

Mrs. Le Parker

This pamphlet was written by

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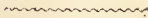
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THE
OTHER LEAF
OF THE
BOOK OF NATURE
AND THE
WORD OF GOD.

C. S. Moore

THE
OTHER LEAF
OF THE
BOOK OF NATURE
AND THE
WORD OF GOD.

"All men were created ^{free} equals"



(1848)

1948.

*I would like to know what 1948 (above misprint)
will say to this pamphlet.*

A P R A Y E R .

OF GOD, all-wise, all-just, all-merciful, his worthless and unprofitable slave begs grace and mercy. Thou knowest the heart, and that he has seemed to himself to be willing to learn the mind and will of God, discoverable, whether by the light of reason, or that clearer, brighter light which beams from thine holy word, and to set forth the same to his fellow men. If he has found the truth, wilt thou be pleased to make it acceptable and convincing to those who read. If he has deceived himself, and, through the feebleness of his intellectual nature, or the sinfulness of his heart, he has fallen into error, wilt thou cause some other of thy servants, whom thou dost also permit to call themselves thy children, more gifted and holy, to expose with freedom and power, whatever here is wrong. Wilt thou be pleased to grant this, for his sake who died, the just for the unjust. Amen.

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A S E R M O N .

“For the earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof.”—1 Cor. x. 26.

A TEXT so very plain requires but two remarks before we proceed to consider the truth which it asserts and teaches.

1. That it appears to be a quotation by the apostle from the first verse of the 26th Psalm, where we find the same words:—“The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof—the world, and they that dwell therein.”

2. That the “fulness of a thing” is a Hebrew idiom for that of which the thing is full. The fulness of a house is that of which the house is full, as the furniture, gold, silver, and other property that is there: Numbers xxii. 18. The fulness of a city is the people and all their possessions that are within the compass of the city walls: Amos vi. 8. (Note A.)

The fulness of the earth is whatever thing is upon the face of the earth, such as the trees and other vegetables, the animals, including man. The text asserts that all these, as well as the solid body of the globe, the hills, and mountains, are the Lord’s

Some things are asserted in the Scriptures which are so clearly and evidently true, that one is inclined sometimes to wonder that it should have been considered necessary to introduce a formal enunciation of them into a revelation from the Most High. That God is great, and wise, and powerful, and good; that man is weak, ignorant, and sinful; that we must all die; that the earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness

thereof; we need no angel or holy prophet bearing a commission from the supreme Creator, to satisfy our minds that these things are so. If God made the world and all that therein is, all must be his.

The object of the writer in this, as in other places, seems to be, not to inform our understandings with the knowledge of truths they were unable to reach and ascertain, but to remind us of such as are self-evident, but liable to be forgotten.

The earth and the fulness thereof are the property of Him who created them, unless He has given them away. It appears that he has given the *use* of them to the various creatures he has formed. Actions, as the common saying declares, speak louder than words. By the act of creating all living things, giving to them instincts and appetites suited to the condition of the elements here, and placing them all upon the earth, God signified as clearly as the most explicit declarations could do, His will that they all, so long as life should last, should regard the habitation in which he had placed them as their own. To the fishes he gave the sea, to the birds the clouds of heaven, to reptiles the marshes, and to the other animals, as the lion, the ox, the monkey, and the man, the dry land.

By conferring upon man a capacity for improvement denied to all the rest, and especially of handing down the discoveries and improvements of one age to those that were to follow, and through the medium of these accumulated acquisitions gaining an authority over the inferior animals, God intimated his will that man should be the lord and master of the other races. He fully declared his will in this respect in the earliest communications that were made to Adam, as is stated in Genesis i. 27-8 :

“So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them, and God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.”

And again after the flood : Genesis ix. 1-3.

“And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth; and the

fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, and upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea ; into your hand are they delivered Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you ; even as the green herb have I given you all things.”

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, has then kindly bestowed the use of this earth and of all the creatures that inhabit it, upon our race, upon man. He has not given these things in perpetuity, and in such a way that they shall be our's absolutely, and as perfectly as they were his ; but the use of them only. The earth is still the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. He claims the right of prescribing to us, and dictating still, how it is that his gifts are to be employed.

He has not given the earth to one, two, or three ; not to any number of humankind, but to all ; to all the descendants of Adam and of Noah. In order that one may have a right to a share in this common inheritance, it is only necessary to be born. The child has a just claim upon his parents for protection and support, so long as he is unable to provide for the supply of his own wants ; so long as his body is so weak, or his mind so feeble, that he cannot obtain for himself what is necessary to the maintenance of a comfortable, if not of a happy existence. They have been the causes of his coming into the world without asking his consent, or the possibility that he should give it. They are bound, therefore, to provide for him, until his mind and his body shall have been somewhat matured. He may *then* be expected to put forward his claim to a share in that inheritance which God in heaven, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all, has bequeathed to all, in common, and alike, and if *justice* shall be done him, to have his claim allowed. If the natural rights of all are not equal, the claims of all to as good a share as the others are not just, I should be very glad to know the reason why. It has never yet been my fortune to meet with the original instruments, the parchments, or papers, by which the God of Nature has conveyed to any one of mankind an absolute title ; any title to a single acre of the soil of this Western Continent. Is it anywhere written upon the rocks of the fields around me ? is any such inscription buried in permanent and legible characters deep

in the bosom of any? "This field was intended by the God of Nature for such or such a favorite child." Is it inscribed upon the forehead, or upon some other part of the body of any? "It is the will of God that this man shall possess a large tract of the earth's surface; or, it is the will of God that this man shall have no inheritance with his fellows, but shall be destitute and poor."

My brethren, it is just as certain that every person who is born into the world has a natural right; a right by the laws of Nature, and from the God of Nature, to an equal share in the soil of the earth, and to all the comforts and enjoyments that the earth yields, as it is that a man has a natural right to freedom. The two stand upon the same footing. Indeed, a man cannot be truly free to whom such right is denied. If the whole of the soil is claimed and occupied by others, what can he do? Whither shall he turn to find the means of subsistence? He must consent to give a part of his time to others, for the privilege of cultivating *their* land; must share with others those products of his labors which are rightfully his own. And this—disguise the truth, call hideous things by gentle names as we may—this is slavery; a less evil and offensive kind than what now prevails in the Southern States—but slavery still.

I am well aware that this assertion of an equality of right on the part of all God's rational creatures in this lower world: that it is his will, so far as we know, or can judge, that all shall share alike in his goodness and bounty, is likely to be received by some with impatience, and even with indignation. That in the tenure of the fields they so proudly call their own, they are guilty of an invasion of their brother's rights; of the sin and wickedness of excluding him from the enjoyment of what is justly his, is a truth which is likely to kindle in certain of my hearers a wrath as hot as that which burns in the bosom of the slaveholder, when he is told that to hold his fellow-creatures in bondage, is a grievous wrong.

These views and opinions are not new. They have been entertained and expressed by others before our time. Many books have been written upon the subject of moral science and natural law. As the authors of these treatises would have occasion to speak of human rights, and of the right of pro-

perty, or what is commonly received as such, amongst the rest, it might naturally be expected that they would feel a delicacy about looking the truth full in the face, and seeing and acknowledging that there is no right in the matter. Yet this is what some have frankly done, and in regard to the others, it is amazing to see on how small a foundation, men of ability and worth, have been willing to rear the immense fabric of law, and what is called justice, in all civilized countries. Ashamed to lay the corner stones of their several systems on rank and manifest injustice, or upon nothing, they have thought it better to save appearances by placing them upon the sand. (Note B.)

The limits assigned to this discourse, are such as do not admit of the introduction of more than a single example. I have made choice of Dr. Paley, because his work on Moral Philosophy is very common, having been used as a text book in many Colleges, as well as for the reason that he has been long known and respected as an able and judicious writer, and one withal, inclined to become the apologist of existing institutions, even where they have abuses connected with them, rather than to advance extreme opinions upon any subject. His chapter on property in land, commences with the following statements.

“We now speak of property in land: and there is a difficulty in explaining the origin of this property, consistently with the law of nature; for the land was once no doubt common, and the question is, how any particular part of it could justly be taken out of the common, and so appropriated to the first owner, as to give him a better right to it than others, and what is more, a right to exclude others from it.

“Moralists have given many different accounts of this matter, which diversity alone, perhaps, is a proof that none of them are satisfactory.”

After stating some of these, he adds:

“These are the accounts that have been given of the matter by the best writers on the subject; but were these accounts perfectly unexceptionable, they would none of them, I fear, avail us in vindicating our present claims of property in land, unless it were more probable than it is, that our estates were actually acquired at first, in some of the ways which these

accounts suppose ; and that a regular regard had been paid to justice in every successive transmission of them since ; for if one link in the chain fail, every title posterior to it falls to the ground."

"The real foundation of our right is, THE LAW OF THE LAND."

Paley acknowledges that by the law of nature, the soil of the earth is the common property of its inhabitants. In its products and benefits, therefore, if justice were done, all would alike participate. But the fallible human lawgiver steps in, and thrusting the law of nature aside, substitutes for it his own enactment. And the title so created, is all that any landholder has to show for his property.

But I am addressing a company of people who are Christians, at least in theory and name, and recur, therefore, once more to the words of the text, and the inference from it. The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. So far as mankind have any right or title to it, it must be common property. This is one of those primary and self-evident truths that defy the attacks of sophistry, and cannot be made clearer or more certain by argument. If this is doubted or denied, it is useless to hold, or pretend to hold, opinions upon any subject, to attempt to reason about anything. But let us see upon what ground it is that an exclusive title to the soil of the earth, or to any part of it, or to anything that has proceeded from it, may be defended.

1. A man may say, I purchased my farm, paid a fair price for it, and on that account am entitled to hold it, and regard and treat it as my own.

Answer. The person who pretended to sell to you had no title, and could not, therefore, convey any. He could no more sell you a tract of soil, than he could sell an exclusive right to the light of the sun, to the air, or to the fertilizing shower. They are all common property, and not to be sold. If you purchase a couple of acres in the public ground, around the house where we are assembled, and get a deed for it from some person, will your claim be allowed ?

2. A man may say that he has held his farm, occupied and cultivated it, for a long time. It belonged to his father and grandfather before him, and has been in the family, for he knows not how many generations.

Answer. Instead of being a reason why you should be permitted to retain possession of your farm, this is the very best possible reason why you should be deprived of it; why as a just and generous man, you should abandon it of your own accord, and surrender it to some other family that has hitherto been poor. What more just, than that if all cannot enjoy together, different individuals or families should take their turn, in reaping the fruits of what belongs alike to all?

3. A man may say that he has made great improvements in the property he holds. It is much more productive and valuable than it was when it came into his hands, and it is on this account no more than just that he should be permitted to hold it.

Answer. The improvements you have made are perhaps a fair equivalent and return for the advantages you have been permitted to derive from the property in question, so that instead of being in arrears to your fellow-creatures, bound in honor and justice to descend to the bottom of the ladder whilst they ascend to the top, you may claim to stand on a level with the poorest of them in regard to the future. But your improvements are perhaps rather pretended than real. A tract of land in a state of nature, covered with original forest, is at this moment more valuable than a tract of equal size, whose soil is of equal goodness, in almost any part of the country, but especially in such parts as have been long settled and are extensively cleared.

4. One will say that he has no property in land, perhaps very little real estate of any kind. He is wealthy, but has made his money by manufacturing, or by trade and commerce, and is therefore entitled to hold and enjoy it.

Answer. Of this species of property, it is to be said, that it is not, as in the case of land, evident at first sight, that it does and ought to belong to all, and is liable therefore to be seized and divided, equally, amongst the whole population of the country, or otherwise disposed of for the common benefit. That this is true, may, however, be rendered very probable, and as many will think quite certain, by a few considerations.

(a.) The earth is the sole producer, the ultimate source of all material wealth. It has been in the hands of a part of mankind, to whom it did not rightfully belong. To them,

and for their benefit, its returns have been made, and they, with no just and true ownership, have disposed of them to others; have sold, or otherwise aliened, what did not belong to them. Whatever has grown up under this vicious system—grown out of it, and is one of its consequences, is, like the system itself, vicious and bad; of equal badness and injustice with the system. That large portion of the population of the earth, who have been debarred and shut out by it from their natural rights, and denied the enjoyment of the blessings and mercies which their kind Father in heaven intended for them, may now well claim, that of what remains, an equal share shall be theirs.

(b.) Try those transactions by which property is accumulated by the rules of right prescribed by our blessed Saviour, in the New Testament. “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.”—“Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.” To this standard it is, that it is insisted that the dealings of the southern planter with his slave, ought to be, and shall be, brought for trial, and if he refuses such scrutiny, or is found wanting when it is applied, the northern philanthropist pronounces him a demon in human shape. Every man wishes to be fairly dealt with in a bargain, to get at least a fair equivalent for the property he parts with.

And how is it that wealth is accumulated, *necessarily*, by the manufacturer and the merchant? By buying a thing for less, and selling it for more (one or both), than its real value. I do not say than its value in the market—but *than its real value*. A manufacturer purchases *labor*, and as his operatives are out of employment, they are content to work for him for somewhat—not very much, less than what their labor is worth. He sends the products of their industry and skill to a distance, and sells them for what they are worth, or for more, and by a repetition of this process it is, that he gets rich. It is by buying for less than a thing is worth, and selling it for more—by making what are commonly called good, but what are in truth bad, because they are (according to the New Testament standard of morals) unjust and wicked bargains, that men make their accumulations. If a merchant were to buy his goods at their true value, and sell at such an

advance, as would cover the cost of transportation, the risk of loss by unsaleable articles, or by other causes, the interest of his capital, and pay himself for his time and care at the rate at which a common laborer is paid for harder work, should we hear any more of estates made by trade? Take the man who lately died worth some millions in the city of New York, a fair man as the world goes—will his proceedings bear to have the light of the gospel let in upon them? His first considerable gains are said to have been made by giving to the ignorant savages of Oregon, a few trinkets, almost worthless, for furs worth many thousands. It was by playing the same game on a larger scale amongst civilized men, that his immense fortune grew. He was not possessed of such superhuman strength and activity, as gave to his individual labor, the efficiency and value of that of hundreds and thousands of his fellow men. But he was far-sighted and skilful, in the game which is continually going on in our great cities, and which by courtesy bears the name of fair trading. Would much injustice—would *any* worth mentioning, be done, if the hoards thus made, were seized by the strong arm of public power, and applied for the relief of the distresses of the unhappy children of misfortune, of suffering, and want?

(c.) Instead of looking at the history of property and the processes by which it is accumulated in a few hands, it may be equally useful to turn our attention to its origin and the final results. By whom is it created? By laborers of every kind, by the hard handed ploughman or other tiller of the ground, by the smith, the operatives in the cotton or other mill, the pale artist who plies the sickly trade. Do the rewards and emoluments come to them? No. At the end of a long life of labor they are still poor. This is sometimes the history of families from generation to generation. Whilst contributing largely to the means of human enjoyment, they themselves enjoy nothing, but their whole lives are a struggle for the means of bare subsistence. Without waiting to inquire minutely how it is that such results are produced, we may say at once, that if not wicked, they are at least unjust and wrong, and that such a condition of things should be changed.

(d.) The public or state, is not merely an important and efficient, but an indispensable agent in the creation of every large property. It furnishes the protection and defence, without which the operations necessary to the ends to be secured could not be carried on, and for this reason, if for no other, it is entitled to the lion's share in the profits. Another extract from Paley will illustrate this point.

“If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn, and if (instead of each picking where and what it liked, taking just as much as it wanted, and no more) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into a heap, reserving nothing to themselves but the chaff and refuse; keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest, perhaps, and worst pigeon of the flock; sitting round and looking on all the winter, whilst this one was devouring, throwing about and wasting it; and if a pigeon more hardy or more hungry than the rest touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it and tearing it to pieces; if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day practised and established among men.”

(e) Now it does appear to me, that simply as a remuneration from that weak and bad pigeon, the others might with a clear conscience help themselves from his stores, as largely as they might be inclined; and much more, that after his death, they might safely take possession of the whole heap. In other words, that there would be no wrong, if the law should direct that after a man's decease, his property of every kind should escheat and revert to the state.

For the reasons now stated, one or all, it is but just that personal not less than real estate, money, merchandise, and other property, as well as the land, should be thrown into one common stock, an equal division be made, and the hard-handed sons of toil by whose labors all the wealth there is, except what nature furnishes unaided, has been created, should be admitted to share equally with those who have hitherto lived in idleness, the bounty of that God, who, but for the wickedness of man in thwarting his views, would be equal and just to all, even during the present life.

5. It will be said that what is now offered, is neither more nor less than Agrarianism; a doctrine and practice that has

been more than once proposed by certain visionary enthusiasts to the people of this country, and been by their good sense rejected as impracticable, and wholly unsuited to the condition of society in any part of the civilized world.

I answer ; it is just so. It *is* agrarianism, under one of its worst forms, that is proposed as a simple act of justice to the poor. It *has* been shown to be a scheme which it would be very *difficult* to carry into execution, even if it should not prove to be quite impracticable. But has any one of those who have written or spoken against it, dared to grapple with the question of its justice ? It is with that alone that I am now concerned. We will not quarrel about names. If a glorious angel were to come into this lower world, and men were to revile him and call him a devil, he would be an angel still. And just so, justice, and truth, whatever be the names by which we call them, are holy and good, are truth and justice still. Is it the matter of slavery alone that affords a proper subject of discussion, with the view of ascertaining what there is of right or wrong connected with it ; or does the inequality of condition in regard to property that obtains in what are called the free states, open as reasonable and fair a field ?

6. It may be said, finally, that if justice were to be done, the property real and personal all equally divided, it would not remain so for a week. The idleness, extravagance, and folly of some : the industry, economy, and wisdom of others, would very shortly, if any transfer were permitted, raise the one class to wealth, and sink the others down to poverty.

I answer again ; there is very little connected with man besides his sinfulness, weakness, and dependence, that is unchanging and permanent. All that we enjoy demands perpetually recurring and assiduous labor. Our habitations decay and require to be rebuilt, our clothes fall to pieces and have to be renewed ; the fields are to be cultivated year after year ; the food provided with so much care, meets only the necessities of the present moment. Is it any sufficient reason why we should refuse to do what justice or necessity requires, that it may have to be done over again ? An affectionate wife says to her husband when he enters the house at the usual breakfast hour—" My best beloved, idol of my heart,

there is nothing ready for you ; I have tried the preparation of those repasts at which ourselves and our children are so happy, for many years, but it does no good—the same labor is perpetually recurring. My affection for you has been still the same from the hour when we first plighted our faith to each other, or if there has been any change, it has gone on increasing. Be assured of the continuance of that, but I shall provide breakfast for you no more.” I am free to acknowledge, however, that until society shall have been reconstructed on Christian principles, the maintenance of a perfect equality, or even of what shall approach nearly to it, will be a matter of great difficulty, and demand unremitting attention. Let us see what was the procedure of the Allwise and Almighty when such a problem was to be solved.

Once, and once only, so far as we know, in the history of the earth, God has interfered, to fix and settle the social condition of a whole people. It was when the descendants of Jacob, after having entered Palestine sword in hand, subdued the country, and exterminated to a considerable extent the former population, were to receive a permanent establishment in that promised land. The wisdom of God assigned them seats there on the Agrarian plan. It will not answer, therefore, for one who receives the Bible as a revelation from the Supreme Creator, to be too loud in his condemnation of Agrarianism, lest he accuse God his Maker of stupidity and folly. A census was first taken, for the purpose of ascertaining how many men there were in each tribe capable of bearing arms (Numbers xxvi.) ; and the land was then divided to the tribes by lot, so as to give each man a share. This subject occupies several chapters in the book of Jeshua, as the xiii., xv., xvi., xvii., xviii., and xix. As the arrangement would seem to bear hard upon families where the children were all females, provision was made for their relief also, as in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad (Numbers xxvii.). But not only did God adopt the Agrarian principle in assigning settlements to his chosen people, in the land promised to their fathers ; he provided for its maintenance afterwards (Leviticus xxv.). In the course of human events, it would naturally happen that property would change hands. But on the fiftieth year—the year of jubilee—every one was to be reinstated in his original

rights. *The land and the man were by the wisdom of God placed on the same footing.* The man, if a slave, was to have his freedom; the land was to return to its original possessor (Leviticus xxv. 9).

“And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man unto his possession, ye shall return every man unto his family.” (Note C.)

From the Old Testament we pass to the New, and here what merits first of all, to fix our attention is, the great and golden rule of morals so often referred to, furnished by our Saviour in Matthew vii. 12. “Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets.” If the earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof, and in that fulness his intelligent creatures are included, God has an unquestionable right to prescribe to us this law for the regulation of our conduct. We have to inquire, then, what those things are which by the spirit certainly, probably by the letter of this law, are forbidden.

I notice first, *slavery*, as it now exists in the southern States of this Union. If I were a slave, I should wish that my master would give me my freedom. It would be a reasonable desire on my part. I ought, therefore, it would seem, if I would carry out fully and effectively the rule of the Saviour, to set my slave, if I have one, free.

But this is not all. The existing inequality of property and of social condition that is seen in all civilized countries, even those which claim to be most free, in New England, is *as truly* forbidden by the Saviour’s rule as slavery itself. If I were a very poor man, had in fact nothing but my hands, a little coarse furniture for my house, a fair character for integrity and industry, and a large family dependent upon me for bread,—and if I had a neighbor who was a professor of religion, and in good circumstances, or perhaps quite rich, I should wish that he would give me such a part of his property as would place me in a state of moderate and humble independence. If he owned, for instance, five hundred acres of land, I should wish that he would give me fifty. It would be

a reasonable wish; as reasonable, as, if I were a slave, would be the desire of freedom. It would not hurt the rich Christian,—might do him good, and it would benefit me very much; would in fact, be restoring to me that right to a portion of the earth's surface to which, as has been already shown in this discourse, I am entitled by the law of nature, and the gift of God. When I had taken my fifty acres, another poor man might be expected to come in for another fifty, a third to succeed to him, and so on, until a substantial equality had been reached on the part of all. If the rich Christian, instead of land, had 20,000 or 50,000 dollars in money, or other property, and I was very poor, and in want, it would be no unreasonable wish on my part that he would give me a thousand dollars. And if I should desire in case I were poor that the rich man should so deal with me, the Saviour's rule requires of me, if I am rich, that I divide my property with my poorer brother. This is quite as certain as it is that the same rule requires that the master should give freedom to the slave.

That there may be no mistake on this point, Jesus has further explained himself, and instructed us in our duty, as in the case of the person who came to him to ask what he should do to inherit eternal life. "Then Jesus beholding him loved him and said unto him, one thing thou lackest, go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come, take up the cross and follow me. And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved, for he had great possessions." Mark x. 21, also Matthew xix. 21, Luke xviii. 22.

The same rule is made general for all the followers of Christ, in Luke xii. 32-3. "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom. Sell that ye have and give alms; provide for yourselves bags which wax not old; a treasure in the heavens that faileth not; where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth." (Note D.)

These rules were carried out, and the genuine character of the Christian religion fully exemplified, amongst the first converts to the faith. See Acts iv. 32, 34-5. "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul, neither said any of them that aught of the things which he

possessed was his own : but they had all things common. Neither was there any among them that lacked, for as many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles' feet, and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need."

This is Christianity. These are its proper effects. To such a condition of things the great rule of morals we are considering necessarily leads ; to agrarianism of the worst kind ; to a substantial equalization of property, and of all other rights, so that the rich shall be rendered comparatively poor, the poor comparatively rich, and all shall become what they are accustomed to call each other—*brothers*.

There are certain parts of the Bible which unregenerate men and sinners take a pleasure in reading ; those, for example, which speak of the joys of heaven and the blessedness of the just ; whilst they turn with horror from the 25th chapter of St. Matthew, where is an account of the transactions of the great day of Judgment. A Calvinist will dwell with most satisfaction and comfort on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans ; the pleasant meditations of the Arminian will be upon the General Epistle of St. James ; a Christian man may remain, even through life, unfamiliar with such parts of the holy volume as do not seem to accord fully with his own views of divine truth. It will be useful to such an one to persuade him, if we can, to turn over a new leaf ; to turn it even for him, and ask him to read and see what he finds written there.

My brethren and sisters, you have been faithfully instructed on the great subject of slavery, told of its injustice, and how much it is at variance with the very nature of Christianity. Its multiplied wrongs have been depicted in glowing colors ; the question has been raised whether those who hold their fellow men in bondage, should not be excluded from Christian privileges and the sacraments of the Lord, denied, as unworthy of it, the name of brother ; and by some this question has been decided in the affirmative, that they should be so excluded. The itinerant lecturer and the weekly journal, have been alike eloquent in their condemnation of this foul wrong done to freeborn and immortal beings.

It is my office this day to turn over a new leaf (not to write a new one, that is the impious work of the abolitionist), but merely to *turn over* a new leaf, in the book of nature, and in the Word of God, and to ask you to listen whilst I read. It has been long before you, but you have failed to direct your attention to it, or to derive instruction from it. Examine for yourselves and see whether I deal unfairly with you; whether it be from the book of nature and the Holy Scriptures, that the statements I make are taken; whether they are honestly reported as they are found written there. If it be true, as is asserted in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created *equal*, every man must have a *natural* right to a certain part of the earth's surface, to be cultivated for his own support and that of his family, and of which no regulations of society can justly deprive him. The poor that are around us, or assembled with us, are therefore oppressed and wronged by their wealthier brethren. Have I quoted correctly the passages of Scripture to which reference has been made? Then such equal division as I represent to be just and fair, is what the wisdom and justice of God adopted as proper and right for the chosen people; what the golden rule of the Gospel prescribes; what was practised by the first converts to the Christian faith, and is recorded of them for our imitation, so far as we can judge, if we shall be so inclined, and not for warning, for there is no word of disapproval in the narrative. (Note E.)

The slaveholder is often reproached as afraid of free discussion; represented as exemplifying the truth of what was said by Christ to Nicodemus, in the interview by night; "For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved." He is a kind of moral and religious monster, who, whilst practising the most frightful injustice, will still claim to be regarded and spoken of as pious and good. Will my present audience be more patient of discussion? Will they sit quietly, and observe, and listen, whilst a light from God's Holy Word is let in upon their own misdoings? It has not been my purpose to call hard names; I have uttered no word that I did not believe to be true; have advanced no argument that I did not believe to be sound and of weight; hardly one that I did not regard

as decisive. Suppose I were to go out and distribute through this land, tracts, or other publications, in which the same train of reasoning was presented, and in which furthermore, the poor and destitute, in addition to being told of their wrongs, were urged to right themselves; assured that a fair share of all the property about them was theirs, the land by a law of nature, and as a gift from the God of nature, the rest, partly because it was the produce of the land, and partly because it was the product of their own labors; told that it would be no other than just for them to break into the houses of their oppressors in the dead of night, carry off whatever they could lay their hands on, and kill without mercy such as should attempt resistance—would such proceeding, if there were any probability that it would accomplish its ends, be borne with? Would there not be as loud a condemnation pronounced here, as elsewhere, of incendiary publications?

The judgments that have been passed in these parts on the matter of slavery as it exists at the South, have been false and incorrect. The source of the error that has been committed is to be found especially in the false assumptions that have been made in regard to the social, moral, and religious condition of the people on the spot where the decision is made. It is taken for granted, that here, all is just and right in the relations between man and man, established by the laws; that every one is admitted to the full enjoyment of all his natural rights; that Christians are walking in the law of the Lord, and *substantially* at least, observing the rule of doing to others as they would be done by.

When I have read the doings of a body of men of good property (as I have reason to suppose, at least, many of them), assembled in some ecclesiastical capacity, and who have taken it upon themselves to condemn slavery, and for this reason especially, that it is a violation of the rule requiring us to do to others as we would have them do to us; I have been sometimes disposed to be indignant, and sometimes to smile at their ignorance and self-delusion. But I have before me a work on moral science, by no less a man than a President of a New England College, Francis Wayland, D.D., who is also a Professor of Moral Philosophy in Brown University, in which the same ground is taken. It seems to be necessary, there-

fore, to examine the subject a little more carefully. I know Dr. Wayland to be a man of worth and talent; he might well have meditated some of its topics more profoundly, before he came forward to direct the public mind on the subject of Christian morals. Does he exhibit, will he endure, in his own person, the working of those rules by which he calls upon others to abide? He is represented to me as a man of respectable property, and the children of misfortune and poverty are around him in the town of Providence; some of them, I venture to say, members of Christian churches. I will say to him, to all others who take the same ground, "You have weighed the slaveholder and found him wanting, get into the scales yourself, we will use your own beam, your own weights, God, and angels, and men, shall look on and see that the business is fairly done, and the result shall be told." Until this shall have been accomplished, we have no chance of a fair hearing.

The opinion which after a good deal of thought upon the subject I have been led to form, is, that the divine right of kings, the divine right of landholders, the divine right of property in general, the divine right of slaveholders (and by divine right, I mean a right sanctioned by religion natural or revealed), that all these are on the same footing, and must stand or fall together. There is no right or justice in either case; it is toleration merely on the part of the Deity, and a necessity on ours. The man who is an abolitionist, unless he be one of those who can blow hot and cold with the same breath, if he will be consistent and true to his principles, must necessarily be an Agrarian of the worst kind.

ANOTHER SERMON.

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“Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.”—MATTHEW vi. 19-21.

BRETHREN and Fathers. Some one may perhaps ask, what is the use of this kind of discussion? Supposing that the soil of the earth *does* belong to the whole human family in common, and that every member of that family is entitled to an equal share; that the occupancy of large tracts by the rich is an usurpation; and that in regard to this, as well as the perishable property, which is in great part the product of their own labors, and from the enjoyment of which they are nevertheless excluded, the poor are most unjustly dealt by; what has this to do with slavery? The holding of one's fellow-creatures in bondage is neither a greater wrong, nor a less, on that account. What is the use of raising a question which can only have the effect of disturbing men's minds without leading to any valuable result? People are not going to be such fools as to give away all, or nearly all, their property, whatever show of argument there may be in favor of such proceeding.

What connexion these things have with our main subject shall hereafter be made to appear; but, my hearers, however little what we had in hand this morning may have to do with the guilt or innocence of slaveholding, it does bear on the judgment *you* are warranted in pronouncing on the character and conduct of your fellow-countrymen at the South. He who takes it upon himself to condemn in strong terms the abominations committed by others, must be able to raise his hands on high, and show that they are stainless and pure. Could the *truth* find access to the minds of the population of this part of the country, there would be an end to agitation, at least on the part of reasonable Christian men, on the subject of slavery. To procure admission for the truth will be difficult for certain reasons.

1. It will be unpalatable to people of wealth, to those persons, generally, who occupy a good position in society, and especially to such as are members of Christian churches. That *such as they* are violating from year's end to year's end a plain law of nature and of nature's God, depriving their neighbor of his just rights, and treating with habitual neglect some of the simplest and clearest instructions of Him whose name they bear, whose followers they profess to be—they will keep from believing, and still more, I fear, from acknowledging this, if they can.

2. The opinion has been fostered and cherished in the Northern States, and especially in New England, until it has become an article of belief all but universal, that whatever be the folly or wickedness that deforms the social system in other parts of the earth, here it is not to be found. Here all is just and right, if men would but obey the laws. Or if this shall be denied; here is exactly the amount of social injustice that is reasonable and proper, suited to all climates and countries, all conditions of society, to every peculiarity or intermixture of races, short of which it is folly to stop, beyond which it is wickedness to go. The French politicians are madmen. Their plan is not only to acknowledge men to be free and equal, but to suit the action to the word, and make them so. Our fellow-countrymen at the South are devils; they go as far into the opposite extreme. With us is the perfection of wisdom, let the whole earth come and imitate our example. (Note F.)

The delusion of which I speak has been fostered by the frequent repetition of certain maxims that pass from mouth to mouth, without much inquiry respecting their truth; such as that just referred to, that here all are free and equal; than which a more barefaced and impudent falsehood has seldom been uttered or written.

Free? He that has a handsome income from money lodged in the bank or elsewhere, who can move about in good style, go when he pleases, where he pleases, spend the summer at some fashionable watering place, the winter in the great city, or the whole year in Europe—*is free*. But the smith at the anvil, or other mechanic, with a wife and children dependent upon his earnest and unremitting labor, who cannot cease from that labor even for a week without the apprehension

that the gaunt and repulsive forms of hunger, and cold, and nakedness will be seen coming in to take up their abode in his dwelling, and that his heart will be wrung by the voices of his children clamoring for bread ; if he is free, it is only in a very modified sense as compared with the other. And as to their equality, it is a mockery to mention it. Try at a public meeting, and see whose opinion will have the most weight ; for which of the two will the crowd give way, and leave him room to pass ? Let the two be rivals where a connexion in marriage is to be formed for a son or daughter. And yet the smith is perhaps a person of better sense and better moral character ; in all respects the worthier man of the two. A gentleman in silk stockings, and a lady in silk gloves, arrive at the wharf in New York in May, to attend the anniversary of the Antislavery Society ; pay the porter a quarter for carrying their trunk to the hotel, where they are welcomed with smiles (whilst the porter, if he even lingered long, would be told very plainly that he was not wanted there) ; they go into the meeting and express their indignation that the blacks at the South should be denied those equal rights which the God of nature has given them. Have they all *their* equal rights, those eloquent speakers and that porter, the last no less, the others no more ? Is it reasonable and right that the people of the North, thrusting the law of Nature's God and the particular teaching of the God of the Scriptures aside, should establish an arbitrary standard of injustice, suited to their own circumstances, perpetuate the same from age to age, and treat all as destitute of religious principle and honorable feeling who refuse to conform to it ?

3. I will mention but one other reason why I am not sanguine respecting the amount of conviction the representations I have to offer are likely to produce. With the forms of evil, of injustice, and suffering, of which I have to speak, you have long been familiar. They have even been handed down from generations that are gone. Forgetting that sin is as old as the days of Adam, you are perhaps ready to infer, that what has existed so long must be just and right. If you have not come to consider them as indifferent, or good, they are at the worst necessary evils, for which you are very little more responsible than you are for the coldness of a northern winter, or for any other peculiarity in the physical condition of the country.



And in some respects your views may not be very wrong. But the mischief is, that I cannot make you even apprehend the frightful amount of evil and suffering that is around you, which springs from those very institutions of which you are accustomed to speak with so much pride and self-complacency. With regard to the slaveholding states, all is different. Much of what is wrong there is to you new and strange, and when presented it affects you deeply, almost to madness.

When, therefore, one comes forward, and, professing his reverence for the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, as men who, in wisdom and goodness, were such as the world has seldom seen, declaring that after years of absence, the love of that land, of her hills and mountains and of her people, lingers with him and will linger—yet points with profane finger to the evidence that those pilgrim fathers were men, that the institutions founded by them—that survive, (and God grant that they may long survive), are not exempt from the common character of all that belongs to humanity—the proof he offers, is, for the reasons that have been stated and others, likely to be resisted.

And shall I, nevertheless, proceed to lay it before you? I will. It may produce immediate conviction in some minds; and in other cases, the bread cast upon the waters may return after many days. If truth has that power over the human mind which is commonly ascribed to it, if it be so great that it must and will prevail, I need not despair.

Injustice is everywhere around us. The corner stone of the civil polity of those states which are most proud and boastful of their free institutions, is laid in it. Injustice pervades the whole texture of the social condition of those who listen to me. It is in the great masses that constitute the population of the country, in neighborhoods, in families; the Church of the living God is not exempt, is no exception. It has its origin in the statute book, in the laws which fix the rights (as they are called) of individual men, and is sanctioned and maintained by them. Slavery, as it exists at the South, is part and parcel of it, but by no means the whole. Its effects are various, neither unmixed good, nor simple, unadulterated evil. It causes everywhere much wickedness, aside from what is inherent in its very nature, much suffering. The spirit in which it is founded, and that is fostered and cherished by it, is most

hostile to the spirit of Christianity, so that the mischiefs it produces, and which are apparent during the present life, are a mere nothing, in comparison with those which we shall witness and acknowledge, when we shall have passed out of time into eternity.

The evidence of the truth of the statements I now make is so clear, that it would seem to be in a manner impossible for one to present it so unskillfully that it shall fail of carrying conviction to every candid mind. Whoever shall see cause to adopt those conclusions on these subjects to which I have myself been led, and which I now present for your consideration, will be constrained to acknowledge that the only defence that can be offered for the misery and wrong which society, through the ministry of the constitution and the laws, inflicts upon many of its members, is to be found in the plea of a stern and terrible necessity. That necessity comprehends with nearly equal, perhaps with absolutely equal show of reason, the existing condition of things in New England, and the slavery of the South.

When the slaveholder offers this apology for a system whose evils he acknowledges and deplures, but which he nevertheless continues to uphold, the abolitionist lays his hand upon his lips, refuses to listen to it, and pronounces it inadmissible, and unworthy of a Christian man. It is the apology the abolitionist himself must present in a coming day; he will have no other. He will not dare to place his hand upon the lips of the slaveholder when standing in equal jeopardy, and in like manner guilty before that dread tribunal. It may be anticipated that a plea thus common and universal, will in some cases be received with more allowance by a God of wisdom, than is accorded to it by passionate, prejudiced, and sinful man; that there will be more impartiality in the judgment that is pronounced, on the nature and degree of the necessity. Let us inquire, with the best lights we have, what these are.

The great object of the civil institutions of ancient times was, to prepare men for war; and it was well accomplished. No more enduring or braver soldiers have ever been, than those of ancient Sparta or Rome. This was brought about mainly by placing military glory above every other species of distinction. Men were then ready to make any and every

sacrifice to gain it. They felt that it was better to die, than to retire dishonored from the fields of war. It was a costly sacrifice for the attainment of the desired object, but well bestowed, when the dangers of war were so constantly imminent, and the consequences of defeat so terrible.

In modern times, the military virtues are held in great, but in somewhat less esteem. Men have been brought to see that there is no very great advantage in killing one another. The *conqueror*, even, reaps no such benefits as are an adequate return for his own sufferings, even if we leave out of the account all consideration of the miseries he inflicts on others. Mankind have, therefore, turned themselves with more ardor than formerly to the cultivation of the arts of peace.

The earth has to be subdued and tilled, and made to produce its rich harvests, habitations have to be built, and clothing and the other necessaries and comforts of life provided. All these perish in the using, or by the process of natural decay, and have most of them to be reproduced from year to year. In all this is involved the necessity of perpetually recurring and painful labor. By whom shall it be performed? In what way shall men be induced to apply their hands to an unpleasant task, which some must necessarily execute?

The simplest way of attaining these objects, seems to be that which has actually been adopted; that of making the soil of the earth, and every other species of property, a kind of prize that is to be contended for, and which, whoever wins, by the ever-varying processes of labor, of bargain and sale, and of traffic of whatever kind, is to be allowed to hold, to enjoy, and dispose of, in such way as may best suit his own judgment or fancy. It is a necessary part of this scheme, that wealth shall come to be regarded, and be, the greatest of advantages, and poverty the greatest of evils. The more distinction there is connected with the possession of riches, and the more perfect the command it gives one of every species of enjoyment, the deeper the dishonor attached to being poor, the more earnestly will men exert themselves, the greater the sacrifices of ease and pleasure they will be ready to make, to secure the one and escape the other. When the rich are greatly elevated, and the poor greatly depressed in society, there will be no want of activity of either body or mind.

So far as the ends it has to accomplish are concerned, the system works admirably. Men rise early and lie down late, eat the bread of carefulness, endure cold, heat, fatigue, and hunger, often tear themselves from their families because there is no sufficient field of enterprise at home, face danger, and sometimes meet death, in distant, unhealthy climes. There is an incessant and commonly a successful activity, the marks of industry and thrift are around us, and the whole land is converted into one vast whited sepulchre, beautiful outwardly to the eye, but within, full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. I proceed to open and exhibit this foul mass of corruption in the production of which you, my hearers, have borne a part. (Note G.)

1. The good effects of the system, how well it works in creating habits of industry, patience, and frugality, have been sufficiently noticed. I proceed to its evils, and mention, first, its injustice, as exhibited in those walks of life where it does not cause much physical, though it may produce a good deal of mental suffering. It involves an exclusion of many persons in every society from their natural rights, from the fair rewards of their life of laborious industry; the cutting them off from the privileges and blessings a benevolent Deity has provided for them and wills that they enjoy, and this without any other fault of theirs than that they happened to be born in humble life and of poor parents. They are honest, work hard, live on coarse food, are meanly clad, occupy a house somewhat better than a hovel, and are despised. Their neighbor, an idle but plausible, cunning man, is eminently successful, and leaves a family respected and well provided for behind him. If it be said, that in a generation or two this state of things will be reversed, I reply, that to a man of sense, it can be but slender consolation to know that his grandson will be the hammer that beats, and not, like the grandsire, the anvil that is beaten.

2. The second evil of the system is the amount of physical suffering connected with it, and produced by it.

The quantity of that kind of misery which I have in my mind's eye, is greatly diminished in New England, in consequence of her fortunate position, and the vast extent of unoccupied and fertile country that lies at no great distance west, and which is so easily reached by those who desire to remove.



But notwithstanding the existence of this outlet for a vast amount of poverty and wretchedness, and after all the provision that is made by public and private charity for the relief of the poor, there is much misery here, which these do not reach ; much that pride conceals, much hunger and cold, and much labor to avoid these, when the body is feeble and full of pain. These evils are increasing even here, but are felt most intensely at this moment in Old England—country of my fathers, and which merits at this time to be the scorn, the scoff, and derision of nations. She has the power to mitigate greatly in a thousand ways, and with perfect safety, the sufferings of those who have hitherto been excluded from their just rights ; but to those who administer her affairs there is wanting the will. The products of her industry are sufficient to supply her whole population with bread, so that each shall have not merely enough to eat, but to spare. But so thoroughly has property of every kind been engrossed by the favored few, so utterly destitute are the operatives, those by whose hands value is created, and so inadequate are the wages paid for the most earnest and faithful industry, that hundreds and thousands are to be met with in the streets of her manufacturing towns, pale, emaciated, feeble, and diseased from very want. Such is the overwhelming testimony of Englishmen themselves. What shall I say of unhappy Ireland ? Nothing perhaps to you, my hearers. The famine which has recently prevailed there was not caused merely by the failure of the potatoe crop, but is one of the results of a *system*, that prevails here amongst yourselves, as well as there, and was produced in a greater degree by that system, than by the providence of God ; you perhaps would not listen to me, or not believe. (Note H.)

Things are not in as bad a condition here, but they are tending rapidly towards it. These are the effects of the *system*—what is now seen and felt in Europe, what will be seen and felt in these Northern States in the course of a few years, unless something shall be done to hinder it. The system is not to be judged by the mischiefs it does *not* produce on a few favored spots, any more than men will estimate the good or evil of slavery by the condition of those blacks who are the property of wise, kind-hearted, and Christian masters. The

most atrocious cases are brought diligently forward, and exhibited in bold relief as decisive in the one case; why not also in the other?

3. Amidst the grosser evils of the existing social system, the want, and cold, and nakedness of the poor, shall I refer to what relates merely to the feelings? Why not? Amongst the bitterest ills of poverty, by those who are its victims, would probably be reckoned the contempt in which they are held, the degradation in which they are compelled to live. A man is conscious to himself that he has a sound, discriminating mind, but he is poor, and therefore a mere Mr. Nobody. His opinion weighs as nothing in comparison with that of some minion of fortune of slender capacity, whose lot it has been to be descended from a wealthy father or other ancestor. Dr. Rush, in his work on the Diseases of the Mind, mentions amongst the common causes of insanity, the loss of property. "Hundreds have become insane in consequence of unexpected losses of money." We have frequent accounts in the newspapers of people who kill themselves from the same cause. In these cases, it is not absolute want, or the fear of it, that operates, but the dread of losing caste, of being degraded from that position in society which they have hitherto occupied. That which, or the mere apprehension of which, drives men mad, or impels them to open the gate that leads into the eternal world with their own hands, must be no inconsiderable evil. (Note I.)

4. The present unequal division of property, and the honor and disgrace therewith connected, create a temptation to wickedness, too powerful often for our weak and sinful natures to resist.

The existing arrangements of society thrust all, more or less, into that condition, from which we are instructed by our blessed Saviour to pray to God that we may be delivered. "Lead us not into temptation." As things are, temptations beset us on every side, are created in countless multitudes, and presented along the whole pathway of life. Many are overcome by them. They do not exist naturally, but are *created* by the agency of man, are a necessary result of the spirit of modern society, and the existing laws in relation to property. A man sees that in the judgment of intelligent persons calling

themselves Christians, of the present age, wealth is the great good that is beyond everything else to be sought after and labored for, and poverty the great evil. The actions of men, their daily labors, prove that such is their opinion, whatever their declarations may be. An opportunity is presented of increasing his own wealth, or of acquiring at once a large fortune, by wicked means, which he hopes to be able to conceal from the world; and the temptation is yielded to. By far the larger part of the unhappiness which, often under a fair exterior, wrings the heart and makes the soul a desolation where not one joy can take root and grow, the physical suffering, the wickedness, that exist everywhere, depend upon that inequality of condition, which, if not created, is at least sanctioned and supported by the laws. Why do men deceive, and lie, and cheat, and steal, and commit forgery, and perjury, and robbery, and murder? Is it out of pure love of wickedness, or to get money? What makes brothers hate each other sometimes all their lives long, creates dissensions in neighborhoods, but a dispute about some trifling matter of property? All these would cease, all in a good degree, and most of them utterly, were the earth and its fulness restored to the condition in which the wisdom of God placed them at the beginning. Men would not brave the wrath of Heaven by the commission of crimes when the temptation to them had been taken away. [Note K.]

The whole aspect of the country would be greatly changed after this equalization of rights and condition had operated for some time. There would be fewer splendid mansions, less labor and expense would be bestowed on dress and equipage, which would be less prized when they were not an evidence of wealth. There would be less attention given to show, and more to comfort. Great cities, those foul ulcers of the body politic, and sinks of vice and corruption, would dwindle down to villages of moderate dimensions. There would be little need for that moral reform which has been so earnestly advocated within the last few years, by which abandoned women were to be rescued from infamy in the present life, from an early death, and from hell in the life that is to come—and which I may add, so long as the present state of things shall continue to exist, and great cities shall afford such

opportunities for secret vice, will be of so little avail. The lewdness, and the sin, and misery therewith connected, which prevails in such places, might be noticed as another of the evils of the existing social system. Riches, with elegance of dress and polished manners, or even the last two without the other, give to the seducer a power that is hard to be resisted by a young, simple, and confiding maiden. From the earliest dawn of civilization to this day, commercial cities have always contained large numbers of these unhappy beings, nor is it in the power of law, or of love, on the part of pious men and women to hinder it. The supply will always correspond to the demand, for this, as for any other article of merchandise. (Note L.)

5. The great and paramount objection to the present unequal distribution of property, and the spirit consequent thereupon which pervades society, is drawn, not from the evils they produce during the present life, but from their effects upon the immortal spirit in the world to come.

The representations of the Scriptures are very clear and explicit. 1 Timothy vi. 9, 10: "But they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil." This evil, which drowns men's souls in destruction and perdition, may be removed and annihilated by removing its cause. If all men were placed at once on a footing of equality in regard to property, by throwing the whole into a common stock, as the first Christians did ("they had all things common," it is said), and each drew what was needful to supply his wants, can any doubt that there would be a great change in the whole tone of feeling and course of action in regard to the matter of religion? Are Christians excusable for neglecting so easy a method of saving souls from hell? I have quoted the words of an Apostle, but with these the words of Jesus himself agree. You recollect the parable of the sower. Some of the seed fell by the way side, some on stony ground where it had not much earth, some among thorns.—"And these are they which are sown among thorns; such as hear the word, and the cares of this world, and the deceitfulness



of riches, and the lusts of other things entering in, choke the word, and it becometh unfruitful." (Note M.)

The gospel is faithfully preached to the congregation it is now my privilege to address, but conversions from sin to holiness are few and far between. And why? Because from all around, from saint and sinner, is heard a different word of exhortation. We talk of a Christian education, of bringing children up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. But what is the character of the instruction which the son receives from his *Christian* father in almost every case? I do not refer to words alone, but to actions and words taken together. What do they all mean? What do they all say? "It is a good thing to be a Christian; it is a still better thing to be rich." It is impossible to put any other interpretation upon his father's earnest, persevering labor from day to day, and all day, and part of the night, to acquire property, the one thing that seems to engross all his thoughts on six days in the week, and to be hardly excluded from them on the seventh. Is it wonderful that with such example before him, such guidance, the boy as he grows up should prefer this world to his God? Is it for the man who gives his child such a training, to complain that the religious instruction furnished to the slaves at the South is imperfect and inadequate? When I have inquired in these parts, of old friends, with whom I had not met for some years, people of sincere piety, respecting the welfare of their sons and daughters, I have been told, the countenances of the happy parents beaming all the while with satisfaction and joy, that they were getting along well in the world. This I found meant, not that they were walking in the ordinances of the Lord blameless, preparing themselves diligently and successfully for a happier clime, but that they had been able to amass a certain amount of property. Things will be so until the tenure of property shall have been placed on a different footing, and public opinion respecting it shall have undergone a radical change.

Your worthy pastor himself falls into the tide of general feeling, and is borne onward with his flock. It is not quite evident, I imagine, that the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit is the accomplishment that wins all his love; that he

feels—deeply and at all times, that a good trade, a good store, or a good farm, is a mere nothing in comparison with a crown of glory in heaven. He exhibits tokens of regard, perhaps high regard, for those who have not much to recommend them besides their wealth and position in society. He thus diligently pulls down in the course of the week, (as I should probably do if I were in his place), the work he has so carefully built up on the Lord's day.

When there comes a revival of religion, all this is changed. The world sinks down in the estimation of men and women to something like its real value, and the word of God entering a mind, which is not hindered by the prejudice and passion that are there from receiving the truth, acknowledges the power of the Gospel. The spirit of God is present, moving over the soul of the sinner, as it did over the face of the waters, when the work of creation was about to be commenced, the prime agent in effecting all the changes that occur. But the work goes on, because the sinner is brought to make a juster estimate of the relative value of this world and of that which is eternal; it would go on perpetually, if such were the constant condition of his judgment and feelings.

Two other evils of the existing arrangements with regard to property, and of the state of public opinion connected with it, which would by some persons be regarded as trivial and unimportant, remain to be considered. They tend to produce infidelity, sometimes secret, and sometimes open and avowed, in two different ways.

6. Human laws appeal directly and exclusively to the principle of selfishness. The maxims and spirit even of that Christian community in which you, my hearers, live, are with the laws. Let every man, it is said, take care of himself. If he does this, let him be rewarded with honors, let his life be passed in the midst of soothing, pleasurable enjoyments; if he fails, let him suffer, suffer severely, that others may take warning, and profit by his evil example. Such is the spirit of our institutions, and if they are to accomplish their objects, it will not answer to oppose and thwart them. Almsgiving, therefore, does mischief. It is worse than a weakness, it is a crime, because it serves to mitigate that punishment which our policy appoints to such as are indolent or unwise in the management

of their affairs. There is nothing short of intense suffering or a terrible apprehension of it, that will arouse our sluggish natures, and keep all men awake and active.

Our blessed Saviour discards selfishness, and commands us to discard it also, bringing in benevolence as a principle of action, in its stead, and directing us to love our neighbor as ourselves. "Sell that ye have and give alms," is his exhortation in one instance to a company of his disciples (Luke xii. 33). And to the ruler who would learn from him what he must do to inherit eternal life, "Go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor."

Either incentive to action, selfishness, or benevolence, if it be abiding and strong, will be sufficient to keep mankind in motion, and furnish that stimulus to exertion which is necessary to the production of the comforts of life. But they do not harmonize with each other, do not work well together; and the spirit of the world, or the selfish feeling, gaining the predominance, and being acknowledged, at least in practice, as that which has reason and truth on its side, the confidence of men in the wisdom of Jesus of Nazareth is shaken. The political economist comes forward, and, directing his attention to the wealth, strength, and splendor of nations, rather than the happiness and goodness of the individuals of whom they are composed—knowing, also, no other motives than those of interest, in which he can repose confidence, on which he can count with certainty, pronounces almsgiving and other kindred acts, follies, the remedies of a quack, whose effects will prove worse than the disease. Believing that long experience has warranted such conclusions, the inference which men in their madness and folly deduce from them, is, that Jesus did not understand accurately the appetites and passions of man, and how his conduct is controlled by them; that he cannot therefore have been the Son of God. Facts would also seem to indicate, that either a latent scepticism in regard to the wisdom of Christ, or a disposition to treat his instructions with strange neglect, is much more widely diffused than positive unbelief. It is another evil effect of that social system, whose mischiefs we are considering.

7. Finally, after having been long subjected to the baneful influences of a world that lieth in wickedness, the hearts of

men are sometimes operated upon by the Spirit of God, they are born again, and in due time are received into the Christian church. They bring with them into that family, a character, changed, but which still exhibits the ill effects of their previous training. Professing Christians, *as a body*, are much better than such as make no pretensions to piety, more just, truthful, kind, and merciful—let God be thanked. All with whom I have been acquainted have come very far short of a compliance with the rule of Jesus, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.” There has not been, so far as I could judge, one exception. They have learned, especially, before coming into the church, the value of property, and its influence upon a man’s standing in society, and show no readiness to comply with another of Christ’s rules, already quoted in part. “Sell that ye have, and give alms, provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approaches, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.” They frequently exhibit a disposition to make a good deal of any little superiority of wealth with which God has blessed them, or cursed them, as the case may be. Giving heed to the remark that there must be distinctions in society, they treat poor Christians, if as brethren, certainly as very inferior brethren. The poor Christian, on the other hand, instead of copying the meekness of his Divine Master, is envious of the rich Christian, so that the church, instead of a happy home for all, becomes the abode of anger and bitterness.

Not finding, then, in the church, the cordial love, affection, and respect which their hearts desire, men go elsewhere. They resort to Fourierism, Communism, and other associations of the kind, from which Christianity is virtually excluded, for that equality of right and condition which the church denies them. We may preach against these visionary schemes, but the only way to combat them successfully, is to employ some agency, which, on right principles, shall accomplish better, and more effectually, the very ends at which they aim. The church that has not hitherto been true to herself, must do her duty, and crush infidelity of this kind, by removing or destroying the cause in which it has its origin. Nor until society



shall have been thoroughly revolutionized, and reconstructed on Christian principles, and every person shall be admitted to the enjoyment of equal rights, and of all his rights, do I see how this shall readily be accomplished. If the property were equally divided, the evil would of course cease.

Let us, my friends, briefly retrace the ground over which we have passed.

It has been shown that the earth is the Lord's, that he has given the use of it to all his children in common, except that long ago he gave the land of Palestine to the descendants of Jacob; that men, interfering with the Divine arrangements, have parcelled out the soil of the earth amongst themselves; and in such way, that whilst some have large tracts, others have not whereon to set the sole of their foot, and that from this primal injustice a whole host of sufferings, sins, and wickednesses have followed. Men of fair character are compelled to toil through a long life, with coarse food and mean clothing, are despised, and bequeath the same fate to their children. The miseries of such a condition are so great that the mere apprehension of them has driven many people mad, and caused others to lay violent hands upon themselves. Not only are the food and clothing of the poor coarse and mean, but they do not always get enough of either, even here in New England; and the case is still worse abroad. Through fear of poverty men are subjected to temptations by which they are frequently overcome, so as to be guilty of deceit, lying, perjury, forgery, theft, robbery, and murder, besides a multitude of other crimes of lesser name. The same condition of things creates irreconcilable hatreds in neighborhoods and families, leads to impurity and whoredom, especially in the great cities, and above all, is the primary cause of the everlasting misery of hundreds and thousands in hell, sometimes through the infidelity to which it leads, and sometimes through the corrupting influence of riches on the human heart.

These things are undeniable; one might as well deny the existence of the sun in heaven. This vast body of injustice, this countless host of miseries and crimes, has its origin in institutions which are the work of the people of these States; in that constitution and those laws, which you, my hearers, if

you did not frame and establish, you do continue to uphold. You are of course responsible for their effects.

Many men who are enjoying the benefits of them (for they are beneficial to some), instead of considering the means of diminishing the mischiefs they create, are standing telescope in hand, unconscious apparently of the misery that is immediately about them, and looking away hundreds of miles, to see what injustice is inflicted on another race in that distant land. If they would deal fairly with those brethren of theirs whom they accuse of oppression, and consent to have *their* conduct tried by the same standard that they apply to their own, with such allowances only as all must acknowledge to be reasonable and fair, things would be on a better footing. Or if they would bring their own conduct to the standard which they prescribe for the slaveholder—but they know very well that they can abide no such scrutiny—“*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ;*” Is there amongst those who hear me one whose conduct will bear an examination by this rule ? Do you know such an one ? Paul was not such an one, we have his own testimony. What will be your plea, then, at the judgment seat of Christ ? What excuse will you give for your misdoings ? Not convenience surely, you will not venture to rest on that. *Necessity*—there is no other. If you were to put things on the footing on which they were placed by God when he legislated for the Jews, and give to every man an equal share in the soil, there would be no danger indeed, but you would have an intolerable amount of trouble. (Note N.)

At the South there is an additional element of difficulty and danger. Along with the Anglo-Saxon, there is intermingled through every part of the country another race, of inferior moral and mental endowment, so as to constitute from a little less than a quarter in some states, to a little more than a half in others, of the whole population. They are there, without any procurement or connivance of the generation of white men now living, which is no more responsible for their presence, than the Greenlander is for the snows that cover his country for so large a part of the year. They have hitherto been held in bondage. The love of freedom and equal rights is as strong in the breasts of the Southern people as at the

North ; and if, on giving liberty to their slaves, those slaves would be immediately converted into such men and women as themselves, with whom they could intermarry, and enter with them into the other intimacies of social life, and who would assist them in the maintenance of good government and the authority of the laws, slavery would not exist at the South for a year. But suppose the slave to be free, he is there, a negro still, in arms, if he shall choose to be so, not as at the North in consequence of his inferiority of numbers, under the overwhelming influence and control of the white man, but feeling his strength, and prepared to make others feel it too. What his tender mercies are, the blood-stained dwellings of Southampton did once sufficiently attest. It is to a repetition of such scenes, that the abolition and anti-slavery people in the plenitude and exuberance of their philanthropy are urging the country. The happiness of the negro race would not be increased by emancipation, at least for a long series of years; whilst the whole region would become intolerable to the white man, and uninhabitable by him. Such are the honest and strong convictions which an acquaintance with the circumstances of the case for many years has forced upon me. (Note O.)

It is to such a state of things that the slaveholder if he be not cursed with utter blindness, and indifference about the future, is compelled to look forward. The negro population is, in the hands of the whites, at present, a tiger chained (as Jesus when on earth called some people sheep, and others wolves, I hope to be pardoned for using this mode of illustration), a tiger chained, useful, and harmless. When a person comes along and talks to the master a while about equal rights, and doing to others as one would be done by, the master is half inclined to turn his captive loose, and measure his strength, if it shall be necessary, with him—but when he looks round upon his wife and children, he throws the key away. If men shall see fit to abuse him on that account, he appeals to God to judge his cause.

The man of property in the Northern States of the Union and in Western Europe, excludes his brother of the same race with himself from his natural right in the soil and all that it produces, well knowing at the time the vast amount of misery



and wickedness connected with such unequal division of property there. He claims to be regarded as blameless, or nearly so. He has yielded to what all alike regard as an uncontrollable necessity. The plea is admitted. A necessity incomparably more imperative, stern, and terrible, constrains the Southern planter to hold his black slave in a bondage, involving, if you please, a still higher amount of suffering and crime. Will any fair and honorable mind which has admitted the plea in the former case reject it here? Ordinarily, men are influenced in the judgments they pass on such matters by the greatness and urgency of the difficulty that is presented.

A man is hired to labor on a farm. His employer dares not lay the weight of his finger upon him. If his operative is unfaithful, the only redress is through damages awarded in a court of law; because there is no great danger of loss ordinarily, even if a man does neglect such duty.

A man is hired as a mariner. The captain is authorized by the law to chastise the refractory sailor, for disobedience to orders, almost at discretion. And why? Because if the seaman shall refuse to peril his life at the extremity of the yard when a storm is raging, the vessel, cargo, and crew, may perish in a moment through his obstinacy or folly.

A man is hired as a soldier. His commanding officer will shoot him down without mercy if he shall attempt to retreat without orders, or refuse to advance to the loaded cannon's mouth when so directed. The safety of a whole army may depend not upon the possession merely, but upon the exercise of such power.

These three cases are not stated with the view of comparing the treatment the slave receives at the hand of his master with either; it has no connexion with either. But to show how, if an urgent necessity may warrant the usurpation of that property in the soil which belongs to all alike, a necessity much more imperious and strong may, by the plain principles of common sense, authorize the taking away of another common right—that of freedom.

We are prepared now to recur very briefly to the New Testament, from which we have already, perhaps, too long wandered. A rule has been furnished us by our Blessed Saviour, which prescribes in few words the duties we owe to



our fellow-creatures. It is expressed under two different forms, both amounting to very much the same thing. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;" and, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Either form of the rule would require, that if we have slaves, we should set them free, if not to-day, certainly at a very early date, and that we expend our last dollar in charity, sharing it with the poor; that beyond this, if the child of another person be sick we nurse it, if naked we clothe it, if hungry feed it, and, in general, that we care and provide for his family with the same love and affection as if it were our own. Nothing short of this will come up to the requisitions of the law.

The first converts to the Christian faith, in the ardor of their new-born zeal, exhibited the holy temper and conduct which the gospel requires. The rich sold their possessions, and they had all things common. But when, under the guiding direction of the spirit of God, the religion of the cross made new conquests in heathen lands, and believers were mixed in the various relations of life, parent and child, husband and wife, master and servant, with unbelievers, a divinely inspired Apostle was commissioned to frame rules for the regulation of the conduct of church members, that are perhaps equally authoritative with the precepts of Christ himself.

The golden rule of doing to others as we would be done by was left unchanged, as a perfect and beautiful standard of duty, and a touchstone by which to determine what is base metal and what fine gold in human conduct, whenever a question may arise, rather than what any one of human kind can ever hope to reach. But men, *Christian men*, were allowed to hold property, and that species of property which consists in slaves; only in their treatment of them they were to exhibit the influences of the Christian faith. It does appear to me that what was allowed to them is lawful for us; that without claiming that God fully approves, we may say, that commiserating our condition amidst the difficulties by which we are surrounded, he permits; and that a person may without fear of falling into condemnation hold property of various kinds, land, goods, gold and silver, and slaves. If any one shall undertake to say that some of those things which were allowed by Paul

in the churches which he was permitted to found, are sinful now, whilst others are not, and to specify what those things are that belong to each class—that slavery, for example, is condemned by the gospel, but wealth is tolerated; what is this but to thrust St. Paul down from his seat, take the pen of inspiration into one's own hand, and write a new Bible? It is to introduce a new religion, prescribing new duties. Will God endure, think you, that such dishonor shall be cast upon his crucified son? (Note P.)

It is remarkable, how many warnings, counsels, expostulations, and commands the New Testament contains, all having reference to the danger of riches; how plain and direct they are; how often repeated, whilst there is hardly a single intimation in regard to that species of wealth which consists in slaves. For one to neglect these; if he is a man of some property, for him to get up in an anti-slavery meeting, still retaining his wealth, and denounce slaveholding, against which God has said nothing expressly, whilst his own conduct is so pointedly and repeatedly condemned, and yet call himself a Christian, even in name, is an absurdity by the side of which Mormonism itself becomes reasonable and respectable.

I am the owner of a few slaves, of certain tracts of land of no great value, and of some other property. If it is a sin to hold the first, it is a sin to hold the others. If I were to be convinced that it is a sin to hold the first, I would abandon them all. I would disregard the claims of my family, deal faithfully with my conscience, and seek in voluntary and utter poverty, deliverance from the anger and curse of God when the earth and heavens shall be no more. AMEN.



## NOTES.

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Note A.

THESE references are to the original, rather than the common translation, the language of which may not seem to warrant the use that is made of it.

Note B.

The principles here stated and considered, that the earth is the Lord's, and (so far as they have any property in it) the common property of all mankind, are so clear and simple, that they must receive the assent of every well constituted mind. But as much of the following argument rests upon them, it was thought best to cite some authorities, to show what had been the judgment in the case of men whose opinions command general respect. Use was made, in the first instance, of those collected by E. P. Hurlbut, in a small volume published in 1845. For these, the extract from Paley was substituted, partly for the reasons stated, and also because he seems to take the only natural and rational course in this inquiry; giving the first place to property in the soil, from which all other property is ultimately derived. That he did not include those mines which are a little below the soil, is, of course, a mere omission.

The method of writers has been, too much, to consider the right of property in the abstract, or, in general, of which we can have no very clear idea, and it serves them to smuggle in under one head property of every kind. Wayland has part of a section on this subject, which is little better than a mystification throughout, a portion of his argument also involving the principle that what appears to be useful is of course right.

The earth, including what it spontaneously brings forth, and its capabilities of being made to produce, by the agency of man, is common property. But a savage finds upon the sea-shore some pieces of flint, which nobody cares for, and, with great labor, fashions some of them into arrow-heads. Of wood, that would otherwise rot, he makes a bow and arrows; some bark serves him for a string, and he is thus furnished for the chase. As his weapons have received their *whole* value from his own labor, we want no natural conscience, or other faculty of the mind, besides our simple reason, to enable us to see that they are absolutely his. In other cases, a man may take what has intrinsic value, and by the application of labor add to that value. He thus acquires a claim upon such article, but not an absolute property in it. But all other kinds of property do so sink into in-

significance, are so annihilated and swallowed up, in comparison with that of the "all-producing earth," that there is no great exaggeration in the doctrine laid down by Bentham :

"Property and law are born together, and die together. Before laws were made, there was no property; take away laws, and property ceases."

That industry may be awakened, the legislator authorizes individual persons to claim certain tracts of the earth's surface as their own, and a right to exclude all other persons from whatever they may be made to produce. God, in the Scriptures, commands us to yield to such claim, just as he directs the slave to respect the authority of his master over him.

Note C.

By the law for partitioning the land amongst the children of Israel, and the descent of property by inheritance, every man would necessarily have a tract which would be his own. But inequality would arise. Some families would increase more rapidly than others. The first born was entitled to a double portion, probably of the personal property only ("a double portion of all that is found with him;" it is in the Hebrew, Deuteronomy xxi. 17), but as some may think of the land also. It may be said in relation to this, that God, in directing the original partitioning, indicated very clearly the principle, that of a substantial equality, which it was his will should prevail. We may presume, therefore, that if the chosen people had been faithful to him, he would have interfered through a new lawgiver whenever the inequality should have become very great, and have restored things to their original condition.

Note D.

Commentators, disliking apparently too much comprehensiveness in this command, have been careful to note that it was addressed to the immediate disciples of Jesus, desiring the inference to be drawn, that it should be regarded as intended for their direction only. But much of what was said to the immediate disciples of that day, was intended for such as should become disciples in future time; perhaps we might say that all was so intended, except what related to their personal and official duties as apostles. There were no others, except such as believed on him, to whom the Saviour could give these peculiar and paternal directions, and as the same language was used in the conference with the Jewish ruler, it is safest to regard it as, at least in its spirit, a general rule of the Christian life. It may be remarked further that the disciples had nothing beyond the clothes they wore to sell. "They forsook all," it is said, "and followed him." The command must, therefore, have been intended to apply prospectively to others, and not to themselves, or to others with themselves.

Note E.

The impression prevails extensively, and certainly not less widely at the North than at the South, that the Declaration of Independence asserts in

the same sentence the *freedom*, as well as the equality of condition in which men are born. To correct this impression, as far as the influence of this little publication may go, the true reading is given as a sort of motto on the title page, with the correction which the Abolitionists would be glad to have applied to it—their reading. The declaration, in fact, asserts the doctrine of this discourse; the perfect equality of all, their right not merely to freedom, but to an equal and just share in the earth's soil. In the next following member of the sentence, liberty, as suited the object of the declaration, is mentioned as *one* of the unalienable rights conferred upon man by his Creator, but the enumeration is according to the terms employed, imperfect. As it may very possibly be a hundred years before the opinions here advanced will be so generally adopted as to be carried into practice, the printer has been desired also to place at the foot of the title page, the date of the century, and year, to which this publication belongs, rather than that in which it is carried through the press.

Note F.

The people, who, on the 23d of June, 1848, made insurrection against the authority of the National Assembly in Paris, and raised the Barricades around which the blood of some thousands was shed, by the mutual slaughter of citizen by fellow citizen, were the abolition party of that city; the claimants of extreme and impracticable justice. They had been all their lives long trodden down, they said, by the middle and upper classes, denied the common rights of humanity, and were fighting for justice. This was true. They were no more bound to submit than the slaves of the South. Yet every friend of the human race must rejoice that they were put down. A scene of deeper horror than Paris has ever yet witnessed, the massacre of St. Bartholomew not excepted, would have ensued, had they been triumphant. The genius of emancipation would willingly bring about the results they failed of producing, at the South; convert the whole country into a scene of violation and blood, and that done, would howl in fiendish joy over the desolation she had created.

Note G.

The science of Political Economy had its origin in the feebleness of the small States of Italy, the rulers of which, being unable to maintain in the field, armies corresponding to their schemes of defence or conquest, sought the means of increasing the wealth of the citizen, that he might be able to bear, without being crushed, a heavier burden of taxation. The science still retains much of its original character. Another science, kindred to this, but distinct from it, remains to be created; that which shall teach the means of advancing the *happiness* of nations. Of that happiness, wealth is at best only one of the elements. Features in her physical geography of which she has up to this time been able to avail herself to a limited extent only, are about to give to the little state of Connecticut, the means of perhaps a successful rivalry with her elder sister Massachusetts,

in future time. Whether the virtue and happiness of the people of either state will increase with its wealth, and with an equal pace, is hardly doubtful.

Note H.

England may not be justified in withdrawing her control from Ireland just now. Rapine and massacre might become the order of the day there, just as they would at the South, if the schemes of the Abolitionists were to be carried into execution. But the condition of things in Ireland is the result of a long course of injustice and misgovernment there.

But England herself, with her nobility, too generally overbearing, idle, dissolute, and worthless; her established church, for whose support people of other creeds are compelled, either directly or indirectly, to contribute, and afterwards to maintain the worship of God under such form as their own reason approves; her universities, from which all but men of one faith are still, as they have been for centuries, excluded; her national debt, which does not permit the poor man to rest at being absolutely destitute and without anything, but through the medium of taxes imposed to pay the expenses of wars waged long before he was born, thrusts him down to a still lower depth of misery and poverty, compelling him to come into life, as it were, with a load upon his shoulders, the money going also into the pockets of the upper classes, to pamper their luxury; with nearly a million and a half of the population (including that of Wales), unable to subsist without the aid of charity; what shall in justice be said of England? The horrible fact stated by Carlyle, that a father and mother were found guilty of poisoning three of their children, that they might get sixteen dollars and forty-nine cents by the death of each; and that other in Scotland, where Hare and Burke killed, according to the statement of the latter, sixteen persons in succession, that they might get thirty-six dollars, thirty-seven and a half cents, by the sale of their bodies, are important, chiefly as indexes of the utter destitution and extreme misery of the poor, in the midst of the wealthiest population in the world. The people amongst whom these things are, are of one race, and can change their social organization without danger of a convulsion. And when one as Dickens, gifted as a writer, familiar, as his works show, with the atrocious sufferings of the lower classes, and instead of taking their part, and endeavoring to lighten their burdens, identifying himself, so far as he can, with their oppressors, comes to this country, and after having been treated with respect and kindness, goes home to write a book on the injustice and cruelty with which certain Southern planters treat their slaves—may not one be excused, if, whilst reading it, the idea of the Devil giving Judas Iscariot a lecture on the eccentricities of his moral character, sometimes crosses his mind?

But England has emancipated her slaves in the West Indies at an expense of an hundred millions of dollars—and draws more than half that sum *every year* (English people draw it) from famishing Ireland. And if resistance is made to the payment, English bayonets and sabres, in the

hands of an armed soldiery, are very promptly on the ground, *to perpetuate* that injustice ; and the gibbet is prepared for such as have written or spoken against it.

The owners of property in the West Indies were very generally Englishmen—not people of English descent—but residents in England, who had a powerful interest ; commanded many votes in parliament. A call was made for the emancipation of the slaves, and, by a compromise, the sum named, was, for the benefit of the West India proprietors—not raised and paid at once from the capital of the country, but, by a decree of a parliament imperfectly responsible, transferred from the pockets of one Englishman to those of another—added to the national debt, and left as an element of trouble and suffering to succeeding generations, to be struggled with by them as God might give them ability. There was at least as much of political manoeuvring, as of pure benevolence, in the whole business. And if, instead of the distant island of Jamaica, the proposition had been to set the same number of blacks loose upon the soil of England, in what manner would it have been entertained ? It is easy to legislate for people living in a remote province, and to vote money, that is to be paid by the generations that are to come after us.

Note I.

There was put into my hands a number of the Emancipator, date not recollected, but of June last, containing a very dreadful account, furnished by J. G. W., to the National Era, of a black family in Kentucky, of which the father and mother had been sold to a negro trader to be carried to New Orleans, whilst their only child was to be left behind. They were shut up for sake keeping in the jail in Covington, and the child was left with them. In their grief and despair they resolved (so says the story) to die. The mother cut the child's throat, and gave the knife to her husband, who killed her, and then attempted to take his own life.

Soon after reading this, my eye fell upon an account in the Connecticut Historical Collections, of the murder of a whole family, a wife and four children, by their husband and father, William Beadle, of Wethersfield. It is now a long time since (1782), such sad events happily occurring but seldom. But it is not the less instructive on that account. The eldest child was a boy of twelve, the youngest of the three daughters was six years of age. He first fractured the skulls of his victims with an axe, then cut their throats, and finished by sending two pistol bullets through his own brain. He had at one time been worth about four thousand dollars, but being a merchant, and receiving continental paper in payment for his goods, the value of which depreciated at length to nothing, he lost it all.

The black family were victims of the social institutions of Kentucky ; the white family, of those which prevail in New England, and which place such an immense distance between the rich and the poor, in regard to the honor and esteem in which they are respectively held, that poor Beadle thought it would be a kindness to relieve the objects of his love from the horrors of

poverty, by a sudden death. This was clearly indicated in the writings he left behind.

The writer in the Era seems to commend the blacks as exhibiting a Roman firmness. I think differently from him, and commend no murderers, be the circumstances what they may; but the person whose heart does not bleed over such tales of woe, whatever be the color of the skin of the parties, must be little better than a monster.

Note K.

If, at the close of his argument, at the trial of John F. Knapp for the murder of Capt. Joseph White, in Salem, in 1830, Mr. Webster had attempted to show that the State of Massachusetts is just and humane in her dealings with her own children, would not even his great mind have labored under the difficulties of such a theme? She fosters by her laws, and by the whole spirit of her institutions, those commercial and manufacturing enterprises, by which property is accumulated in a few hands, creates an unnatural temptation to crime, too powerful to be resisted by people of a feeble will, or a will strongly inclined to guilty courses, and then punishes without mercy such as are overcome by it. John F. Knapp was very guilty, but were the people of Massachusetts quite innocent? The plea of *necessity* would probably be resorted to here as well as at the South. An active industry must be awakened and encouraged; the life of the peaceful and quiet citizen must not be in danger from the hand of violence, as he sleeps.

Note L.

Heeren (Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity) notices in two places, in guarded and decorous, but significant terms, the corruption, that, as it were, by a law of our *fallen* nature, prevails in those places where a very active trade is carried on. "The relations between the sexes are modified and deteriorated in places of great commercial resort." "It has been already observed, that the relations of the sexes are formed in a peculiar manner in large commercial cities." See also almost any account of ancient Corinth, and sketches of Venetian History.

As it contributes to economy, that we know the cost of articles that are purchased, the following little narrative of what occurred, the only time that I was ever in Boston during the session of the Legislature, is given.

Mammon, the Demon of Riches, had established his court on the upper part of the Common. It was a large tent of rich silk, surrounded by bales of merchandise, and within, what served him for a kind of throne, was a huge pile of ingots and coins of gold and silver. A Committee of the Legislature were in treaty with him, to get him, if they could, to make the city his principal and permanent residence. They told of the railroads they were about to construct, and the other arrangements that were in progress, with the view of making the place easy and comfortable to him.

His reply was, "You know I do not grant such favors without a suita-

ble return. In ancient Carthage they used to sacrifice, to propitiate me, many children of the best families every year, throwing them alive into the arms of a huge brazen image of me that stood just without the gate, and whose hollow body had, by a fire within, been intensely heated. You know what was done when Agathocles invaded the country. What I demand is, twenty-five young maidens, yearly, from the hills and valleys of Massachusetts, to come to the city and die of broken hearts, and disease, and brutal treatment, here."

The Committee pleaded hard to be excused from conditions so revolting to their feelings, or to have them somewhat mitigated; but the Demon said in reply, that he had far better terms than these offered him, from New York and Philadelphia; and it was only because he expected considerable contributions at Salem, and elsewhere along the coast, and at some places in the interior, and because he liked the country and the people, that he had been so liberal with them.

Some of the Committee turned pale, some trembled, as conscious of the baseness of the act in which they were engaged, one hung his head, and writhed as though he verily believed that his own daughter would be of the number of those who were to be given up. But they plighted, at length, the faith of the ancient Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and said in a low, faint voice—it is a bargain.

The victims for that year then moved in procession through the city, before separating; some to the elegant mansions, and some to the miserable hovels, where the doom of each was to be accomplished. On the fair cheeks of some, the blush of maiden modesty still lingered, but was fast disappearing. They passed the house where an eloquent Divine (Dr. William E. Channing) was engaged in writing a work on slavery, and just at the time when he was in the midst of a glowing account of the indignities to which black females are subjected at the South. He raised his head, and looked out with some interest at them, but by the time the last one had gone by, I heard his pen again busy with that argument.

The next morning at breakfast, the reverend gentleman did what was uncommon with him, complained of his coffee, as having a bad taste. I do believe, said he, you have used Cuba sugar, and that the lash of the driver, with which he had drawn blood from one of his gang, by some means got into the kettle, and communicated its taste to the product. The lady who presided at the table then produced a vial and said, "The tears of those unhappy women who passed the house yesterday are, you know, an unavoidable element of the commercial prosperity of our city; of the wealth of those (merchants and others) by whom your salary is paid. Those they shed last night have been collected; a part have been sent in as your due, and a tithe offering, this morning; suppose you try some of these with your coffee." He looked up doubtfully at her, to see whether she were in earnest, or uttering a bitter sarcasm, and discovering no tokens of the latter, accepted her offer, found the drink more palatable, and was greatly comforted.

But let us tread lightly on the ashes of the dead, and especially of one who wrote well, though not always justly or wisely. There is terrible

wickedness and terrible misery elsewhere than at the South, though it is reached by one route in one part of the country, and by a different route in another part.

Note M.

There are certain passages in the New Testament which bear at once upon the slaveholder and the rich man, be the particular species of his wealth what it may. Such are all those which inculcate love, benevolence, kindness to our fellow-creatures, direct us to love our neighbor as ourselves, or to do to others as we would be done by.

There is no one text, so far as I can discover, which bears directly and exclusively upon the slaveholder.

There are very many, which, beyond doubt, should rest heavily upon the conscience of the man of wealth. The principal ones of these, I have thought it well to collect and exhibit together, partly with reference to this head of the sermon, and partly for use in connexion with the last paragraph but one—that it may be seen clearly how the case stands, and what those persons are doing who admit to their communion rich men, whom they know to be violating daily both the spirit and the letter of instructions so often repeated, and repel such as they know well the apostle did receive. If this be not a case of impious rebellion against the authority of Jesus, I shall be at a loss to know where to find it. No slaveholder will desire to commune with such people. I have not made much use of the Old Testament in this whole discussion, it being the fashion of the day to give little heed to those Scriptures to which our Saviour and his Apostles appealed with so much respect—at least in any question connected with slavery.

Matthew vi. 19, Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. 24. No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. 25. Therefore I say unto you take no thought for your life what ye shall eat, &c.

xix. 21. Jesus said unto him, if thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me. 23. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, verily I say unto you that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. 24. And again I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

So also, with slight variations in the parallel passages of Mark and Luke.

Mark iv. 18, 19. And these are they which are sown among thorns, such as hear the word, and the cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, and the lusts of other things, entering in, choke the word, and it becometh unfruitful.

Luke vi. 20. And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples and said, Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. 24. But woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation.

xii. 15. And he said unto them, take heed and beware of covetousness,

for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. Then follows the parable of the man who would pull down his barns and build greater. 33. Sell that ye have and give alms, provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth.

xiv. 13. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind.

xvi. 19—31. The rich man that lifted up his eyes in hell-torments whilst Lazarus the beggar was in Abraham's bosom. What a valuable chapter were this, had it been a slaveholder, instead of simply a rich man.

xix. 1—10. Zaccheus was rich, but immediately on becoming a disciple of Christ, gave half his goods to the poor.

Acts iv. 34—37. Christianity in action; the land is sold and the proceeds laid at the Apostle's feet.

Ephesians v. 4, Colossians iii. 5. Covetousness is denounced as idolatry.

1 Timothy vi. 8—10. And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. For they that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. Verses 17—19, directions to rich Christians as to what they are to do with their money.

James ii. 5. Hearken, my beloved brethren; hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?

v. 1—3. Go to, now, ye rich men, weep and howl, for your miseries that shall come upon you, for your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth eaten, your gold and silver are cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire.

Revelations xviii. The merchants, the ship-masters, and the sailors, who had been made rich by their trade with great Babylon, are represented as sympathizing with her in whom was found the blood of prophets and saints, and lamenting over her fall.

Note N.

The people of southern and eastern Asia are perishing for lack of knowledge of the one true and living God, and of Christ his son. If I shall meet with a man who labors hard all day, feeds, lodges, and clothes himself in the plainest, cheapest way, and pays over all the money he can save into the treasury of the Lord, to be employed in conveying the blessings of the gospel to these poor heathen, I shall think of such an one, that he is earnestly endeavoring to obey the command to do to others as we would have them do to us. If I shall meet such an one, I will say to him, Stand by thyself, thou art holier than I. If, instead of laboring for the heathen, he shall so exert himself in behalf of the poor and suffering of his own countrymen, the case will still be much the same.

But the members of all the churches in the land, though purer and better

than their Godless brethren, are making themselves considerably comfortable, supplying themselves with the elegances and luxuries of life, amidst the misery and suffering which pervade the earth, and much of which is immediately about them, and it is in their power to relieve. To claim that they are honestly and earnestly endeavoring to observe the rule of doing to others as they would be done by, were a better joke than any that has appeared in *Punch* for a long time, were not the whole subject so important at once, and so melancholy. And yet it is taken for granted in the works against slavery that the Christians of the free states are so endeavoring and laboring, whilst slaveholders are not. It is here that an arbitrary line of demarcation is drawn, suited to the state of society and manners in one part of the Union, so as to include the Christians that are there amongst the pure and holy, whilst those bearing the name, far away at the South, and under the pressure of other wants and difficulties, are fit only for outer darkness. An axiom of this sort, admitted without due consideration, by his own just mind, is what gives force to much of what is in Dr. Wayland's letters. The line drawn by the finger of God is different. We are all sinners continually in the sight of that one perfect and spotless Being.

The following little sketches of character may perhaps place in a clearer light the true relations of the parties concerned.

There are in the same city, living not very far from each other, two men (I give their titles of honor with their names), Captain Clepteas, and Major Leesteas, both with large families. Clepteas is a thief, and has trained his whole family to the same business. His plea is *necessity*, he cannot support them in any other way. Leesteas is not merely a thief, but if the truth must be told, he and his sons sometimes sally out with loaded pistols and rob on the highway. I do not know exactly what excuse he gives for such proceedings, perhaps that he for some reason cannot make a living, like his neighbor, by simple thieving.

Clepteas being a devout man, and of uncommon piety, is greatly distressed by the ill conduct of his neighbor, congratulates himself, like Albert Barnes, that no one of his family has ever owned, or would own, a pistol, has got up a society with the view of putting him down, written a book entitled, "Robbery as it is," in which all the miseries produced by robbing on the highway are clearly set forth, uses many arguments against robbing, but rests with most confidence on this—that it is a violation of the rule of doing to others as one would be done by. This he regards as conclusive. Leesteas on his part declares, that he never kills anybody with his pistols—merely scares people to get their money; but he is highly indignant against Clepteas, and threatens to break off all intercourse between their families, and to have nothing more to do with him or his people.

The writer of this account, sensible of his want of skill in executing portraits, follows the example of the prudent Dutch painter, who used to write under his pictures, "This is a bear," "This is a horse," and so on. It is stated for the information of the curious, that by Clepteas is meant the Northern man of property, especially the abolitionist, and by Leesteas the Southern planter.

Note O.

We have a report of the results of one experiment in abolition, made under the most favorable circumstances (in the City of New Haven, Connecticut; famed for the intelligence, morality, and piety of its inhabitants), drawn by no common hand (that of Dr. Dwight, President of Yale College), which I copy in full from his statistical account of the City of New Haven. It bears date the 6th of July, 1811, and may well be a warning to the people of the Southern country, that whatever they do in this matter, they do it cautiously and wisely.

Page 57.—“The number of free blacks in the City of New Haven was, in the year 1800, 150.

“Their vices are of all the kinds usually intended by the phrase, ‘*low vice*.’ Uneducated to principles of morality, or to habits of industry and economy, they labor only to acquire the means of expense, and expend only to gratify gross and vulgar appetite. Accordingly, many of them are thieves, liars, profane, drunkards, Sabbath breakers, quarrelsome, idle, and prodigal, the last in the extreme. Their ruling passion seems very generally to be a desire of being fashionable. Their ambition in dressing is not so much to be dressed richly, gaily, or splendidly, as to be dressed fashionably. Their wish is not merely to dance and frolic, but to have genteel assemblies, collected by tickets, and regulated by managers. The difference between them and the whites, who are nearest to them in their circumstances, is entire. The whites are generally satisfied with being decent, with being dressed in such clothes, and living in such a manner, as they can afford; the blacks appear to covet nothing but to be genteel; and ape those who are above them, or rather people of fashion, in a manner sufficiently ridiculous. No well bred people are mutually so respectful, or adopt so precise and attentive a ceremonial. The expense of such a mode of life, their earnings will not sustain; and to supply it, a considerable number of them scruple not to engage in dishonest practices.

“There are, however, exceptions to this character, and a greater number among the females than among the males. Almost all who acquire an attachment to property, appear to assume better principles, or, at least, better practices. Several of the men have in this manner become good members of society. A number of the females are well behaved.

“Six of these people are communicants in the two Presbyterian churches in this town.

“The Committee for completing the Long Wharf have contracted with two black men to execute 50 rods in length of this work, and 32 feet in breadth (the depth is estimated at 16 feet), at 3 cents per cubic foot. This contract is an honorable proof of the character which they sustain, both for capacity and integrity.

“There are lately set up in this city two schools for the education of black children, one for males and the other for females; the latter is a charity school. These institutions furnish the first rational hope of a reformation among the people.”

Such are the recorded results of an experiment of probably more than

twenty years' standing. Some years later, the writer of this note received from a most worthy and intelligent magistrate of the city of New Haven, details still more revolting of the depravity of the free blacks, which had been brought to his knowledge in the discharge of his official duties there. The paper that is before me would blush, if I were to write down upon it the details that were given during that interview.

Subsequently, the whites interfered in their behalf. Foremost in this work of benevolence was a gentleman of the name of Jocelyn, now of Brooklyn, in New York, whom, with no very intimate acquaintance, I have learned to esteem and love, though I do by no means share all his opinions, or approve of all his movements. Something has been effected, but even at this time the character of the free blacks in the city of New Haven, as a body, is none of the fairest, nor is their situation the most enviable. And from what the whites have effected in half a century, under the most favorable circumstances, and when they were, to those whom they would improve, in the proportion of 20 to one, no good inference can be drawn in regard to the safety or wisdom (even supposing no convulsion) of attempting the same thing, where the proportion is from 4 to one, to an absolute minority. It is but common prudence to let things remain for the present as they are.

If there is any difference between the North and the South, in regard to the amount of pity, commiseration, and kind feeling entertained for the colored race, or a disposition to do them substantial justice, that particular alone excepted, wherein one has a deep interest and the other none, that difference is small, and perhaps not to the advantage of the Northern man. What says the abolitionist to the slave? I will revile your master, publish stories, some true, some false, it matters little which to me, but all tending to render him an object of abhorrence amongst men. I will compel him to set you free if I can. I may even give a little money to help you to found a school for your children: but that done, hands off; do not come into the same house of God, to worship with me there; or if you do come, bestow yourself in some corner apart, where you shall be out of sight and out of mind. If at the table of the dying Redeemer, you presume to touch the holy symbols before I am served, I will raise a disturbance even there (Lyell's Travels, Vol. i. p. 168). Seek not to enjoy any of the intimacies of social life with me. If a son or daughter of yours shall presume to come into my house and utter the language of love, or even of gallantry, where my children are, be assured my house shall be very suddenly cleared of such vermin. If the negro, uttering the exclamation, "am not I also a brother?" shall venture to express the hope that one so much his friend will think more favorably of the matter, and that "the time may come, Sir, when I shall see a son of yours united to a daughter of mine, or my son to your daughter, in the bonds of wedded love," the afflicted abolitionist would find the language of Hector to Andromache, at their last interview, most appropriate to his feelings:

"May I lie cold before that dreadful day,
Pressed with a load of monumental clay."

This is the kind of treatment the black receives from those who reproach the slaveholder as having no bowels of mercies, and not loving his neighbor as himself; and the negro feels it in proportion to his intelligence. I knew one who used to say he would be willing to be skinned all over to be a white man.

It has been proposed in a late number of the *New Englander*, to give the blacks the right of suffrage in those states where it is now denied them. And supposing it given, what would it avail them, what would it be but a mockery? In all that is peculiar and most important in his interests and character—that he is a black man—would the negro be represented? If his rights are to be recognised and allowed, it can be done in but one way, by changing the constitutions of the different states, so as to give to the blacks, as a distinct race, the right of sending into the Legislature a certain number (determined by their own aggregate wealth and numbers) of members of their own choice, to represent them there. Then, whether heeded or not, their claims and complaints would at least be heard.

There is one other theatre where an equality of right might, perhaps, be conceded to the blacks for a brief period, without any great harm. They are congregated in greatest numbers in the large cities, and have always been kept in the back ground, never admitted to civic honors there. It is but just that these things should come round at least as often as once or twice in a century. Suppose the anti-slavery societies of Boston and New York bring forward, not as a matter of choice, but of justice, a black Mayor of those cities, and get him elected, if they can. It is a destiny they are preparing for the sister city of Charleston, and urging upon her, by every consideration of humanity and religion; only in her case, the die, once cast, would probably be cast for ever.

Note P.

If St. Paul is not to be heeded, nor his authority respected on such questions, the straightforward way would be to depose him from the office of an inspired teacher at once. And with reference to such action at the next meeting of the anti-slavery society, the following preamble and resolutions have been prepared.

Whereas, one Saul, of Tarsus, commonly known as Paul the Apostle, did take upon himself to write certain letters to the first Christian churches, wherein he treats of matters of Christian doctrine and practice, and, in particular, of the reciprocal duties of master and slave, and, instead of dealing honestly with masters, denouncing their conduct as contrary to reason, and the spirit of Christ's teachings, reprimanding, and expostulating with them, he allowed them to come without censure to the Lord's table, treating them as the children of God; and the men and women of that day, who were in the unhappy condition of slavery, as chattels or things, sending back Onesimus to his master, and thus treating him in particular as a chattel or thing, all which has been of evil example, so that slaveholders of our own day have taken courage from it, to persevere in their wickedness: Be it known, therefore, that by the authority of this anti-slavery

convention, the said Paul is deposed, and, by the said authority, he is hereby deposed from the title, dignity, and authority of the apostleship, so that it shall no longer be lawful to quote his writings as having any weight in any meeting of this body, nor for any member who is a preacher of the Gospel to do the same in his public ministrations, except so far as his hearers may be babes requiring milk instead of meat.

Resolved, secondly, that whereas some of the teachings of Jesus Christ on the subject of property, and the danger and evil of riches, do seem to conflict with the doctrines of Political Economy, that have been ascertained in modern times, that therefore a committee of seven be appointed to take the New Testament in hand, and consider what parts are proper to be erased, so as no longer to have the appearance of conflicting, mentioned above, nor be capable of being used in any way, to extenuate the guilt of slavery.

Resolved, that the members of this convention regard the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the only, and an infallible rule of faith and practice.

Note Q.

I devote a few pages, included under this last note, to some works of rather recent date, on the subject of slavery.

I. There is before me a volume of 384 pages, bearing for its title, "An Enquiry into the Scripture Doctrine of Slavery," by Albert Barnes. I should be glad to believe that it had been written by some enemy of his, for the purpose of ruining his character as a man of integrity and truth. But I do not learn that he has ever disavowed it. It is noticed, chiefly, with the view of exposing its dishonesty.

From pages 29 to 37 inclusive, he gives the views of a number of persons on the subject of slavery—individual men and public bodies:—E. D. Sims, Prof. in Randolph Macon College, Wilbur Fisk, President of the Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Conn., Dr. Fuller, of S. Ca., J. K. Paulding, Prof. Stuart, four Presbyteries, one Synod, the Church in Petersburg, Virginia, and the Princeton Biblical Repertory,—twelve in all; and on page 56, professes to give the matter at issue between himself and them, under the head of,

THE TRUE QUESTION STATED.

"The true question now is, whether this is a good institution, and one which God designed to commend and perpetuate? Is it an institution for the maintenance of which He has made arrangements in his Word, and which has his sanction? Is it a system in accordance with the spirit of the religion which He has revealed, and which that religion is intended to keep up in the world? Is it such an arrangement in society that the fair influence of that religion will tend to perpetuate it, as it will the relations of husband and wife, and of parent and child? Or is it an institution which God regards as undesirable and evil, in its nature and tendency, and which he intends to have removed from the world? Would the fair application of the principles of his religion perpetuate it on the earth, or remove it as an evil thing? This is the fair

question now before us. According to the references made to the Scriptures by most of the writers already alluded to, they would regard the former of these opinions as the true one; that slavery has the sanction of God; that He has from the beginning fostered and patronized the institution; that He legislates for its continuance, as he does for the relation of parent and child; and that the principles of his religion do not conflict with its perpetuity on the earth."

No one of the writers quoted, expresses the sentiments which are here charged upon them; such for example as that in the first sentence: that slavery is a good institution, and one which God designed to commend and perpetuate. Not more than three, out of the whole twelve, afford any warrant whatever for Mr. Barnes's statement, and they hardly any. Prof. Sims says, at the end of one paragraph, that slavery is not immoral; also, in another, that as it exists in America it was founded in right. Dr. Fisk, that the general rule of Christianity not only permits, but in supposable circumstances enjoins, a continuance of the master's authority. The Harmony Presbytery, that the existence of slavery itself, is not opposed to the will of God. Such are Mr. Barnes's warrants for his statements. In general they take the same ground respecting slavery that they would in regard to riches; that God tolerates, and allows, and by allowing, sanctions it, and that it is not, therefore, in itself sinful. But to combat this opinion did not suit Mr. Barnes's purpose. That he might have better ground for abusing the people of the South, and blackening their characters, he chose rather to represent their sentiments as different from what they stood expressed before him, a proceeding which has all the meanness, and all the wickedness, of a continuous falsehood, interwoven more or less with the matter of 384 pages.

It is in the same conscientious spirit that he proceeds to show, that "there is no evidence that Christ himself ever came in contact with slavery," and "no positive or certain evidence that Onesimus was a slave at all." With reference to both objects he attempts to disguise, or destroy, the meaning of the Greek word δούλος (doulos), rendered in our common version, *servant*, but meaning properly, as every school-boy knows, *a slave*. He would gather a mist around this word, persuade his readers that it is ambiguous, or uncertain in its meaning, and in a manner without any definite signification, other than what may be collected from the connexion in which it is found. Hear him, pages 65 and 321.

"That δούλος might be a slave, and that the word is most commonly applied to slaves in the classic writers, and frequently in the New Testament, no one can doubt; but its mere *use* in any case does not of necessity denote the relation sustained, or make it proper to infer that he to whom it is applied was bought with money, or held as property, or even in any way regarded as *a slave*."

"From the remarks which I have before made on the meaning of the Greek word, rendered *servant*—δούλος—it is evident, I trust, that nothing certain can be determined from the mere use of this word, in regard to the condition of one to whom it is applied. *It is not the peculiar and*

distinctive word which in the Greek language denotes a slave, though, like our word servant, it was often, perhaps usually, applied to a slave. Like that word, it is of a general character, and would be applied to any one who was engaged in the service of another, whether bound by a parent or guardian, or whether he was engaged voluntarily to serve another, or whether he was purchased as a slave, or whether he was a serf attached to the soil. Unless there is some circumstance stated which will enable us to determine what kind of a servant any one was, it can never be ascertained by the mere use of the word. In the instance before us, there is no circumstance mentioned by which it can be determined whether Onesimus was a voluntary or involuntary servant, and no advocate of slavery has a right to assume that he was a slave."

I have put in italics, for particular animadversion, two members of sentences, and one whole sentence in the foregoing paragraph, which will be read with pity, or scorn, for the man making any pretensions to learning who could write them, by every accomplished scholar whether of Europe or America, under whose eye they may happen to fall. Δουλος was not the peculiar, but it was the *distinctive* word, in common and familiar use in Greece, to denote that part of the population of the country, that was held in bondage, by which in a region where slaves were very numerous, they were every day and hour distinguished from the other classes. On the other hand, he who *was engaged voluntarily to serve another*, was not, as Mr. Barnes asserts, called δουλος. Even common school books place this in the clearest light. Robinson's Antiquities of Greece, p. 15; Eschenburg's Manual, by Fiske, pp. 159, 180.

"The inhabitants of Attica were divided into three classes. 1. Πολιται, or freemen. 2. Μετοικοι, or foreigners, settled in the country; and, 3. Δουλοι, or slaves."

"The slaves (δουλοι) of the Greeks, male and female, were persons that had been taken prisoners in war (αιχμαλωτος, ανδραποδου), or were purchased of others. Besides the actual slaves, there was a class of day laborers, who were accustomed to let their services for hire (θητες, πελαται.)"

"The slaves (δουλοι) were of different sorts, those belonging to the public (δουλοι δημοσιοι), and those belonging to private citizens (οικεται)."

The truth is, that few words in the two languages correspond more exactly, or more uniformly, to each other in their meaning, than the Greek δουλος, and the English *slave*. Both are used with some extension of meaning, as when we speak of the subjects of the Autocrat of Russia as slaves, and metaphorically, where we say of a mother that she is the slave of her children, or of a man that he is the slave of his passions, or of habit. Just so δουλος, meaning properly a man held in bondage, was applied to the subjects of the King of Persia, to man in his relations to God, as we say in English the servant of God, and sometimes, though rarely, to scholars with reference to their instructor. It was also used metaphorically. There was very little, if any more uncertainty about its meaning, than there is about that of the English word *slave*, and if there were any, there is one rule of interpretation with

which Mr. Barnes should by this time be well acquainted, viz. that every word is to be taken in its common, simple, and literal signification, unless there appears a good reason why some other should be assigned to it. So long as we abide by this rule, we are safe; any other course is presumptuous and ungodly tampering with Holy Truth.

The word *δουλος*, meaning properly a slave, in some of its cases, is reported by the Evangelists in fifty-nine places (if I have counted right), as on the lips of Christ, generally in the parables, delivered to plain common people, by whom it was his wish to be understood, and to whom, therefore, he would be likely to speak only of familiar things. If language has any meaning, we can ask no stronger evidence that slavery was around them there. But there is other evidence. Matt. xviii. 25. A man is directed to be sold with his wife and children (of course into slavery), for the payment of a debt, Matt. xxiv. 45-51; also Luke xii. 45. A slave is represented as placed in authority over his fellow slaves, and beating or whipping them at discretion, Matt. xxv. 14. The parable of the talents. The master is stated to make no return to his servants or slaves, for services rendered; as reaping where he had not sown, and gathering where he had not strewed, Luke xii. 47. The servant who knew his Lord's will and prepared not himself, is beaten with many stripes, and the other who knew not his Lord's will, with few stripes. In the parable of the Prodigal Son, two classes of servants are mentioned by the proper designation of each, the *μισθοι*, or hired servants, and the *δουλοι*, or slaves.

This selling, and whipping, and exacting of services without any return, indicates clearly the employment in that country, *commonly*, so that Jesus and his hearers were both familiar with the course of affairs, not of hired servants, but of slaves; and these under a discipline at least as severe, as the blacks are held to in the United States. It is useless to attempt to disguise so plain a matter; the facts are too clear.

Paul found at Rome a slave, Onesimus, who had run away from his master Philemon, living at Colossæ, in Asia Minor, and who became a convert to the Christian faith. The apostle, now in his old age, would willingly have retained this slave about his own person, to minister to his wants, but respecting the rights of his master, he sent him back with a letter. A fine example of the power of Christian principle. Paul explains to Onesimus that he has done wrong, must return, and submit himself to his master, and Onesimus is willing to go. Such was the view which those who read their Bibles took of this matter, until it was discovered that the facts might stand between the slaveholder and the poisoned arrows of the abolitionists, when Albert Barnes took the word of God in hand, to make it bend or break.

He says, "It cannot be denied that this view of the matter would be sanctioned by most of the commentaries on this epistle." Most! Will he produce three respectable commentators, even including by courtesy Albert Barnes as one of them, who take any other view of it? I speak of the main fact, that Onesimus was a slave; whether it was Christian truth or the persuasion of Paul that made him return may be uncertain.

Onesimus is called *δουλον* a slave, Paul tells Philemon that he is sent back, but to be received, *ουκετι ως δουλον αλλ' υπερ δουλον*, no longer as a slave, but above, or better than a slave; by which words his former servile condition is marked in the strongest possible manner. But enough of this book, of which a few salient points have been touched, to show how worthless and contemptible it is for its dishonesty.

P. S. I should be very sorry to do injustice to Albert Barnes, even in an insignificant pamphlet. In the ecclesiastical troubles in which he was involved some years since, my sympathies were with him, and I supposed him harshly treated. On page 229 he states again, "the true points of inquiry." The points at issue betwixt himself and those who differ from him.

"The true points of inquiry may be stated in few words. Did Christ and his apostles look benignly on the institution? Did they regard it as a good institution, or as one adapted to promote permanent good? Did they consider it to be desirable for the highest comfort of social life? Did they consider that they who *held* slaves could illustrate the power and excellence of the Christian religion in the best manner, while continuing in that relation? Did they suppose that they who *were held* in slavery were occupying the most desirable condition in life, and that they should consider that the Christian religion contemplated the continuance of that relation? Was it the design of the Saviour, that the fair application of the gospel to this system should perpetuate it in his church? The affirmative of these questions it is necessary for the advocates of slavery to make out, in order to show that the New Testament sustains the system."

He then gives long extracts from the proceedings of the Presbytery of Tombechee, the Princeton Repertory (against which he seems to cherish a malignity of feeling appropriate to an evil spirit), and the letters of Dr. Fuller of S. Ca., *apparently* for the purpose of showing that such are the points at issue. But they make no such points, take no such ground. That a man of sense should quote fairly from the writings of others, to show that they entertain and have expressed certain opinions, when the passages cited contain nothing of the kind, is one of those strange and unaccountable facts that are hardly to be explained on any of the common principles of our nature. Is there some obliquity of judgment here? Is Mr. Barnes's diseased spot in the understanding, rather than in the heart? Christ and his apostles did not look benignly on the possession of riches. With one who reads the New Testament there can be no doubt on that point. Yet such possession is *tolerated* in the Bible, and rich men are with good reason admitted to commune with their poorer brethren. It is the same with slavery. Cannot Mr. Barnes see the distinction between tolerating and fostering, or even fully approving? If not, it is only to be regretted that he did not ascertain more correctly the place he holds amongst God's intellectual creatures, before he undertook to write a book on slavery.

II. *Slavery Discussed in Occasional Essays from 1833 to 1846.* By
Leonard Bacon.

The work of an honest, intelligent, and in general fair man, who writes with ease and vigor, has no sympathy with slavery, and yet is afraid to go further in his opposition to it, than he finds warrant for in the Holy Scriptures. The most humble and gentle-minded Christian at the South, will meet in these essays, as in the letters of Dr. Wayland, with passages which he will feel to be unkind, unjust, unwise; some which he will regard as mere overflowings of spleen and gall, and that, therefore, would have been better omitted; but there is evidence of so much integrity of purpose, and they are so well written, that they may be read, though with pain, yet with profit, at the South. I have said that the author has no sympathy with slavery, and may add, not as much as may be due to his Christian character for slaveholders; is not prepared to make due allowances for the difficulties of their situation.

“I hold that the law of love requires the master to regard the relation between himself and his slaves as a relation to be dissolved as soon as it can be done consistently with the welfare of the slaves.” P. 241.

I pray you consider, Dr. Bacon, whether, as in most of the States, the whites are the more numerous race, and they are very nearly on an equality in the others, their welfare have not a claim also to some little portion of regard.

“For eleven years the record of deaths in the city of Baltimore has carefully distinguished the three classes, of white, free blacks, and slaves. The deaths among the free blacks annually, are one in twenty-nine; among the whites, one in thirty-eight; among the slaves only one in forty-four.” P. 120.

If there is no error in this register, it appears that by manumission, in the city of Baltimore, the chance of life is diminished in the proportion of forty-four to twenty-nine, or by one third very nearly. There is a dreadful tale of vice and suffering on the part of the free blacks involved in these numbers, which no “abolition, as it is,” has the honesty to unfold, of which “slavery, as it is,” will be very careful to avoid any notice.

III. *Dr. Wayland's Letters to Dr. Fuller of South Carolina.*

Another honest argument, by a Christian gentleman, which a few verbal and other alterations (Dr. Wayland will be surprised on examination to find how few) would convert into an argument against the lawfulness of a Christian man's holding property to any considerable amount, of any kind. That rule of the Saviour's, of doing to others as we would have them do to us, is in Dr. Wayland's hands a weapon of power, and cuts dreadfully into the conscience of the slaveholder. But, my dear sir, have a care; like the old Roman sword, it has two edges, both fearfully sharp, one as sharp as the other, and they reach all the way from the hilt to the point. It makes almost as merciless havoc amongst the actings and doings of the Christians of Providence, as at

Beaufort, South Carolina. Will Dr. Wayland be pleased to examine at his leisure, the section of the Moral Science, on the origin of property, and see whether it be not better to follow the example of his great predecessor Paley, and acknowledge that its only foundation is, the law of the land.

IV. *A Letter to the People of the United States, touching the matter of Slavery. By Theodore Parker. 1848.*

It was a matter of some interest to know what this unbelieving non-descript, who is neither Christian, Jew, nor Pagan, would have to say upon the subject of slavery. His exordium is modest in the extreme. He is "but one of the undistinguished millions who live unnoticed, and die remembered, only by their family and friends, humble and obscure." But this weakness is soon shaken off, there is in his language a pleasing amount of self-sufficiency and confidence, and near the end (p. 113) he turns out by his own account quite a hero.

Sismondi, in the introduction to his history of the Italian Republics, recounts with satisfaction the labors he had undergone, with the view of giving accuracy to his work. He had lived in Tuscany almost as much as in Geneva, or France, had traversed Italy nine times in different directions, made the tour of Germany once, had visited nearly all the places that had been the theatre of any great event, labored in almost all the great libraries, gained admittance to the archives of many cities and convents, and finally procured at any price, whatever books promised to shed light upon the times and the people that were his theme.

It had been no more than decent in one who was about to address a letter to the people of the United States, touching the matter of slavery, to have visited in person, at least once, the seat of the disease, and by an examination on the spot, have qualified himself to give utterance to the language of intelligence and truth, instead of what is to a great extent, if not a malicious, at least an ignorant libel, on some millions of his fellow-countrymen. The letter consists largely of a setting forth of the immense superiority of the free over the slave States, in regard to all that is honorable and good, the greater rapidity of their onward progress, and an exultation over the same.

These are not the words of an angel of mercy, come on a message of benevolence and love. It is the voice of a lost spirit, who, whilst enduring the pains of penal justice, still claps his hands, and screams with frantic joy, because he seems to see far below him, a brother spirit, involved in darker guilt, and writhing in the agonies of a punishment still more intolerable than his own.

The wisdom of his arguments, and the fairness of his inferences, may be judged of from one or two examples.

1. Labor saving machines, he says, all come from the North. In 1846, only 76 patents were granted for inventions made in fourteen slave states, whilst 564 were taken out by the people of the free states.—And is it so very strange, that where the principal employment is that agriculture which has been pursued for so many ages,

new inventions should be few, and that amidst the machinery of a manufacturing district they should be numerous ?

2. The shipping of the free, exceeds beyond all comparison that of the slave states.—Look at the southern coast, with good harbors at distant intervals only, and malaria there, which drives the white population from them into the interior during some months of the year; with no fisheries to serve as nurseries for seamen. Where is the wonder there is not an active commerce? Yet all this is set down to the account of slavery. If one were to lay it as a reproach upon Massachusetts, that she brings from her own domain, no mineral coal into the market of the world, he would hardly be guilty of more unadulterated folly. Many parts of the Southern can never support as dense a population as even now overspreads a large part of the Northern States, and therefore, the blessings of education and religious instruction will be less widely diffused, or less amply furnished.

It is a queer fact in psychology, that the man who rejects as legendary fable, I know not what part of those gospels which have commanded the reverential belief of the great and good, through so many ages, should repose implicit faith in the revelations of Moses Roper, Lunsford Lane, and the rest, some if not all of whom were under such temptations to make false or exaggerated statements.

One so deeply sensible as Theodore Parker of the misery and destitution of the South, will certainly come to her aid, and point out the exact and easy methods by which she may be relieved from the intolerable burdens that weigh her down, and her condition improved. Not he. Having abused the Southern people through something like a hundred pages, his mission of love is accomplished; he has nothing more to say. The whole paragraph is too remarkable to be omitted. Page 113.

“It is not for me to point out the remedy for the evil, and show how it can be applied; that is work for those men you dignify with place and power. I pretend not to give counsel here, only to tell the warning truth. Will you say that in the free states there is oppression, ignorance, and want and crime? 'Tis true. But an excuse specious and popular for its continuance is this; that the evils of slavery are so much worse, men will not meddle with the less till the greater is removed. Men are so wonted to the monstrous wrong, they cannot see the little wrongs with which modern society is full; evils which are little only when compared to that. When this shame of the nation is wiped off it will be easy, seeing more clearly, to redress the minor ills of ignorance, and want, and crime. But there is one bright thing connected with this wrong. I mean the heroism which wars against it with pure hands; historic times have seen no chivalry so heroic.”

Let the astronomers over at Cambridge beware what account they give of the condition of the heavens. If they but intimate their apprehensions that all is not as it should be amongst the inhabitants of the planet Saturn, it will be enough to make Theodore Parker oppose himself resolutely to all attempts at moral improvement in the free

states, till such time as the same celestial observers shall report all correct in that pale star.

If one may be allowed to address the author of the letter to the people of the United States in the language of plain and simple truth, I would say, If you had been impelled by benevolent feeling and for benevolent purposes, to write a pamphlet touching the matter of slavery, your first inquiry would have been in regard to a remedy for its evils, and if you could find none, it had been wise in you to keep silence. There is little kindness in pointing the Arab to the arid wastes, or the Greenlander to the eternal snows, that surround them, or in telling the latter that his subterranean dwelling has an offensive smell. You had some selfish ends of your own to gain. Your snivelling excuse for not engaging in the practice of virtue yourself, or stimulating others thereto; because you do not approve of the state of things at a distance of some hundreds of miles from you; is, I will not say unchristian, which might give you little concern, but it is unmanly and mean. And as to your being a hero, it is a mistake. Heroism involves, if not the endurance of extreme sufferings, at least the encountering of extreme dangers for the benefit of others; and in what you have done there has been neither. The conduct of those who interest themselves in the welfare of the poor African, is benevolent, and kind, and Christian, and greatly to be commended, especially if there be mingled in it the wisdom of the serpent, with the harmlessness of the dove; but there is very little that is heroic in it. Nor in your trips to New York to make speeches there, or sitting in your study, and writing an ill-natured pamphlet against the South, is there anything of this character? Even if Mr. Longfellow were to make you the theme of an anti-slavery epic, the Parkeriad, placing you somewhere between Homer's hero, and him, who as you know has sometimes been said to be the hero of Milton, and recount the perils of a steamboat navigation along the Sound, after the manner of Camoens, in the *Lusiad*, people might still doubt and question whether you were a real hero.

You may perhaps *become* a hero, if you will exemplify in your own conduct the practical working of those rules of Jesus: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," which *you* also quote, and whether upon anything else or not, would have them brought to bear upon the matter of slavery. The next time you go out into the streets of Boston, pull off that fine coat of yours, sell it to the highest bidder, put on some wretched blouse, and thus apparelled, plunge with the proceeds of the sale into the houses where the very bread that is eaten is the wages of licentiousness, lead out the wretched inmates, do not fear contamination, bring them into your family, warn, rebuke, instruct, counsel, console, and cheer them; the Saviour, you know, came to seek and to save those that are lost. Fish up the negro from those gulfs of degradation, fathom on fathom deep, in which he lives in the northern cities; cause him to cease from being, at least where you are, the Pariah of the

western world, whose duty it is to clean the shoes and do other menial services for the white that claims to be a nobler race; effect his introduction into the colleges, high schools, theological seminaries, and town halls of the country, where you intimate that he should be, and into the polished social circle, which you omitted. Let your acts prove your sincerity. It is in such places as Boston, where the whites are in overwhelming numbers, and their influence determines everything, and in Liberia where there are no whites, that his capacity for improvement and self-government can be ascertained. Attend to the suggestion of Mr. Webster in his address, delivered at Plymouth, in 1820, that the slave trade was even then prosecuted in vessels fitted out in the ports of Massachusetts. The clanking of the necessary chains might then be heard on the plains of that ancient Commonwealth, and in her obscure workshops the rattle of the hammers employed in their fabrication. If at that time, perhaps now; ferret out the authors of such wickedness, if they are to be found. Proclaim that obvious consequence of the equality in which men are created; an equal right of property in the soil. Apply Christ's rules as plainly and directly to the consciences of the capitalists of Boston, as you do to the understanding of the Southern planter; tell them that the law of love requires that they share their fortunes with the poor that are around them.

If in consequence of such proceedings you should be thrown out of employment there, come South. The people of this region, whatever faults they may have, are hospitable and generous, and you would be received with open arms. Overseers are wanted in Mississippi and Louisiana, or if you failed of getting employment there, you might pass over into the Island of Cuba. The degree of LL.D., lately conferred upon you at Harvard, would at once give you rank and standing among people of like occupation. There are, unhappily, men who are willing that their slaves should be worked hard, whilst their comforts are not properly provided for. And after looking over your pamphlet once more, and maturely considering its whole ferocious tone and temper, I am constrained to believe that if the place of overseer to such an one were proposed to you, and the offer backed by large pecuniary considerations, there is not that about you, head or heart, certainly not in the heart, that would hinder you from accepting it, and discharging its duties faithfully.

V. *American Slavery as it is; Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses.*

This book is so obviously written *without* the purpose of giving a true representation of the condition of the slaves, in the Southern states, and *with* the purpose of at once exciting sympathy for them, and rendering their masters infamous and detestable, at all hazards; under the influence of the feeling apparently, that so good an end would justify the use of almost any means, and has been so long before the public, that it can hardly claim particular notice. It is wonderful that the authors did not enter a protest at the end against being themselves regarded as belong-

ing to the human species, or if that could not avail them, that they did not give utterance to a lamentation over the fact that they were doomed to wear the human form.

A variety of cruelties is represented as inflicted upon the slaves, frequently for petty offences. A charge of wanton and causeless barbarity towards the blacks, is in fact brought against, if not quite the whole, very nearly the whole population of the Southern country. The rich slaveholder is cruel at all times, the poor man is still worse whenever he gets a chance, as when he becomes an overseer. It is the common, every day state of things; what prevails, if not in all places, and at all times, at least so generally, that the exceptions hardly merit attention. But this is not all.

It was foreseen that such charges would be indignantly repelled. Care is therefore taken to provide against the influence of such denial, by representing the slaveholders (and under this title the whole population of the slaveholding country, some millions of people are virtually included, they being in like manner guilty), as unworthy of credit, inasmuch as they testify in their own behalf, and to clear themselves. No matter what the character of the parties may be amongst their intimate acquaintance, for integrity and truth; their intercourse with people of the same color with themselves may be marked by humanity and kindness; if they come forward and declare, that after having lived in a slave country for many years, for half a century perhaps, they have never witnessed any of these atrocious cruelties with their own eyes, have seldom, if ever, known of the occurrence of any of them in the region of country where they reside, that they read the accounts of them with the same horror, and the same detestation of the authors of them, that they excite in the people of the free states, such statements are not worthy of any consideration.

The persons who can believe these things, that our nature is capable of such a depth of moral degradation throughout a whole country, such an inconsistent intermixture of cruelty and kindness, of truth and falsehood, and of hypocrisy and piety, should by all means pull off their hats to every horse and dog they meet, and salute them respectfully, as animals of a nobler and better race than that to which it is their misfortune to belong.

The slave is a slave. Whatever censure is, under the circumstances, merited by those who hold and treat him as such, they are prepared to meet and bear. He is denied the benefit of those natural rights with which the God of Nature has endowed him. So is the poor, and especially the landless inhabitant of the free states. Whilst I am busied with this notice of slavery as it is, there comes to hand the North American Review for October, 1848, with an article on Mill's Political Economy; a book which is represented as "worthy to take its place by the side of the Wealth of Nations, in the library of every well informed man, both in the Old and New World;" and in which the same ground is taken with regard to an equality of right on the part of every man

to a property in the soil, and the right of the state to control and regulate at pleasure the disposal of all property, as in the first of the foregoing discourses. "No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Public reasons exist for its being appropriated. But if those reasons lost their force, it would be unjust." The doctrines of property abolitionism would spread, with even greater rapidity than those of slavery abolitionism, having a vast advantage so far as the Scripture argument is concerned, were it not that the interests of great numbers in the free, as well as the slave states, are involved, so that a determined opposition will be made to the practice to which they lead, and through the practice to the theory. Yet it was perhaps an error to say that the year 1948 must be waited for, before these views will be generally received, and to some unknown extent, be carried into practice.

There are in the State Prisons of New York, at Auburn, Sing Sing, and Blackwell's Island, somewhat more than two thousand convicts: 2155 according to statements with which I have been furnished—persons who are in confinement because they are of such evil tempers and dispositions, that it does not consist with the peace and safety of quiet and law-abiding people of the state, that they should go at large. Supposing the ratio to be the same amongst the blacks, there will be about three thousand of them of the same character in the slave states. Exact numbers are not important here to the justness of the main argument—the number must be considerable. These, instead of being under the care of the state, have to be managed as best they can be by individuals, their masters, who being without that kind of structure which gives grace and beauty to Blackwell's Island, resort to those methods of coercion which fill the breasts of the abolitionists with such undisciplined horror. A slave has worn out the patience of a kind and indulgent master, has fled to the swamps, where the sheriff with his posse comitatus cannot reach him, he has violated what is of course the fundamental law of every slave country, and becoming an intolerable nuisance, is outlawed. The object commonly is, not to procure his death, but to place him in such circumstances of peril, that getting information from those who communicate with him, he shall be induced to come in and surrender himself. Notice of such legal proceeding is given in the public journals, constituting every man who shall choose to embark in the business, a minister of the public justice. This falls into the hands of those fearless and impartial advocates of right and truth, Mr. Theodore Weld, and the executive committee of the anti-slavery society, who choose to represent the outlawed felon as a blameless man, whom the fiends are tormenting. The cases are very rare: public men, lawyers, pass a long life in the slave states without being brought into contact with a single one. The law and the practice may be bad; my only object is to show that they have not necessarily that unmitigated atrocity which is ascribed to them. But it will be said, on the other hand, that this outlaw was a noble minded fellow, who had too

much spirit to submit to an authority which he knew to be oppressive and tyrannical. The convict at Sing Sing will take very nearly the same ground; that it was because he was denied his natural rights, his just place in society, that he became its enemy. He had too much spirit to submit to injustice, and was so converted into what is called a felon.

But there are at the South white devils as well as black ones, men of evil dispositions, to whose bosoms there come no gentle relentings when they witness the miseries of their fellow-creatures, who are grasping, vindictive, selfish, and cruel. They too may become owners of slaves, whose condition in such case is deplorable. This is the great evil of the system; that it is in its operations liable to clothe bad men with irresponsible power. This is what makes one's heart ache and bleed, and awakens the earnest wish, that some safe and practicable method could be devised of removing the evil. If Messrs. Weld, Parker, or Barnes will point out those arrangements by which, constituted as men are, such results may be attained; whatever injustice or folly there may be in their writings touching the matter of slavery, shall be regarded as more than atoned for.

In most of the works, large and small, that have been written against slavery, and those who practise it, the matter is considered in its political, as well as its moral and religious bearings. One cannot read these books without being led to inquire, whether the interests of the Southern States, most of them if not all, would not be advanced by a dissolution of the Union.

1. The provision of the constitution which requires the surrender and return of a fugitive slave is now a dead letter. Instead of this, slaves are rather encouraged to escape, and welcomed when they arrive, so that if we were two or more distinct nations, things would not be in a worse condition so far as relates to this particular, than they are now. Dr. Channing speaks of this provision as "virtually fading away," but his subsequent remarks show that it had when he wrote already disappeared. He defends this violation of a solemn compact, by a reference to laws passed at the South involving "a threat to imprison and punish free colored citizens of the North for setting foot on their shores and using their highways." As though a little common sense were not to be exercised even at the North in a matter where the peace and safety of a whole community are concerned, and the original injustice and wrong were not in the people of Massachusetts. The felons of London, when landed at New York, may at once become virtuous and industrious citizens, but the probability of this change is so small, that the arrival of such immigrants may well be viewed with apprehension, and if continued, become the subject of remonstrance, or even of positive law, without disturbing our friendly relations with Great Britain. Free blacks from the North would be equally dangerous amongst the slave population at the South. They would have opportunities not enjoyed by white men, of familiar and unsuspected intercourse with those of their own color, would be impelled by all the

sympathies of blood and a community of race, to set on foot a plan for involving the cities, to which they came, in conflagration and massacre; would in fact be the very persons whom some Northern fanatic would select as tools for accomplishing such a scheme. The people of Charleston had been madmen to allow them free admittance there; what shall be said of those who would claim it for them?

2. The Southern States are reproached with the backward state of the useful arts amongst them. And where are the cotton mills of Massachusetts, of New York, and New Jersey? Along the peninsula of Cape Cod, the southern side of Long Island, or the Atlantic coast of New Jersey? There is in the parts named of those states no available water power, and the seats of their manufacturing activity, are therefore at such points as Lowell and Patterson. In Rhode Island and Connecticut, such power abounds, and in close proximity to the navigable waters. The Southern manufacturer cannot establish himself on the seaboard, where there is little fall in the streams, and where he has to encounter malaria. If he goes into the back country, a costly land carriage renders it difficult, if not impossible for him to compete with his northern rivals. But let the Union be dissolved and a tariff imposed, such as would be sufficient to exclude most of the goods now received from the North, and the cheerful and glad voice of manufacturing industry would soon be awakened along the whole range of the Southern Alleghanies, and on both sides of them, and the reproach above referred to, would be done away. Causes depending upon the laws of Physical Geography that have not hitherto been properly considered, will prevent as easy and rapid an improvement of the soil here, as may be effected in higher latitudes; but with a mild and genial climate—with slavery or without it, this may on the whole be a happy country—happier and more virtuous unquestionably it would be with a single, free, white race, than with the existing intermixture of races.

On the part of the Northern States, if such scenes are to be reproduced in Congress as the last few years, and especially the year 1848 have witnessed, it is due to their own moral character to seek a dissolution of the Union. The reception of the abolition petitions there, whatever might be the abstract right of the case, or however high the character of the individuals by whom it was advocated or defended, was an outrage. Their object was well known. They bore upon their face that they were petitions, but they were intended simply to annoy the Southern people, and especially their representatives in that body. Certain questions still pending possess a still deeper interest.

When Poland was taken possession of by the adjacent powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, reasons of state, and the position of the high contracting powers who were parties to that vile act of robbery, served to throw a mist over the whole business, and to mask the enormity of the proceeding. Suppose it to have been three farmers, A, B, and C, who pounced upon the estate of a fourth, D, which lay conveniently to them, so that each could take a piece, ejected the right-

ful possessor, and appropriated the whole to themselves. The question about the admission of the people of the Southern States, into a part of the territory of California along with their peculiar property, will be much simplified, if we take it out of the Congressional halls, and make it a transaction of private life.

Two men, whom we will call Peter and Paul, enter into a co-partnership for the prosecution of a trade with England, in which they are eminently successful. They associate their sons, as they grow up, as partners in the same business. It is a fundamental article of the compact between the parties, that the final disposition of all the property acquired shall be determined by the voice of a majority of those interested. An opportunity offering, they extend their business, send two or three ships to China, and the same good fortune attending them, realize a hundred thousand dollars by this enterprise. One of the young Pauls, however, sickens and dies in consequence of exposure in the China Sea. The question at length arises respecting the disposal that is to be made of this property, the hundred thousand dollars, and the Peter family being a majority, determine to take it all to themselves. The reasons they assign are two. 1. That the letter of the contract between the two families warrants such proceeding, and 2. That they are apprehensive that the young Pauls would make a bad use of their share, if any of it were to come into their hands; that one of them has shown some inclination to dissipation and intemperance, and another they do suspect would employ his part in the establishment of a brothel somewhere in the city.

The case is brought into the court, and Mr. Webster is employed to manage the case of the Paul family. What a storm gathers on that dark brow, and how does it lower like a thunder cloud over the unhappy victims of his eloquence, as he meditates his argument, and scare them into an earnest entreaty to the judge, that he will appoint them any terms, rather than let loose that terrible man upon them. How do the dilated nostril, and the curled lip, indicate that his mind is laboring in search of terms strong enough to express his utter detestation and abhorrence of so vile a plea and proceeding. "It seems that this Peter family is too moral and pious to be just. After a close connexion in business with the Pauls of twenty years' standing, after one of them has sacrificed his life for the common good, it is discovered when a considerable amount of property is to be divided and a part given to them, that they are unworthy of confidence." But let me not attempt with this feeble arm to wield the bolts of Jove. Those who are familiar with Mr. Webster's printed speeches will understand very well how he would handle such a subject. And is it not painful to think, that the man who would reason and decide so justly if it were a matter of private right, should have his judgment so blinded when he takes his seat in the Senate, and it is a question of public right that is proposed for his decision, that he will become party to a proceeding so clearly and evidently wrong? But, says Mr. Webster, Florida, and

Louisiana, and Texas, and Arkansas, and Missouri, all slave states, with ten votes in the Senate, have been created out of territory not included within the limits of the thirteen, which carried on the war with the British king, and by which the Federal Constitution was framed and adopted. This is true, but not all. More than half of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, was part of the domain of a slave state, of Virginia, and with a view to the general good, was surrendered by her, and set apart to be a country where slavery should never enter. Material for two states was thus transferred, the slave states yielding four votes, and the free gaining four, making a difference of eight. But further, will Mr. Webster take a map of the United States, such as they were by the treaty of 1783, look across it, and see where the line would run from a point in the Ohio, a little below the town of Beaver, where it leaves the State of Pennsylvania, due west, including the whole of that beautiful river from thence downwards to its confluence with the Mississippi, and all its tributary streams far up towards their sources; then take a map of the United States, as they now are, and say upon his honor, whether this main argument of his, for refusing to the slave states a pitiful corner of the southern part of California, and New Mexico, is worthy of that integrity, and that intellect, so many works and manifestations of which are before his admiring fellow-countrymen, whether these corrupt and sinning sisters of the South have not dealt even generously with the Northern members of the confederacy. Have these principles of justice which ruled and regulated the conduct of her children in her earlier day disappeared from the land of the Pilgrims?

It has occurred to me that an imaginary scene, such as all pictures are to a greater or less extent, connected with the matter under consideration, might furnish to a skilful painter a good subject for his art; the Senators of South Carolina informing the small remains of the Palmetto regiment of the result of the deliberations in Congress, and how of all that broad domain for the acquisition of which the blood of so many of them had been poured out like water, not enough for one to plant the sole of his foot upon, was to be allowed them, save upon such terms that they could not accept it without dishonor, and an insult on their part, to the land that gave them birth. The surviving officers are so few, that portraits of them all, down to those of the lowest grade, and even of some of the more remarkable and distinguished private soldiers, might be introduced. The duty of making the necessary explanations would devolve upon Mr. Calhoun, and be represented as discharged by him. Mr. Butler would be there, but silent. His eye would seek in vain that loved brother of his, the brave commander of that gallant band. The painter might even see fit, in imitation of the ancient Grecian artist, to hide his face under some kind of veil, or other covering, as betraying emotions too strong to consist with that grace and beauty which even in the representation of deep sorrow and distress are not to be altogether neglected. David Wilmot (it being his

only chance of gaining a brief immortality, he might be pleased with such distinction), Mr. Dix, of New York, Gov. Baldwin, of Connecticut, and others might be placed in the back ground, as standing and looking on, whilst the tale of infamy was told, and marking its effect, pity, sorrow, shame, scorn, and indignation, as exhibited in the countenances of the listeners. Such a picture might fill one of the vacant niches in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington. Those already there, serve to mark some great era in the history of the country. The embarkation of the Pilgrims, the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, the Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. This too would have its era—that, dating from which, what had been gained at the expense of the blood and treasure of the whole country (in the present instance, especially by the blood of Southern men), was first avowedly, and unblushingly, appropriated for the benefit of a part, and of that part whose sacrifices had been least considerable in making such acquisition.



A PRAYER.

THINE unprofitable slave, oh God most holy, humbly begs of thee, his kind and rightful master, that if in these arguments and rebukes of unreasonable, and wicked, or mistaken men, he have committed sin, he may be led to repent of the same, and be forgiven. Thou knowest his belief, that it is not amongst the eternal purposes of the only just and wise, that the subjection of man to man, or an inequality of right to the blessings thy kind hand bestows, shall be perpetual here; but though thou dost permit them now, they shall both, by the agency of thy Providence, at length be done away. Till that day come, may “slaves be obedient to them that are their masters;” may “masters give their slaves what is just and equal, remembering that they have a master in heaven;” may the rich be kind and respectful to the poor, and the poor not envious of the rich. May those inhabiting the parts of this great land that are remote from each other, deal so justly and lovingly with their distant fellow-countrymen, that the peace and happiness we now enjoy as one nation, may still abide with us. May the Redeemer’s kingdom come, and the will of God be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Amen.