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A
DISCOURSE
ON
THE TRUE NATURE
OF
FREEDOM AND SLAVERY.

DELIVERED BEFORE
THE WASHINGTON SOCIETY
OF
THE NEW JERUSALEM,
IN VIEW OF THE
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY
OF
WASHINGTON'S BIRTH.

BY
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P R E F A C E .

Those who heard this discourse delivered, will hardly recognize it in its printed form. The author rarely speaks his sermons precisely as he has written them. Influx is proportioned to efflux. Good or ill reception in an audience wonderfully opens or shuts up a public speaker's mind. And he has found new trains of thought suggested in the pulpit, which had never presented themselves in the study; or written thoughts have widely expanded, or run in varied channels, in delivery; according to the auditory's peculiar states of receptivity. In the present instance, he was led repeatedly into extemporaneous remarks, which, evaporating with the heat of somewhat fervid feeling, it has been impossible for him to recal in the cooler and calmer moments of reflection since. Yet he has wished to present at least the substance of those extemporaneous remarks in the printed discourse: and as prolixity is not so objectionable in one that is to be read as in one that is spoken, he has greatly extended what he said in answer to the senatorial argument against african slavery in this country being an evil. He has also put in those parts of the written discourse which had to be omitted for want of time. And he has added a few bottom notes. Moreover, he has printed the discourse on pica instead of small pica type, as he proposed in his circular for subscriptions. These causes have a good deal swelled its size and altered its form; but he trusts it will not be less acceptable on that account.

Something may be said respecting the occasion for writing this discourse. The author had been several times asked, by a most worthy and valued member of our church in South Carolina, for his opinion on the propriety of a Newchurchman's holding slaves and continuing to reside in a slave state in violation of conscientious scruples. This led him to canvass the subject of slavery in his own mind for a good while. Subsequently removing from Pennsylvania to Maryland, a slave state, and residing in Baltimore upwards of five years, he had his attention again called to this subject by further correspondence with his southern friend. And the wide-spread agitation of the slavery question during the few past years, splitting up as it did some of the leading denominations of the old christian church, and thus giving it an imposing ecclesiastical and religious aspect, made him feel it his duty to discourse on this subject to his own congregation. This explains why he attempts to show the duty of Newchurchmen in regard to slavery. It also displays the reason of his wishing to show the true nature of freedom, and the essential and abiding influence which the principles of the new and true christian church, called the New

Jerusalem, must exert for the perpetuity of our national existence and the preservation of our country's liberties. The discourse was written as a sermon and first preached in Baltimore, Sunday, March the 4th, 1849. The writer, having to travel for his health in the autumn of last year, was providentially led, by a sort of lot, to preach this sermon in Lancaster, Penn., also, on Sunday the 16th of September last. And in his recent visit to Washington City, for the purpose of ordaining the Rev. Rufus Dawes into the first grade of our ministry, he was induced, by the present most momentous agitation of the slavery question in that city, to preach it the third time there. The debates in Congress, which he attended for about a week, so enlisted his thoughts and affections in the all-engrossing subject, that he felt constrained by an *afflatus numine* to discourse upon it. Indeed, on leaving Baltimore, an internal dictate urged him to take this sermon with him, that he might have it at hand, if circumstances should indicate the duty or the propriety of its delivery. Circumstances did indicate both the duty and the propriety of this; and it was delivered as a discourse, a good deal altered or modified—some parts entirely rewritten and others variously improvid—*for the occasion*.

But why was it delivered in view of the anniversary of Washington's birth? We know now that the grand era of the establishment of all human freedom was the last judgment, which was effected in the world of spirits in 1757. We also know that, in the divine economy, civil and political freedom is first established on earth, as the plain or ground-work of spiritual and religious freedom. And we cannot doubt that the american revolution, and the independence of these United States, were an outbirth of the last judgment, and have designated North America as a conspicuous field for the especial flourishing of a new and true church. Equally manifest is it that George Washington was especially raised up as the agent of heaven, and *his war sword* was made heaven's especial representative instrument, in those battlings of true and false principles, by which arbitrary power was made to quail, human rights were asserted, and man's universal liberties established on a wide and all-enduring basis. Now, on the Thursday preceding the Sunday on which this discourse was delivered—that is, on the day preceding the 22d of February last, the recent anniversary of Washington's birth—the author visited the patent office building, and, lingering around the cabinet which exhibits to Americans certain most precious relics of the father of their country, saw, among other mementoes of his military life, “Washington's War Sword.” The scabbard of this, just under the hilt, has a silver ferrule with these initials and date coarsely engraved (perhaps by Washington's own hand) upon it—“G W 1757” None but a receiver of the writer's faith can conceive how his feelings thrilled at this sight. Nor can any other imagine how this seemingly superstitious circumstance, and the reflections to which it gave rise in his mind, should have almost wholly determined him, both to deliver this discourse in Washington City, and to deliver it in commemoration of Washington's birth.

A DISCOURSE

ON

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY.

JOHN, viii. 32-36.

“And ye shall know the truth; and the truth shall make you free.—Whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the son abideth for ever. If the son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.”

There is no word in the great vocabulary of universal language which is so dear to the human heart as *freedom*! The cords of the soul which vibrate to its sound, go down the deepest, spread the widest, and thrill the longest. The amount of human suffering and endurance to which the love of it prompts, would be utterly incredible, if the voice of history and all outward observation did not find an echo in the inmost recesses of every human breast—bearing incessant living testimony to the eternal truth,

“Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also”! Certain it is, there is nothing for which all true men will peril more, or strive harder, than to gain their liberties or secure their rights. The very stuff of their immortal nature is woven, in every filament, from the fundamental principle, that “man is made to act in freedom according to reason.” Hence, there is no subject more generally interesting than human freedom in contrast with human slavery. And yet there is hardly any subject, at the present time, which seems to be so imperfectly understood. It cannot, therefore, be amiss in us, who are so proud of our political liberties, and profess to be so abhorrent of slavery, to discern rightly what is the true nature of both, and, by all and every efficient means, secure the one and get rid of the other. And no occasion can be so appropriate to the consideration of this subject, as the anniversary commemoration of that auspicious day which ushered into being the father of our country. For if ever, under Divine Providence, there was any mortal man entitled to stand forth, and be regarded, in all coming ages, as the peculiar type of civil and political freedom, or the great and wise advocate of all human enfranchisement, it was George Washington!

The Lord, in the text before us, most clearly indicates the source of both slavery and freedom. “Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin:” and “if the son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.” The source of slavery is the commission of sin: the source of freedom is the practice of truth.

It is a very common impression in the present day, that the holding of human beings in involuntary or forced bondage is *sin*. Few are disposed to deny that it is an *evil*. Until this last visit to Washington City we had imagined that there were not any so disposed. But we

have just heard it argued, in the senate of the United States, that african slavery is positively a civil and political blessing, and no evil at all. The argument is, that the African in our slave states is better clad and fed than he was or would have been in his native land, or than the poor white man is in the northern states. If he is sick, his master affords him the best medical attendance; and in the decrepitude of old age, he is comfortably provided with shelter, raiment and food, without taxing his offspring with the heavy burden of his support. The Great Saviour has declared—as if to show a plain for the exercise of the highest christian virtues—“The *poor* ye have *always* with you.” But a strong argument in favor of african slavery in this country now is, that it excludes all poverty, and all possibility of pauperism, in the South. We hear the exultation, There never was, there is not now, and there never will be such a thing as a poor negro in that quarter of our country! A glowing contrast is drawn between black slavery in the South and the white slavery which grinding poverty produces in the North: and it is triumphantly exclaimed, Such a thing as white girls laboring in a northern factory and laying by their earnings for the support and comfort of their aged mothers, was never heard of in the slave states! True: and is filial piety, or maternal love, those most loved and lovely features of free, upright and godlike humanity, as prominent and beautiful in the black females of the South as in the white females of the North? How do the blacks compare with the whites of the South in this respect? Are slave mothers more remarkable for maternal tenderness, or slave daughters for filial assiduity? Nay, is it not the greatest evil of slavery that it mars true humanity in the subjects of it? All human virtues are developed and strengthened by exercise. Human virtue, like the

best steel, takes on the brightest polish from the hardest friction of contrary substance. Nor can there be any other satisfactory reason assigned why a good and merciful God should permit poverty, sickness, pain, misery, or any other form of natural evil, to exist, but that it is the sole and indispensable means of working out, by the healthful exercising of its affliction, that "far more exceeding weight of glory" which shines from the most resplendent spiritual virtues.

Suppose we grant, then, for argument, that the poor double-tasked hard-working white factory girl is in a less desirable physical condition—which is by no means unquestionable—than the fat glistening tow or linsey clad and pork and corn fed negro, yet the latter cannot possibly have so perfectly formed in him those sweet and lovely features of humanity which become prominent in the bolder relief of the more fully developed filial and maternal affections. As you know, we once visited a city of South Carolina to institute a society of our church there. While in Charleston, we learned that the little negroes are much addicted to eating dirt. This habit generates a disease which is very fatal to them. And, much to our astonishment, we were credibly informed, that, if the whites did not give their own most assiduous personal care and attention to these little negroes, they would inevitably die from neglect of their black mothers! To such a degree do the maternal affections seem to have been blunted by slavery in the South! And as to the motive which most strongly prompts the whites to take care of their slaves in this case, we may see it in the words of our informant—"We are *obliged* to do it, sir, to preserve our property!" Doubtless, many slaveholders, under the influences of the christian religion, do perform acts of kindness to their slaves from higher principles than this.

But forced bondage is not an institution of pure christianity. This was a misty cloud, hanging densely and dankly over the fair face of nature, which "the Sun of Righteousness, with healing in his wings," arose to disperse. The service of the Lord is perfect freedom. The service of man is constrained obeisance to arbitrary self-will. And the influences of christianity upon slaveholders, therefore, are rainbow tints of spiritual grace projected on a dark cloud of natural passion. In short, slavery is an institution of the natural man, who is governed by the loves of exercising power and possessing wealth. In the activity of the former of these passions, one portion of the human race are made slaves to another; and in the activity of the latter, the slaves are taken care of from cupidity rather than benevolence.

It was our own good or bad fortune to live some six years in a slave state, and we are not wholly wanting in that knowledge of the institution of slavery, which personal observation and experience of its nature and tendencies afford. Now no observation is more common than that the masters suffer constant anxiety on account of the great carelessness of their slaves in taking care of their own health. They have no sole interest in the fruits of their own labor. The ordinary impulses of self-love, therefore, do not constrain their observance of reason's dictate, to preserve a sound body as the vehicle and instrument of a sound mind. The force of religious sentiment, or of gratitude for kindnesses received, in supplying the want of these natural motives by spiritual incentives to work, is rare—by no means universal. Slavery stabs the vitals of humanity here. The slave, as such, is constantly prone to find excuses for not working—to go lazily to the field, and to run with alacrity from it for any sort of pleasurable relaxation. It is a singular fact, that slaves rarely go

to their morning corn fields in entire singing groups. They more frequently straggle thither singly or in small and silent squads. It is only when their day's work is done, and they are returning home in the setting sun's refracted yellow ray, or the bland and mellow twilight of quiet eventide, that their harmonious refrain, or happy choral song, is heard! It is only in corn-husking labor that frost gemmed and star bespangled night is far and wide made vocal with the fervid tones of joyous revelry! To such work as this—to work that involves his own pleasure—the slave does indeed hie with alacrity. But to work that involves only his master's interest, he too often directs nought but reluctant steps. And he often regards even sickness as relaxation from toil. Hence he some times feigns sickness, and rarely takes the remedies for those slight indispositions, which, if neglected in their early stages, frequently terminate in fatal maladies. Consequently, the master has to keep a constant and anxious watch over his slaves, to guard them from unnecessary exposures to sickness—to see that they take their medicines when they are sick—to assure both them and himself of the fact, which the slaves themselves are somehow very slow to perceive, that they are well enough to return to work—and to take much other solicitous care to secure himself from both the loss of their labor and the loss of their lives. A fact within our own knowledge strikingly illustrates this circumstance of slavery. During our residence in Frankfort, Kentucky, from 1810 to 1814, Dr. Rush's phlebotomising theory was in vogue. Then the negroes were every now and then feigning sickness, getting bled, and having an arm in a sling, so as to gain exemption from work and enjoy a holiday. Among them was a fine mulatto, of great value to his master on account of his skill

as a carpenter. The doctors used then to bleed with the spring lancet. The slave, for reasons best known to himself as a carpenter, preferred being bled in the right arm. In one of the oft repeated venesections, an unskilful practitioner struck a tendon of the arm instead of, or together with, an artery. Inflammation supervened. And the consequence was, a stiffening and contraction of the right arm. The master, finding his usefulness gone, subjected the slave to a surgical operation. The doctor's shop in which it was performed, was next door to the office in which we were employed. We witnessed the operation; and never shall we forget the poor mulatto's groans and exclamations of agony! The physician—not a regular surgeon—failed to restore the arm. And the master, who would not have taken one thousand dollars for him previously, sold his slave, for a comparatively trifling price, a cripple for life!

Yes, the master of the black slave has to physic him well in sickness, and also feed and clothe him well, and every way take care of him, in health. The master's interest lies in this. He is as much bound to take care of this species of his property as of any other. Nay, he owes to this species more care in proportion to its greater value. And if he takes care of his slave when he has become valueless,—as the king of Prussia did of his favorite superannuated war horses,—or if he extends to his slaves, of all ages and at all times, the various kindnesses of a benevolent and beneficent masterdom, it is but another evidence that the Lord of Mercy has permitted even the evil of slavery to exist for the exercise and development of high virtues in the slaveholder. And this is precisely our view of it. But it is still an *evil*. It is an evil civilly, politically, morally and spiritually considered. We admit it is not a physical evil in respect to african

slavery in this country, considered relatively to the condition of the negroes in Africa before they were captured, sold and deported as slaves. For we know that cannibalism reigned in Africa then, and that the wretched victims of victorious war would have been butchered, roasted, and eaten by their savage captors, if Providence had not mercifully snatched them, as brands from the burning, and permitted the slave trade to waft them to a civilized clime. Undoubtedly, then, the negro's physical condition is bettered here. And, as we shall show in this discourse, Africans were permitted, by the Divine Providence, to be brought hither as slaves for the purpose of bettering their moral and intellectual condition also. But this is the work of an overruling providence, which is "ever from" actual as well as "seeming evil still educating good, in endless progression," and is not the effect of any inherent property or quality of slavery.

In answer, then, to the argument above noticed, we say, slavery is not, in our view, so much objected to on account of its being a physical evil to the black man, as on account of its being a civil, political, moral and spiritual evil to the white man.. We do indeed think that slavery, in its own specific tendencies, is also a physical evil to the blacks, considered relatively to their possible elevation as a race. For we know that the affections of the soul impart their forms and qualities to the blood, the flesh, and even the bones of the body. Medical men well know the influence of moral causes in producing and curing disease. A fit of choler not unfrequently produces the jaundice. A mother, suckling her infant while her soul was upheaved from its deepest dregs by the tumultuous emotions of jealousy, has caused it to die in convulsions. The passion of her soul imparted its virulent qualities to her milk and poisoned her offspring! The

affections of an animal, too, give their quality to its flesh. The major part of a small village has been sickened by eating the beef of a maddened and hamstrung ox, killed in a fever, and sent to the shambles surcharged with its poisonous effects. All know how much the flesh of wild animals differs from that of tame. How much the meat on the breast of a wild turkey differs from that of a tame turkey's breast! The venison of a deer raised in a park is almost mutton in comparison with the venison of a deer roaming and bounding free through the wild woods.* Who has not observed the superior quality of hams made from mast-fed hogs fattened at last on corn, in comparison with those made from styer-fed hogs? And what produces the difference? Is it not, that the affection of the animal roaming free in the enjoyment of its delights gives better properties to its flesh than can be found in the lazy and grunting obesity of styer-fed meat? And shall not the whole soul of freedom give a peculiar property to the very flesh of a freeman, while the stooped spirit of forced bondage imparts an equally marked though different characteristic quality to the very flesh of the slave? So of the forms of the body, and the contour of the face. Freedom and slavery has each its peculiar type. And not more does the full blooded racer, in comparison with the mongrel dray horse, show the quality of his free spirit in his form and action, than does freedom show itself in the forms and habitual actions of the white and red man, while slavery stamps its signet in the black wax, or carves its peculiar form in the ebony, of the bondaged and drudging African. Hence we verily believe that the little negro's propensity to eat dirt is both the effect and the evidence of slavery's being a physical

* "The hind is an animal of the forest, loving liberty more than any other animal." (A. C. 6113.)

evil. And how it is a moral evil, is shown by its dehumanizing or unhumanizing effects on the little negro's mother.

But that slavery is a civil and spiritual, as well as a physical and moral, evil to the black man, is manifest from some of its other peculiar and distinctive unhumanizing effects. The most peculiar human principle—that which makes man most like God—is the faculty of pre-vidance and providence. By this, man looks ahead, and provides in the present for the wants, the comforts and the pleasures of the future. Now slavery puts the axe to this root of humanity, by making the slave improvident. The necessities of his condition do not develope this faculty in him by exercise. His master foresees and provides for him. He thus learns to live from hand to mouth. And hence, although he multiplies his species more rapidly as a slave, and enjoys a superior elevation of character while under the magnetic sphere and protecting aegis of his white owner, yet he becomes incapacitated to bear the weightier responsibilities, and discharge the higher duties, that would devolve on him as himself a freeman. So that, when african slavery is precipitately abolished, without a proper qualification of the slave for freedom, in a previous and gradual development of this truly human principle of pre-vidance and providence, the blacks generally decrease in numbers, deteriorate in character, and become less felicitous in physical condition. Observation and experience in the northern states—especially in Pennsylvania—prove the truth of this remark. So that, while the African remains thus a slave, his condition is, undoubtedly, better as such than it would be if he were suddenly manumitted in this country. But, as far as humanity is concerned, this effect of slavery upon the African, proves it to be an evil.

And that it is civilly and politically such, every rightly observant and acutely discerning man, who, in descending the Ohio river, studies the different aspects of the state of Ohio on the one side, and of the states of Virginia and Kentucky on the other, must be satisfied. That it is an evil to the African permitted here for the ultimate greater good of his race elsewhere, we believe and admit. Still, it is an evil—a moral, civil and political evil—to him here. And that slavery, as it now actually exists in the South, is a spiritual evil to the black man, is sufficiently evident from the fact, that the preservation of the institution there, compels his master to interdict to him that education, and that action in high functions, which are indispensable for the right development of his immortal powers.

We argue, then, that slavery is a more especial evil to the whites. No nation or community of intelligent men can force or receive an inferior race of their fellow-men into servile bondage, without virtue going out of them. The superior race inevitably loses a portion of its spiritual caloric by the contact! The very act of making a black man his slave, or imperiously holding him as such, is an evil to the white man, because it debases the *principle* of his action, and so lowers the standard of humanity in himself.

Life in time is a probation for life in eternity. Whatever principles a man acts from in this mundane sphere determine his form and quality in that spritual and celestial empyrean which is his soul's proper home. Consequently, all true elevation or depression of human character must be measured on the scale that marks the intervals between the upper and nether extremes of man's spiritual and celestial or sensual and animal natures. And whatever develops and strengthens by exercise the

ruling passions of the one, must be formatively and actively evil; and whatever develops and strengthens by exercise the ruling affections of the other, must be formatively and actively good. Now our argument is, that slavery in the South, so far as its own inherent tendencies are considered, is an evil, because it debases the character of the poor white man, and makes the white property-holder naturally proud instead of spiritually humble. It generates in the rich white man a haughty chivalry and a proud sense of belligerous honor, instead of a spirit of christian meekness, and that manly forbearance under injury, and persistence in doing good despite of wrong, which characterized that all-perfect type of pure humanity the Divine Saviour of the World.

By nature, man's grand master passion is the love of himself, which primarily manifests itself in the delight of exercising dominion over other persons, and secondarily in the delight of possessing all valuable things. For in the possession of these, self expects to secure that respect, deference and service from others, which it loves. To the activity of this master passion, in its two chief forms of love of power and love of wealth, must be ascribed those false notions of honor, of glory, of fame, of adulation, and of respectability in the abject dependence and service of others, which prompt nations to war and conquest, and individuals to overreaching, fraud and oppression. And in the train of these follow all mortal pains and miseries. In short, however men may gild or polish them by outside and factitious amenities, the love of money is the *root*, and the love of rule is the *sap*, of all evil. These passions, then, indigenous to all men in their state by nature, are both essentially and formally evil, whenever they become *principles* of the mind. A principle of the mind is whatever a man proposes to him-

self as the *final end* of his action. Hence, when a man proposes to himself power and wealth as ends, he acts from evil principles—which are the opposites and antagonists of love to God and charity to the neighbor.* But when those principles are, by reformation and regeneration, subordinated to these, they become relatively good. In other words, when the love of power and the love of wealth react ordinately on the love of God and the love of the neighbor, so as to serve as means for the attainment of their ends, they partake of the quality of the ends to which they are subservient, and are good and not evil. These natural loves, when separated from those spiritual loves, are like the rod of Aaron when cast from him upon the earth—a crawling venomous serpent: but when subordinate and subservient to them, they are like that serpent taken up by Moses—a staff, support or power in the hand of the spiritual man.†

* “If a man regards self and the world as ends, let him know that he is infernal; but if he regards the good of his neighbor, the general good, the Lord’s kingdom, and especially the Lord himself, let him know that he is celestial.” (A. C. 1909.)

“All evils and falsities come from worldly, terrestrial and corporeal loves, when they prevail.” (A. C. 10.492.)

† “Corporeal and sensual things are in themselves merely material, inanimate and dead; but they are made alive by the delights which come from the interiors in their orderly arrangements. Hence it appears that, according to the quality of the life of the interiors, such is the delightsomeness of pleasures, inasmuch as in delight there is life. The delight wherein there is good from the Lord, is alone a living delight; for, in such case, it has life from the essential life of good.

* * * Some suppose that whosoever wishes to be happy in the other life, ought by no means to live in the pleasures of the body and of sensual things, but to refuse all such enjoyments; and they urge in favor of this notion, that corporeal and worldly things draw off and detain the mind from spiritual and celestial life. But they who suppose so, and, in consequence thereof, resign themselves up voluntarily to miseries whilst they live in the world, are ignorant of the real truth in the case. It is by no means forbidden any one to enjoy the pleasures of the body and of sensual things, that is to say, the pleasures arising from the possession of lands and money; the pleasures arising from honors and offices in the

By that reformation and regeneration in which man is gifted with a new nature from the Lord, man's sublime master passion is the supreme love of God, which generates disinterested love to mankind. Love to God is the great right side, and love to mankind is the great left side, which, uniting in the median line of universal usefulness, form the perfect symmetry of divine humanity. These are spiritual, celestial and divine loves, which actuated man in his pristine state or golden age of purity and bliss. And as his fall consisted in his gradually ceasing to act from these, and, in long process of time, coming to act wholly from those natural, sensual and corporeal loves,

state; the pleasures of conjugal love, and love towards infants and children; the pleasures of friendship and of social intercourse; the pleasures of hearing, or of the sweetnesses of singing and music; the pleasures of sight, or of beauties, which are manifold—as handsome raiment, well-furnished houses, beautiful gardens, and the like—which things are delightful by reason of the harmony contained in them; the pleasures of smelling, or of the sweetness of odors; the pleasures of taste, or of the agreeableness and usefulness of meats and drinks; and the pleasures of touch: for these are the extreme or corporeal affections, which have their origin, as was said, from the interior affections. The interior affections which are alive, all derive their delight from goodness and truth; and goodness and truth derive their delight from charity and faith; and, in this case, from the Lord; consequently, from the very essential life. Wherefore, the affections and pleasures which have this origin, are alive. And whereas genuine pleasures are from such source, they are never denied to any one: yea, when they are derived from that source, then their delight indefinitely exceeds the delight which is from any other source, and which is respectively filthy and defiled.

* * * That the pleasures above mentioned are by no means denied to man,—yea, so far from being denied, that they then first become pleasures when they are derived from their true origin,—may further appear from this consideration, that very many who have lived in the world in power, dignity and opulence, and who enjoyed abundantly all pleasures, both of the body and of the things of sense, are among the blessed and happy in heaven; and with them the interior delights and happiness are now alive; because such delights and happiness had their source in the good things of charity and the truths of faith towards the Lord: and, deriving pleasure from charity and faith towards the Lord, they regard them all with a view to use, which was their end in the enjoyment of them; for it was use itself which was to them most delightful; and hence came the delight of their pleasures." (A. C. 995)

as principles, so his restoration must consist in a free and rational reinversion of his state. In this reinversion, the natural loves of power and wealth are not to be destroyed as absolutely evil, according to the Enthusiasts and Perfectionists of the Fenelon or Madame Guion school, but are to be put from the centre off to the circumference as evil relatively. While they ordinally react in the circumference on love to God and love to mankind in the centre, they are in order. And it is only when they rush to the centre, so as to shove those heavenly loves to the circumference, that they are in disorder, and thus evil. As, then, these natural loves are good when in order, and only become evil when in disorder, we are enabled to discern the great truth, that all evil is perverted good.

Discerning thus the nature of a principle and the nature of evil, we are brought clearly to see what good is, and what is the principle of good. And as true humanity is good in form and activity, we can also see, most clearly, what elevates, and what depresses, humanity in mankind. By the law of opposites, love to God and charity to the neighbor are good. And the principle of good is man's acting with a final end to good; that is, his doing good for goodness' sake. "God is love," and "God is light." God is goodness itself, and God is truth itself. Hence, to do what is good and true for the sake of goodness and truth, is to love God. "Charity is an affection of being serviceable to others, without having respect to any recompence"—thus is diametrically opposed to selfishness and its domineering and possessing propensities. "The neighbor, towards whom charity is to be exercised, is *all* in the universe, but still *each* with discrimination" as to the good that is in him. Thus "to love the Lord and the neighbor is, in general, to perform uses." And hence the divine law, that he is the *greatest* of all who is the *servant*

of all. The Lord himself came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Consequently, the true dignity of humanity is to serve; and the post of true honor is the rendering useful services to others. Hence, humanity is elevated by useful service, and depressed by imperious sway. And as the essence of true humanity is the acting "in freedom according to reason," therefore the most perfect man is he who has the highest intelligence guiding the most virtuous will in the most widely extended usefulness to *all* other men: while the most imperfect man is he who has the lowest intelligence, without any rational will of his own, but is forced to obey the mandates and subserve the will of some other *one* man in promoting his interests, just as the mere animal does. Consequently, as that is an evil which depresses humanity, african slavery in this country is an evil, because it is the forced or involuntary service of one or a few, rather than the free or voluntary service of all or many. In short, african slavery in this country is an evil, because it tends to make the master more a natural man, and the slave more an animal.

But we can better state the case thus. Slavery is an evil, because it outrages or mars true humanity in two chief respects. First, it develops and strengthens by exercise the love of dominion from the love of self. Any person who has lived in a slave state, knows this by having observed its effect on the masters' offspring. The little white learns to domineer over the little black, in ordering him about, buffeting him, and making him bend wholly to his will and pleasure as his prospective property. It is seen in the tones of voice, and in every gesture and motion of the body, with which he speaks and acts to the little slave. Hence, as we have before said, comes pride, —which is contempt of others in comparison with self,—

a false sense of honor, a most quick proclivity to resent injuries, and a supercilious and anti-christian hautiness to inferiors, which never can be compensated by that ease of manners, and polish of intellectual refinement, in intercourse with equals, which exemption from low labor and the appliances of leisure and learning impart to the wealthy slaveholder. We grant that this principle does elaborate from human nature, as now constituted, the higher order of minds in the military and naval professions, or in the executive departments of government. But this is because mankind are now almost wholly natural, and require the government of natural passions individually and of natural men collectively. And it is, as we think, the chief evil characteristic of human slavery, that it develops in the masters the *natural*, in antagonism to the *spiritual*, love of rule—which natural love, when not subordinated, is, as we have shown, selfish and worldly, and therefore evil. For “the *desire* to bear rule is somewhat of human proprium different from what is received of the Lord: nevertheless, all [spiritual] rule [such as that of the angels] is of love and mercy *without a desire* to bear rule.” (A. C. 1755.)

Secondly, slavery is an evil, because it makes labor disgraceful. In this respect, it is more especially a civil and political evil. In this respect, it is essentially aristocratic and anti-republican. And we will add, it is, in this respect, essentially anti-christian. For, as we have shown, it is the spirit of christianity to make useful service honorable, and thus to elevate in the scale of respectability the agricultural, commercial and mechanic arts. But it is the direct tendency of slavery to make those professions which enjoy exemption from physical labor the most respectable. The possessor and enjoyer of wealth is always more honorable in slave countries than the

maker and profitable user of wealth. Now that this is a spiritual evil, in its influences on the church, may be known from the simple fact, that it induced the Jews, in the time of our Lord's first advent, to disparage, if not to reject, him, because he was a *carpenter's* son. And how this disparagement of a man because he pursues a mechanical calling, or this making labor disgraceful, is a civil and political evil, in its influences on the commonwealth, any discerning man can see at a glance. For instance, in case of the sons of the wealthy, who are not stimulated by ambition to shine in the spheres of literary, professional or political preeminence, and are unfortunately more impelled by the natural love of pleasure than by the spiritual love of use, this degradation of labor throws them into the spheres of gambling and dissipation. All heaven is a continent of uses. And so far as men on earth are engaged in doing uses from heavenly ends, they breathe and pulsate with heaven, and have the sphere of heaven around them for their protection from the assaults of vagrant and libidinous spirits. Hence one of the chief safeguards of young men from vice is *useful* employment. But where useful labor is disreputable, genteel young men are ashamed to engage in it, because they lose caste in such occupation. And the energies of their minds, needing excitement for their pleasurable development, draw them to the race course, the billiard table, the cock pit, the gambling club room, the carousal, or other nameless places of resort, for the killing of time which hangs so heavy on the man who finds life only in the vortices of pleasure or the rounds of fashionable society. As we have seen, when the sensuous things of pleasure, together with games of chance and athletic sports, are occasionally enjoyed as relaxations from useful labor, or unbending recreations of the mind, which enable it to return to its

mental avocations with renewed vigor, they are subservient to use, and so useful and proper themselves. But when they are made the sole objects of life, they dissipate all of man's truly virile powers, and destroy or enervate his soul. At least, the exclusive pursuit of them unfits young men for any high service of the commonwealth. And, in this case, the community is injured by the loss of the valuable executive services, of some of her best sons, in stations of high trust and responsible function. So, too, in the case of poor white men and their offspring, the community loses a great fountain of her wealth and prosperity in the absence of that superior quality and richer quantity of productive services, which results from the want of the stimulus of an *honorable* calling acting as a premium in drawing out the higher order of agricultural, mechanical, or commercial abilities. As man always stamps the form of his own quality upon his work, be it what it may, how is it possible that the community can be so much enriched or benefited by the productions of degraded slave labor in agriculture, for example, as by the productions of the dignified labor of men of the higher order of intellectual power and moral worth!

In view of this, no one need hesitate for a moment in accounting for the fact that capital and population, with their political influence, have increased in a vastly greater ratio in our northern than in our southern states. And most vain is the hypothesis, that, if southern capital had been kept in the South, and not drained from it by tariff restrictions, european immigration would have prevailed more at the South, instead of occurring wholly at the North, so as to have preserved there an equilibrium of political power. For never will free white men, however unpropitious their physical or political condition, migrate to a country where slavery has made their labor disgrace-

ful and their arts or handicrafts disreputable. White men will indeed go to slave states, and labor in commercial or mechanical callings, with a view of getting rich and enjoying their wealth elsewhere, or with a view to become themselves slaveholders, and to acquire the respectability which wealth gives, in the South: but this is an exception to the general rule, which only confirms it; for it proves that those callings *are* disreputable in comparison with slaveholding wealth and *otium cum dignitate*.* They never would go thither to pursue those callings with a sole view to the use of them, and to the community's good in their faithful and efficient continued pursuit of them. They never would go thither, if they were sure that they should always remain in those callings where their wives and daughters would not be visited by *respectable* people because their husbands and brothers were mechanics. Or the number of such persons migrating to slave states would be very small in comparison with the number of them coming to free states. They seldom think of migrating to states where the owners of land stand at the top of the social ladder, and the workers of land are drudging slaves at the bottom; and all rounds for *respectable* middle classes are excluded, or

* It is conceded, that the principles of self-love and love of the world have this same aristocratic tendency every where. Hence, in the free states, they generate invidious distinctions in society, by which the members of the common body are arrayed against one another in the most unhappy and some times the most fatal antagonism. They generate an aristocracy of wealth there too; and also a disparaging estimate of the mechanical callings. But they do not do it there in so great a degree as in slave states; and we argue that the institution of *human* slavery, as an exciting or determining cause, has more directly and inevitably this tendency. Whereas christianity, regarding all professions and callings as uses of one common body which "is not one member, but many," that tend, by their mutual relations and their various adaptations to the common good, to the perfection of the whole, esteems "much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, as necessary: and upon those members of the body, which we think to be less honorable, *she* bestows more abundant honor." (1 Cor. xii. 12-27.)

confined to cities and large towns, by this worse than feudalism; and thus where slavery not only disparages mechanical pursuits, but also excludes, in *general*, from the community, the small landholder, who tills *with his own hands* the soil *he* owns, and therefore has a more stimulating interest in developing the utmost productive powers of the whole land for the greater wealth and prosperity of the whole body politic.

The inherent and legitimate effect of slavery is, then, we repeat, to degrade labor in general. Look at its effect on the poor white agriculturalists, who roam through the pine lands that intervallate the sea coast and the mountain regions of the Carolinas, and spend more than half their time in fishing or hunting, rather than be yoke-fellows with negroes in tilling the soil. Witness the contempt which the Bedouin Arab feels for the cultivator of the earth. He only regards him as the eagle does the fish hawk. The poorest specimens of white humanity that we ever laid our eyes on, were the country people who came in with their produce to the Charleston market!

But the effect of slavery, in making useful labor disreputable, is best seen in the slaves' own estimation of those who are obliged to pursue it for a livelihood. It is well known that the slaves look upon the poor whites as beneath them. Even in Maryland, we know how difficult it is for poor whites to get black servants, that are worth having, to work for them. The *genteel* negroes have an utter contempt for what they call "*the poor white trash*"! They would rather starve, and work their fingers to the quick, in the service of white gentility, than live on the fat of the land in the families of those whom they esteem disreputable mechanics. This is the fact in general: and it renders more intensive the evidence that slavery makes

labor disgraceful; and therefore is a civil and political evil. Unquestionably, Washington,—whose memory we now essay to honor,—Washington, that bright particular star in the great galaxy of american worthies, and all the greater lights that sparkled in the glorious firmament of our american revolution, thus regarded slavery. Surely, then, we may conclude that slavery *is* an *evil*.

But whether slavery is a *sin*, is quite another question. Not a little confusion of ideas seems to prevail in some minds on this subject. Perhaps those who think slavery a sin, mean no more than that it is an evil. There is, however, a material distinction, which is to be observed between these two terms. There is the same distinction between evil and sin that there is between an inclination to do what is wrong and the actual doing it. The chaste and pious Joseph said, on a memorable occasion, “How shall I do *this great* EVIL, and SIN against God.” This shows that sin is the doing of evil. Evil is that which tempts man. For “every man is tempted when he is drawn of his own lust, and enticed.” (James, i. 4.) No man can be enticed by any thing but that which he loves: for to this the love, which is his veriest life, always inclines him. And the love of self, which inclines one constantly to seek and act for its own interest and gratification at the expense of every common good, is, as we have shown, essentially evil. This love is the fountain-head of every inordinate natural passion, which the apostle calls lust. Hence, the inclination of lust, which draws away and entices, is evil; and to give way to the inclination—to yield to the enticement, and so *to do* the evil, is sin. For, as the apostle, John, declares, “sin is the transgression of the law.” In other words, evil is sin in intimate conception, and sin is evil brought forth into life.

Now, with this discrimination in our eye, we may see

that slavery, though undoubtedly an evil, may not, in all cases, be a sin. Or, if a sin, may be one which the apostle deems "not unto death;" but which may be "prayed for." The apostle declares, "all unrighteousness is sin:" that is, sin consists in all transgression of the divine laws. But, says he, "there is a sin not unto death." Doubtless, the sin which is unto death is voluntary sin; and that which is not unto death is involuntary. The sin of ignorance is involuntary sin. So is the sin of hereditary transmission; so far as it does not become actual evil by one's own irrational volition. Still, both these kinds of involuntary sin, although not unto death, must occasion to the committer of them some degree of penalty. "The Lord," says the doctrine of our church, "requires no more of a man than that he should do according to what he *knows* to be true."* Hence the condemnation and fatality of all sin lie in a man's knowing what is true, and yet willing and acting contrary to it—in "loving darkness rather than light, because his deeds are evil." So that, if a man "knows his Lord's will, and does things worthy of stripes, he shall be beaten with *many* stripes." But "if he knows not his Lord's will, and yet does things worthy of stripes, he shall be beaten with *few* stripes." In both cases, a penalty is inflicted; but in the former a heavy, and in the latter a light one. Hence, if slavery be an evil, all who are implicated in it—even those who are innocently implicated—must suffer in some degree from it.† But those who do not know, or believe, it to be

* The same doctrine is taught by our church in this form: "Those who know their duty, and not those who are ignorant of it, are the objects of imputation, whether it be of righteousness or of guilt; just as blind men, when they stumble, are no objects of blame; for the Lord says, 'If ye were blind, ye would have no sin; but now you say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth.' John, ix. 41." (U. T. 127.)

† Evil is its own punishment. In the divine economy, the effects of evil are

wrong, are not condemnable on account of it *as sin*. Neither are those guilty sinners, who have had slavery entailed on them by hereditary transmission. But to those who do know, or believe, it to be sinful, the implication of it is indeed a heinous offence both against God and man. For surely no one can doubt, that, while voluntary service, or the service of love and therefore of freedom, is supernal, forced service, or that service which fear renders to imperious masterdom, is infernal.

Now we cannot believe that slavery in our southern states is heinously sinful. We do indeed believe it is an

made to react upon it for its own correction. If, therefore, slavery be an evil, as we suppose it is, there must be some evil effects of it, which must, by their reactions, ultimately remove it from the slave states. Pharaoh, whether he be the love of power or the love of wealth, will be *plagued* until he lets the Children of Africa go! This is not the place to name or describe the plagues by which the divine will in the exodus of the Africans is to be brought about. It is enough to know the counsel of the Almighty, and to yield willing, rational and co-operative acquiescence in his august behest. Perhaps the manifest lagging of the slave states behind the free ones of their political sisterhood in all the race of natural wealth and civil power, will convince them that it is their interest to substitute voluntary for forced labor in developing the resources of their country. Perhaps, in view of the moral workings of their system, and of the political axiom, that the price of our liberties is eternal vigilance, they may feel impelled, by the most powerful of all incentives, *to do their own working*, as well as their own voting and fighting! But there is one evil effect of slavery in this country, which we ought not to pass unnoticed. It is the civil leprosy—the plague spot on the fair face of our social polity—of a degraded and hybrid race, in a state of quasi freedom, without the power of amalgamation or healthy assimilation in our body politic, but deforming and sickening it by parasitic attachment and nourishment. Surely we need not state how this is an ultimate evil. The mere fact of the solicitous efforts of the slave states themselves to get rid of this portion of their population, proves it. And any who have lived in contact with the unchristianized and naturally worst sort of this race in the free states, need not be told of their being a thieving and predatory nuisance to the whites. Nor need they be reminded that the confessions of the more malignant have shown us, that *the blacks feel themselves justified in thus furtively preying upon the whites, by revenge for the wrong they have done them in making them slaves!* Is not this, then, a reaction of the evil of slavery? Is it not a righteous retribution? Is it not a plague to compel Pharaoh in us to let the Africans go?

evil: but we hold it to be an evil mercifully permitted, in the divine restorative economy, for an ultimate or final good. What that is, we shall see as we proceed. Or if southern slavery be a sin, we are sure it is not one that is unto death. It is a venial transmitted sin. The institution of slavery was entailed upon the southern states by the mother country's cupidity. Hence we regard it there in the light of an hereditary evil, which requires much love and wisdom—great prudence, care, patience and tender solicitude—in its eradication. It must be regarded as a politically constitutional disease, which can be cured only by time, wise political dietetics, and intelligent skill exciting the body politic's recuperative energies. All nature is as abhorrent to sudden change as to a vacuum. And the sin of slavery sinks into absolute insignificance in comparison with the egregious sin of those political or morbidly philanthropic quacks, who, by their *heroic* treatment of this disease—by their sudden alteratives, their decided blood-lettings, their drastic purges, their violent counter-irritants, and their other *strong* remedies—would either kill the patient, or inflict upon his shattered constitution vastly greater and more incurable factitious diseases, if, by some mercifully providential fortuity, he should happen to get well in spite of their physic! No true man will be *forced* to do even what is right. And the very worst effect of all objurgatory and even seeming compulsory efforts to destroy the evil of slavery in the South as damning sin, has been the driving of our southern brethren into the justification of it as a divine institution and a positive good. Thus do extremes beget extremes. The truly wise and proper course is to reason with our brethren in true political love—to show them, if we can, their error in kindness; and by convincing their reason, so act upon their own wills as to get them

to work themselves in freely and rationally putting off an acknowledged evil. It is moreover our duty to help bear their political burden; and, in this, to share the self-sacrifice and the pecuniary or other loss of their evil's eradication. Nay, it is our privilege to be participants with them in that high national virtue which we verily believe is to be gained by this country in doing magnanimous justice to Africa. For we are sure that the evil of african slavery has been permitted, by Divine Providence, to exist in this country for that end, as we hope to show in the sequel of this discourse. And it is our duty, not only to help our southern brethren to see this, if we can, but also to be co-operators with them in their noble work.

We are aware that our assertions are to some startling. Many think the permission of human slavery by a merciful divine providence is an inscrutable or inexplicable mystery. To some minds, indeed, it borders on blasphemy to say, that God could have connived at, by permitting, an evil so great, or a sin so heinous. But it is well to remember, that "God's ways are not as man's ways," and are always "equal"—however otherwise they may seem to short-sighted mortals. Not only is the Lord ever "from *seeming* evil still educing good;" but all *real* evil is permitted by him for no other purpose.* There-

* The Lord's government of the universe is called providence. Or, providence is "arrangement into good." (A. C. 10.452.) "Evils, however, are not provided, but previded, that is, foreseen, and in like manner permissions. But—that it may be known how the case is—providence relates to evils; but providence is the arrangement of them to good ends. There is, however, no chance; that is, no evil can happen by chance. But all evils are so governed, that no evil whatever but what conduces to good is permitted to befall either man or [departed] soul: consequently, nothing is permitted but what must have been foreseen in the way of the discernment of an inevitable event. Therefore it follows, that various evils are so turned as to have such a form [as conduces to good,] and no other; and it cannot but be [that evils occur] in a state so perverse [as that of

fore, we are bound to believe, that african slavery in this country has been permitted, in the Lord's wise and merciful providence, for some ultimate good.

Certainly members of the New Jerusalem should not entertain any doubt on this subject. They know that the Africans are of a celestial genius.* Even now, in the

mankind, in the abuse of their rational and voluntary faculties, has become.] Thus it is providence alone which governs; for providence, or foresight, is thus changed into providence, and thus evils are so provided as to be changed into good: since, if the foreseen [designs] of evil spirits were permitted, they would tend to the destruction of both men and souls. Wherefore the evils intended by evil spirits are turned into such things as are permissible." (Diary, I., p. 334, n. 1088.)

"The Lord foresees and beholds all and singular things; and provides for and disposes of all and singular things: yet in some cases by permission, in some by admission, in some by leave, in some by good pleasure, in some by will." (A. C. 1755.)

* This, doubtless, will be to many the most startling of our assertions. And certainly, to all appearance, the assertion is most untrue. Africans, as we see them in this country, are a degraded race. The bondage in which they are, is a correspondent of their mental and moral degradation. Their enslaved condition is an outbirth of their interior evils, and, as a reaction on them for their correction or restraint, is a sort of penitentiary punishment of their defects of character. The mere fact of their being slaves, also, produces a prejudice against them; and, by the association of ideas, their color, their woolly heads, and their every peculiar and distinctive feature, are connected with all that is low and debased in humanity. Hence to say they are of a *celestial* genius, shocks the common sense of men around us. But in rightly estimating any form of our common humanity, we must look with philosophic eyes, and "judge righteous judgment." And thus, in estimating the peculiar genius of the african race, we must send our intellectual vision through outside, deceptive appearances, to their interior qualities; or we must apprehend the exterior forms or types of those qualities by that revived science of correspondences which makes effects exponents of their causes. But let us first learn what is meant by celestial, and what is the distinguishing characteristic of the celestial man.

"To know what is true by virtue of what is good, is celestial." "Man is called celestial, if the Lord's divine good is received in the will part—spiritual, if in the intellectual part." (A. C. 5150.) "The celestial man is one who, from the will principle, is in good, and thence in truth; and he is distinguished from the spiritual man in this, that the latter, from the intellectual principle, is in truth, and thence in good." (A. C. 6295.) "They who are in the Lord's spiritual

central regions of Africa,—as yet unexplored by Europeans,—there is a celestial church, which has the imme-

kingdom worship him from faith; but they who are in his celestial kingdom worship him from love." (A. C. 10.645.)

From this it appears, that the celestial principle of humanity, is love, will or affection; and that a man of celestial genius is one whose distinguishing characteristic is action from this principle. Now every external of the African is a celestial correspondent. His having wool instead of hair, with his strong propensities for laughing, singing and dancing, are all such. His color seems to be against this hypothesis. But, besides that we have the best reason for knowing that the soul or spirit of the good and wise African is white, and have some reason for believing that the bodies of the higher tribes in the centre of Africa are white also, we must remember that the correspondence of the spiritual things of the soul is with the uses of the natural things of the body, and not with the substance, form or modification of its organs. Thus the correspondence of the understanding is with the sight of the eye, and not with the eye itself; the correspondence of the perception of the mind is with the smell, and not with the nose; the correspondence of the obedience of the will is with the hearing, and not with the ear; and so forth. Hence the correspondence of the distinctive genius of the African is with the *use* of the color of his skin, and not with the color itself. What, then, is the use of a black skin in the african race? and is this use a spiritual or a celestial correspondent?

We know that black does not reflect either light or heat, but absorbs both; and, in absorbing heat from one side, transmits it to the other. Hence the water in a copper tea-kettle, the bottom of which is scoured bright, will not boil near so soon as when the bottom is blackened with smoke or soot. So heated water in a silver tea-pot will not part with its caloric near so fast, when the surface of the pot is thoroughly cleaned by polishing, as when it is soiled or discolored by being tarnished and uncleaned; and, as the virtue of the tea is more thoroughly extracted by drawing, the hotter the water is, therefore white china and polished metallic tea-pots are much better for drawing tea than any of the colored sorts. The use of a black skin in the negro is, then, the ready absorption and radiation of heat. Heat in the natural world corresponds to love in the spiritual world. This is the reason that a man becomes warm from passion, and that the natives of hot climates are apt to be choleric and jealous. Hence the countries of the torrid zone, which lie constantly under the sun's vertical rays, have a celestial correspondence in the material cosmos, and the men of those countries are relatively of a celestial genius. Nothing can be clearer than that the negro is as much formed by the whole constitution of his body, as well as by the color of his skin, for living, and enjoying life, in the intense intertropical heat of Africa, as the camel is formed for travelling in african deserts. In fact, he is a sort of human salamander. And it is because the negro can endure a degree of heat which kills the white man, that the blacks are better fitted to cul-

diate revelation of truth by angelic spirits.* Hence Africa in its confines, or in its circumferential regions, must be

tivate the rice, cotton and sugar plantations of the South, and of the West Indies, than the whites; and why black can never compete with white labor in mountainous and frosty regions. The negro has this power in the peculiar organization of his skin, which not only has an additional layer that secretes a black pigment, but also a more copiously and rapidly perspirable structure. By the blackness and the greater perspirable property of his skin, he radiates heat and evacuates humors more readily and rapidly than the white man. Hence the animal heat and morbid humors which, pent up by his white skin, kill the Caucasian in Africa with fevers, are no impediment to the negro's free and full enjoyment of life there. This is one reason why the whites have never yet been able fully to explore the centre of Africa. The Mighty Lord has encircled that centre with a wall of fire, which is a far more effectual barrier against the inroads of the Europeans, than the wall of China ever was against those of the Tartars. And as this is a clear indication of the divine will that Africa should be inhabited, improved, reformed, regenerated, governed and elevated solely or mainly by Africans, therefore justice to Africa demands that Europeans, and their descendants in America, who hold her sons in servile bondage or slavish apprenticeship, should send them back to her, having previously fitted them for a happy repose on her bosom!

We conclude, that, as the african race, color and all, are correspondents of heat in the torrid zone; and as heat there is a correspondent of love in the celestial kingdom of the spiritual world; therefore Africans are of a celestial genius. Their degraded forms and characters here, and their hideous forms and horrid barbarities in the circumferential parts of their own country, are the results of the utter perversion of their more noble nature. For, as all evil is but perverted good, the more exalted and more perfect the good, the more debased and more deformed must be the evil which results from its perversion.

When we know that the quarters of the compass in this world signify the four cardinal states of the soul in the other world; and that the east in the spiritual world is where the Lord is in love to him and from him; we may see what is the spiritual position of Africa, relatively to Asia and Europe, from the following revelation: "The angels, when Asia is named, perceive the *south*; when Europe is named, they perceive the *north*; and when Africa is named, they perceive the *east*." (Ap. Ex. 21.) This shows that, in the perception of the angels, Africans are of the celestial genius.

* The distinguishing truths of christianity are "comprehended and received by the Africans" in the other world, "inasmuch as they think more interiorly and spiritually than others. Such being the character of the Africans even in this world, there is therefore at this day a revelation begun among them, which is communicated from the centre round about, but does not extend to the sea coasts. They acknowledge our Lord as the Lord of heaven and earth, and laugh at the

the celestial man in a degenerate state.* This man, in a good degenerate type, must be a willing obedience to some master;† and, in a bad degenerate type, must be the most revolting combatant for dominion over his fellows—

Monks who visit them, and at Christians who talk of a threefold divinity, and of salvation by mere thought—asserting that there is no man, who worships at all, that does not live according to his religion; and that, unless a man so lives, he must needs become stupid and wicked, because, in such case, he receives nothing from heaven. They likewise give the name of stupidity to ingenious wickedness, because there is not life but death in it.” All “the things contained in the doctrine of the New Jerusalem,” which are now revealed from heaven, for the use of a new and true christian church in christian countries, by writing and the press, “are now revealed, by word of mouth, through angelic spirits, to the inhabitants of that country.” (Con. L. J. 73, 76.)

“The new church is planted in the centre of Africa amongst those who live a good life, according to the best of their knowledge, and worship one God under a human form.” (C. L. 111.)

* To show that, among all heathen nations, the Africans stand preeminent as men of an interior and celestial order, we quote the following authorities :

In revealing the third state of men after death, “which is the state of instruction of those who come into heaven,” our church thus describes the character and genius of the heathen nations: they “who, in the world, have led a good life in conformity with their religion, and have thence derived a species of conscience, and have done what is just and right, not so much on account of the laws of their government, but on account of the laws of religion, which they believed ought to be kept holy, and in no respect to be violated by overt acts—all these, when they are instructed, are easily led to acknowledge the Lord; because it is impressed on their hearts that God is not an invisible being, but a being visible under a human form. These, in number, exceed all the rest. *The best of them are from Africa.*” (H. & H. 514.)

“Such among the Gentiles as, in the world, have worshiped God under a human form, and have lived a life of charity according to their religion, are conjoined to Christians in heaven; for they acknowledge and worship the Lord more than the rest. *The most intelligent of them are from Africa.*” (L. J. 51.)

“The Gentiles are also distinguished according to their genius, and their different capacities of receiving light through the heavens from the Lord; for there are among them both interior and exterior men, which arises partly from climate, partly from parentage, partly from education, and partly from religion. *The Africans are a more interior people than any other of the Gentiles.*” (U. T. 835.)

† “Among all the nations in heaven, the Africans are most beloved, for they receive the goods and truths of heaven more easily than others. They wish especially to be called obedient, but not faithful. They say that Christians, because they have the doctrines of faith, may be called faithful; but not they, unless they receive it; or, as they say, are able to receive it.” (H. & H. 326, A. C. 2601.)

merging every vestige of true humanity in the most barbarous cannibalism. Now, although to us here, with our vision extended to very narrow limits, it may seem a great evil that innocent and well-disposed Africans—men, women and children—should have been brought to this country and sold into bondage to the whites; yet this is a far less evil than that they should have been butchered and eaten, as captives in war, by their savage conquerors in their own country. It is certainly not a greater evil than that inflicted upon Joseph by his brethren—his own flesh and blood—who sold him, through the Ishmaelites, into egyptian bondage. And may we not see that the bondage of Africans in this country is as much in the providence of the Lord for final good to Africa, as the bondage of the Children of Israel in Egypt was for the final good of the church of God in its restoration to Palestine? The science of Egypt was indispensably necessary to that restoration. It was equally indispensable in that august restoring of lost humanity by GOD-WITH-US, when he became “Jehovah our righteousness.” And it ever will be indispensable in the restoration of the celestial church. Wherefore, it has been, and still is, needed in the restoration of the celestial church throughout Africa. Its celestial centre needs a scientific reactive plain from Europe, or America, which is Europe transplanted, to extend it to, and form it fully on, the sea coasts. Only in this way can the degenerate celestial character of Africa be restored throughout her borders.

When the celestial church falls, the old or natural will is destroyed, and the understanding is separated from it and scientifically enlightened, so that a new will may be formed in the intellectual principle of the mind. For this purpose Africans of the better degenerate sort, have been sold, by their brethren of the worst degenerate sort, into slavery; and, in the Lord’s permissive providence, have

been brought to America as a relative Egypt. Here, by mingling with a more scientific, rational, intellectual and enlightened race, they are in the way of receiving that christian understanding of truth, which is necessary for the development, perfection and defence, in the circumference of Africa, of that celestial will of good which is now nascent in its centre. The two-edged sword of african intellect needs tempering and sharpening by european science to do effectual battle with the evils and falsities that depress and afflict mankind. While here, the Africans must be the servants or slaves of the Europeans, because, in degenerate man, the darkened will must be subject to, and governed by, the enlightened understanding as a master. But, in the fullness of time,—and the purposes of a Good Providence seem now to be ripening fast,—the enlightened African, restored by colonization to his native land, will carry back those vital influences which are to revivify his country, and cause *her*, perhaps, to

“arise,

The queen of the world, and the child of the skies”!

The black blood of Africa has been sent from her eastern celestial heart to these western countries as spiritual lungs. Here it is brought in contact with the air and ether of christianity, to give out its effete earthly carbonaceous matters and take in the oxygen of heaven. And when it is thus sufficiently vitalized, it will by and by be seen to pour its encrimsoned flood reflux, for that potent arterial action, by which *Humanity* will stand forth disenthralled, and, full developed in celestial purity and perfection, will stretch her arms from Afric’s shores, in heavenly benediction, over a regenerated world!

The part of true wisdom here, then, is to regard slavery in reference to this end. Viewed in this light, its amorphous and unsightly stones become luminous and beau-

teous with the prismatic hues, and fall into the orderly forms, of a heaven-directed kaleidoscopal arrangement. Its evil becomes mellowed into good. And if the American, knowing that a nation is not born in a day, shall not spoil his work by impatience—if he shall work in faith while he waits in hope—if he shall look to the sure effectuation of high and holy ends by the gradual means of long protracted time—he will perform that work of genuine charity, in such a *suitable preparation* of the african slave for the right use and enjoyment of natural, civil, social and political freedom, as shall doubly bless, both him that gives and him that receives it, when “the set time is full come” for the reception of the boon.

Yes, we repeat, all nature is abhorrent to sudden changes! And slavery, as an hereditary natural evil, long developed in chronic disease, cannot possibly be corrected or cured in an instant. In demonstrating the evil of slavery, we have shown this already. But we must repeat what we said there, because it is essential to our argument here. African slavery has been gradually ingenerated, and has gradually grown up, in long time; and equally long time is requisite for its safe and thorough eradication from the body politic. Men who have been begotten and born slaves for a long course of years, can only be rebegotten and reborn freemen by the processes of correspondingly protracted reformation and regeneration. And hence the instantaneous manumission of the slave, and the sudden abolition of slavery, would be no less unkindness to the slave, than injustice to the community. That which distinguishes God from man, as well as assimilates man to God, is providence and providence. God foreknows or foresees all things, and incessantly provides that good shall be done and evil be averted or restrained. Man knows nothing or little of the future,

and can but imperfectly provide for that little in the present. But so far as man resembles God, he comes into the enjoyment of intelligent foresight, and into the exercise of that wise prudence which consists in providing in the present for the future. And herein the slave differs essentially from the freeman. Trusting to his master's foresight, and fed by his providings, he becomes himself improvident, and, only regarding his own pleasure in the present, he eats up all he has to-day, without laying by any thing for the morrow. Hence, if slaves are suddenly manumitted, and thrown out of the sphere and patronage of intelligent and provident freemen, they ere long deteriorate in character, become destitute and miserable in condition, and decrease in numbers. So that it is as unkind and unmerciful to set a slave free at once, without preparing him gradually for the use and enjoyment of liberty, as it is to let loose a bird that has been hatched and reared in a cage, and constantly fed, and every way cared for, by the assiduous attentions of its human possessor—in which case, it is well known that the creature perishes from its incapacity to take care of itself.

Consequently, the true duty of America in regard to slavery, and her genuine charity to the African in the emancipation of him from it, must consist in all those constitutional provisions for the abolishment of the evil, which not only look to the emancipation of the slave in some future time, but shall also make it penally obligatory on his master* to qualify him, in the mean time, by suit-

* We are aware how repugnant this must be to the principles and feelings of those who hold to the right of property in human beings, and how much it is against what they now regard as their interests. But our argument is not addressed to them. We too well know the fruitlessness of reasoning for truth and justice in those matters wherein the selfish and worldly interests of mankind are at stake. Our argument is addressed to those who, like Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Randolph, regard slavery as a civil and political evil which is to be

able education and the development of useful capacities, for the right and profitable use of freedom when it shall become his portion. Any thing short of this, would be unkindness to the slave, and injustice to the community.

gradually worked out of the body politic by wise, prudent and prospective constitutional provisions. And the principle here involved is, that african bondage in this country is slavish apprenticeship. It is presumed that Africans have been suffered to come here, by Divine Providence, for their reformation and their country's regeneration. The slave state, which alone has the power to determine whether slavery shall or shall not be an institution of its polity, takes to itself, in its collective capacity, an entire wardship of the slaves. It touches not the right of individual property in any that are slaves now; but it decrees that every child, begotten by slave parents after a certain period, shall be born free; and it apprentices the child so born, when nurtured and reared by its parents to a suitable age, and properly educated at free schools to be established and maintained by the state for the purpose, to some master or mistress, either the owner of the parents, or some other person, as the case may seem to require and as may be agreeable to the owner—to learn some useful handicraft or occupation—to serve till thirty years of age, and then to receive a suit of clothes and enough money to take him or her to Africa—the state providing the means of, and securing, the transportation. It presumes that the value of the services of the apprentice to the master or mistress, during so long an apprenticeship, is a full equivalent for all he or she receives either before or at the day of freedom. And the only sacrifice the slaveholder makes is of the institution of slavery—which he gives up for the good of the country—and of the increased value of the enfranchised workman's services during the remainder of his life. It should be observed, however, that he as an individual has no just right to a value which has accrued from the state's emancipating measures; and, as an offset, he is relieved from the burden of maintaining the superannuated slave. Of course, there is no weight whatever in these observations, if african slavery in this country is a civil and political blessing to both the blacks and the whites. But, if we mistake not the signs of the times, the days of slavery, in this and in all countries, are numbered. If there was a final general judgment in the spiritual world in the year 1757, as we believe—if, in consequence of this, a new heavenly arrangement of Christians in that world has taken place—if from this new heaven a new and true christian church is now descending to earth—and if sevenfold light and heat, from the Sun of Heaven newly rising in the minds of all men, is pouring down upon all the marshy grounds, foggy valleys and dark places of human degeneracy—then an explosive force, a mental, moral and spiritual nitric oxide compound, is generating, which will burst and dissipate into thin air the bonds of slavery wherever they exist! And wo be to the hand that attempts to stay its rendings! Yes, a decree, infinitely more irrevocable than that of the Medes and Persians, has gone forth, that, in due time, slavery in our southern states shall cease: and as well might a man try to prevent the explosion of a locomotive steam boiler by putting his

Well, then, may it be said to our countrymen—"If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." They will be happy, not merely in getting rid of an evil which is endangering their political safety and social prosperity,

arms round it, as the South attempt to array herself against the fulfilment of this divine decree! All her measures for perpetuating slavery against the spirit of the present age, are gradually laying a train which will thoroughly undermine her constitution, and ultimately explode to her inevitable destruction. And it is the part of true wisdom in her to provide this catastrophe, and to forfend it by the instant and constant provision of all requisite present and prospective means.

In this view of the subject, we are satisfied that the true way is to regard slavery as a spiritual evil—as a counteraction of the laws of the Divine Governor of the Universe, who will have *all men* to come to the knowledge of the truth, and decrees that the truth every where *shall make them free!* Therefore the abolition of slavery is not the work of the state or general government. It is a national work. It is the work of the people, the whole people. The people of America, as one man, are just as much bound to give money—each and every one of them a portion—to indemnify the slaveholder for the constitutional property which he gives up for the good of the nation, as they are to erect a monument to Washington. And they are bound to do it by voluntary contribution—not by government tax. The grand principle is, to develop a national virtue by a national act: and neither the South, nor any other part of the nation, has a right, in divine justice, to monopolize the virtue by assuming the action wholly to itself. If the South permits and decrees it, it is the duty of the american church to educate and prepare the children of the slaves for freedom, and, if necessary, to purchase them for the purpose. In our humble opinion, this is a more incumbent and a more noble charity than civilizing and christianizing the Indians, or sending missionaries to the Heathen of foreign lands. And it is just as feasible for all the christian sects to unite in this work, as in printing and publishing the Sacred Scriptures without note or comment. When the offspring of the slaves are prepared for freedom, it will be the work of the american people, in their collective capacity, to send them to Africa.

No plan of preparing the slaves for freedom will be effectual, which is not founded upon marriage. We must improve the african race as the races of animals are improved. Marriage among the blacks should be most strictly regulated by wise rules. No adult apprentice that is morally vicious or physically deformed or diseased, should be allowed to marry at all. Marriage should be allowed to the apprentices only as a reward of exemplary virtue, piety and true religion; they should not be allowed to contract it before the age of twenty-five in the male and twenty in the female; and when married they should be set up in business, and taught to discharge with propriety the duties of the family relation in near proximity to the families of their masters, and under their intelligent and paternal supervision. Thus will young families be prepared for Africa. And by crossing the various tribes, as well as by pairing the more noble and generous

but, what is far more desirable, they will be happy in that political, civil and moral elevation of character which results from a high and noble nature brought into full form and vigor by the long-continued and consistent ex-

sorts, vast improvements of the race in general might be effected. Of course, there should be nothing arbitrary or capricious in these allotments: but a free and rational restraining of passions, and guiding of inclinations, by sensible advice, moral suasion, and kindly authority, as in the best regulated modes of society among the whites. The affinities and drawings of interior conjugal affections must never be outraged by the forced determinations of factitious law or arbitrary authority. Perhaps those who ought not to intermarry, should never be thrown together, either in the school room, the place of labor or the plain of recreation. This would prevent early attachments among such as ought not to be united in wedlock. It might be difficult to draw the line marking properly the degree of moral or physical defect prohibitory of marriage. But there would be no field for wisdom to exercise herself in, if there were no difficulties; and this difficulty, true wisdom could easily overcome. In the case of idiots, the principle and the case are manifest. And it only seems hard, that those who are physically deformed or diseased—so as to be impotent, or to be able to have only a physically degenerate progeny—should be debarred from the sweets of conjugal and domestic life, when they are possessed of the higher order of mental powers and virtues. But this is a case for that species of noble self-denial, which has led superior minds of the white race, tainted, for instance, with hereditary insanity, to doom themselves to celibacy, or to immolate themselves on the altar of their country's battle-field, that they might die childless, and so stop the propagation of a defective form of humanity. It is clear, that the african race, like any other, cannot be radically, thoroughly and highly improved, without wise and intelligent regard to the marriage principle as here suggested. And it must never be forgotten, that any decided elevation of the african character by these means, must only be looked for in long courses of time, and by the most gradual steps of ascent.

Nor will any plan for abolishing african slavery in the southern states be practicable, which does not contemplate radical changes in the manners, customs and entire social economy of the whites. This, indeed, is the great and inherent difficulty of the subject. For it is almost impossible to make communities give up principles of pride, which underlay their honor, and to submit to entire changes of their social organization, however gradual and prospective they may be. Nay, they at once resist the inceptive measure in strongest opposition to its final result. Therefore all theories for the abolition of slavery are chimerical which do not rest on organic changes of the slave communities, brought about by their own free and rational action in giving up former principles and adopting new ones, that alone can sustain an unmixed and politically and socially equal population in the various relations of mutual and reciprocal service. The hands and the head of the South must be washed, before she can be made every whit clean by the washing

ercise of great virtues. God grant that our country may, in this respect, enjoy the exceedingly precious blessing of his divine favor!

of her feet. There must be as great a change in the character of the whites as of the blacks in preparing the state for so radical a metamorphosis. White children must be reared and educated on different principles. The notion that a white man is degraded by doing a negro's work, must be exploded: for in a homogeneous and truly free community there is no negro's work to be done. The idea that it is more honorable or respectable to receive service from others than to render it to them, must be dissipated at once. This is the corner-stone of feudalism and of imperious sway. It is both anti-republican and anti-christian. The christian maxim is a political truth—"it is better to give than to receive" service. Higher and lower service, in wider and narrower spheres of usefulness, is the only honorable distinction in a true republic as in the true church: and the instruments of low and common labor must be relatively the community's own foot, and not an African's neck under it. Then will even low and common labor be dignified with all the honor of the whole body. The community will regard its common laborer with some thing of the feeling of a father who kisses with fond affection the tiny foot of his prattling infant, or of a man who admires the well formed foot of the woman that he loves. In the words of an apostle, the community can then practically say—"our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness; for our comely parts have no need: but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honor to that part which lacked: that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another: and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." (1 Cor., xii., 23-26.) When labor is thus dignified, and the laborer is thus honored, in the South, then there will be no difficulty in abolishing slavery there. Free white men will freely go thither to do the work that is now done by slaves. Small property holders will more divide the soil. Other sources of wealth will be developed. New kinds of business will be set on foot, requiring a greater variety of labor and of talent. The present vast and almost exclusive production of cotton, rice and sugar will undergo great modifications—lessening in amount, indeed, and so ceasing to enrich the few, but conspiring with a greater variety of productions to enrich the many, and, by multiplying a greater number of kinds of wealth and aggregating a greater total from very many small amounts of wealth, to increase vastly in quality and degree the prosperity of the commonwealth. And as all this is to take place gradually, in long courses of time, afforded by the gradual preparation of the black population for an advantageous removal to Africa, there may be such a slow and quiet infiltration of white laborers into the renewed and bettered forms of society, *pari passu* with the black laborers' leaving them, as will not only save the institutions of the states from any kind of convulsive or injurious change, but give to them the solidity, transparency and polish of a sort of social petrification.

But it is far more incumbent on us to regard spiritual freedom, as a good, in contrast with spiritual slavery, as an evil. Our text teaches us, that spiritual slavery is the bondage of sin; and spiritual freedom is the service of the Lord. The service of the Lord is *perfect* freedom. For the Lord is love and wisdom itself; and what a man does from love by wisdom is most spontaneous and free. *Wisdom* is *good* in *form*, that is, truth made good by virtuous activity. *Love* is *good* in *essence*, that is, essential good formed and qualified by the truth which corresponds to it. The service of wisdom is the obedience of its precepts—is the doing of truth for truth's sake. This service is always the more or less constrained subjection of the natural to the spiritual man: because truth “reproves the world of sin”—condemns the natural man's evils, and requires the spiritual man to renounce them. And this service is the result of divine *reformation*. The service of love is the spontaneous doing of good for goodness' sake; and is the result of divine *regeneration*.

Now the service of wisdom or truth, is *formal*, and the service of love or good, is *essential*, freedom. For, as man obeys the precepts of wisdom, he comes into the experimental or vital understanding of truth, in consequence of putting away from his life all the evil of false principles; and thus is delivered from the bondage of sin, so as to become the Lord's freeman, by spiritually constrained action. For all obedience of truth, which subjects man's selfish and worldly loves to the behests of divine and spiritual love, is at first undelightful, because a cross to the natural man: yet still it is freedom; because, although a man is a slave when forced by others, he is most truly or formally free when he forces himself. This, therefore, is what we call *formal* freedom; because *truth* is the *form*

of all things that are in order, while *good* is the *essence* of all things that are in use.

But the service of love is man's spontaneous action from the ruling end of doing good to others for their own sakes. So far as a man acts consistently from this end, he comes himself into the enjoyment and living perception of the good which he seeks to do to others. In the delight of making others happy, he is most happy himself. Hence, in the love of good for its own sake is essential delight; and therefore essential freedom; for whatever is done with delight, or whatever produces delight in the doing it, is most freely done—the essence of freedom being the happiness of delightful emotions with their calm and peaceful content.

On the other hand, “in the love of evil is [essential] servitude;” and the essence of slavery is the misery of undelightful emotions with their restless discontent. For the love of evil, that is, the love of self and the world as final ends of action, constantly tends, in its activity, to injure others, instead of doing them good. Thus it runs counter to all the laws of the divine economy. Consequently, it is perpetually subject to the counteraction of those laws. In short, the universal law of the divine economy is, that evil shall react upon itself for its own correction. So that, whenever evil goes forth in any of its corresponding activities, it comes, more or less immediately, into bonds: while, nevertheless, the yearnings of its infernal desires are increased in the ratio of the restraining weights which are made to impend upon them—as smothered fires burn with a more intense heat. All a man who is actuated by evil love does, is attended with misery, in order that his action from that love may be restrained. Hence, in action from that love, there is the veriest servitude or slavery. For, as that which a man

does with delight is free ; so that which a man does with misery is constrained. There is, indeed, an infernal delight at first in the commission of evil ; but it is invariably followed by corresponding misery in the reactions upon it. The activities of an evil love gnaw as a deathless worm, and burn as a quenchless fire. Constantly urged to work, and yet flogged as with scorpions when he has worked, the man of evil passions is subjected to the most galling task, and the most relentless taskmaster. The activities of evil love produce, in the substance of the human soul, or in man's spiritual body, a sort of cancerous diathesis, which breaks out in "putrefying sores." (Isa., i., 6.) The delights of this evil love are as the itching of these cancerous sores, and as the pleasure felt in their friction. But the pain which follows such friction, and the increased cancerous action consequent on the greater afflux of blood and nervous fluid to the part, emblem too truly the bondage and burden of sin. And so it is that "in the love of evil there is servitude."

And they who are in such servitude can never come into good, so as to feel delight in doing it purely for its own sake : thus cannot enter into heaven which consists in that delight, and which is only open to those who are in divine truth by obedience to its precepts. And so it is that "the servant of sin abideth not in the house for ever."

But "the son abideth for ever." If, then, "the *son* shall make you free, ye shall be *free indeed*." The son is the divine truth. The house, in which this abides for ever, is the good which it incessantly effects. The thought of the mind dwells constantly on and in what the man loves to do. The thought, flowing from the will and affection of the love, brings them out into corresponding form and activity in the speech and action. And in the

speech and action which correspond to it, the end or purpose of the love finds a fundament, continent and resting place, so as to give to the love therein "a local habitation and a name." It was thus that the divine love, in the Lord's glorification of his humanity, found a thorough outbirth and permanent abode. And it is ever thus that the divine truth from him, flowing by reformation and regeneration into the souls of men, causes them to abide in the good that corresponds to it. And so it is that "the son abideth in the house for ever."

In explaining the portion of the Holy Word before us, our church teaches the following clear and satisfactory doctrine :

"He who acts in any case from the affection which is of the love of good, acts from a free principle; but he who acts from the affection which is of the love of evil, appears to act from a free principle, but in reality does not, because he acts from the lusts which flow in from hell. He alone is free who is in the affection of good; because he is led of the Lord. That freedom consists in being led of the Lord, and servitude in being led of lusts which are from hell," must be manifest to all spiritual discernment; "for the Lord implants affections in favor of what is good, and aversion to what is evil. Hence to do good is freedom, and to do evil is altogether servile. He who believes that christian liberty has a further extent, is very much deceived." (A. C. 9096.)

"When man's internal principle [or the spiritual man] conquers, as is the case when it has reduced the external [principle or the natural man] to agreement or compliance [with itself,] then man is endowed by the Lord with essential liberty and essential rationality; for then man is rescued by the Lord from infernal liberty, which in itself is [the veriest] servitude, and is introduced into celestial liberty, which in itself is essential freedom, and has consociation granted him with the angels." (Ap. Ex. 409.)

Thus the Lord teaches us by this text "that they are servants [or slaves] who are in sins; and that he makes those free who, by the Word, receive truth from him." Consequently, when the Jews, in reply to his saying, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," "answered him, We are the seed of Abraham, and were never in bondage to any one; how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?" &c. &c.—

—“By these words is understood, that freedom consists in being led of the Lord, and that servitude consists in being led of hell. By *truth which makes free*, is meant the divine truth which is from the Lord; for he who receives that truth in doctrine and in life is free [indeed]; because he becomes spiritual, and is led of the Lord. Wherefore, also, it is said, that *the son abideth in the house for ever*, and *if the son makes you free, you shall be free indeed*; where by the son is meant the Lord, and likewise truth; and *to abide in the house*, denotes [to dwell] in heaven. That to be led of hell is servitude, is taught by these words, *every one who doeth sin is the servant of sin*; where sin denotes hell, because sin is from hell.” (Ap. Ex. 409.)

“All that is called freedom which is of the will—thus which is of the love: and hence it is that freedom manifests itself by the delight of willing and of thinking; and hence of doing and of speaking; for all delight is of love, and all love is of the will, and the will is the esse of the life of man.” (A. C. 9585.)

This is the reason that, in all contests for political liberty with arbitrary powers, the first and chief thing fought for, is liberty of speech and freedom of action; and this is the reason why despots, whenever they are enslaving a people, silence the press by their censorship and impair freedom of speech and action by their fines and penalties.

“To do evil from the delight of love, appears to be freedom; but it is servitude, because it is from hell. To do good from the delight of love, both appears to be and really is freedom, because it is from the Lord. Servitude, therefore, consists in being led of hell, and freedom in being led of the Lord.” (A. C. 8586.)

Such is the Lord's doctrine in our text. And how clearly does it teach us that, “if the *son* makes us free, we *shall be free indeed*”!

To what has been advanced it may be added, that to do evil from the delight of evil, appears to be freedom only to the mere natural man; and to do good from the delight of love, appears to be freedom only to the spiritual man. To the natural man,—especially the corporeal and sensual man,—the doing good from the delight of love, seems preposterous; and any obligation he may feel under to do it, seems to him a galling yoke and a fearful bondage. But if, in faith, he obeys the truth of God unto the entire

renunciation of all action from every evil love, the Lord, by charity, or spiritual love, implants in him a spiritual affection for truth and goodness, and so lightens the burden which spiritual truth imposes on his natural man. And then he realizes the blessedness of the Lord's divine injunction and assurance—"Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light." (Matt., xi., 28-30.)

Our subject is full-fraught with lessons of practical wisdom in respect to what it becomes us, as a nation, to know and to do, for the preservation of our own country's liberties, and for the universal political good of all other nations. It unfolds to us the nature of slavery in its essential or internal form, as an evil far more to be dreaded, and far more to be eschewed, than that external form of it which is now so much exciting the imaginary fears, and the spurious philanthropies, of outside patriots. In short, it unfolds to us the nature of slavery as the root and branch of all arbitrary power. And, in its wise monitions, it points to duty the only pathway to our country's safety, our domestic peace and our individual happiness. Let us, then, in a commemoration of the birthday of that great and good man, whom our Heavenly Father mercifully raised up and sustained as a focal point of his own divine energies in working out for our country her happy exemption from arbitrary dominion and oppressive political sway, make a practical improvement of the principles set forth in this discourse.

Let us first contemplate the spectacle which our political birth-right presents. Let us consider its probable

influence on the nations of the old world. Let us ponder well the obligations which it imposes on us as Americans. And let us, at some length and in a varied form of presentation, consider again, and more summarily, the true nature of freedom and slavery—to the end that we may see more clearly, and feel more strongly, our duty as Americans of the New Jerusalem.

It is not three quarters of a century since political freedom had her birth-day in the broad and lovely expanse of this new-found world. A nation, conceived of God by a general judgment in the world of spirits, gestated in “times that tried men’s souls,” was brought forth in the feeblest infancy of political existence. The United States of America were declared a free and independent nation. The prestige of greatness and of glory shone as a halo around the head of the new-born babe. The best of blood was in its veins. It owned the pedigree of virtuous and mighty sires. A scion of a great and glorious stock, transplanted to a more genial soil, was to grow with greater growth, flourish with new vigor, and fructify in a vastly greater development of all that pertains to and secures the best interests of mankind.

The nations of Europe, stereotyped in the fixed forms of immemorial usage, could not be reformed and regenerated with a political new-birth without being broken up, melted over, and cast into a new mould. There was no space large enough, in any general division of that old continent, to hold the mould of the **NEW MAN**—that better, greater, grander form of political humanity, which God, in his mercy, designed and deigned to bring forth, and rear up, as the Atlas, upon whose shoulders was to be upborne all national existence, virtue and prosperity. A new continent, which the Lord had hid in the treasure-

house of this western hemisphere, was, in the fullness of his times, discovered and brought forth. Here, where the towering Andes, Cordilleras and Rocky Mountains stretch, for nearly half the arc of a great circle, the huge back-bone of a mighty frame—here, where giant rivers hurl herculean floods to bottomless oceans on every side—where lakes are seas like mighty wild beasts caged in rocky barriers—where boundless prairies, like mantles studded with Flora's many-colored gems, are spread, as royal robes, over the shoulders of Nature, sitting queen and nursing mother of a countless progeny of nations—where vegetation springs up in giant growths—where trees grow higher and thicker, skies stretch wider, and every thing puts on the dimensions of greater magnitude, than any where else in the world—here, and here alone, could the mould of a newer, truer and better humanity be formed for the recasting into better political shapes all the old nations of the world. In short, here alone could a mighty republic of confederated *nations* present the adequate forms, magnitudes, symmetries and perfections of a national *maximus homo*!

And hither have the old world's migrating myriads come, like different kinds of food into a healthy political stomach, to be digested into the new and better conditions of improved bodies politic. And as these foreigners have died, and their spirits have risen into the spiritual world, their reflex influence from the world of spirits, has put the leaven into the old world, so that the whole lump of european nations is undergoing a thorough fermentation, and the batch is rising into the new forms of regenerated political existence. The spirit of truth, flowing down, as hot water, through new arrangements of the spirits of men in the spiritual world, is cracking the painted and gilded porcelain forms of ancient political organization,

or is slacking the calcined crystallizations of long fixed political elements, every where in the old world—so as, by various disintegration, to fit them for new political combinations in this land of expanding intelligence and rational freedom. Here decrepit political humanity was to find a fulfilment of prophecy; and, “waiting upon the Lord,” was to “renew her strength,” to “mount up with wings as *eagles*,”* to “run and not be weary,” and to “walk and not faint.”

And the infant form of this now adult mighty model for all other nations, was ushered into life, with excruciating parturient pains, only about seventy-three years ago. Not more than a century and a quarter has elapsed since the buds first swelled on our tree of liberty. The one hundred and eighteenth anniversary of the birth of him who was preeminently *the* individual type of the new and true humanity in its civil and political form, has just passed, and to-day leads our minds to the religious contemplation of the subject of that civil freedom which he was so favored an agent of the Lord our God in effecting for our now happy country. We say this is a subject meet for *religious* contemplation; because this area of civil freedom in America, was a needful plain for a fuller development of that spiritual freedom which consists in the deliverance of the spirits of all mankind from the thralldom of sin. And oh how much does it behoove us ever to bear in wisely and intelligently practical commemoration an event so pregnant with blessings to ourselves and to all men! Oh with what fervid tones of all our best affections should we offer up our thanks to our Father in the Heavens for the great boon of SUCH A MAN—not merely to our

* It is believed that the standards, flags, or armorial bearings of nations correspond in some way to their distinctive internal characters, and mark their peculiar places, so to speak, in the grand man of this lower world.

country, but to the world ! And let us by no means forget the instructions of the divine truth, which has so clearly taught us, in our text, the true nature of that freedom—that deliverance from arbitrary power—which, in its political phasis, he was the divinely appointed leading means of working out for us and our remotest posterity ! Let us not turn our backs on the angel of light which has herein so fully shown us the obligations we are under to preserve this freedom in its purity for the welfare of our own and of all other nations !

Will you, then, allow me still further to trespass on your patience, already too much taxed, while I recapitulate, in a varied form of presentation, what has been taught us in respect to the nature of freedom ? It becomes us—it is our duty—in practical reflection upon what has been advanced, to consider this, so that our souls may more fully imbibe the spirit and the life of that true freedom, and impart to our country and to mankind the saving efficacy of its healthful influences : while we, at the same time, scrutinize more particularly the true nature of that internal slavery which we have seen is an evil so much to be dreaded and avoided ; so that we may practically, not only theoretically, discern its essence and its source, and, by seeing in ourselves, individually, the root of all arbitrary power, that root of bitterness, we may effectually pluck it up from our own bosoms, and cast it from us ; and thus do all we can to save our country and all men from its fatal sproutings.

What, then, do we learn, or have we learned, from the teachings of God's Word, and the doctrines of his church, as to the true idea of freedom and slavery ?

If there is any one word which expresses the true idea of freedom, it is *equilibrium*. The common notion is,

that a man is free when he has the power and liberty to do what he likes. This, indeed, as our lesson has taught us, is natural freedom. For action is free when it is according to the ruling love. What a man loves to do, that he does with delight; and when one is allowed to do what is delightful to him without any let or hindrance, his life seems to him unconstrained, and therefore free. Hence all freedom must have a quality according to the character of the love from which it springs. And thus natural freedom, being the unrestrained activity of natural love, takes its quality, its form and its hue from natural love. But natural love is the love of self, or the love of dominion over others; with the love of wealth as the means of obtaining it. And the unrestrained activity of self-love among men would be the liberty to bring all men into subjection to one man, and the power and right to appropriate and possess all their property. And this, it is easy to see, would be universal slavery. For, when one man had subjected all other men to him, they would be all his slaves; and he would be the greatest slave of them all, because he would be a slave to himself: for no man is so much a slave as he who cannot act contrary to his own natural passions.

To love oneself above all things, and to act invariably with a view to one's own gratification, is essential sin. For sin is contrariety to divine order; and the order in which God creates man is to love others as well as or better than himself, and to find his happiness in all those acts of good use to other men by which he makes them happy. Hence the essence of sin is to act against the love of others and the love of promoting the common good. Thus self-love, which is active in the love of dominion and seeks its own gratification in subjecting all other men to itself, is essential sin. And the servant of this sin is

the essential slave. We have thus arrived at a point from which we see the nature of slavery and discern its essence and its source.

Hence comes the disposition to have and to exercise all arbitrary power. This, in the individual man, makes him self-willed or determined to have his own way, dictatorial and overbearing in his conduct to others, and most cruel in his treatment of them, if they in any way thwart him in the attainment of his ends, or do not prove subsequent and subservient to him in the gratification of his desires. It leads the politician to fawn and flatter the people until, wafted by the breath of popular favor to the pinnacles of chief power, he can exercise dominion over them and enact the tyrant. It leads the people themselves to the worst of all tyrannies, when they substitute their blind will for the law which is divine justice. "He," says the doctrine of our church, "who regards himself as above the law, places royalty in himself, and either believes himself to be the law, or the law, which is justice, to be derived from himself. Hence he arrogates to himself that which is divine—to which, nevertheless, he ought to be in subjection." And "the king who lives according to the law, and therein sets an example to his subjects, is truly a king." But "a king who has absolute power, and believes that his subjects are such slaves that he has a right to their possessions and lives, and exercises such a right, is not a king but a tyrant." (H. D.)

Such is the doctrine of our church in regard to tyranny—expressed indeed in respect to kingly government; but involving the principle of tyranny in respect to all governments, even that of a republic, or democracy, in which the people, as a vast collective man, are regarded as the sovereign, exercising a sort of self government. And hence we see that the essence of tyranny consists in putting

selfish will above just laws, and in making the will of man the source of government instead of the justice of God. So that, when the mere will of the people, in the form and organization of any collective man, is put above the law, or is regarded as the law, or is deemed the source from whence the law is derived, there is the greatest and the most perfect tyranny, because it is the tyranny of a vast collective man instead of that of an individual man. Hence the outbursts of popular will, not only in the various forms of mobile violence, but also in the bearing down of capricious public opinion, are often the most detestable exercises of arbitrary power, and present the very worst form of that despotism which springs from the sway of unbridled self-love.

The same principle leads nations to all those acts of aggression by which one is subjected to the power of another, and those who exercise power in each, can have the means of exerting arbitrary sway over those who are dependent on them. We all know, or have been informed, how the love of dominion from the love of self impelled the mother country to oppress her cis-atlantic colonies—to aggrandize herself at their expense—to tax them against their will and without fair representation in a legislature of their own—and most oppressively to burden them by the unjust exactions of arbitrary and mercenary governors. And we well know how the reactions of a free spirit upon these oppressions of the mother country, roused our forefathers to the war of our revolution, nerved them to maintain it, for eight long years, by the most inadequate means, against the best appointed forces, and enabled them to wade through fire and blood to that consummation of a free, prosperous, great and happy political existence which it is now our blest privilege to enjoy!

We see, then, what true freedom is, by discerning most

clearly what it is not. The liberty of the natural man to do as he pleases is not true freedom. It is the quintessence of slavery. It is the liberty of the selfish man to make all others subservient to himself. The upshot of which is, that all become slaves to him, and he becomes slave to himself, because he has no power, in the free volition, or in the equilibrations of a rational mind, to control the burstings forth of his own ungovernable passions—which, however controlled by external restraints, such as the fears of the loss of life, of honor, of wealth, or of power, are but the pent fires of a furious volcano, that ever and anon break forth in burning and desolating lavas! “Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.”

On the other hand, the best and truest teacher assures us—“If the son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.” Our church has taught us, in what is gone before, that the son is that divine truth which is the form, the effigy, the express image of all that is good. It is the brightness of the glory of love—that love which delights in doing good to others simply with a view to their happiness, and without selfish regard to any recompense. It is the form of that order which ensues when the wild impulses of the natural or selfish man without, are brought into subjection to the clear rational dictates of the spiritual man within. It is that order which ensues when a man, from the end to good in the adytum of his soul, can stand firm on the clear mountain top of rational conviction of duty, and, while he sees the gust of natural passion, rolling in dense and black masses, flashing and thundering and rending all below, can determine to do what is right because it is right, and can bow down and serve the common good, even at the severest sacrifice of all the natural heart holds most dear, because the com-

mon good is and should be paramount to all individual interests.

Thus the essence of freedom lies in the exact balancing of the natural man on the one hand, by the spiritual man on the other. True freedom is equilibrium. It is a state in the body politic like to sound health in the physical body. For, in health, every part of the body is nicely balanced. The pulse, which is the index of the body's health, is regular. Whenever the pulse is too fast or too slow, too strong or too feeble, it is a sure symptom of disease. And the basis of that health of the body which consists in the equilibrium of all its parts, is the great law that each part acts in its respective province for the good of the whole and not for its own gratification. Thus the eye sees—the ear hears—the nose smells—the tongue tastes—the hands procure and convey food, and the legs hold up the body or make it locomotive, each and all, for the good of the whole, and not for their own gratification. Each is sustained by the commonwealth, and is made happy from the common stock of happiness. Whenever any part begins, as it were, to think of and act for itself, that instant the equilibrium of the other parts is disturbed, and disease commences. Thus, for instance, when the bones, which, when in health, have little or no feeling in them, become inflamed, they are exquisitely painful, and, by drawing an undue sympathy from the other parts, taking the blood from the heart and the nervous energy from the brain which should be given and exerted for the common good, and centering them upon themselves, they lay the whole body prostrate on the bed of sickness. So of the eye, when it is inflamed, and there is an undue congestion of blood in it, the whole equilibrium of the body is destroyed, and every other member, and the body as a whole, is powerless in its

united and harmonious action for the common good. In short, the body is no longer free, when the self-love of any of its parts destroys the equilibrium which should reign in all its parts. And so it is that self-love is essentially destructive of all freedom: and, we may add, of all true federal union among independent states. But as this subject has been fully discussed on another occasion and in another place, it will not be entered upon here.*

If, therefore, we would be free indeed, either as individuals or as a nation, we must extract this root of bitterness from our souls, our minds and all our conduct. The mathematical axiom, that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts, applies to our country. Such as is the character of the individual men or states who compose it, such will be the character and quality of the whole country. Its common wealth is the aggregate of its individual wealths. Its common virtue is the aggregate of its individual virtues. Its common power, prosperity and happiness, depend solely upon the intelligence, the virtue and the true patriotism of its component parts. In view, then, of our country's freedom, greatness and true glory, the great lesson we have to learn, the great duty we have to do, is the careful heeding, by each one, of the wise monition "Physician, heal thyself!" No people can ever be oppressed by tyrants who are not themselves

* A good deal was said, here and in other parts of the discourse, in the way of illustration of the general principle by its application to the family circle and to the country at large; and it would, doubtless, be useful to some of the readers of this discourse if what was thus said could be seen in its connection: but these things are among the extemporaneous matters which the author finds it impossible now to recall; and, if he could, he would be loth to insert them, on account of the too great size to which his additions have now swelled this production. Any wishing to see the subject above alluded to expanded, may read his printed new-year's sermon entitled "The True Nature of National Union and Prosperity," which may be procured, where the few remaining copies of this discourse will be for sale, at E. Ferrett & Co.'s, 10 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia.

individually influenced by the principle of tyranny. All arbitrary or bad government is salutary reaction upon the evils of the governed ; and the only effectual way to get rid of the bad government is for the governed, each from himself, to remove the evils on which it is permitted to react. Americans as a people never can be enslaved while they are individually free! This grand truth applies as well to the individual states in our great confederacy as to the individual men in our great nation. If each state is itself free from all injustice in its individual polity, and, like some particular member of the human body, acts for the common good of all the states in the healthy equilibrium of a well balanced deference and subordination of its partial to their general interests, it is impossible that any one state can ever be oppressed by the rest, or ever domineer over them. The only thing that can ever impair the freedom of the collective as of the individual man, is some one preferring and seeking its own interest at the expense of the common good. Therefore, in all civil and political sickness, the grand maxim, in reforming abuses, is, "Physician, heal thyself!" Especially, Heal thyself, O American People! *Let each and every one put away his own evils as sins against the common good!* If every individual or collective American acts on this principle, so as to *deny himself*, take up his cross daily, and follow the Great Physician of Souls in laying down his life for the brethren, then our beloved country cannot fail to be every thing one would wish her to be—prosperous, great and happy!

This, then, is true patriotism. In this age, when almost every thing is got up for the people, here is *patriotism for the people*, in contradistinction to the patriotism of their rulers or servants. It is the best sort of patriotism for the servants too—the patriotism of self-sacrifice.

It is not confined to the tented field, the post of high honor, the arena of glory, of danger, or of death. The secluded and quiet shades of domestic life are its theatre as well as the halls of legislation or the plains of executive power. This is patriotism for the female as well as the male—in which she can excel, and rise preeminent in glory. For whether she be daughter, sister, wife, or mother, she can not only sacrifice herself for the best good of her country, but she can infuse the spirit of self-sacrifice, in its purest forms, into men of every degree. The woman gives man his body in the sacrifice of herself, and she may infuse spirit and life into his soul by the same means. How much do we owe our love of country to our mothers! How manifestly did the mother of Washington infuse into him his patriotism! And every true woman and good mother can make a patriot of her son, by teaching him the lessons, and early inuring him to the duties, of self-sacrifice. She may not prove her love of country by pouring out her physical blood in gathering encrimsoned laurels on the field of earthly fame; but she can more fully prove it by co-working with the Spirit of God, in silence and in secret, when he curiously fashions, in the lower parts of the earth, all the members of the human soul into the image and likeness of his own self-denying virtues, by the innocence of infancy and the noble impulses and the generous fellow-feelings of youth!

Yes, true patriotism is self-denial—is self-sacrifice! This is true devotion. This is that sacrifice of our own lives—that pouring out of our own blood—that giving of our own treasure—by which our beloved country will be most effectually served and secured in all her best and dearest and most lasting interests! Yes, my brethren, in whatever time, place, circumstance or duty—when the altar is set for the sacrifice to be bound with cords to its

horns—the wood to be set in order upon it—and we have come to invoke the fire from heaven that is to kindle it, and to offer up the incense of our holy worship at the shrine of our country's good—the sacrifice we are to make is the sacrifice of ourselves—the incense we are to offer is the burning odor of broken and contrite hearts—the offering we are to heave is the faithful discharge of every known duty, in public or private life, from a supreme regard to God and our neighbor, which is the seeking, in all things, to promote the common interest by the surrendering or subordinating thereto of every and all partial and individual interests. This is that straight gate—this that narrow way—through which it becomes us to enter, and in which it behooves us consistently and perseveringly to walk, however few there may be found going in thereat. For the sure foundations of a nation's glory, and honor, and safety, are the vital principles of the true church. And it is only in the true patriotism of her members that there can be any guarantee for our country's security from the danger that seems to impend over her through that wide gate and broad way of self-seeking and self-serving at and in which so very many are now entering and rushing to her destruction!

Finally, Freedom is the child of God, the heir of his virtues and his felicities, but apparently helpless and incapable of coming into its legitimate inheritance, unless nursed by heaven, trained by order, practised by wisdom, and perfected by love. The Lord, in his infinite mercy, has given freedom to our country as a plain and groundwork for our church. For civil freedom must precede spiritual freedom, as the earth must be formed before man can live and do good upon it. Civil freedom is the silkworm, in which lie latent moral and spiritual freedom as the crysalis and the butterfly. Civil freedom is the com-

mon air, in which moral freedom and spiritual freedom lie unseen, or gradually come, or work unobserved, as the electric and magnetic fluids. And it is the duty and the privilege of the church, as a heart and lungs, to give the life of heaven to the body politic.

We are, then, incessantly to make a new declaration of independence. In every celebration of the birth day of the *Father of our Country*, we are to give forth a practical commemoration of the principles involved and luminous in that true american freedom, of which he was the focal image and purest or truest earthly type. As our honored fathers declared themselves free from the sway of *despotic natural* dominion, and achieved and maintained their independence at every natural sacrifice; so must we declare ourselves free from the sway of *despotic spiritual* dominion, and achieve and maintain our independence of *that*, at every spiritual sacrifice. We must *vitaly* declare our independence of all that "sin which doth most easily beset us," and, by holding in bondage our true spiritual man, makes us *slaves indeed!*

Let us, then, while we thank the Lord for giving us this natural plane to stand and work on, fail not to work manfully in securing all that exemption from sin—from selfishness—from worldlimindedness—in ourselves as members of the truly free church, which may prove a savor of life to our countrymen around us, however much the general mass of them may be immersed in those unheavenly principles—as the ten righteous men, still found in Sodom, sufficed, for a time, to ward off that devoted city's impending ruin. And while we set our faces against all mob-law and mobile violence—while we resolutely oppose that freedom which consists in the natural man's license to do as he pleases, and is licentiousness—while we cease not to condemn all that partizan politics

which undermines the constitution of our country by making the common good secondary to private interests—let us so practise ourselves, and so disseminate among our countrymen, the heavenly principles of our Holy Jerusalem, that all the world may be enabled to exclaim, in respect to our beloved country, “Happy is that people who are in such a case! Yea, happy is that people, whose God is the Lord!” (Ps. cxix. 15.)

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IN VIEW OF THE
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By
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