

ble me to bear with true resignation every turning of thy holy hand; that so I may be purged and purified, fitted and qualified, rightly to engage in the awful and solemn work whereunto thou hast called me. Or if, most gracious Lord, thou art pleased to cut short thy work, Oh! let it be in righteousness; and grant me admittance into thy ever blessed kingdom of light, life, and peace; there to join in the holy anthems of glory, glory, hallelujahs, and praise, to the Lord God and the Lamb; who art worthy for ever, saith my soul. Amen and amen.

RUTH ANNA RUTTER.

—\*—  
*Testimony concerning Warner Mifflin, by his intimate friend and survivor, George Churchman.*

He was eldest son of Daniel and Mary Mifflin, of Accomac county, on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, and was born about the year 1745. Their residence being distant from any settlement of Friends, his parents had but small share of society-help, yet were religiously careful of their children: especially his valuable mother, Mary Mifflin, who was concerned for the maintenance of order in their family. She, being a lively witness of the benefit of silent retirement in families, agreeable to the practice of our primitive Friends, maintained a godly zeal in promoting opportunities of quietude with her children and servants, often several times in a week;—which proved lastingly useful.

Warner Mifflin, being of an affable disposition and pleasing manners, became an object of the attention of gay people of note; but was, through mercy,

often preserved in times of temptation. At other times, his youthful inclination to undue liberties too much prevailed. His first marriage with Elizabeth Johns, was accomplished out of the approved order of Friends. But he was soon smitten with inward remorse for that precipitate step; and they were both enabled to condemn it, so as to be restored, in due time, to membership in society.—But he frequently expressed, that he often felt the crippling effects of that transgression of good order.

Having removed to Kent county, in Delaware, he was prevailed upon to accept the commission of a justice of the peace; in which public station he endeavoured to act with uprightness in the discharge of his duty. But, on a further conviction, and estimate of the value of pure religion, he did not find that peace which his soul desired, in embracing the honour conferred on his talents and person by a worldly spirit. Being remarkably awakened, and divinely helped, in the pursuit of the “pearl of great price,” through the powerful ministry of our friend Rachel Wilson, from Great Britain, he found it to be his duty to give up that commission, and leave a busy engagement in affairs that belong to the laws of outward government,—in order more fully and unshakenly to enlist in business dependant on the law of the Spirit of life: by submission to which, he was made instrumental in advancing the testimony of Truth; and a trumpet was given him to sound an alarm amongst us, of the iniquity of holding our fellow creatures in slavery.

Having liberated a considerable number of black people which were in his possession, he assisted his father in a like laudable concern, to liberate many

more who were in the condition of slaves. And when our religious society, in general, became clear of this unrighteous imposition upon mankind, his concern appeared to be enlarged, to labour amongst other people. Forcibly expostulating with ministers and clergymen of different denominations and degrees,—with delegates in congress in different states,—with governors, judges, and magistrates,—in christian boldness,—being influenced by wisdom from above,—he endeavoured to dissuade rulers from countenancing or encouraging the unrighteous traffic in human flesh—and to convince all classes of the injustice, cruelty, and oppression connected with enslaving, or holding in slavery, our fellow men. He was much concerned, that professing Christians might not be accessary to add to the guilt already incurred, on account of this cruel traffic and practice; and which he believed would occasion the pouring forth of the Lord's indignation upon those places where such abominations continued. Under these exercises, his diligence and zeal in advocating the cause of the oppressed, further appear, by many letters, writings, and notes, which he left behind him.

Many of the present generation are now in the enjoyment of freedom, who might have been slaves, but for the instrumentality of Warner Mifflin; who laboured first to convince the judgment of their holders of the iniquity of retaining them in bondage, from generation to generation;—next to gain their assent to emancipation,—and then, to aid them in the execution thereof.

With an upright candour, coupled with an open, sociable behaviour towards all, he was remarkably

qualified for obtaining the attention and esteem of men, in higher or lower stations, with whom he found it necessary to treat, relating to the cruel business of slavery, war, &c.

He was an example, in the simplicity and plainness of his apparel; and was religiously cautious respecting the use of things procured through corrupt channels.

On different occasions, his conduct was marked with a lively, encouraging faith and confidence in Divine superintendency. By a humble, steady devotion of soul, he endeavoured to promote the cause of Truth, in his day; being favoured, with becoming courage and zeal, in meekness, to obtain victory over spirits, comparative to Goliath, and seeming to defy the armies of the living God.

He maintained a faithful testimony against war, and the spirit of contention, and was zealous in endeavouring to strengthen the minds of his fellow professors in the support of that important testimony, becoming the followers of the Prince of Peace. Mournful in time of active war, he contemplated armies of men—our fellow creatures—contending with great animosity, like "potsherds of the earth," furiously dashing one against another, with instruments of cruelty.

He was also concerned faithfully to uphold a testimony against the common use of spirituous liquors, and very helpful in discouraging the customary use of them at our tables, in our harvest fields, and on other occasions. He often testified that those who are found rioting in such things, out of the channel of pure temperance, would be in a dangerous affinity

with the inhabitants of mystical Babylon, where iniquity and confusion abound.

Skilful and impartial in the administration of our Christian discipline, he was led to visit the several Yearly Meetings in America, and many other meetings for discipline. Having obtained the solid advice and concurrence of his brethren, before he moved in those weighty concerns, his services seemed thereby rendered more weighty, and were attended with an evidence of rectitude, much to the acceptance of his friends.

Thus, by a humble and steady devotion, he grew in experience, so as to become a useful elder, and a valuable standard bearer in the militant church. But it is apprehended that his unwearied diligence, and the ardour of his concern and exercise for the welfare of mankind in general, and especially for the black people, had, in the latter years of his life, a wasting effect on his bodily health.

In the 9th month, 1798, at an awful season, when great mortality prevailed in Philadelphia by the yellow fever, he apprehended it to be his religious duty to attend the Yearly Meeting held there; and he continued in the city, with fortitude and resignation of mind, until the meeting adjourned. His great solicitude for the welfare of the American people, and for the relief from oppression and distress of those he frequently called his brethren of the African race, continued to be manifested during the time of his stay in the city. After his return, he wrote a letter to a friend, expressive of his solid satisfaction in having made the dedication,—manifesting his continued care for advocating and supporting the good cause, even in perilous times. In

this letter, he says, "As I came along homeward, I remembered how careful and watchful a helmsman ought to be, in time of a storm! How quick the attention should be to the helm, lest the vessel receive damage! I have thought much of a sentiment of worthy Isaac Pennington, since I came home, that Israel of old was not to know the deliverance beforehand, but to trust in the Lord."

It was thought he took the seeds of the disease prevalent in the city; and, some time after his return, being taken ill therewith, he remained in calmness and quietude of mind, under severe bodily sickness. Thus, in a peaceful state of mind, he was favoured to resign a life devoted to the honour of his Lord and Master, on the 16th day of the 10th mo. 1798, in the fifty-third year of his age.

GEORGE CHURCHMAN.

#### INDIAN SPEECH.

The following Speech of an Indian Chief was published, many years ago, with the introductory history of the occasion which called it forth. We know not that its authenticity has ever been called in question. As it exhibits the views of the Indian natives, at an early period of the settlement of this country by Europeans, it may be admitted as a statement of the long established opinions of a people who have sometimes, though perhaps improperly, been termed savages. If the language does not appear in the modern Indian style, it may be recollected, that in translating it from the Indian to the Latin, and from the Latin to the English, the phraseology may

ritual and temporal good of such of the negroes, as have been, or may be, released from a state of slavery within its verge, I found, on the meeting of the committee, many things to rise in my way, and as it were to shut me up from service, believing that justice had not been fully done by me to this people. Notwithstanding I had discharged all I had held, and for the most part had made restitution to them for the time I had kept them over age, yet other things that I had many times thought of, or rather had had some distant glimpse of, I now found came very close. I did not find any way to do, but to make known my feelings in the committee, which brought some unexpected things to light with others, and seemed to open our way much. After this, I was not easy till I gave a bond, setting forth the particular matters that bore weight on my mind, and submitting the same to a committee of the Monthly Meeting, binding my estate to pay in every case what they judged it ought, if it were not done by me in my time. One thing was the hiring negroes years back, and paying the wages to the masters, which was in justice the property of the negroes. I could not find how I could be clear, without making them restitution, if their masters would not do it. One of them is my relative Stephen Maxfield of your Monthly Meeting; who, to my great satisfaction, is disposed on this wise, and has agreed to submit to the determination of thyself and Charles West, to pay to the negroes what you shall adjudge he ought.

In very great haste, I am forced to draw to a conclusion, and remain, with sincere love to thyself, wife, and family, thy well wishing friend.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

For "The Friend."

**Relics of the Past.—No. 1.**

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Merely outside imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

It is really refreshing in this day of excitement, of eloquent speaking, and of abundance of profession on the subject of slavery, to be able to look back to the past century, and to witness the calmness, the sweetness, the dedication of spirit which characterized the labours of those *practical friends* of the slave, the Woolmans, the Benozets, and the Mifflins; three men, who having bowed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, did what they did for the slave, in obedience to what they believed their Master required at their hands. Perhaps the publication of some of the relics of such worthies may be of advantage in the present day, inciting others to a similar faithfulness to apprehended duty. Of Warner Mifflin much has been written; and some of the incidents of his life have perhaps been embellished by a slight touch of fiction, yet his faithfulness to his religious testimonies, and his fervent zeal for the cause of the slave, are unquestioned. The following letter from him, addressed to a worthy elder in Philadelphia, seems to me well deserving of preservation.

Kent, 16 of Tenth mo. 1778.

RESPECTED FRIEND:

I, with others, having been appointed by our Quarterly Meeting to labour for the spi-



## Relics of the Past.—No. 2.

*The Friend; a Religious and Literary Journal* (1827-1906); Jan 27, 1844; 17, 18; APS Online

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yield to the influences of best wisdom, on this, to my present view, one of the worst of sins.

"And it is with peculiar satisfaction I have to remark, that my father was not long behind me in espousing the cause of liberty. After sealing the sincerity of his professions by the liberation of an hundred blacks, notwithstanding the discouragement of a law then existing, he became a zealous advocate and intercessor for them with their masters, and, in many instances, won his labours successful: often appearing alone in courts of law, amidst surrounding opponents, to plead the cause of individuals of the African race, who had a claim to freedom.

"An occurrence took place about the fourteenth year of my age, that tended to pave the way for the reception of those impressions which have since been sealed with indelible clearness on my understanding. Being in the field with my father's slaves, a young man among them questioned me, '*Whether I thought it could be right, that they should be toiling to raise me, and I sent to school, and by-and-by their children must do so for mine also?*' Some little irritation took place in my mind at first; but his reasoning finally so impressed me as never to be erased. 'The idea of losing so much property as what I might probably expect from the great number my father possessed, seemed hard on first view to reconcile; however, before I arrived at manhood, I determined never to be a slave-holder—yet, on settling in a married life, commenced the proving of my faith on this head—I became possessed of several minor slaves by my wife, and divers came from my father's on different errands, with a conclusion to abide with me, without any move thereto on his part or mine: as also several that never lived with him, that were of my mother's family of blacks from Kent county, Maryland—thus all I then had of lawful age, being volunteers, I set down quiet in the use of them, until at length I became almost persuaded I could not do without them. And when the subject of freeing blacks was treated on, the prevailing sentiment was, that negroes were such thieves they would not do to be free; and though this was chiefly the plea of slave-holders, yet I was glad to embrace it as a pretext for keeping mine; but I was not suffered long to rest unreprieved in this spot; my fig-leaf covering of excuse was stripped off, and my state discovered to me by the penetrating rays of that light which maketh manifest, '*for whatsoever maketh manifest is light;*' from whence considerable conflict arose in my soul; when after continuing for some time debating, resolving, and re-resolving, a period arrived, when He who hath his way in the clouds, in the whirlwind, the earthquake, and thick darkness, was pleased to arouse me to greater vigilance by his terrors for sin, for having omitted what had appeared clearly as my duty in this business, when in a time of thunder-storm, a very flash appeared as though it might be the instrument to despatch me into a state of fixedness, and with the measure of my duty herein not filled up; what then could I expect if taken in that condition, but an

eternal separation from heavenly enjoyment? And though these sensations may appear strange to some, who neither fear God nor regard man, yet I still retain a willingness, that such seasons of convulsion in the outward elements, may be impressive of solid instruction to my mind.

"It then settled on my understanding, that I should indeed be excluded from happiness if I continued in this branch of the Divine law, written upon my heart as by the finger of heaven; although want and disgrace to my family had presented with threatening aspect, should I adhere to its dictates. After which, in the year 1774, I manumitted those I had by my wife, flattering myself such who came of their own accord, I might retain while they chose to continue as heretofore, until being visited with affliction, on the presentation of an awful eternity, a willingness was wrought in me to cast my care on a merciful Providence, and to resign up, at all events, to what I did believe was called for at my hands, that of bearing a faithful testimony against the abominable practice of enslaving fellow-men; I therefore let my father know, he must take the blacks away, or authorize me to set them free. He readily told me, I might do as I would; on which, in 1775, I executed another deed of emancipation for all I held as mine."

For "The Friend."

## Relics of the Past.—No. 2.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Mere outside imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

The following particulars of the life of Warner Mifflin are principally extracted from a work, written by him, which was approved and sanctioned by his friends, entitled "Warner Mifflin's Defence."

"I was born [1745] and chiefly raised on the Eastern Shore of Virginia; and although my parents were of the religious Society called Quakers, and exemplary in their lives, yet I witnessed great incitements to a departure from the principles held by that people, there being none of the profession, except our family within sixty miles; and my associates were of those, who tenaciously held the prevailing sentiments in favour of slavery: so that I had no opportunity of having my heart and views enlarged on this interesting subject, by conversing with such of my brethren in profession, who had come to see the necessity of an impartial inquiry into the nature and tendency of this atrocious practice.

"Thus situated, and my father then possessing a number of slaves, I was in great danger of becoming blinded by the influence of custom, the bias of education, and the delusions of self-interest; from whence I certainly must have become fettered as in the chains of wrong habits, had not the emanations of Divine Light and grace (which I had been earnestly instructed to pay attention to) powerfully prevailed in successive visitations, so operating as to subvert the effects of dangerous prepossessions, and disposing my mind to

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port me in that mode of life. I was solemnly impressed with the importance of the trust when about undertaking the commission, and resolved to discharge my duty therein fully; yet though I endeavoured to perform this to the best of my understanding, I never felt that peace of soul I desired, during my continuance in office. This brought me into a strict scrutiny, and a confirmation succeeded of the 'Truth of our great Master's declaration, *'My kingdom is not of this world.'* My mind hath remained steadfastly attached to this sentiment, when at different times since I have been solicited to accept of any station either in the legislative or executive departments of government, especially as it considerably unfit for the promulgation of peace and goodwill among men, when there is an embarkation in human policy, on its floating sea of party spirit; that gendored envy, malice, revenge, rents, divisions and war. The abundant use of oaths, with frequent perjuries, in what relates to matters of government, appears to me not only a manifest violation of Christ's injunction to his followers, *'Swear not at all,'* but is also a profanation of the sacred name.

"And, indeed, I have felt scrupulous of taking an active part at elections, lest I should not only become tinctured with a spirit of party, but also contribute by my vote to the placing those in power who might become oppressors of tender consciences. If we give no just occasion of offence, but are in other respects useful members of the community, we may be admitted without censure to the exercise of these scruples; and it would be more to the honour as well as blessing of the world, if the tender conscience was more cherished.

"I was concerned with two estates, to which belonged many of the African race; in one they were willed to the heirs particularly named, and, as executor, I conceived I must exercise the government over them, to enable me to settle with the heirs. But I was turned solidly to consider, that I should not be justified in doing that for another, which I was fully convinced was a sin to do on my own account. The prospect being clear, a solemn impression took place at the time, that I believed to be the language of holy certainty, *That neither I nor mine should ever suffer by my discharging them.* I called them in, and let them know, so far as I had power, they were free. Some who were hired by their own consent, I informed, must continue the time out, and they should have their wages, and likewise all their earnings from their master's death. This was fully complied with on my part, to the best of my knowledge; and according to my faith, so was the event, the several heirs as they arrived at age, liberated the slaves, and released me.

"I also found an engagement to make restitution to those I had held in a state of bondage, for the time so held, which was done according to the judgment of indifferent men, agreed on by myself and the blacks. And on reflection, I found I had so much hand in selling some, as to put me under an obligation to release them; which I did to a considerable amount, on my own account, my then

wife's, and some who belonged to her father and grandfather.

"About this time, I was appointed on a committee to labour with the members of our Society who held slaves, in order to convince their understandings, of the inconsistency of this practice with Christianity. This labour was so far blest that in a little time most of our members liberated theirs. Now great stir was made, as if the country was going to be overturned and ruined. It appeared as if the lying spirit had gone forth to deceive the people. On my setting mine free, as I thought it best to put them from me, to manifest they were so, it was circulated that Mifflin had set free a parcel of lazy, worthless negroes; he could make nothing by them, therefore set them at liberty. This reflection had some weight with me, however unjust, and regarding Scripture injunction, not to let our good be evil spoken of, I thought it expedient to propose their having land and teams, and in return they should give me half their produce; which was put in execution with those who chose to accept the terms. Immediately the tune was turned, that Mifflin was making more money by his negroes now than ever, and keeping them in more abject slavery, under the pretence of their being free. I then determined to do what I did believe to be right, not regarding the unbridled tongues of men; and so I have endeavoured to act until this time, pressing through both good and evil report.

"Another trial occurred; I felt religiously engaged in testimony against the pernicious use of ardent spirits, so generally prevalent, particularly in time of harvest. We had been in the superfluous use of it in my family, and laying myself out as a candidate for promotion in government, as before hinted, when in the commission of the peace, I frequently kept the bottle and bowl on the table from morning until night; it being then, and I fear is yet too much, the corrupt manner by which worldly promotion is commonly attained. I now found a sore conflict was to be experienced, in attempting a practice so reverse to what I had been in, and in which I should stand alone. And having discharged my slaves, I feared I might never be able to save my grain, or carry on my farm to support my family. But the conviction of its rectitude was such, that I felt impelled to make the attempt. I had a number of people in my field, a master mason, with divers of his hands, among others. I thought if he became reconciled, it would tend to settle the minds of his companions, therefore began to discourse with him while he was reaping; when in a most shocking manner, he damned religion, and said he would have rum. This so afflicted me, I left the field, apprehending I should never be able to stem such a torrent. But seriously pondering on it, it souled on my spirit, that if I should hand out this liquor, and any life by its means be lost, as I had several times seen a danger of being the case, I should not be clear of the blood of such. On which I determined through Divine assistance never to use it again on any like occasions; and with thankfulness, I may acknowledge, I have been

For "The Friend."

### Relics of the Past.—No. 3.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Alas! outside imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 143.)

"About the twenty-fourth year of my age, [1769,] I was put into the commission of the peace, which tended to excite considerable thirst for preferment in government, a taste that had much impeded the progress of my testimony against slavery, as it furnished an idea of additional necessity for slaves to sup-

favoured never to suffer damage through the disuse of it in my fields, and so preserved from the misapplication of it since, that in all my concerns there has not been one pint used, except on particular occasions as medicine, and that but little.

"The late revolution now began to make its appearance, and as I was religiously restrained from taking any part therein, I had the epithet of toryism placed on me by interested holders of slaves. Insinuations were thrown out that my labours for the freedom of the blacks, was in order to attach them to the British interest, notwithstanding I had liberated mine on the ground of religious conviction, before this revolutionary period arrived. Added to this, on the issue of the bills of credit by Congress, I felt restricted from receiving them, lest I might thereby, in some sort, defile my hands with one of the engines of war. I was dipped into sympathy with the condition of the blacks, being declared an enemy to my country, and like them, thrown out from the benefit of its laws. This for no other crime, but yielding to the impulses of Divine grace or law of God written in my heart. Abundant threats were poured out, that my house should be pulled down over my head, that I should be shot, carted, &c. This proved a fiery trial, my soul was almost overwhelmed lest I should bring my family to want, and it might be through a deception. I left my house in the night season, and walked into a field in the bitterness of my soul, and without any sensible relief returned back. On stopping into the door I espied a Testament, and opening it in the 13th chap. of Revelations, found mention there made of a time, when none should buy or sell, but those who received the mark of the beast in the right hand or forehead: and it is fixed in my mind, that if I took that money after those impressions, I should receive a mark of the bestial spirit of war in my right hand; and then the penalty which is annexed in the ensuing chapter must follow. I then resolved, through the Lord's assistance, which I craved might be afforded, never to deal in any of it. This afforded me some relief, and finding my wife so far united with me as to refuse it likewise, (saying, though she did not feel the matter as I did, yet, through fear of weakening my hands, she was most easy not to touch it,) I became much strengthened, and resigned to suffer what might be allotted; feeling at times the prevalence of that Power, which delivers from all fear of the malice of men or infernal spirits, and reduces the soul into perfect subjection to the holy will and ordering."

(To be continued.)



For "The Friend."

# Relics of the Past.—No. 4.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Here outside justifications of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the sinner one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 151.)

"The war advancing with increasing distress, gloomy prospects opened, and close proofs seemed at the door of such who were measurably redeemed from the spirit of party. Not only our testimony against war, in the support of which our religious Society has been oft brought under trials; but that against pulling down or setting up of governments was brought to the test. There are those, who from full experience know, that it is not a cunningly devised fable, but the truth of God revealed in the heart, through his light and good Spirit, that shows us we are called to raise the pure standard of the Prince of Peace, above all party rage, strife, contention, rancour and divisions, in the spirit of meekness and wisdom; and in quietness and confidence, patiently to suffer what may arise for the promotion of this peaceable government of the Shiloh; in and through an innocent life and conversation; wherein the language is felt of 'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good-will to men.' This was the experience of many,—I am bold to assert it,—even during this cruel war, when thousands of men were endeavouring in its force and voracious spirit to destroy one another. Such have been my own sensations, when at one view I have beheld both parties, and had to risk a passage through them. I counted no one my enemy; I felt no fear from any thing on my part in thought, word, or deed; many times concluding, I should have had no objection for the two contending generals to have known my whole heart and conduct. I had, at an early period of that calamity, been convinced it would not do for me, even in idea, to wander without the boundaries of my professed principles; or I could not expect to be sustained by the secret aid of the God of the faithful, whose overlasting arm of help, with humble gratitude I may acknowledge, hath been stretched out for my strengthening and confirmation in a variety of instances: one of which was, when called upon among others for the support of Truth, to appear before the assembly of Pennsylvania, on behalf of our Friends who were banished from Philadelphia to Virginia, for the well-known forgery and unjust charge on our Society, dated from Spanktown; respecting which, some yet undertake to vilify us, though it hath been so fully refuted and cleared up.\* I queried with

an American officer of high rank, whether he did believe that could have been written in any of our meetings? to which he replied, 'He believed it was wrote in a meeting-house.' I told him it would be hard for us to be answerable for all the crimes committed in our meeting-houses, when they chose to take them from us by force; but did he believe it was written by any of the Society? His answer was, 'He believed General Sullivan knew who wrote it.' When on the day of the battle of Germantown, our Yearly Meeting issued a testimony respecting our peaceable principles, denying said charge, I was one among others, appointed to present this to the commander-in-chief of each army. This was a proving time. To pass through opposing armies, most of whose minds were perhaps agitated, and many of them afresh fired by the spirit of war, from their recent engagement. We had no passport, or shield to protect us

English monarch, originally written at a time when the minutes of Congress themselves, were full of professions of allegiance to King George, were reprinted as something new; and, at times, sentences were interpolated, to render them more odious to the people. Amongst all the papers prepared to injure Friends, during that period of bloodshed and commotion, no one was more remarkable than the Spanktown Forgery.

General Sullivan addressed a letter to Congress, dated Hanover, 25th of August, 1777, in which he states that certain papers he forwards had been discovered among the baggage of a prisoner taken on the 22nd instant. But one of these papers implicated the Society of Friends. This one purported to be an epistle issued by the Yearly Meeting of Spanktown, on the nineteenth of Eighth month, of that same year.

The author of this forgery appears to have had but little acquaintance with Friends, not knowing the names of their Yearly Meetings, or the places at which they were held. Spanktown, which was a nick-name for Rahway, was given to the place in derision, and by those acquainted with this fact, was never used except in a light, ludicrous sense. This was a sufficient guaranty that no Yearly Meeting of Friends would attach it to a document issued by them, even had there been a Yearly Meeting held at that place, which there was not. It is true that a Quarterly Meeting had been in session there; but it had closed its business on the 18th. The author, no doubt, had heard of this gathering of Friends, and thought that it would give currency to his forgery. His information, however, was not very accurate, inasmuch as the whole neighbourhood could testify, that the Friends had dispersed to their respective homes, before the date of the paper.

This is not the only palpable inconsistency about it. It is stated therein that "General Howe had landed near the head of Chesapeake Bay." It appears from the public papers of that period, that General Howe reached Turkey Point near the head, on the 22nd of the month, three days after the said epistle purports to have been written. This information did not reach Philadelphia until the 23d, and could not have been known at Rahway, or at Hanover, where General Sullivan was, before the 24th or 25th. This document, then, which he pretended had been found on the 22nd, could hardly have been written earlier than the 25th, the very day his letter was addressed to Congress. Whether Sullivan was the contriver of the whole affair, or was merely made a dupe of by others, we cannot now determine. Whatever may have been the origin of the paper, the members of Congress appear, at first, to have believed it genuine. They ordered the seizure of the minutes and papers of the various Yearly Meetings, and the arrest of a number of the active and influential members of the Society of Friends who resided in and about Philadelphia. These individuals were torn from their families and friends, and banished to Hopewell, in Virginia. A detailed history of this transaction might be interesting to the readers of "The Friend," but it would break too much the sketch of Warner Mifflin's life to give it here.

from any merciless attack, but our own innocence, sheltered by the wing of Divine preservation. Here I was brought into renewed sympathy with our oppressed African brethren, who are many of them exposed to the uncontrolled power of man, without any tribunal on all the earth whereunto they can appeal for redress of grievances."

The Yearly Meeting of 1777 closed on the 4th of the Tenth month, the day of the battle of Germantown; and it is recorded, that whilst James Thornton, the clerk that year, was signing the testimony against war, the meeting-house was shaking from the constant discharges of artillery. The concluding minute of that year is worthy of record.

"It hath been truly comfortable and refreshing to the minds of Friends who have attended this meeting, that through the loving kindness of the Father of Mercies, we have been permitted to hold the same in remarkable quietness, notwithstanding the present outward commotions which surround us; and being evidently favoured through the sittings thereof with the sweetening influences of Truth, which have been increased, and continued to the close; tending remarkably to unite our minds to one another, as well as in reverent praise to the holy Head of the church."

Warner Mifflin volunteered to undertake the delivery of a copy of the testimony against war to Washington and Howe. In performing it, he passed among the dead bodies who had fallen the previous day in battle. In conversation with Washington, he frankly told him, "I am opposed to the Revolution, and to all changes of government which occasion war and bloodshed." Some years afterwards, when Washington was president of the United States, Warner visited him at New York, and was received with great kindness and respect. Washington remembered the conversation at Germantown, and inquired on what principle he was opposed to the Revolution. He replied, "on the same principles that I should be opposed to a change in this government. All that ever was gained by Revolutions, are not an adequate compensation to the poor mangled soldier, for the loss of life or limb." After a pause, the president replied, "Mr. Mifflin, I honour your sentiments; there is more in that than mankind have generally considered."

During the war, many individuals amongst the members of the Society of Friends, were brought under considerable uneasiness of mind, in regard to paying the taxes levied by order of Congress. They knew the proceeds of these taxes were almost exclusively devoted to the support of the army, and the continuance of civil war, and whilst they felt the obligation of obeying the command of their Master, to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," they doubted, whether it properly applied to a case, where the right of government was yet in dispute. Many declined paying, and suffered heavy distraints on their property in consequence. Amongst these Warner Mifflin's father was one.

Warner could not take the paper-money issued by Congress, believing it was closely

\* During the war of the Revolution, many unjust jealousies were harboured respecting the Society of Friends, and many calumnies were raised to prejudice the community against its members. The various documents which the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, and its Meeting for Sufferings, thought it right to issue, exhorting their members to support the Christian testimony against war, were reprinted in the public newspapers, accompanied by remarks calculated to exasperate the unthinking and already excited multitude. Documents setting forth the attachment of Friends to the



connected with violence and bloodshed. For several years other money was not to be had for his produce, and being in debt, and not able to procure from his various estates, enough to pay even the interest, he suffered considerable pecuniary losses.

Beside the injury sustained in his property, there were many petty embarrassments connected with his conscientious scruple. Household utensils and furniture, which were broken, could not be replaced, and it required no little ingenuity to get together a sufficient amount of coin to bear his expenses as he travelled through Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, to defend the rights, and plead the cause of the negro. The following letter is in point:—

Kent, 11th of First mo., 1781.

Dear Friend,—I am just about to start for the dark land of Virginia, in order to see what can be done in the case of a negro sold there for a demand against my father for tax. My wife has several times proposed to me to try and get some pewter. Earthen-ware having been cheap, and my wife liking it much better, we have almost no pewter, and our stock of crockery-ware is nearly exhausted. I have thought of thee this morning, in connection with this subject, knowing thou hast a share in an iron-works, where it is likely thou hast a considerable demand for Indian corn. As I do not like to send any thing I have for sale to a common market, whilst the streams of blood appear running almost through every channel of trade, I have concluded to propose to thy consideration, if it would suit thee to look and see if thou canst find and furnish us some. It seems probable to me, there may be some families in the city that may have a larger share than may be proper for them, under their present circumstances, to keep. Of such as this I should be willing to have, if I could get it, in a way that I could conveniently pay for. For this purpose I thought proper to mention the corn to thee, and should be glad to hear from thee thereon. It is not likely, except the winter should continue as it has begun, that it would be sent up till spring, or that the powder should be got down. I was thinking if we could get half a dozen common plates, and two middle size dishes, it would do. Some more plates, if in reason to be had, I should like. This for the present, I believe, must wind me up, being in great haste.

I conclude thy well wishing friend,  
WARNER MIFFLIN.

(To be continued.)

Relics of the Past.—No. 5.  
*The Friend; a Religious and Literary Journal* (1827-1906); Feb 17, 1844; 17, 21; APS Online  
pg. 166

For "The Friend."

### Relics of the Past.—No. 5.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Mere outside imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 158.)

Since the publication of the last number, I have discovered one or two slight inaccuracies into which I was led by an article on "Warner Mifflin," in an old volume of "The Friend of Peace." From an examination of the records, it appears that James Thornton was clerk of the "Committee on Epistles," which drew up the testimony, and not the clerk of the Yearly Meeting. Six Friends were appointed by the meeting to take the "testimony" to Washington and Howe, who were directed by minute, "to endeavour to lay before said generals, or any of their officers, or other people, the reason of publishing that testimony; and also further to remonstrate on the behalf of our banished Friends, or proceed in other respects on behalf of Truth and our religious Society, as best Wisdom may dictate and make way for them." The battle of Germantown was fought on Seventh-day, and on Second-day the entire committee left Philadelphia to attend to its appointment. The following account of the success of this mission was drawn up by the committee:—

"We the committee, appointed by our last

Yearly Meeting, to visit the generals of the two contending armies, on the Second-day of the week following our said meeting, proceeded to General Howe's head-quarters, near Germantown, and had a seasonable opportunity of a conference with him, and delivered him one of the testimonies issued by the Yearly Meeting; and then proceeded on our way to General Washington's camp, at which we arrived the next day, without meeting with any interruption. Being conducted to head-quarters, where the principal officers were assembled in council, we were, after waiting some time, admitted, and had a very full opportunity of clearing the Society from some aspersions, which had been invidiously raised against it; and distributed a number of the said testimonies amongst the officers, who received and read them, and made no objections. We were much favoured, and mercifully helped with the seasoning virtue of Truth, and the presence of the Master was very sensibly felt; who made way for us beyond our expectation, it being a critical and dangerous season. We may further add, that we were kindly entertained by General Washington and his officers; but lest on our return we should be examined, as to intelligence, we were desired to go to Pottsgrove for a few days, within which time such alterations might take place, as to render our return less excusable to them. We were accordingly sent there under the guard or care of a single officer, and hospitably entertained by Thomas Rutter, a very kind man, and others of our Friends. In that town we had some good service for Truth. Two of the committee were discharged on Sixth-day afternoon, and the other four on Seventh-day, having been detained between three and four days. Two of the Friends, upon coming within the English lines, then near Vanderlin's mill, were stopped, and questioned respecting intelligence about the Americans. This they declining to give, they were sent under a guard to the Hessian colonel, who commanded at that post. He proposed several questions respecting the American army, which the Friends declined to answer. He grew very angry, rough, and uncivil, using some harsh reflecting language, and ordered a guard to conduct them to the Hessian General Kniphausen, who appeared more friendly. But he not understanding the English language, sent them under the conduct of a light-horse-man, or trooper, to General Howe's head-quarters at Germantown. Upon the two Friends informing one of his aid-de-camps who they were, they were dismissed, without being further interrogated. So that no kind of intelligence was obtained from them, nor any departure from the language of the testimony they had delivered. We believe the Lord's hand was in it, in guarding us from improper compliances, and bringing us through this weighty service, though it was a time of close humbling baptism. As to the charge respecting the intelligence said to have been given forth from Spantown Yearly Meeting, we believe General Washington, and all the officers then present, being a pretty many, were well satisfied as to Friends' clearness. And we hope

and believe, through the Lord's blessing, the opportunity we had was useful many ways, there having been great openness, and many observations upon various subjects to edification, tending to remove and clear up some prejudices which had been imbibed.

WM. BROWN,  
JAMES THORNTON,  
NICHOLAS WALN,  
SAM'L ENLEN, Jr.,  
JOSHUA MORRIS,  
WARNER MIFFLIN."

In the spring of 1781, Warner felt a concern to attend the Yearly Meetings of New York and New England, and many of the Meetings of Discipline within the limits of the latter. His prospect was to encourage Friends in the due support of the discipline in the spirit of the Gospel, and to urge a return to primitive principles and practices. Having the unity and sanction of his Monthly Meeting, he, in company with his friend George Churchman, performed the visit proposed. These two Friends both stood in the station of elders, and being sound disciplinarians, their labours in meetings were useful and satisfactory to the honest-hearted amongst Friends to the eastward. The following letter from George Churchman to a Friend in Philadelphia, gives some hint of their proceedings:—

"Seventh month, 1st, 1781,  
Falmouth, in Boston Government.

"Dear Friend—Having very often thought of thee, and other Friends in your favoured city, since this tour into the eastern part of the continent, and having an opportunity by David Cooper, who proposes returning homeward this evening, I was willing just to let thee know, we have, through favour, been permitted to attend both Yearly Meetings as proposed; also divers Monthly Meetings, &c., on the main land, as well as on Nantucket. We arrived here before the Quarterly Meeting held at this place yesterday. Divine assistance has been afforded from time to time, to preserve, in quiet resignation of mind, with a heart in measure given up to endeavour to perform what appeared right, as the way opened, in the different places. Divine kindness being yet extended in an admirable manner, even to backsliding professors, as well as to replenish the humble, and encourage the feeble minded, has afforded frequent occasions of gratitude and reverent thankfulness to the Holy Author.

"James Thornton, Samuel Smith, and Thomas Carrington, have been much in our company for several weeks past, and perhaps may continue so for a week or ten days longer; if we should go to a Quarterly Meeting at Hampton, beyond Boston, which is thought of. They have health, and often favoured to perform the part they came about, to the advantage of Friends and others.

"With kind love from the Friends mentioned, as well as from Warner and myself, to thee, thy wife, and the maidens\* near thy gate, from one who wishes to do right, as well

as that others may be assisted with himself to lay aside every weight and burden, which hinders the growth of the pure seed, in that green situation which is most acceptable to the Master or Great Husbandman,

"Thy affectionate friend,

"GEO. CHURCHMAN.

"Perhaps we may get back about the second week in next month, as far as Philadelphia, at least, if nothing occurs to the contrary. Moses Brown, who sits by me, and has been at Nantucket with us, desires to be kindly remembered to thee."

How Warner felt on his return from this service is pleasantly set forth in the following note he addressed to his friend Henry Drinker, of Philadelphia:—

"Dear Friend—I may inform thee that I arrived at home the twenty-fourth, under a tolerable degree of quiet of mind; and I trust under a measure of a thankful sense of the renewed kindness of the Father of Mercies conferred on me a poor unworthy creature. I would just inform thee, I still feel my mind engaged to press forward for the mark set before us, believing it is many times cause of encouragement to the honest-hearted to feel that they have companions therein.

"With love to self, family, and inquiring friends, thy well wisher,

"WARNER MIFFLIN."

"Duck Creek, 26th of Eighth mo., 1781."

At the close of his description of the visit to Washington and Howe, Warner in his "Defence" writes thus:—

"After many similar exercises, with frequent calls for, but little seizure of my property, 'till the close of the war, (when great spoil was made,) through a steady perseverance things began to wear a different aspect; hard speeches, sour looks, and threats gradually abated, so that, through the whole, I had not an insult offered to me in person."

\* Rebecca Jones and Hannah Cathrall.

For "The Friend."

Relics of the Past.—No. 6.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Mere outside imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 167.)

"Congress have published a declaration, that they 'hold these truths to be self-evident; That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men.' Seeing this was the very substance of the doctrine I had been concerned to promulgate for years, I became animated with a hope, that if this was sincere in the representatives, and by them inculcated among the people generally, a blessing to this nation would accompany those endeavours. 'To serve my country by exertions to remove one cause of impending judgments, I was concerned to unite with my brethren in representing this matter to different legislative bodies. In the year 1782, we appeared before the assembly of Virginia; which was attended with great satisfaction, having a set of liberal spirited members to deal with, when a law was passed admitting emancipation. To this law, Judge Tucker says in his late publication, may be attributed the liberation of some thousands of blacks."

The following letter gives further information of the application to the Assembly of Virginia, referred to by Warner Mifflin, viz.:

"Peterburg, Sixth mo., 26th, 1782.

"Dear Friend,—I have received thy kind and affectionate letter of Fourth mo., 24th, by our valuable Friend John Parrish. He and Warner Mifflin got across the bay to our Yearly Meeting; which was also attended by Joshua Brown, Abraham Griffith, and my brother-in-law John Hough. The meeting was large; a time of Divine favour; and the business thereof was transacted in much unanimity. A Meeting for Sufferings was proposed and established; which, I believe, will be of

real use, if the members thereof do but diligently attend to the service. A committee was appointed by that meeting, to lay the sufferings of some of the enslaved Africans, and some who had been manumitted by Friends, before the General Assembly, which was then sitting at Richmond. Our Friends, John Parrish and Warner Mifflin found freedom, (or, I believe I may be safe in saying, a concern) to attend us in that weighty service. We staid in and about Richmond for almost three weeks; and, I think, had every day more or less labour on the subject of slavery, both with the members of the Assembly, and others. Which, I believe, hath been instrumental in spreading and fixing the testimony in that respect more than it has hitherto been in these parts. We were favoured to obtain a law to empower any person to emancipate his or her slaves. 'The members of our Society in this government, who continue to hold their negroes in bondage, will now be left without excuse.

"Thy very affectionate friend,

"EDW'D STANLEY."

"In 1783, we presented a memorial to Congress respecting the slave-trade, and met with encouragement. And afterwards in the Assemblies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, some important steps were taken. Also in our after-application to Congress, it was evident that a large part of that body were favourably disposed towards the rights of this people. From these encouraging circumstances, I was induced to hope that Divine favour might yet be continued to this land; though often impressed with fears, that our progress in this business was not proportionably great to the light that had arisen. Indeed it is a mournful consideration, that this nation should yet be stained with the blood of the African trade; and that 700,000 slaves, according to latter calculation, should continue to groan in a land of boasted liberty. My heart has been grieved, and soul lamented for this afflicted race, as well as the condition of my country; having oft felt as I did at the beginning of the Revolution, apprehensive the hand of judgment was ready to be opened and outstretched upon a guilty people, if there was not greater reformation in this point, so as to appease offended justice. The outrages committed therein against humanity, I consider as alone sufficient to draw down Sovereign indignation, exclusive of those other evils and vices too prevalent in the land.

"An occurrence took place which produced renewed exercise of mind, and in the hour of affliction sealed further instruction on this subject. I received a severe hurt on my leg, and whilst under extreme anguish in dressing it, was brought into sympathy with a poor soldier, whose leg being fractured, and he left, without help, in the field of battle. The sensation was so powerful, I told my wife, that ever since arriving to years capable of judging, I had a testimony against war, but never so powerfully as at that time; feeling, that if every farthing we were possessed of, was seized for the purpose of supporting war, and I was informed it should all go, except I gave

voluntarily one shilling, that I was satisfied I should not so redeem it.

"Shortly after which, an account arrived that a vessel from the West Indies was run ashore at Lewistown by the English, and the militia were called upon to keep them from plundering her. On which this clear presentation took place—here is the channel through which in a time of national hostility those sweets I am so fond of come; at a manifest risk of the lives of fellow-men. I remembered powerfully what were David's sensations when his valiant men rushed through the Philistine army to bring him water from a well which he longed for; he was struck with sympathy for their situation; and because they went in jeopardy of their lives, was not easy to gratify his palate therewith, but poured it out in dedication to the Lord. In like manner I felt a prohibition from using foreign imports, and during the continuance of the war, never touched therewith, except what seasoning of salt might have been in my food when from home. And being brought into a deep feeling for the oppressions of the poor Africans in the West Indies, have never been easy with indulging in the produce of their labours since; least it should even, in a small degree, contribute towards the continued existence of a trade, which interests the planters in keeping up the number of their groaning labourers.

"And fully believing that 'righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a shame to any people,' I am anxiously desirous we may be numbered with the wise promoters of the public good. And indeed I am persuaded, that the growing sins of America, if persisted in, will be finally attended with dreadful consequences, according to the testimony of the sacred records, that, 'verily there is a reward for the righteous, verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth;' and in the due exercise of his judgment, taking cognizance of the actions of men, he will assuredly recompense to all, according to the fruit of their doings; to nations as well as to individuals, let the sophist speculate as he will about sacred things, in that wisdom which *darkens counsel by words without (true) knowledge.*

"It is from a sense of duty, both to myself and country, that I make these observations, and state some things interesting to both. It was on this ground I became engaged with others, to urge the subject of our concern to different Legislatures; to remove legislative obstacles from those disposed to liberate their slaves, and to protect those set free. And though salutary laws have been enacted in some states, for which I believe a blessing will or doth descend upon them, yet still the evil is continued in other parts of America in a most glaring degree. Where conscientious persons are discouraged from liberating, as by existing laws the blacks are liable afresh to be taken into captivity, by a dissolute people disposed to avail themselves of unrighteous laws; in many instances great numbers have been cruelly seized and sold into renewed bondage. Doth not this excite a fearful apprehension that the measure of their iniquity is filling up, who so act, and that they are



ripening for that chastisement which shall be poured forth on the workers of iniquity? and is not the consideration of it a loud call on that state where such evils prevail, to arouse, and by a more righteous procedure, endeavour, if possible, to avert the impending stroke? and what may be expected, both in that and other states, where there is an increase of cruel and barbarous separation suffered between the nearest connections in life for gain, even where they have had magnanimity enough to give some check to the African trade! An additional enormity prevailing, is the frequent kidnapping of free blacks, carrying them off and selling them for slaves, in some instances whole families, and in others separating them one from another.

"It is urged as a very great objection to the emancipation of blacks, their disposition to pilfering; but is it not the worst of robbery depriving them of that most valuable property, liberty? and keeping them under the oppression of slavery, the very cause of this fault? Being pinched at times for almost every necessary of life, they naturally put forth a hand to partake of what their labour gives them some claim to in equity from their possessors, where due support is withheld; and these practices becoming habitual, in their impoverished condition, they discriminate not sufficiently between the property of those they labour for and others; but when opportunity presents, frequently supply their wants from all alike, except where a principle of religious rectitude restrains from all such acts. I attempt not to palliate the crime. I have endeavoured, what lays in my power, to reprobate such proceedings, labouring to inculcate the Christian doctrine of returning good for evil, whereby they may know an overcoming evil with good; and to point out the necessity of departing from these practices, being objections speciously alleged against their general liberation. But as slavery decreases, and is exploded, we may reasonably hope its concomitant habits will also decrease, and a greater nobility of soul take place. I believe the Almighty hath arisen to judgment, in this business, and that his voice will be found to exceed the sound of many waters, or all the clamours of the people; overpowering all opposition whatsoever.

"If we proved more faithful in the discharge of our duty towards God and this people, I believe they would act differently towards us. But where do negro crimes exceed the crimes of white men, when we view them, selling tender babes from a fond mother, a beloved wife from an affectionate husband, or an aged father from his offspring with whom he hath lived from their early years; and, although a slave, capable of the ties of affection and enjoying consolation in their society; and now, as to this life, forever parted? Ah! what language can paint in its genuine colours this abominable practice! How rejoicing would it be to me, if with Divine allowance, I might be placed in an allotment exempt from that continued grief of soul, which is almost daily renewed, from seeing and hearing of those acts of inhumanity committed by my countrymen! Could I have believed myself authorized by

the approbation of heaven, I should long ere this time have sought an asylum in some other quarter. But I desire to be found in my proper allotment the little time I may be continued here—faithfully discharging my duty towards my Creator and my country."

(To be continued.)

## Relics of the Past.—No. 7.

*The Friend; a Religious and Literary Journal* (1827-1906); Mar 2, 1844; 17, 23; APS Online

pg. 181

For "The Friend."

### Relics of the Past.—No. 7.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offering of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Mere outside imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 173.)

About the commencement of the year 1783, Warner Mifflin met with a deep trial, in the loss of his eldest daughter. To a much valued Friend he thus wrote on this subject, under date of Third mo. 10th. 1783.

"I think I hinted in my last the indisposition of my oldest daughter. Since that time she has been removed from a painful conflict, I believe, to a better abode. I have felt desires to be in a situation that I might with proper authority adopt the language of Job, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, Blessed be the name of the Lord.' It is a great attainment under the different administrations of the rod and the staff, to be enabled to bless and praise His ever adorable name. It is so far a continuation of favour, that I feel at times, amidst my deficiencies, a desire that nothing may be pitied or spared that may be offensive, and that I may be stripped of every temporal enjoyment, rather than that I might be suffered so to conduct as to be shut out from his life-giving presence, in which alone is the true comfort."

The memorial to Congress which Warner mentions as having been presented in 1783, was drawn up by a committee of the Yearly Meeting, and was generally signed by Friends assembled. It appears from the minutes of Congress, to have been presented on the 8th of Tenth month, four days after it was issued by the meeting. It is as follows:—

*"To the United States in Congress assembled.*

*"The address of the people called Quakers.*

"Being, through the favour of Divine Providence, met as usual at this season in our annual assembly, to promote the cause of piety and virtue, we find with great satisfaction our well-meant endeavours for the relief of an oppressed part of our fellow-men have been so far blessed, that those of them who have been held in bondage by members of our religious Society, are generally restored to freedom,—their natural and just right.

"Commiserating the afflicted state into which the inhabitants of Africa are very deeply involved by many professors of the mild and benign doctrines of the gospel, and affected with a sincere concern for the essential good of our country, we conceive it our indispensable duty to revive in your view the lamentable grievance of that oppressed people, as an interesting subject, evidently claiming the serious attention of those who are entrusted with the powers of government, as guardians of the common rights of mankind, and advocates for liberty.

"We have long beheld with sorrow the complicated evils produced by an unrighteous commerce, which subjects many thousands of

the human species to the deplorable state of slavery.

"The restoration of peace, and restraint to the effusion of human blood, we are persuaded, excite in the minds of many, of all Christian denominations, gratitude and thankfulness to the all-wise Controller of human events; but we have grounds to fear that some, forgetful of the days of distress, are prompted by avaricious motives, to renew the trade for slaves to the African coasts, contrary to every humane and righteous consideration, and in opposition to the solemn declarations, often repeated, in favour of universal liberty; thereby increasing the too general torrent of corruption and licentiousness, and laying a foundation for future calamities.

"We therefore earnestly solicit your Christian interposition, to discourage and prevent so obvious an evil, in such manner as under the influence of Divine wisdom you shall see meet.

"Signed in and on behalf of our Yearly Meeting, held in Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia, dated the Fourth-day of the Tenth month, 1783, by [535 Friends.]"

Warner Mifflin, George Dillwyn, James Pemberton, Anthony Benezet, David Evans, David Cooper, Robert Kirkbride, John Parrish, John Hoskins, Joseph West, Benjamin Clark, Daniel Byrnes, George Bowne, Eli Yarnall and Jacob Lindley, were appointed to lay it before Congress, which was then sitting at Princeton. All those appointed, but one, attended with it, and were respectfully received.

The journal of Congress as published does not show what action was taken on this memorial, but by a letter from David Howell, one of the members from Rhode Island, addressed to James Pemberton, we are informed that a few months after its presentation, it was referred to a committee. This committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Jeremiah T. Chase, of Maryland, and David Howell, of Rhode Island. In order to test the feelings of the members of Congress, this committee introduced into a "report of a plan for a temporary government of the western territory" the following paragraph:—

"That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted, to have been personally guilty."

On the 10th of Fourth month, 1784, this report coming under consideration, Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike out the above paragraph; this was seconded by Read, of South Carolina. The question was then raised, shall this paragraph stand? On this the yeas and nays were called, when it appeared that the delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, voted in the affirmative; Maryland and South Carolina in the negative; North Carolina was equally divided; Virginia stood one for, and two

against. Only one of the delegates from New Jersey was present, who voted in the affirmative. By the then constitution of Congress, it required the agreement of a majority of the representatives of seven of the states for the enactment of such a provision; and thus this resolution was lost. Had the other delegate from New Jersey been in his place, the United States might perhaps long since have been relieved of the burden of slavery. The representatives voting in the affirmative from the southern states, were Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina.

Friends were not disposed to let the subject thus rest; and when Congress, which had held its sittings at Alexandria in the commencement of 1784, met according to its adjournment towards the close of that year at Tronton, they proceeded to take some steps to revive their address before that body. They were also desirous of distributing amongst the members of Congress a printed pamphlet, entitled "The Case of the Oppressed Africans." To inquire into the best mode of managing the matter, James Pemberton addressed a letter to David Howell, who appears to have been a firm friend to the cause of freedom. In reply, D. H. writes:—

"Tronton, Dec. 22d, 1784.

"Sir,—Your favour of yesterday has been put into my hands. I am always pleased to be charged with any service in my power to render to the cause of personal liberty, in which your Society have taken so decided, and I may add, successful a part.

"The address presented to Congress by a deputation from your Yearly Meeting of 1783 (which your people are pleased to observe was courteously received) was, while Congress resided at Annapolis, referred to a committee. The subject-matter of the address met the wishes of many respectable members; a report thereon was made by the committee. This report was taken up in an unfavourable time, (for indeed no other presented itself for want of a full representation,) and lost.

"At the present time, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Delaware, as well as Maryland are unrepresented. The three former might wish to be present at the determination of Congress on the subject in question, add to this that our time has been taken up already several days on the subject of a temporary residence. \* \* \*

"As you are pleased to ask my opinion as to the mode of presenting some pamphlets on the subject of personal liberty to the members of Congress, I can only inform you, that the usual method has been to enclose them in a cover, with each particular delegate's name written on the pamphlet for him, directed to the President of Congress, accompanied by a letter of information.

"I would wish that the letter to the president might make such a reference to the address, as to put it in our power by referring that letter to a committee, to revive the subject in an easy manner.

"As soon as Congress shall be seated for the winter, and have a full house, a favourable

opportunity will offer to revive this subject on their minds."

Congress removed from Trenton to New York, and during its sittings there, the following letter was addressed to its President, Richard Henry Lee, by the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia:—

"Philadelphia, 26th of First mo., 1785.

"Respected Friend,—The importance of the subject will, we trust, apologise for our freedom in thus addressing thee, as it concerns multitudes of our unoffending fellow-men, who, by a most ignominious traffic, are subjected to a miserable state of barbarous sufferings and oppression.

"The Yearly Meeting of our religious Society in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c., impressed with a sense of the enormity of this evil, and the obvious destructive consequences to the principles and morals of the people among whom slavery prevails, were excited by an apprehension of duty to address the United States in Congress, in the Tenth month, 1783, hoping that a reasonable declaration from so high authority, in favour of personal liberty, would obtain regardful attention from the people, and animate the legislatures of the respective states, to exert their influence and endeavours to discourage, and prohibit the increase of the number of slaves by any future importation of them; which we conceive would conduce to the general good, and exhibit an honourable example of real justice. We are still earnestly solicitous that the subject-matter of the address above mentioned should be revived, which we wish thee to promote, and that such resolutions may be formed thereupon as may be dictated by that wisdom from above, which is pure and peaceable, full of mercy and good fruits.

"In the mean time, we request the favour of thy presenting to each delegate in Congress one of the small pamphlets herewith sent, entitled 'The Case of the Oppressed Africans,' &c., whose affecting circumstance, we hope, will engage their most serious compassionate consideration.

"Thy friendship in complying with our request will be very grateful to our religious Society, on whose behalf we are

"Thy respectful Friends," &c.

Richard Henry Lee with promptness attended to the request, causing the pamphlets to be properly distributed, and the letter to be publicly read to the house. On its reading, no little discussion arose; the southern members contending that Congress had no power of legislation on the subject. The friends of human liberty, finding that they could not obtain the passage of any bill, such as they desired, suffered the whole matter to rest for a time.

(To be continued.)

For "The Friend."

### Relics of the Past.—No. 8.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. More outside imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 183.)

Warner Mifflin attended the Yearly Meeting held in the Tenth month, 1781, and took an active part in its business. Some weeks after his return home, he wrote a letter to a Friend, from which the following is extracted:—

"Kent, y<sup>e</sup> 16th of Eleventh mo., 1784.

"Dear Friend:—I am, and have been in but a poor state of health since the Yearly Meeting. It is probable thou hast heard that I was taken sick on my way home. I still continue weak, and, at intervals, am very poorly. I much desire it may tend to arouse me to a more earnest solicitude for the necessary preparation for that solemn event that awaits all, and which cannot be shunned. I seem in a poor way as to improving, so much so, as to induce me to think sometimes, more affliction is requisite, and will be administered, if I am worthy to receive it. It is not desirable, nor desired by me; but there are times when I do desire I may not be spared, whatever Infinite Wisdom sees necessary to fit me for his pleasure. May I be his on his own terms."

In this letter, after narrating the many difficulties he laboured under, in raising sufficient money to pay for a piece of land which was partly inclosed by his other estates, and which he purchased to get rid of bad neighbours, he adds:—"I am under the necessity of raising 150*l.* speedily, to discharge a bond I gave for a negro, I had a hand in my young years in selling."

His sickness was succeeded by a very painful sore upon his leg, and whilst enduring the pain of body, he seemed renowedly drawn into sympathy with his suffering brethren of the African race. He knew that his ancestors had sold negroes into Virginia, and that by the money received for them his estate had been increased, and he was uneasy at the thought. On the 7th of First month, 1785, he wrote thus:—"I feel my mind engaged to go to Virginia, to labour to obtain the liberty of some negroes sold by my predecessors, and the descendants of such. I do not see any time more suitable than the present, if I can get my leg well enough to travel."

Shortly after the date of this letter, he was enabled to go to Virginia to attend to his concern, which detained him a few weeks. His letters, about this time, speak of the great difficulties he laboured under respecting the poor blacks, who flocked to his house for advice and assistance.

The following is extracted from a letter, dated

"Kent, Tenth mo., 7th, 1785.

"Dear Friend:—How good and how precious a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. I thought I really felt



something of this in thy last letter to me, being satisfied that thou hadst a true sympathy with me; and thy letter afforded a relief to my mind that I cannot readily express.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I have had a pretty close turn of sickness; being taken the afternoon before I intended to have set off for the Yearly Meeting. The thoughts of being debarred the satisfaction of being with my friends, added no little to the exercise of my mind; and the suggestion arose in me that I was not worthy to be with them. \* \* \*

"It appears to me to be a trying day in various respects, and such a torrent of worldly-mindedness, that I am at times almost afraid we shall lose a great part of what was gained in our late troubles."

Warner Mifflin had felt a concern of mind that a memorial on the subject of slavery might be presented to the Legislature of the State of Delaware; and having drawn one up, towards the close of 1785, he sent it to the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, for their judgment and revision. It was somewhat modified by the Monthly Meeting of Duck Creek, and by the Meeting for Sufferings, and then having been approved by Wilmington and Duck Creek Meetings, was signed by many Friends resident in the State of Delaware, and presented to the Assembly early in the first month, 1786. It appears to have been delivered by a number of Friends, among whom Warner was probably one. He had just returned from another of his visits of mercy to Virginia. The memorial was as follows:—

"To the General Assembly of the Delaware State.

"The Memorial and Address of the People called Quakers, inhabitants in the said state, respectfully sheweth:

"That having been long affected with the oppression exercised over the black people by many inhabitants of this state, as also in other parts of this continent, we have been anxiously solicitous for their relief, and with satisfaction observe, that a sense of the evil of withholding from them their just and natural right of personal freedom hath so far prevailed, that the Legislatures in several of the United States have interposed their authority for the abolition of slavery. Encouraged by which, and a persuasion that divers members of your house behold the enslaving our fellow-men to be contrary to every Christian and moral obligation, we take the liberty to address you on this very important subject; earnestly desiring it may claim your most serious, disinterested attention; and that in a Legislative capacity you will be pleased to apply a remedy for removing the reproachful evil.

"It is well known that the Africans, many of whom have been inhumanly brought into bondage among us, possess a considerable territory, in which they enjoyed their freedom, but through the avarice of *professed* Christians have been encouraged in oppression and tyranny, one over another, and after being forced from their native country, separated from their nearest connections in life, are subjected to a state of abject slavery and severe distress; many of whom, and their offspring,

are now groaning under oppressive bondage in this government.

"It is also known that many religious persons among us, of different denominations, from a conviction of the abominable and complicated evil of holding them in slavery, have been induced to manumit and restore them to liberty; but former legislators in this government, actuated by mistaken policy, or other motives, have increased the difficulty by enhancing the security required to indemnify the public against the charge of providing for them, in case of their falling into want, which is thought unreasonable, and therefore seldom complied with, as healthy negroes set at liberty, in the prime of life, are mostly subject to immediate taxation, by which, contributing to the common charges of the community, they are justly entitled to the common privileges of other freemen. Contrary to which, on being apprehended for misdemeanors, they have been denied an open trial, and convicted on unequal laws, and other modes prescribed, different from what are provided for the common benefit of other members of civil community; and the cost arising therefrom, and the damages adjudged, have been considered as debts against their former masters, by whom they were emancipated, under the plea of neglecting to give the security by law required. Whereby some who could not, consistent with a good conscience, retain them in bondage, have been made liable to heavy penalties.

"Instances have also occurred of some who had restored their slaves to freedom, unjustly reclaiming, and again reducing them to a state of bondage.

"We therefore entreat you to take the afflicted case of the oppressed negroes in this state under your mature consideration, and grant them such relief as justice, humanity, the common natural rights of mankind, and, above all, the precepts and injunctions of the Christian religion require. Desiring that your minds may be influenced by Divine wisdom for your direction,

"We are your respectful friends," &c.

The committee who presented this address to the Legislature, were well satisfied that they had been in the way of their duty, and thought that it was productive of good.

(To be continued.)

For "The Friend."

Relics of the Past.—No. 9.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Mere outward imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 189.)

In the First month, 1787, Warner attended the Legislature of Delaware, for many days, on a bill before them respecting negroes. In the fall of the year, he accompanied his dear friend William Jackson on a visit to North Carolina. In preparing for this journey, he had many deep baptisms to pass through, which are in some measure set forth in the following extract from one of his letters:—

"Leesburg, in Virginia, 14th of Tenth mo., 1787.

"Esteemed Friend:—Being at this place with my esteemed Friend William Jackson, together with our Friend Eleanor Ballard, and companion, on our way to Carolina, I remembered thee with affectionate nearness. \* \* \* My strait has been great in leaving home on many accounts, insomuch that I thought it was a bitter cup, that I should have been glad to have been excused from. I thought if a small spell of sickness had prevented my going, it would have been more pleasant; but I was left without sufficient excuse of this kind; though I have a cold, and have had on my journey severe pain in my breast; but am better. I believe my journey has been undertaken, like leaving all to follow Him; which, if I am not mistaken, is all I have in view. And if we would mend the matter, to whom else can we go? As He alone remains to have the words of eternal life. I have thought if I was an extraordinary preacher, it might be worth while to go, and have sometimes questioned what I can go for? To-day it has fixed in my mind, that if He require me to go, and nothing be laid on me to do, it will not be without its reward."

Warner's visit was not without its field of labour for the exercise of his talents. Sarah Harrison who attended North Carolina Yearly Meeting that year, says, in her journal:—

"After the Yearly Meeting, we attended New Garden Monthly Meeting, also had meetings at Deep river, Springfield, Marlborough, Providence, and to the Quarterly Meeting at Cane creek. Here we met with William Jackson and Warner Mifflin, Charity Cook, and Rebecca Fincher. The subject of holding mankind as slaves came weightily before this meeting, and a committee was appointed to visit all such as have slaves; and if they continue to disregard the wholesome advice of the body, Monthly Meetings were directed to disunite them. Warner Mifflin went to attend the assembly of North Carolina, with a well-written petition from the Yearly Meeting."

Among the trials which attended Warner Mifflin in the year 1788 and 1789, was an apprehension of duty to pay a visit to Friends in England, with a view particularly to attend the meetings for discipline. His Monthly and Quarterly Meetings set him at liberty; but a difficulty arose in the spring meeting of ministers and elders, 1789, which is thus described by Job Scott. "Dear Warner Mifflin's concern for England is doubtless well founded. But though the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings have approved it, the general meeting of ministers and elders think he cannot go orderly, till the Yearly Meeting points out a way for elders to visit the churches, seeing there is no letter of discipline for it. And his concern being especially to build up Israel in the line of order, Friends think he must go orderly. He is very submissive, and his concern feelingly weighty."

Warner writes, Fourth mo., 11th, 1789:—"My mind feels quite calm and composed respecting England. I have no point to carry; and think I have been right in opening the matter before my friends; and believe that it is my duty patiently to abide their determination. Since it is before them, it is somewhat taken off of me. \* \* \* I am clear of censure or hard thoughts, and feel I love the brethren."

Warner attended the Yearly Meeting in the Ninth month, 1789, and was appointed on a committee to draw up an address to Congress on the subject of slavery and the African slave trade. The committee prepared a strong document, which was approved by the Yearly meeting; and Warner, with a number of other Friends, were desired to present it to Congress. In the Second month, 1790, although he was suffering under severe indisposition of body, he, with ten other members of the committee, and John Parrieh as a volunteer, went to New York, where Congress was then sitting. The meeting for sufferings of New York having drawn up a short address on the subject of slavery, both addresses were presented at the same time, and being read, the House of Representatives appointed a committee to consider them. The Friends from Philadelphia, being invited, attended the sittings of that committee, and had full liberty to lay before it their sentiments. They also visited the members of the Senate and House generally.

Some of the delegates were opposed to their wishes, but a majority seemed favourably disposed, and the subject by the report of the committee was spread on the minutes of Congress. Warner and his colleagues returned, satisfied that some good had been effected.

Warner now prepared a short essay on slavery, which he wished distributed amongst the members of Congress. He took it with him to Philadelphia in the Fifth month, 1790, and it appears to have been approved of by the members of the Meeting for Sufferings, and was transmitted to two Friends in New York for their care, in placing it in the hands of those for whom it was intended. This essay I have been unable to obtain a copy of. Before leaving the city of Philadelphia, on

the 3d of Sixth month, Warner thus wrote to a Friend, to whom he had committed his essay:—

"Dear Friend:—I have thought I should like that Madison was noticed amongst those to whose care that little piece of mine is sent; also John Page from Virginia. I have thought whether being particularly named, would not animate them the more to put forward the business. George Thatcher, of Massachusetts, is also a particular friend of mine, and friendly to this business. I expect you will keep a copy, and think it would be well to know that it has been received in New York speedily. Richard Bland Lee, of Virginia, will give attention thereto;—he is a young man, as is Sena from Maryland, and friendly. Governor Trumbull from Connecticut is in this city; I wish he could be seen by some of you. I met him last evening at Benjamin Chew's. He is very friendly now, as he was in New York."

On the 16th of Sixth month he writes from his own residence \* \* \*

"I am much burdened, for the poor blacks are running to me in droves from Maryland, men, women and children, to get out of the way of being sold into Georgia and the Carolinas. I wish the late Yearly Meeting of Maryland may have prepared something for their next assembly. I desired to be at that meeting, but it seemed out of my power." "The continued traffic in the poor blacks is grievous, as I have frequent opportunities of knowing, for thinking I can do something for them they fly to me. There are advocates for them raising in different parts of Maryland, and I have lately received a very comfortable letter from a church clergyman in the lower part of that state." "Yesterday afternoon, I suppose, was interred the remains of our valuable Friend John Cowgill, the most substantial pillar in our Quarterly Meeting, I believe."

Early in 1792 a convention was held in the State of Delaware to revise its constitution. A plan of a new one being prepared, the convention directed it to be printed, and then adjourned to the 29th of Fifth month, in order that their constituents might know what they proposed doing before it was too late. The Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, deemed that the cause of Truth and Righteousness demanded, that they should protest against the adoption of parts of the proposed plan, and drew up the following, which Warner Midlin, with some others, took down to Dover, and presented to the convention on its re-assembling:—

"To the Convention of the Delaware State held at Dover.

"The Memorial and Address of the Religious Society called Quakers.

"The weight and importance of the business on which you are appointed, and authorized to deliberate, and your responsibility to the Most High, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, as also to your constituents, are considerations sufficient to impress your minds with a sense of the necessity of waiting for, and seeking to be induced with the

wisdom that cometh from above, which, as an apostle of Christ defines, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy, and good fruits. Jam. iii. 17.

"Having inspected, and considered the draught of a constitution of government, published by your order for the consideration of the people, we apprehend there are two essential subjects that claim your further most serious attention; one of which appears to be acknowledged as such by the declaration contained in article the first, and section first, 'That no power shall or ought to be vested in, or assumed by any magistrates, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control the rights of conscience.' But in section the second, of the eighth article, it is directed, 'that provision respecting the militia shall be made by law, conformably to the constitution of the United States;' which seems to invalidate and clash with your own judgment of the solemn obligations of conscience, leaving the Legislature at their discretion to fine and oppress those who, from a conviction of religious duty, are conscientiously restrained from being active in warlike measures, and the use of military weapons; and thus, true liberty of conscience is liable to be violated, and persecution to follow. We therefore submit to your consideration whether clear and explicit provision should not be made, leaving all persons really scrupulous of bearing arms, to the free exercise of their conscientious persuasion without any restraint, or penalty on that account. The direction of conscience being solely the prerogative of the Almighty, who is the Source of Power, it is evidently repugnant to his sovereignty for any human government to fine or punish men, who, in compliance with the injunction of that Supreme Legislator, decline, or refuse to submit to such requisitions. On which just principles we conclude the Legislature of Virginia, the Massachusetts, and, as we are informed, some others of the States, have forborne the attempt to control the dictates of conscience, and left the religiously scrupulous without being subjected to any penalty in respect to military matters.

"Secondly.—The abject afflicted condition of great numbers of the human kind in the State of Delaware, (as in other parts,) appear to require not only the commiseration of individuals, but the interference of public authority to promote and provide for their relief from the hardship and cruelties which they suffer. The iniquity with the moral and political evils resulting from slavery in this enlightened age, are become more and more obvious and condemned, and the eyes of distant nations are turned to view the conduct of the people of the American States, in respect to the progress of religious and civil liberty, which we are persuaded ought to be impartially extended to persons of all descriptions. The validity of this sentiment is fully acknowledged by the early declarations of Congress, and other public bodies; 'that all men were created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, &c.; and the constitution you have proposed speaks the

like language. We therefore hope, that so favourable an opportunity as now offers will not be suffered to escape without proper provision for redress of the grievances under which the oppressed blacks labour in this state, as also to prevent the increase thereof by a prohibition of the iniquitous traffic to Africa for slaves, and the trading in their persons at home. Thus will be given to the world a laudable proof on your part, that the declarations which have been extensively circulated in favour of civil liberty, and the natural rights of men, are not a mere empty sound of expressions, calculated for partial temporary purposes only.

"Wherefore, with due respect to you, and a sincere concern for the reputation, prosperity, and happiness of the Delaware State, we earnestly solicit, that in your revision of the proposed constitution, such alterations and improvements may be made as shall demonstrate your intention to guard the rights of conscience, and establish the civil rights of men, extending to others that share of liberty which you wish to preserve for yourselves, thereby fulfilling the gospel precept, and adverting to the solemn exhortation of the Almighty, through one of his prophets which remains in full force and obligation at this day:—

"Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Isa. lviii. 6.

"With desires that true wisdom may direct your councils—we are your real friends."

NOTE.—In regard to the question of H. C. W., the author of the fragments concerning W. Midlin, would reply, that he understands the words "said states" to refer to the new states to be formed out of the territory, for which the committee was raised to propose a form of government. The influence which the vote upon the question had, was in its preventing the introduction of that more direct action against slavery, and the slave-trade, which was urged on Congress by the Society of Friends.

strongly suspicious that ——— know that was our meeting day, as he then moved that the blacks should be prevented by the constitution from purchasing real property. His conduct respecting the blacks, and the conscientiously scrupulous against arms, induced me to believe that he was as great an enemy to the cause of righteousness as was in that body. I told him so in a letter delivered him myself the last day. I told him those that came the nearest the Truth, who professed it, and were not in it, were its greatest enemies.

"They have expunged the article respecting the militia, and altered the first respecting conscience;—confining liberty of conscience to what they call worship. I called *Coram* out just after he had spoken on this subject, and queried who gave him power to limit and square the rights of other men's consciences within such limited bounds. I told him it was necessary to vary his expressions, for if he limited the rights of conscience, he was an usurper. The rights of conscience were sacred. I called out several of the Presbyterians, and told them, if Presbyterians would only give Quakers as good a government as a Quaker gave presbyterians more than a century back, we should not complain. That after they had such a length of time to improve and reform, I was sorry to find that the seeds of persecution were manifest more within the limits of Penn's lines among the Presbyterians, than in any other part of the United States. I asked liberty to speak among them on this subject in convention, which was readily granted. I let them know that I hoped we were prepared to receive their determination, be it as it might. I believed it was not likely to put us in a worse condition than we had been in. If they would oppress tender consciences, a curse instead of a blessing would be likely to attend their fines and penalties; but our consolation would be, that we had discharged our duty.

"A motion was made, near their conclusion, that no slave should be exported from, or imported into the state. This made some warmth. The Sussex members picked up their hats, and run out. There was then but seventeen would vote, eight for, and nine against the motion. It was ill-timed, and I did not promote it.

"I wish to send the paper I read to thee and Thomas Morris, for the consideration of Friends; circumstances call for something being done in some way. This business continues, and the clamor against me in Maryland increases. What will the issue be?"

Being on a committee of the Quarterly Meeting at the "Head of Susquehanna," he on 6th of Eighth month, addressed a letter to H. D., of which we extract the following:—

"Had it not been that the business I am now on interfered, I should have been at your Quarterly Meeting. I want the consideration of Friends on some of my performances. My conflict, on account of the poor blacks, is as great as ever,—and a small addition thereto

\* Internal traffic in slavery.

For "The Friend."

### Relics of the Past.—No. 10.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Mere outside imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 200.)

Warner, after the close of the convention, thus writes to H. D., of Philadelphia.

"Sixth month, 27th, 1792.

"Dear Friend:—I should have written thee before this, I believe, had not William Savery been here, and received some account how matters went in our convention. I have been uneasy since that I had not written, thinking it was incumbent on us to have done it. I believe I attended them every day through their sittings, except one day, and I am very



is by a great man living in Maryland, by will, leaving me four of his favourite negroes, (the will being made before the law was passed lengthening forcing by will). One of them coming to me with a letter from the executor, was taken up by a tavern-keeper, tied and kept all night, and next day robbed of his money, of which I have clear proof. The negro had a clear and sufficient pass. \* \* \* My oldest daughter Elizabeth has left me since thou wast down. She is married to Clayton Cowgill, eldest son of our valued Friend John Cowgill, deceased. It was agreeable to me, yet I found it a great thing to give up to parting with my child. What would I do then, if I was a negro, and had a daughter carried from me to Carolina!"

A concern on account of the traffic in slaves carried on in Maryland, particularly in the counties on the Eastern shore, had often engaged the attention of Warner Mifflin, and in the summer of this year, 1792, the subject was taken up by the Southern Quarterly Meeting, and an address prepared to the Legislature of Maryland on the subject. This having been presented to the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, and approved, was afterwards laid before the body to whom it was addressed.

Being appointed by the Yearly Meeting of this year, 1792, one of a committee to unite with the Meeting for Sufferings, in considering the state of the inhabitants on the western frontiers, who were suffering from the murdering and devastations concerning the Indians, Warner spent most of the Tenth and Eleventh months in Philadelphia. The sub-committee, of which he was one, prepared an address for the Congress of the United States, strong, and yet respectful, urging upon them the necessity of doing justly to the Indians, as the only proper remedy for the distress which was spreading amongst their constituents to the West. Whilst in Philadelphia, Warner drew up a memorial to the general government, then sitting in Philadelphia, and with the sanction of his Friends, forwarded a copy. It was as follows:—

"THE MEMORIAL OF WARNER MIFFLIN,

"To the President, Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States.

"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God. 2d Samuel xlii. 3.

"Having for a long time felt my mind impressed with a religious engagement on your account, and a belief, that if measures are not taken to redress the wrongs, and alleviate the sufferings and oppressions of the African race in these states, the Almighty will manifest his displeasure in a more conspicuous manner than has yet appeared; these considerations excite me, in his fear, earnestly to solicit, and solemnly to warn you, to exert your power and influence, that right and justice may be done in this important case.

"I have also been affected with the following declaration of the prophet. Ezek. iii. 20, 21; 'When a righteous man doth turn from his righteousness, and commit iniquity, and I lay a stumbling-block before him, he shall

die; because thou hast not given him warning, he shall die in his sin, and his righteousness which he hath done shall not be remembered, but his blood will I require at thine hand. Nevertheless, if thou warn the righteous man, that the righteous sin not, and he doth not sin, he shall surely live, because he is warned; also thou hast delivered thy soul.'

"Now I cannot view the declaration made by the first Congress, in substance to amount to any thing short of a solemn covenant entered into, with the God of heaven, and the whole earth, viz., 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, &c., and which remains obligatory on the present Congress so to consider. How then have those rights become alienated, that Americans should be permitted to continue to ravage the coast of Africa, thereby promoting murder, pillaging, plundering, and burning its towns, and enslaving its inhabitants? And in the United States, while some of those very men, who, with their own hands, subscribed the aforesaid declaration, remain in the Supreme Legislature, that avaricious men should be permitted to pass through the country, steal, buy, traffic, barter and exchange the blacks, as though they were indeed brute beasts, separating husband from wife, parents from children, even mothers from infant babes; yea, from all that is dear to men in this world, except life; and indeed that also, as there are divers instances of their being murdered. Others in iron fetters, are huddled into gaoles, until the number wanted is collected; then stowed into vessels for transportation to foreign ports, and sold into perpetual slavery, not permitting a parting leave between the nearest ties of nature.

"My soul now revolts at the infernal crime committed against innocent persons, without provocation. Oh, let me now beseech you, not to think it too much degradation for you to reflect, was this the lot of one of your beloved delicate wives, your tender babes, or near relatives, how then would you feel!

"Do not you with me believe, that there is a God of justice, who will finally recompense unto all men according to the fruit of their doings; and that he doth, at one view, by his all-penetrating eye, behold the actions of men over the face of the globe? If so, how do we think he will look on the rulers of this land, when he beholds many of them faring sumptuously every day, living in ease and fulness, and at the very time that they are inventing unto themselves instruments of music, and spending their precious time in vain theatrical and other amusements, remember not the afflictions of their suffering African brethren, who, in this country, may be loaded with irons, under all the pangs of sorrow the human heart can be capable of enduring, for no crime whatever, but because it pleased God to suffer them to come into the world with a black skin. Will this not make him your enemy, who is a God that is no respecter of persons?

"I crave your serious attention to this important subject; and that while you may feel

an animated warmth on your minds, when engaged respecting the natives of this land, you suffer a turn of thought respecting the conduct of Americans in Africa, and in this country also, towards Africans. See if any savage cruelty of the natives can exceed that of the white people towards the Africans, considering our superior advantage of civilization, under the light of the gospel. Let us consider we are informed, that the measure we mete to others is to be meted to us; and likewise, that we may so conduct, as never to feel the effects (in the full extent) of the declaration of the Almighty formerly delivered to a highly favoured people, in failure of complying with their covenants and engagements, viz. Jer. xxxiv. 17, 'Behold I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the famine, and to the pestilence.'

"Is there not reason to acknowledge, that we have seen in some measure fulfilled a part of the first? are there not traces of the second? and do we not acknowledge, that all three are subservient to Almighty power! and has our nation fulfilled its covenant? Oh! my countrymen and fellow-citizens, be serious on this subject, and allow me the liberty of a free expostulation with you. I feel for the welfare of my country, and my fellow-citizens, every one of whom I love; and believing myself every way equally interested with the largest part of your body in the welfare of my country, I hoped you would allow me freely thus far to relieve my pained heart, who feel so much on account of the barbarous cruelties exercised on an unoffending people, (which I am persuaded you generally have not a full conception of,) that under an apprehension of duty I have attempted in this manner to address you; being with sincere desires for your welfare,

"Your real friend,

"WARNER MIFFLIN.

"Philadelphia, 23d Eleventh month, 1792."

(To be continued.)

Relics of the Past.—No. 11.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Mere outside imitations of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 214.)

Warner Mifflin gave his memorial into the hand of Fisher Ames to present, there being then no representative from the State of Delaware in the house. It was read on the 27th of Eleventh month, 1792. The minute of the house on the subject runs thus. "A petition signed by Warner Mifflin on the subject of negro slavery was presented and read."

The next day, John Steele, of North Carolina, made a warm speech in reference to the petition. In the course of his remarks, he said, that after the law passed at New York on the subject of negro slavery, he had hoped the subject would not again be brought before the house, and that religious fanatics would no longer think it their duty to meddle with the consciences of others, and interfere with a species of property they were destitute of. He characterized such petitions as indecent, and said, that if his constituents had desired him to present a petition, the purport of which was to infringe the rights of others, he would not have done it. After remarking on the ill-effect which would result from spreading the idea at the South, that Congress intended to take any action on the subject of slavery, he moved "that the clerk of the house return the memorial to Warner Mifflin, and expunge the minute from the journals." Fisher Ames explained that he did not approve of the document, but presented it in the absence of any representative from Delaware. Boudinot disapproved of the motion, he thought it might interfere with the right of petition; and to expunge minutes of a previous sitting would

be a bad precedent. William L. Smith, of South Carolina, was in favour of the motion. He thought the memorial to be "the work of a fanatic, to create disturbance, and cause insurrections."

Steele, finding his motion was not likely to prevail, then modified it, so as to allow W. M. to withdraw his petition, in which form it was adopted.

Perceiving what had been done by Congress in the case, Warner Mifflin prepared the following address to the members of that body:—

*"A Serious Expostulation with the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States."*

"In the American Daily Advertiser, and other public papers, are inserted debates of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 28th of November last, some speeches or animadversions of two or three of the southern delegates, on the presentation of what is there styled, 'a paper purporting to be a memorial respecting the abolition of slavery, which, in the opinion of the said delegates, and divers others, was declared to be an application unconstitutional, and of mischievous consequences, as it would only tend to render the negroes unhappy, and excite them to insurrections in those states where they were most necessary to be retained; and that even the publication of a fanatical memorial in the newspapers, might have a fatal effect in disturbing the present excellent harmony of the Union; for the people of the southern states may be led thereby to suppose, that this memorial is before Congress, and will be discussed during the present session; it is therefore the more necessary to undeceive them, by publishing the contrary, and by expunging the entry from the journals.'

"Having believed it my religious duty to address that memorial to Congress, and that in so doing, I was really influenced by the catholic principle of universal good-will to men, and sincerely desirous of promoting that excellent harmony and union, which is founded on the solid basis of impartial liberty and common right, I may acknowledge it is far from being a matter of indifference to me to find, in the above-cited publication, so little regard paid to this great fundamental of the public weal, by men chosen and entrusted to fill a station so very important, who ought, and may be supposed, on a subject of so interesting and extensive concernment, to speak their real sentiments, unbiassed by any sinister purpose. I have been therefore led, I trust, by the same disinterested and Christian motive, which induced me to make the application in question, to enter into a close self-examination and reconsideration of the tenor of my said memorial, lest, through an unguarded warmth of zeal, I might have given occasion to those not well-affected to that Divine precept and perfect rule of universal equity, enjoined by the highest authority, *whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them*\*—to stamp the

\* Matt. vii. 31.

righteous and liberal aim and design of my memorial, with the opprobrious stigma of *fanaticism*. As far as I have been capable of an impartial scrutiny, I do not find any thing therein contained more justly meriting so invidious a censure, than what may be found in divers publications of Congress on the same subject; some of which I have thought proper to select and bring into view, beginning with the following remarkable language of the association entered into the 20th of October, 1774:—

"And therefore we do for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and love of our country, as follows:—

"Second article.—We will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported after the 1st day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."

"Eighth article.—And will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments."

*"To the Inhabitants of the Colonies."*

"In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one state to another, duty to Almighty God, the Creator of all, requires, that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be justified, that neither affection on the one hand; nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all circumstances, and to settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice. From counsels thus tempered arise the purest hopes of the Divine favour, the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged, and the strongest recommendations of their cause to the rest of mankind," &c.

*"Address to the Inhabitants of Canada, May 20, 1775."*

"When hardy attempts are made to deprive men of rights bestowed by the Almighty, when avenues are cut through the most solemn compacts for the admission of despotism."

*"Declaration July 6, 1775, of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms."*

"If it were possible for men who exercise their reason to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and unbounded power over others, marked out by Infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of

\* "Did not Virginia and Maryland consider this to be perpetual, by their assemblies passing laws accordingly?"

a legal domination, never rightfully resistable, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain, some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body.\*

" 'But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. 'The Legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power,' &c.

*" Second Address to the People of England,  
July 8, 1775.*

" 'Britains can never become the instruments of oppression, until they lose the spirit of freedom.'"

\* "So may the Africans say."  
(To be continued.)

For "The Friend."

## Relics of the Past.—No. 12.

No action will conduce to our everlasting happiness, that is not the offspring of a heartfelt conviction of duty. Mere outside flatteries of the best actions of the best men, will never advance the imitator one step nearer heaven.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

(Continued from page 221.)

"Address to Ireland, July 28, 1775.

"Compelled to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children involved in promiscuous and unremitted misery, when we find all faith at an end, and sacred frontiers turned into tricks of state; when we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames."

"And in the Declaration of Independence is inserted respecting the King as follows:—

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy of the head of a civilized nation. —He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us."

"And here I think it may be proper to mention, that under permission of Divine Providence, the measure which both Britains and Americans had long dealt to the natives of Africa, they were in like manner suffered reciprocally to mete out to each other, by burning towns, &c., captivating their inhabitants, stowing them into galleys and prison ships, to linger under agonizing pains unto cruel death; at this stage of affairs Congress resolve at different times on public fasting and prayers, wherein they acknowledge the superintendence of an all-wise Providence, and the obligation our nation was under to reform from its sins, and implore his merciful interposition, to remove those calamities from the land, and avert those desolating judgments with which we were threatened. See Journal, June 12, 1775, and March 16, 1776.

"In a pamphlet, entitled, 'Observations on the American Revolution,' published by order of Congress in 1770, the following sentiments are declared to the world, viz. :—

"The great principle (of government) is and ever will remain in force, that men are by nature free: as accountable to him that made them, they must be so; and so long as we have any idea of Divine justice, we must associate that of human freedom. Whether men can part with their liberty, is among the questions which have exercised the ablest writers; but it is concluded on all hands, that the right to be free can never be alienated—still less is it practicable for one generation to mortgage the privileges of another."