathers and lace they held in distaste.

Brissot de Warville describes for us the Quaker costume in America:

> A round hat, generally white; cloth coat; cotton or woollen stockings; no powder on their hair, which is cut short and hangs round. They commonly carry in their pocket a little comb in a case; and on entering a house, if the hair is disordered, they comb it without ceremony before the first mirror that they meet.

And:

The matrons wear the gravest colours, little black bonnets and the hair simply turned back. The young women curl their hair with great care and anxiety; which costs them as much time as the most exquisite toilette. They wear little hats covered with silk or sattin . . . (they) are remarkable for their choice of the finest linens, muslins, and silks. Elegant fans play between their fingers.

But this sad degeneracy was in the year 1788. Yet as early as 1726 the Yearly Meeting at Burlington drew attention to the love of dress which was proving a stumbling-block in the way of the Friends, and a message was sent out to their fellow-women Friends, in which we read of that

immodest fashion of hooped petticoats or the imitation either by something put into their petticoats to make them set full, or any other imitation whatever, which we take to be but a branch springing from the same corrupt root of pride. And also that none of our ffriends accustom themselves to wear the gowns with superfluous folds behind, but plain and decent, nor go without aprons, nor to wear superfluous gathers or plaits in their caps or pinners, nor to wear their heads drest high behind; neither to cut or lay their hair on their foreheads or temples. . . . And also that no ffriends use that irreverent practice of taking snuff or handing a snuff-box one to the other in meeting,

and so forth.

Still earlier there came a cry from Maryland:

It Lies very Waityly uppon us to Desir all friends Profesing truth to be very Carefull to keep out of all Imytations of Fashghons which the world Runs into: Butt to keep to Plainness of Speach and Plainness in Dress in

our Selves, and our Children ; Labouring in our Selves and with them to be clothed with ye meek spirit of Jesus as such as are waiting for his coming.

In this matter of dress, as also in the use of "thee" and "thou" and in other minor "testimonies," the Quaker faith crystallised into meaningless peculiarities ; possibly their attitude of mind also to a certain extent crystallised, and eventually they came to mistake the habit for the body, and the body for the soul. They tried to build a wall between themselves and the world, instead of setting up a ladder to heaven. From much, if not all, of this formalism Woolman escaped ; his religion was from within, and even if he had never been taught the doctrines and the customs of Quakerism he would have spoken and acted as he did and have been what he was.

Of another peculiarity of his we may here make mention, quoting from the *Friends' Review*.[1]

He was particularly guarded in his expressions, being careful that his assertions should be strictly and literally true ; and he appears to have inculcated a similar care in others, in a gentle and yet impressive manner. It is reported that being once employed, with the aid of an assistant, in clearing an orchard of caterpillars that had formed webs on the branches, and having gone, as he supposed, over the orchard, he expressed his belief that they were done ; but his companion perceiving that there was one left with

[1] Vol. v. p. 485 (1852).

a considerable collection on, mentioned the circumstance, with the declaration, that it was as full as it could hold. John Woolman going to the tree remarked, *there was room for a number more on it.*

Two young men wishing to try whether he could not be drawn to utter, by mistake, an expression not literally true, are said to have gone to his house, the first taking a seat in his parlour, and the other coming a little afterwards to his door. Upon the latter knocking at the door, John Woolman went to receive him, and as soon as he left the room where they were sitting, the young man went out in another way. The one at the door then enquired for his companion, expecting of course to be answered, "He is in my parlor." But John was not so easily caught. His answer was simple and literally true: "I left him in my parlor."

His conduct was probably as guarded as his language. Abel Thomas, a religious young man, residing for a while in his family, was frequently reminded of his faults, until he began to think himself rather closely scrutinized, and concluded to reciprocate his kindness by pointing out some of his faults; but they must first be found, and to find them was no easy task. After watching him for months, he was unable to fix upon anything bearing the appearance of a fault, except one trivial circumstance. He had passed a man in the street without reciprocating a friendly recognition. But when told of it, his mind appeared to have been otherwise occupied, for the man was not observed.

In the year 1762, as above mentioned, was published the second part of *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, for the printing of which the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting offered to provide the funds, so that the work might be given away,

but Woolman preferred to undertake the issue at his own expense. His principal reason for this decision was that the fund—or "stock"—from which the money was to come, was subscribed by the members in general, many of whom kept slaves and some of whom did not exhibit any desire to cease doing so.

"But," as Woolman puts it, "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. . . . 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, when there appeared a prospect of service."

On other subjects of importance Woolman set his thoughts and opinions into print. A full understanding of him can only be attained by attentive study of these works, which often amplify portions of the Journal.

CHAPTER XIV

WRITINGS

Of Woolman's religious views we need to learn little more than is set forth in the Journal, but of his application of these views to mundane matters we gain much valuable information from his other writings. The whole teaching of his life, and he is one of those few teachers whose practice is as helpful and as stimulating as their preaching, is summed up in a paragraph in the Introduction to *Considerations on Pure Wisdom and Human Policy*. It runs thus :

> 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 real Good of others.

From the same, also, we quote this touch of pure Christianity :

Where 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 where People walk in that pure Light in which all their "Works 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, through those the Lord hath often manifested his Power, in opening the Understandings of others, to the promoting Righteousness in the Earth.

Righteousness, the Kingdom of God upon earth, that was the key-note of John Woolman's teaching and practice.

It is always extremely difficult to convey the message of a work unread by the reader to whom one is appealing by any other method than that of copious quotation, especially so in the case of a writer who was, like Woolman, so much out of touch with average humans, and whose sayings sound to us of to-day like whispers from another and a better world. We expect to be forgiven, therefore, for quoting rather than criticising.

In these *Considerations*, Woolman writes:

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 Convincement that it is their Duty, and resign themselves and their Treasures, to him; these feel

that it is dangerous to give way to that in us, which craves Riches and Greatness in this World.

Then a little later he speaks of those who

. . . have an Eye toward the Power of Men, and the outward Advantage of Wealth, these are often attentive to those Employments which appear profitable, even though the Gains arise from such Trade and Business which proceeds from the Workings of that Spirit, which is estranged from the self-denying Life of an humble contrite *Christian.*

He is not one of those who tell their fellows only what they should not do, warning them against the way which they should not pursue; he is also helpful with practical advice as to what should be done. As, for example, this:

As wasting outward Substance, to gratify vain Desires, on one hand; so Slothfulness and Neglect, on the other, do often involve Men and their Families in Trouble, and reduce them to Want and Distress; to shun both these opposite Vices, is good in itself, and hath a Resemblance of Wisdom; but while 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 to use their Power to prevent Oppression, yet Wealth and Power is 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 but Divine Love can qualify the Mind to use rightly; and as to the Humility, and Uprightness of our Children after us, how great is the Uncertainty! If, in acquiring Wealth, we take hold on 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.

There is much shrewd matter in the section "On Labour," which may be quoted without comment. This:

Having from my Childhood been used to bodily Labour for a Living, I may express my Experience therein.

Right Exercise affords an innocent Pleasure in the Time of it, and prepares us to enjoy the Sweetness of Rest; but from the Extremes each Way arise Inconveniences.

Moderate Exercise opens the Pores, gives the Blood a lively Circulation, and the better enables us to judge rightly respecting that Portion of Labour which is the true Medium.

And this:

Idle Men are often a Burden to themselves, neglect the Duty they owe to their Families, and become burdensome to others also.

And this:

I have observed that too much Labour not only makes the Understanding dull, but so intrudes upon the Harmony of the Body, that after ceasing from our Toil, we have

another to pass through, before we can be so composed as to enjoy the Sweetness of Rest.

And this :

I have found that too much Labour in the Summer heats the Blood, that taking strong Drink to support the Body under such Labour increaseth that Heat, and though a Person may be so far temperate as not to manifest the least Disorder, yet the Mind, in such a Circumstance, doth not retain that Calmness and Serenity which we should endeavour to live in.

Simple, commonplace, but true and oft forgotten.

The paper " On Schools " contains little that is germane to our present purpose.

" On the Right Use of the Lord's Outward Gifts " is brimful of applied Christianity.

This :

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.

Then this :

In beholding the customary Departure from the true Medium of Labour, 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 amongst 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 labour according to the Gift bestowed on me, for the promoting an humble, plain, temperate Way of living. A Life where no unnecessary Care, nor Expences, may incumber our Minds, nor lessen our Ability to do Good; where no Desires after Riches, or Greatness, may lead into hard Dealing; where no Connections with worldly-minded Men, may abate our Love to God, nor weaken a true Zeal for Righteousness. A Life wherein we may diligently labour for Resignedness to do, and suffer, whatever our Heavenly Father may allot for us, in reconciling the World to himself.

A difficult doctrine; the curious thing is that John Woolman followed it faithfully.

A longer treatise was *Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind and How It Is to Be Maintained*, with an Introduction which must be unwise, so contrary is it to modern practice. It reads thus:

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 is it 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 accompanies? 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 of the true and saving Knowledge of God, and his Son Jesus

Christ, amongst our fellow Creatures, which through his infinite Love some feel to be more precious than any other Treasure.

The gist of the matter is set out in the following passages :

Walking is a Phrase frequently used in Scripture, to represent our Journey thro' Life, and appears to comprehend the various Affairs and Transactions properly 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 preserves from giving just Cause for any to quarrel with us : And where this Foundation is laid, and mutually kept to, by Families conversant with each other, the Way is open for these 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 where 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 ; here a Fear lest that Measure should be meted to them, which they have measured to others, incites a Care to support that by Craft and cunning Devices which stands not on the firm Foundation of Righteousness : Thus the Harmony of Society is broken, and from hence Commotions and Wars do frequently arise in the World.

This too is apt :

Though the Change from Night to Day, is by a Motion so gradual as scarcely to be perceived, yet when Night

is come we behold 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 Light from Darkness, to such who are crucified to the World.

And this:

I have here beheld how the Desire to provide Wealth, and to uphold a delicate Life, hath grievously entangled many, and been like Snares to their Offspring; and tho' some have been affected with a Sense of their Difficulties and 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; for in remaining comformable to this World, and giving Way to a delicate Life, this expensive Way of Living, in Parents, and in 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 the chapter "On Merchandizing," which is almost bitter in its unconscious condemnation of much that is accounted harmless. This, for example:

Where Morality is kept to and supported by the Inhabitants of a Country, there is a certain Reproach attends those Individuals amongst them, who manifestly deviate therefrom. But where Iniquity is committed openly, and the Authors of it are not brought to Justice, nor put to shame, their Hands grow strong.

Quickly followed by:

Now the faithful Friends of Christ, who hunger and thirst after Righteousness, and inwardly breathe that his Kingdom may come on Earth as it is in Heaven, he teacheth them 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 Sufferings 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.

From the chapter "On Divine Admonition" this passage, written with a simple fervour which touches eloquence, and burns with fire:

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 to the Degree of Famine, yet Worms at Times have come forth beyond numbering, and laid waste Fields of Grain and Grass, where they have appeared; another Kind, in great Multitudes, working out of Sight, in Grass Ground, have so eat the Roots, that the Surface, being loosened from the Soil beneath, might be taken off in great Sheets.

These Kind of devouring Creatures appearing seldom, and coming in such Multitudes, their Generation appears different from most other Reptiles, and by the Prophet were call'd *God's Army sent amongst 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 ; [1] and in the Continuance thereof, 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, in Wisdom and Power, doeth all Things right. And after long Drought, when the Sky hath grown dark with a Collection of Matter, and Clouds like Lakes of Water hung over our Heads, from whence 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 give striking Admonitions, that we do not misapply those Gifts, in which an Almighty Power is exerted, in bestowing them upon us.

In "Remarks on Sundry Subjects" Woolman deals, among other matters, with the very practical one of "Loving Our Neighbours as Ourselves," which to him appears to be a command which should be obeyed in letter and in spirit. He says :

If a Man successful in Business expends Part of his Income in Things of no real Use, while the Poor employed by him pass through great Difficulties in getting the Necessaries of Life, this requires his serious Attention.

If several principal Men in Business unite in setting the Wages of those who work for Hire, and therein have Regard to a Profit to themselves answerable to unnecessary

[1] When Crops fail, I often feel a tender Care that the Case of poor Tenants may be mercifully considered (*Woolman's note*).

Expence in their Families, while the Wages of the other on a moderate Industry will not afford a comfortable Living for their Families, and a proper Education for their Children, this is like laying a Temptation in the Way of some to strive for a Place higher 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; may carefully look into the Condition of poor People, and beware of exacting on them with Regard to their Wages.

While hired Labourers, by moderate Industry, through the Divine Blessing, may live comfortably, raise up Families, and give them suitable Education, it appears reasonable for them to be content with their Wages.

For which we must pardon this simple man; political economy had not been invented in his day to supersede the teaching of the Son of the carpenter of Nazareth. Had it been, he could not have written thus:

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 for Treasures on any other Motive, appears to be against that Command of our blessed Saviour, *Lay not up for yourselves Treasures here on Earth*, Mat. vi. 19.

He forbids not laying up in the Summer against the Wants of Winter; nor doth he teach us to be slothful

in that which properly relates to our being in this World; but in this Prohibition he puts in *yourselves*, *Lay not up for* yourselves *Treasures here on Earth.*

And certainly not this:

Now to act with Integrity, according to that Strength of Mind and Body with which our Creator hath endowed each of us, appears necessary for all, and he who thus stands in the lowest Station, appears to be entitled to as comfortable and convenient a Living, as he whose Gifts of Mind are greater, and whose Cares are more extensive.

Or this:

Riches in the Hands of Individuals in Society is 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.

Or this:

When Wages in a fruitful Land bear so small a Proportion to the Necessaries of Life, that poor honest people who have Families cannot by a moderate Industry attain to a comfortable Living, and give their Children sufficient Learning, but must either labour to a Degree of Oppression, or else omit that which appears to be a Duty.

While this is the Case with the Poor, there is an Inclination in the Minds of most People to prepare at least so much Treasure for their Children, that they with Care and moderate Industry may live free from these Hardships which the Poor pass through.

There is an unwonted touch of stricture in the following, but there is heart at the back of it :

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, esteemed pious People, who through a Friendship with them strengthened their Hands in Tyranny.

In such a State, when we were Hunger-bitten, and could not have sufficient Nourishment but saw them in fulness pleasing their Taste with Things fetched from far :

When we were wearied with Labour, denied the Liberty to rest, and saw them spending their Time at Ease : When Garments answerable to our Necessities were denied us, while we saw them cloathed 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 mention'd 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 Thousands 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 amongst 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 an Eye-witness to what passeth in getting these Slaves:

Was the Blood which is there shed to be sprinkled on our Garments:

Were the poor Captives bound with Thongs, heavy 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 be a Witness to these Things, and see a Trade carried on in this Manner, without being deeply affected with Sorrow?

And here a touch of insight:

Friends in early Time refused, on a religious Principle, to make or trade in Superfluities, of which we have many large Testimonies on Record, but for want of Faithfulness some gave way, even some whose Examples were of Note in Society, and from thence 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, and this hath spread from less to more, till Superfluity of some Kind is common amongst us.

In this declining State many look at the Example one

of another, 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.

The most interesting and perhaps the most important of the published writings of John Woolman is *A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich*, printed at Dublin in 1793. At first reading it strikes one as extraordinarily modern, but a second thought shows that it only seems new because it states views so old that they appear novel to us; views as old as Christianity itself, for they are no more than the teaching of Jesus Christ; precepts which John Woolman put into practice whenever opportunity afforded. He did not take the standpoint that it was for him to select which commands of his Master were possible of obedience nowadays; it was his creed that what was commanded by Christ must by all true Christians be carried out, or at any rate attempted, in spite of all difficulties and in face of every opposition.

In this matter of riches he spoke very fearlessly and acted without hesitation or regret.

It would scarcely be profitable to set forth his argument at length, and the purport of this *Word*

of Remembrance can best be conveyed by plenteous quotations. He sets out thus :

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 labour 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 labour harder than was intended by our gracious Creator. Oxen and horses are often seen at work when, through heat and too much labour, their eyes and the motions of their bodies manifest that they are oppressed. Their loads in wagons are frequently so heavy that when weary with hauling 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 labour, 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.

Here are some pregnant words :

Goodness remains to be goodness, and the direction of pure Wisdom is obligatory on all reasonable Creatures.

And :

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 labour 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.

Further on he writes :

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 labour themselves live in fulness on the labour of others, there is often a danger of their not having a right feeling of the labourers' condition and of being thereby disqualified to judge candidly in their case, not knowing what they themselves would desire, were they to labour 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 labour 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 ?

And :

Many at this day who know not the heart of a stranger indulge themselves in ways of life which occasion more labour 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 labourers, 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 labour 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 labour 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 ?

Then :

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 than they are at present; for if four men working eight hours per day can do a portion of labour 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.

Which, of course, like the Sermon on the Mount, is not practical politics.

Then:

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, labouring 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 implements of war, and the labour 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 not only themselves but those employed in military affairs, and all those who own the soil, have great hardships to encounter through too much labour; while others, in several kingdoms, are busied in fetching men to help to labour 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, without feeling an earnest desire to be disentangled from everything connected with selfish customs in food, in raiment, in houses, and in all things else ?

CHAPTER XV

INTO THE WILDERNESS

With all sorts and conditions of men Woolman was in sympathy, and it is not unexpected, therefore, to find that his mind was turned toward the Indians, "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."

At Philadelphia, in August 1761, he had met with some Indians who lived on a branch of the Susquehanna, at a place called Wahaloosing, some two hundred miles distant. He felt drawn to visit them, and mentions that he spoke of the matter to his wife only.

Of this Indian town Anthony Benezet, writing from Philadelphia in 1763, says: "There are about one hundred and fifty Indians at a place called Wyaloosing, situate upon the north branch of Susquehanna, about seventy miles above Wyoming. These Indians are an industrious, religiously

minded people. The name of their chief is Papunobal; they absolutely refused to join the other Indians in the last war, though threatened with death on that account."

In 1762 Woolman laid his project before the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and later before the General Spring Meeting. Then in the early part of the next year he met with an Indian, who, it was thought, might serve him as guide, and agreed to join with him on his return journey, meeting at Richland in Bucks County in June. It was not an easy task that he was undertaking, but one of rare danger.

As usual, it is best to allow him to tell us the story in his own sincere words:

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 shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst 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 endeavouring 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 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.

He took leave of his family and friends, and went to the Monthly Meeting at Burlington; then, escorted by Israel and John Pemberton, crossed the river and journeyed to Richland. Here he was joined by Benjamin Parvin, who purposed being his companion. But Woolman was troubled upon his account; the perils that for himself he did not shirk he did fear for his friend; in the event Parvin prevailed.

For once Woolman narrates his doings with some fulness of detail:

. . . 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 sixth 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 Wyoming. 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

afterwards, 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, labouring 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.

Robert Proud tells us of the Indians:

As to their persons, they are generally more upright and straight, in their limbs, than *Europeans* are; their bodies strong, but more adapted to endure hardships than to sustain labour; they are very rarely crooked or deformed. Their features are regular; their countenances fierce, in common rather resembling *Jews* than *Christians*;

the colour of their skin, a tawny, reddish-brown, or copper colour; they all have long, straight black hair on their heads, which they grease, and make it shine, with bears' fat, especially the women, who tie it behind in a large knot, and sometimes in a bag. They are hardy, lean, and squalid, and the whole manner of their lives uniform. They sometimes paint, or streak, their faces with black, when in mourning; but with red when their affairs go well.

We now return to Woolman's narrative:

Tenth of sixth month.—We set out early this morning and crossed the western branch of Delaware, called the Great Lehie, near Fort Allen. The water being high, we went over in a canoe.[1] Here we met an Indian, had some 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 horses, and some household goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wyoming, and were going to settle at another place. We made them some small presents, and, as some of them

[1] Longfellow sings of the canoe:

> . . . . the forest's life was in it,
> All its mystery and magic,
> All the lightness of the birch-tree,
> All the toughness of the cedar,
> All the larch's supple sinews,
> And it floated on the river
> Like a yellow leaf in autumn.

An eighteenth-century traveller, Mrs. Knights, a Boston schoolmistress, writes: "The Cannoo was very small and shallow, which greatly terrify'd me and caused me to be very circumspect, sitting with my hands fast on each side, my eyes steady, not daring so much as to lodge my tongue a hair's breadth more on one side of my mouth than tother, nor so much as think on Lott's wife, for a very thought would have oversett our wherry."

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 laboured hard in crossing some of those mountains called 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 this 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 eight 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 overtaken 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.

Twelfth of sixth month 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 favourable 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 hoppled, in the night, and after searching some time for him his footsteps were discovered in the path going back, whereupon my kind

companion went back 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.

Thirteenth of sixth month.—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 favourably 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 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 favourable 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 enquiry 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 labour to check the growth of these seeds, that they may not ripen to the ruin of our posterity.

On reaching the Indian settlement at Wyoming, 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 endeavouring 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 our baggage in 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 match-coat 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 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 Wyoming 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.

Fourteenth of sixth month.—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 Susquehanna 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 a humble, bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

Fifteenth of the sixth month.—We proceeded forward till the afternoon, when, a storm appearing, we met our

canoe at an appointed place and stayed 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 favoured 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 by 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 a 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 [1] near the town, where we found about sixty people sitting in silence. After sitting with them a short time, I

[1] Proud gives a description of their houses—"or *wigwams*, . . . mostly moveable, and occasionally fixed near springs, or other waters, for conveniency of hunting, fishing, basket-making, etc., built of poles laid on forked sticks fixed in the ground, with bark, flags, or bushes, on the tops and sides; having an opening to the south, and their fire in the middle. In the night they slept on the ground, with their feet toward the fire. Their cloathing was a coarse blanket, or skin, thrown over their shoulders, which covered to the knee, and a piece of the same tied round their legs; with part of a deer skin sewed round their feet, for shoes. When a company travelled together, they generally followed each other, in a row singly, and in silence; scarcely ever two being seen abreast, or by the side of each other: the man went before with his bow and arrow; the woman followed after, not uncommonly with a child on her back, and other burdens besides; the woman generally carrying the luggage."

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 showed 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 awhile 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 eighteenth I was at their meeting where pure gospel love was felt, to the tendering of some of our hearts. The interpreters endeavoured to acquaint the people of 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 laboured 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 labouring 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."

Nineteenth of sixth month and first of the week.—This morning the Indian who came from 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 favour, 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 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 centred 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 my 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 favours he had received that day, and prayed that He would continue to favour 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 labour 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 Susquehanna, 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 Wyoming 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 favoured to get near half-way to Fort Allen. The land on this road from Wyoming 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 favoured soon to get better.

Twenty-fourth of sixth month.—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 return for the services they did us, they became more free and sociable.

Twenty-sixth of sixth month.— Having carefully endeavoured 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 first 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 of selfishness in being glad overmuch, and laboured 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,[1] 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 rattle-snakes 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.

[1] The Indian pathways through the forest were some two or three feet wide at best.

To comment upon that vivid narrative would be an impertinence. We will merely quote an entry from the minutes of the Mount Holly Meeting:

1st of 8 mo. 1763. Our friend John Woolman being returned from his visit to some religiously disposed Indians up Susquehannah, informed the last meeting that he was treated kindly, and had satisfaction in his visit.

CHAPTER XVI

1763–1769

In 1763 Mount Holly was visited by an itinerant conjuror, who set forth an advertisement of his wonderful performances, wherewith the innocent country folk were highly entertained. Of the entertainment, which took place at an inn, a repetition was announced, and Woolman, going to the house at night, told the inn-keeper that he was minded to spend part of the evening there.

"Then," says he, "sitting down by the door, I spoke to the people in the fear of the Lord, as they came together, concerning this show, and laboured 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."

In September 1764 Woolman attended the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, where was present also John Smith of Marlborough, an aged minister of over eighty years of age, whose touching speech is given in the Journal. Though not an eloquent speaker, he

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 lowerful over-shadowings 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 a 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 had degenerated, but that his faithful servants must go through great and heavy exercises.

On the twentieth of the same month the committee, which had been appointed by the Yearly Meeting to visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, reported their work. They said that they feared that the weakness visible among the Friends in some quarters had at any rate partly been caused by members of the Society holding positions in the government which were incompatible with the tenets of the Society and by the fact that others were known as holders of slaves. To this point Woolman spoke as follows:

I have felt a tenderness in my mind towards persons in two circumstances mentioned in that report; namely, toward 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 autumn of this year, 1764, Woolman had in his employ an old soldier, who had fought during the recent wars, who had been a captive among the Indians, and who narrated how he had witnessed the torture and death of two of his fellow-captives. This relation affected Woolman deeply, and in the stress of his distress he wrote :

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 these 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 favour, 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!

The early part of the winter Woolman devoted to visiting the members of the Mount Holly Meeting, more particularly those who lived in that place, and much of his time in 1765 was devoted to similar ministration, including a journey along the coast of New Jersey. The words of the aged minister, John Smith, already quoted, are fairly indicative of the condition of the Society in and about this time.

In 1765 John Griffiths, an English visitor, wrote:

The affairs of the church were carried on in much brotherly love and condescension, a very great deal of

becoming plainness and honest simplicity being coupled together in the fear of God. The Meetings for the most part have been large, comfortable, and to edification, many mothers with their infants attending, the zeal of the mothers I thought sufficiently compensating for the cries of the babes. The Meeting held fresh and green mostly for six hours.

It will not be out of place to quote some of the "Queries" which were set forth by the Yearly Meeting in order to obtain uniformity of conduct and obedience to the faith.

This Meeting directs that the following queries may be read in the several Monthly and Preparative Meetings within the verge of this Meeting, at least once in each quarter of the year; to the end that the overseers, or other weighty Friends, may make such answers to them as they may be able to do, and their respective circumstances may require. The members of such meetings may, by this means, be from time to time reminded of their duty.

Among the "Queries" we find:

Are Friends careful to attend their meetings for worship, both on first-days and other days of the week appointed for that service? And are they careful to meet at the hour appointed? Do they refrain from sleeping in meetings? or do any accustom themselves to snuffing or chewing tobacco in meetings?

Do Friends keep clear of excess, either in drinking drams or other strong drink?

Do Friends keep clear from tattling, tale-bearing, whispering, backbiting, and meddling in matters wherein they are not concerned?

Are the poor taken care of, and are their children put to school and apprenticed out (after sufficient learning) to Friends ?

Are Friends careful to settle their affairs and make their wills in time of health ?

Verily—Applied Christianity !

The next journey upon which Woolman set forth was a visit to Maryland, which he undertook upon foot, so that he might be able more closely to observe the condition of the slaves, might set an example of lowliness to their owners, and " be more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable converse." In this undertaking he was joined by his friend John Sleeper, and together they started on May 6, 1766. Some way upon his journey, he tells us :

The weather for some days past having been hot and dry, and we having travelled pretty steadily and having had hard labour 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.

Then he gives us a touch of history, which

brings home to us very vividly the times in which he lived and worked:

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 labour for their living. Few of these, I believe, settled in any of the southern provinces; but by the faithful labours of travelling Friends in early times there was considerable convincement among the inhabitants of these parts. I also remember 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 them opened the way for sincere-hearted people to proceed further afterwards; and thus each one truly fearing God and labouring 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 neighbours; 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.

The journey was on the whole uneventful.

Again, in November, he found a call of duty "to walk into some parts of the western shore of Maryland," and, after taking leave of his family "under the heart-tendering operation of truth," set out on April 20, 1767, riding from Mount Holly to the ferry opposite Philadelphia, thence to Derby, and

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.

Is there not some pathos in that?

Twenty-sixth of fourth month.—I crossed the Susquehanna, and coming among people in outward ease and greatness, supported chiefly on the labour 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 condition 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 labours 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 labouring for the conversion of the Gentiles, were livingly revived in me, and according to the measure

of the strength afforded I laboured 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 labours 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.

CHAPTER XVII

1769–1770

In March 1769, Woolman was suffering much from ill-health. Here, as so often before, we will do best to quote his own words:

Having for some time past dieted myself on account of illness and weakness of body, and not having ability to travel by land as heretofore, I was at times favoured 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 chastisement, believing that if I was truly humbled under it, all would work for good.

It was probably of this period that he narrates the following:

In a time of sickness, 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 colour 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.

During this illness he was minded to pay a visit to the West Indies, and feared lest the unpleasantness of the task should cause him to disobey the call. Then

. . 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 Meetings I found no clearness to express anything 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. Awhile 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 eleventh month, 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 labour 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 of the dangers there are in connections of interest and fellowship with the works of darkness (Eph. 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, labouring 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 labouring 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 labour 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 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 labours 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 labours in Gospel love hitherto bestowed in the cause of universal righteousness have not reached that height. If the trade to the West Indies were no more than was con-

sistent 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 favour of less trading, should pay more than is common for others to pay, if I go 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 under these trials. I believed 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 favoured 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 laid 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 labours 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.

Shortly afterward he was attacked by pleurisy, and after a few days' illness was troubled as to what might be the end of it. Again he must be allowed to tell his own story:

. . . 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 labours 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 anything 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 labour 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 neighbour, 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 sweet 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 XVIII

ACROSS TO ENGLAND

It was but natural that John Woolman's thoughts should often have turned toward the Friends in England and that he should desire to cross the seas to visit them. In April 1772, he commenced making practical inquiries, and, as his intention was to visit chiefly the northern parts of England, he looked for a ship bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven. While at Philadelphia upon this errand, he learned that his friend Samuel Emlen, purposing to go to London, had secured a passage in the cabin of the *Mary and Elizabeth.*

Woolman had it in his mind to travel in the steerage, and together with Emlen visited the ship. Later in the day he discussed his plan with a Friend, who pointed out the great inconvenience of travelling as Woolman suggested, and so forcibly that for a time he was discouraged. The next morning, with two other Friends, he returned to the ship, afterwards going with Emlen to the house of the

owner, to whom he put clearly his scruple as to taking a passage in the cabin. What he said was 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 moneys 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.

In the event he booked a passage in the steerage.

It is not easy to realise to-day how great an undertaking then was a voyage across the Atlantic ; more dangerous by far than it is now, more difficult, and accompanied by very considerable hardships. Two short extracts will help us to forget our own times.

Catherine Payton, on her way to America, writes from on board the *Alexander*, in October 1753 :

After taking ship at Spithead on the 25th of 8th mo., we were about nine days before we got out of the Channel.

Later, in November, from Charles Town, South Carolina, she writes :

We landed here on the 26th ult., after being greatly tried with stormy, contrary winds, which kept us near a week upon this coast, without suffering us to land; but through infinite goodness we were preserved patient and resigned in the midst of a scene of distress. Weakness of body attended at the same time, which was chiefly occasioned by the hardships we endured in the storm.

Peter Kalm embarked at Gravesend on August 5, 1748, on board the *Mary* galley, Captain Lawson, bound for Philadelphia; weighed anchor at six o'clock in the afternoon and sailed some considerable distance before anchoring for the night. Early the next morning they resumed their voyage, sailing along the Kentish coast, arriving at six o'clock at Deal, "a little well known town, situate at the entrance of a bay exposed to the southern and easterly winds. Here commonly the outward bound ships provide themselves with greens, fresh victuals, brandy, and many more articles." Then on, past the Isle of Wight, past Portsmouth and Plymouth, with poor winds, and so out of the Channel on August 13, an eight days' voyage! They made their way across the Bay of Biscay, past the Azores, which were held to be a half-way house. On September 13 misfortune, which might have been disaster, befell the voyagers:

Captain Lawson who had kept his bed for the greater part of the voyage, on account of an indisposition, assured us yesterday we were in all appearance very near America:

but as the mate was of a different opinion, and as the sailors could see no land from the head of the mast, nor find ground by the lead, we steered on directly towards the land. About three o'clock in the morning, the Captain gave orders to heave the lead, and we found but ten fathom; the second mate himself took the lead, and called out ten and fourteen fathoms; but a moment after the ship struck on the sand, and this shock was followed by four other very violent ones. The consternation was incredible, and very justly might it be so; for there were above eighty persons on board, and the ship had but one boat: but happily our ship got off again, after having been turned.

To which may be added what teetotal Benjamin Franklin writes in this very year, 1772:

Whatsoever right you may have by your agreement with him [1] to the provisions he has taken on board for the use of the passengers, it is always proper to have some private store, which you may make use of occasionally. You ought, therefore, to provide good water, that of the ship being often bad; but you must put it into bottles, without which you cannot expect to preserve it sweet. You ought also to carry with you good tea, ground coffee, chocolate, wine of that sort which you like best, cider, dried raisins, almonds, sugar, capillaire, citrons, rum, eggs dipped in oil, portable soup, bread twice baked. With regard to poultry, it is almost useless to carry any with you, unless you resolve to undertake the office of feeding and fattening them yourself. With the little care which is taken of them on board ship, they are almost all sickly, and their flesh is as tough as leather.

Parting with his family, Woolman returned to Philadelphia, where he remained two nights, and

[1] The captain of the ship.

after a brief visit to Derby for the Monthly Meeting, he went on to Chester, a small market town lower down the river. Here he was joined by Emlen, and they embarked upon May 1.

The first few days of the voyage were rough, and many of the passengers were sea-sick, from which affliction, however, Woolman was free. Now, as at other times, readers of the Journal cannot but wish that Woolman had filled in at any rate some portion of the background of his picture. He gives us some few details:

"As my lodging in the steerage, now near a week," he writes, "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 laboured 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 shipboard to learn the art of sailing!"

Then closely follow a few realistic touches :

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 for 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 labour 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.

Followed by this :

Eighth day of fifth month.—This morning the clouds gathered, the wind blew strong from the south-east, and before the 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. . . .

About eleven at night I went 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.

With the sailors Woolman set himself upon a kindly footing:

. . . 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 most 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 de-

generate Jews a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, "There is no hope."

Sixteenth of sixth month.—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 come 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 labour 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.

Seventeenth of fifth month and first 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 assistance, 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.

Twenty-fourth of fifth month.—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 honour 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 favoured 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.

Twenty-eighth fifth month.—Wet weather of late and small winds, inclining to calms. Our seamen cast a lead, I suppose about one hundred fathoms, but found no bottom. Foggy weather this morning.

Second of Sixth month.—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.

Fourth of sixth month.—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.

Seventh of sixth month and first 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.

CHAPTER XIX

ENGLAND

Each for himself we must imagine what were John Woolman's thoughts as he sailed up the Thames and on his entry into London, which must surely have appeared to him dark, shut-in, squalid, compared with Philadelphia. But all that he tells us is:

> On the 8th of sixth month, 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 labourers now gathered at this Yearly Meeting.

The Meeting was held in White Hart Court, where, in the house of Henry Goldney, George Fox

had died in 1691, preaching two days before his death in the adjoining Meeting-house.

Fortunately we have an account of Woolman's arrival, traditional, but well authenticated :

This simple disciple arriving late in the Meeting unannounced, and very peculiar in his appearance, was likely, at first sight, to be regarded as some itinerant enthusiast. His certificate was presented and read, when someone remarked, that perhaps the dedication of the Friend might be accepted, and he might feel himself easy to return to his native land. John Woolman entered into the closet of his heart, there to seek, in meekness and wisdom, instruction from his safe Counsellor. No feeling of resentment prevailed, but, conscious that the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, he was humbled and deeply affected by the want of unity of the brethren, and his tears flowed freely. In the constraining love of Christ, and in love for his church and people, he had, at costly sacrifice, taken his life in his hands and left behind him his home and its endearments. That love still gushed out to the people of England, yet, for the moment, it seemed as though it must be pent within his heart. He rose with meekness, and stated that he did not feel any release from his prospect, but he could not travel in Truth's service without the unity of his Friends, and that, while this was withheld, he should not be easy to be at any cost to them ; that he was acquainted with the trades of a tailor and a shoemaker, and that he hoped, while the impediment continued to be felt, Friends would be kindly willing to employ him in such business as he was capable of, that he might not be chargeable to any. A season of silence ensued, during which tears flowed freely from many eyes. After a time, in the pure openings of truth, John Woolman spoke a few

words in the ministry, in which capacity his voice had not, till that moment, been heard in Great Britain. The Church was favoured with true discernment. The spirit of his blessed Master bore witness to his gift. All obstruction was removed, and the flow of unity (first expressed by the Friend who had before spoken his doubts) became a "river to swim in," and John Woolman, owned by the brethren, passed on to his labours, in all humility realizing that, as an instrument and messenger and servant of servants, he had nothing wherein to glory; that the work was not his own; that the ability to perform it was not of himself; and reverently thankful to his Lord, who had given him a place in the love of his friends, which was so acceptable to his tender spirit.

And here is a thumb-nail sketch in a letter from Dr. Fothergill to his brother Samuel, written from London on June 9, the day after Woolman's arrival; he says:

The American friends help us much. John Woolman is solid and weighty in his remarks; he has some singularities but his real worth outweighs them.

Of the ordinary happenings and doings of his life Woolman seems to have been as uncommunicative in his letters as in his Journal. Here is a note dated London, June 14, to his cousin, John Woolman, in America:

I have often felt tender desires that my cousin John Woolman may be preserved in a watchful frame of mind, and know that which supports innocent young people against the snares of the wicked. The deep tryals of thy Father, and his inward care for you are often in my re-

membrance, with some concern that you his children may be acquainted with that inward life to which his mind whilst among us was often gathered.

On June 15 Woolman left London for Hertford, where he attended the Quarterly Meeting. He provides us with scarcely more than the names of the towns he visited; how fascinating a travel book he would have left us if only he had kept the baldest diary of each day's doings. Birmingham, Coventry, Warwick, Nottingham, Northampton—but what help is a list of places seen when we know not what he saw, or what he said? Here and there a quotable bit; strikingly so this:

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 threepence to fivepence per pound; bacon from sevenpence to ninepence; cheese from fourpence to sixpence; butter from eightpence to tenpence; 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 sixpence per hundredweight; but near the pits not a quarter so much. Oh, may the wealthy consider the poor!

The wages of labouring men in several counties towards London at tenpence per day in common business, the employer finds small beer and the labourer finds his own food; but in harvest and hay-time wages are about one shilling per day and the labourer hath all his diet. In some parts of the north of England poor labouring 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 fourpence, some fivepence, 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 favour, made content.

Yet again he is troubled over the question of slavery and the worldliness of many members of the Society :

I have felt 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 labour ; 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.

On August 30 he wrote the following letter to his friend Rachel Wilson, an English Friend living at Kendal, Westmorland :

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 out ward labour 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 endeavour 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 labours 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.

In a letter dated the last day of July, Woolman mentions that he is only "middling well in health." He tells us later in the Journal:

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 labours 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 labours to watch diligently against the notions 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 labours. 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 at 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 much 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 stones are 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 labours, 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 laboured 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 labours. That which is of God gathers to God, and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

The rest, as far as the Journal is concerned, is silence. From York, on September 22, he writes to John, son of the afore-named Rachel, at Kendal:

Beloved Friend,—When I followed the trade of a Taylor I had a Feeling of that which pleased the proud Mind in People, and growing uneasy was strengthened to leave off that which was superfluous in my Trade; When I was at your House I believe I had a sense of the Pride of People being gratified in some part of the Business thou followest, and feel a Concern in pure Love to endeavour thus to inform thee of it. Christ our Leader is worthy of being followed in his Leadings at all Times, the Enemy gets many on his side; O that we may not be divided between the Two, but may be wholly on the Side of Christ!

In true Love to you all I remain thy Friend.

On the following day he writes to America :

Beloved Cousins,—I am now at York, at a Quarterly Meeting, Ninth Month 23rd, 1772, so well in health as to continue travelling. I appoint a few meetings, but not so fast as I did some time ago. I feel quiet in my mind, believing it is the Lord's will that I should for a time be in this part of the world. I often remember you, and Friends in your parts, as I pass along in this journey, and the Truth as it is separate from all mixture, the Truth as it is in Jesus, was never more precious to me than I feel it in this my sojourning, in which my mind is often deeply affected with that which is not of the Father, but of the world.

I hear that dear W. Hunt departed this life, with the small-pox, Ninth Month 9th, 1772, and that some of his last words were "The Truth is over all." The rest of the American friends on the visit were lately living, and mostly middling well so far as I hear.

I left my bed and some things on board the ship I came in, directing the people to convey them to you if they arrived safe at Philadelphia.

John Woolman.

CHAPTER XX

THE END OF THE JOURNEY

On Sunday, September 27, 1772, Woolman was at York, seriously ill. There he had already made many friends, among whom were various members of the Tuke family, all prominent Quakers; including Henry Tuke, who was associated with his father William in a thriving wholesale tea business, and his sister Sarah; also Esther Tuke, the second wife of William, of whom Rebecca Jones spoke as "a sort of Princess." They seem to have been kindly, hospitable, appreciative folk. Of the unflourishing condition of the Society at about this date, Samuel Tuke, eldest son of Henry, tells us:

> It had come in many places (and truly York was not an exception) to be managed not only by a few, but also by dry, formal members, wholly unable rightly to sympathize with the awakened, or with those who err and are out of the way,

but among such members the Tukes were *not* to be counted.

When Woolman came to York, Henry Tuke, then in his eighteenth year, went out to meet him at the last stage of his journey, to conduct him into the city. "I have frequently," says Samuel Tuke, "heard my father speak of this walk with John Woolman, and of the indescribable sweetness of J. W.'s company and the pleasure with which he remembered it."

Preferring to stay in "the clean country" rather than in the city itself, Woolman took up his abode in the house of Thomas Priestman, Almery Garth, Marygate, a plain, commodious dwelling-place. In his Journal Priestman wrote:

> John Woolman of Mount Holly in West Jersey in America who came on a religious Visit to this Nation and attended the Q(uarterly) Meeting here to good satisfaction and on 6th day after was much indisposed and on seventh day being 26 of 9 mo. the small pox appear'd upon him of which disorder he sufferd abundance during which time he was a pattern of resignation and Patience.

He was tenderly and carefully nursed by Esther Tuke, and by Sarah, and himself watched narrowly the progress of the disease. He was urged to take a doctor's advice, but answered that he did not feel free to do so, "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." Fortunately,

a young apothecary, uncalled upon, came to the house the next day, and Woolman felt at liberty to consult with him and with the other Friends present, saying that "if anything should be proposed 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."

Esther Tuke wrote to Samuel Emlen :

I scarce ever expected his recovery during his sickness, though there were many favourable symptoms ; for looking at the path, the unspeakable difficulties that would have attended his travelling, etc., it seemed often clear to me that he would either be delivered from it by death, or have more liberty in his mind respecting the use of some things. I have sometimes thought there might be a providential hand in his taking and dying of the small-pox ; for if he had gone off in almost any other disorder, we might have feared his manner of living, and the hardships he was exposed to had occasioned it ; but in this disorder, his manner of living might be a fit preparative ; and the apothecary (so skilful in it) said, before he saw him that no person, living as he understood he had, could be much afflicted by having a great load of small-pox ; but he found his mistake, and diligently attended him, expressing an anxious solicitude for his recovery, and divers times, with tears in his eyes, expressed his astonishment to see, as he said, such a perfect and upright man upon earth. John Woolman frequently conversed with him, with great openness, and when he differed in his judgment from the doctor, he gave him such reasons as were to him satisfactory.

In another letter she writes :

The state of his mind throughout the whole of his unspeakable affliction was one of continued calm ; a firm trust in the Lord, with perfect resignation to his disposal, appeared throughout the whole ; patient beyond description ; his hope and confidence so firmly fixed, that no outward distress seemed able to discompose or ruffle him.

I think it is a favour we had the privilege of attending him. He could bear but a low voice, nor seldom more than one or two in the room at a time ; and mostly without shoes ; his head at times being violent bad, he said the lifting up a door latch, or stepping hard on the floor, was as if we had beat him with hammers, and yet throughout his understanding was perfect ; could bear to speak but little, but when he did about his nursing, or anything needful, it was so expressive that every word seemed a sentence, and carried frequently deep instruction with it.

As the disorder progressed, his mind growing light and thinking becoming burdensome, he begged that if his faculties should become grossly disordered nothing might be given to him to which it was known that he had a conscientious objection.

On the 29th he prayed 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 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 my hand, I 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 showed 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!"

The next day, on being asked how he felt himself, he made reply, "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." He added that he was aware that the pains of death must be difficult to bear, but that they must come upon him if not now then later, and "he did not know that he could be better prepared." Worldly affairs he had settled in accordance with his wishes, with his wife and family he had parted, "as never to return, leaving them to the protection of God," adding: "Though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I have freely given them up, having a hope that they will be provided for." And: "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." After

a while he cried out with great earnestness of spirit, "O my Father! my Father!" and soon after he said, "O 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 laboured 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 centred 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, some time 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.

Fifth day night.—Having repeatedly consented to take medicine, 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 everything give thanks"; but added a little after, "This is sometimes hard to come at."

On the 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 gave 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."

He left a memorandum with directions for "an ash coffin made plain without any manner of superfluity; the corpse to be wrapt in cheap flannel, the expense of which I leave my wearing clothes to defray as also the digging of the grave."

On Sunday, October 4, he was very weak, though his mind remained clear; he had been quite blind for some days, and the contraction of

his throat caused acute distress. Esther Tuke writes :

He was exceedingly afraid from the first of giving needless trouble to any, but his disorder increasing so much that constant attendance was necessary, he desired I would stay with him and not sleep out of the house till I saw an alteration, which I very willingly complied with ; and though it was exceedingly trying to see him labour under unspeakable affliction and could render so little relief, yet I have many times been thankful, in being favoured to attend him ; for as I never saw one bear so much before, so I never beheld the like fortitude, patience and resignation—his hope and confidence was so strong and firmly fixed, that the greatest storms of affliction were not able to move him, or even cause him to utter an impatient word—indicating (that) he thought anything too hard ; and though he was not free to take much medicines, yet he attended so much (to) the progress of the disorder, and his own feelings as to what was suited for healing or cause nourishment, that our apothecary (a man we think of singular judgment in that complaint, not a Friend) said, he did not know he could be better ordered than he ordered himself ; except toward the last he seemed to need something more cordial, which he was not unwilling to take ; but his throat was then so closed, that he could not swallow but with the greatest difficulty ; and often strove, when it was distressing to see him under his great weakness, and the pain it occasioned, and at times he quietly said, " I believe I must in a little time give it over and try no more " ; and it seemed twice wholly closed up. But as a further detail of these painful circumstances cannot be of use, and exceedingly afflicting to me to relate, I shall leave them and say, though he appeared to us in some things singular, and the path he trod straiter than the liberty some of us have thought

the truth gives, yet I may say to thee that I cannot help thinking it was the way truth led him; and though it is not for us to endeavour to step in the same strait way, except from the like call, yet we may be thankful we are allowed more liberty, and can in a more comfortable manner enjoy the temporal blessings afforded us; and, at looking at this, and at the little comfort he had, it was cause of humbling to my mind, and brought to an enquiry, what returns I made, and whether I walked answerable to what I enjoyed far beyond merit; and I sometimes thought his singular and abstemious way so striking and conspicuous, may be a means to draw divers others to the like examination.

Then one 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 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 anything. About the second hour on fourth-day morning he asked for a 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."

Let Esther Tuke tell the end:

The day before he died, his throat was closed up, that he could scarce speak intelligibly, which distressed me much,

but he in great measure removed this difficulty by asking for pen and ink, which we got, and held the paper, and he wrote the words very legibly, though he was quite blind and had been so for some days; twice his throat was quite closed, that he could not swallow one drop of anything, and we had the most distressing prospect that he might continue some days in that situation. The Doctor syring'd his throat, but at last gave it up the night before he died and said nothing could be done; but my husband who will never give up using means, so long as there is the least relief, set on to foment with his consent; and continued it for two hours; and had the great satisfaction to find it open again, and he swallowed better than he had done for some days before; and we were ready to flatter ourselves with *hope*; but it was of short duration; for tho' he got a little ease in that respect, yet he was several hours exceeding bad, and could not lie in bed; was got up in a chair, and towards morning had on some of his cloathes, and with leaning on two, walked over the room, but wearied out was laid down again upon the bed, and after some time fell asleep, waked about the sixth hour, and breathed a few times, and departed without struggle, sigh, or groan.

Thus departed this life John Woolman, a little after six o'clock in the morning of October 7, 1772.

EPILOGUE

I

He was interred in the Friends' Burial-ground at York on October 9, 1772; a large and solemn meeting was held on the occasion in the great Meeting-house, and several Testimonies borne, one setting forth the cause of his leaving his native country and "travelling here thro' many hardships and that now the Lord had removed him from Works to a Glorious Reward."

II

We read in the Testimony of Friends in Yorkshire at their Quarterly Meeting, held at York the 24th and 25th of the third month, 1773, concerning John Woolman:

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. Skilful 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.

III

Dying, Joseph White cried out:

The door is open; I see an innumerable company of saints, of angels, and of the spirits of just men, and long to be unembodied to be with them, but not my will, but Thy will be done, O Lord! . . . I cannot express the joy I feel. My heart (if it were possible) would break for joy. If any inquire after me, after my end, let them know all is well with me.

THE END

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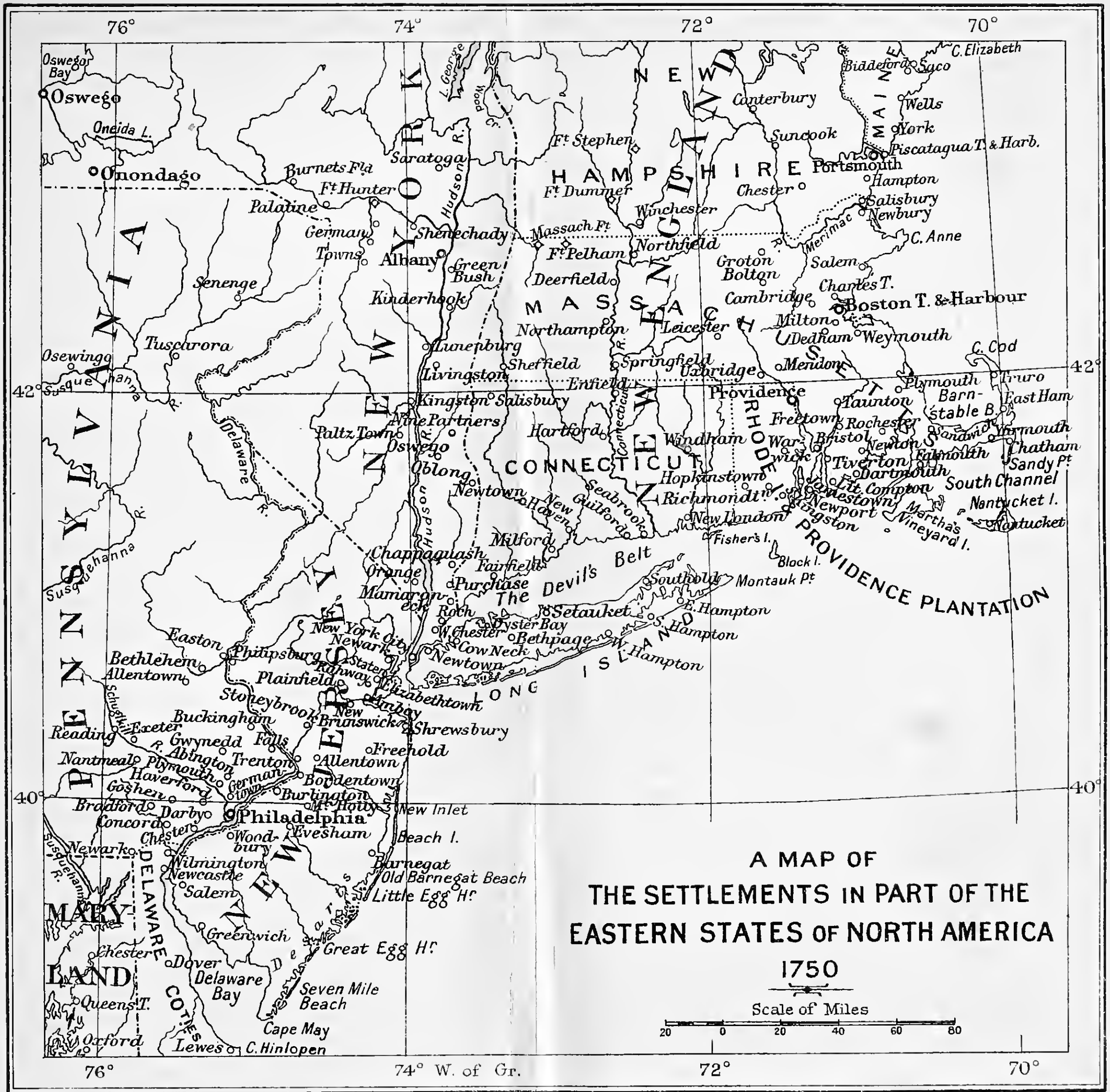

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