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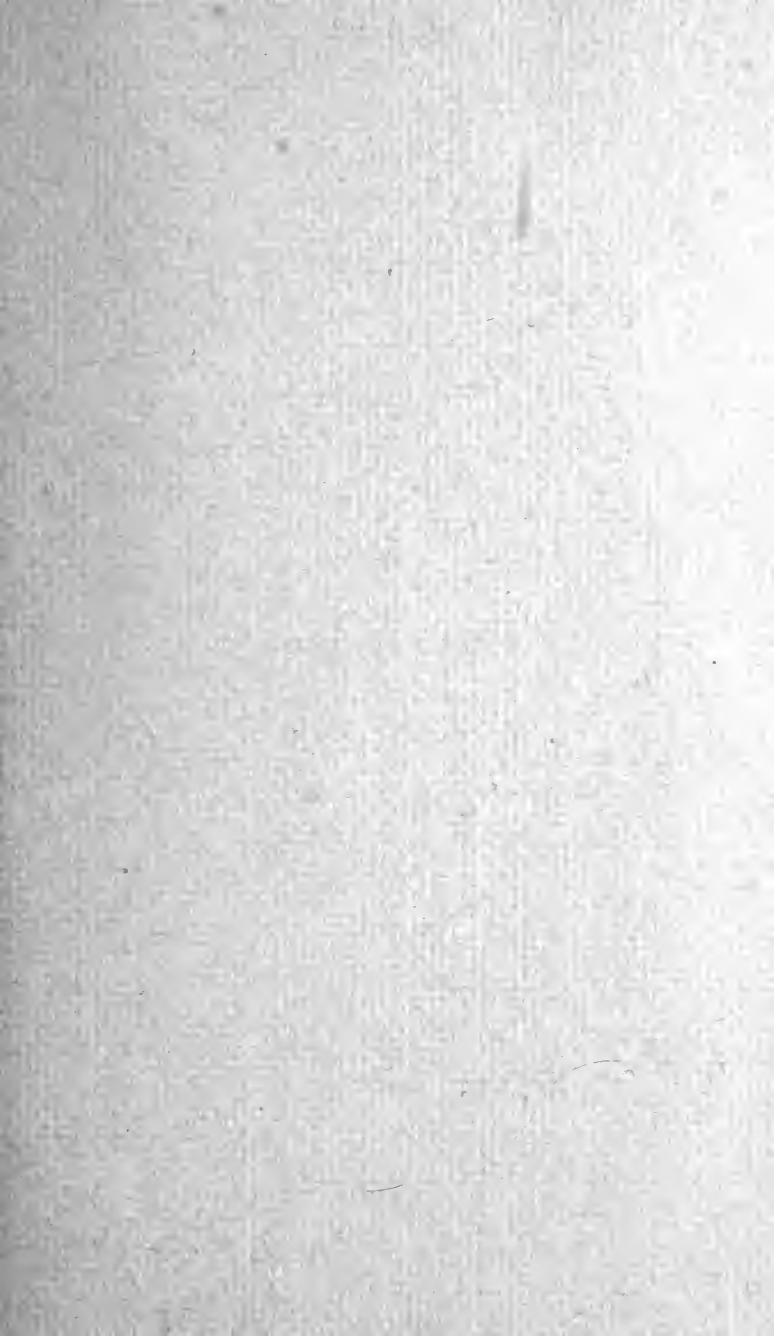



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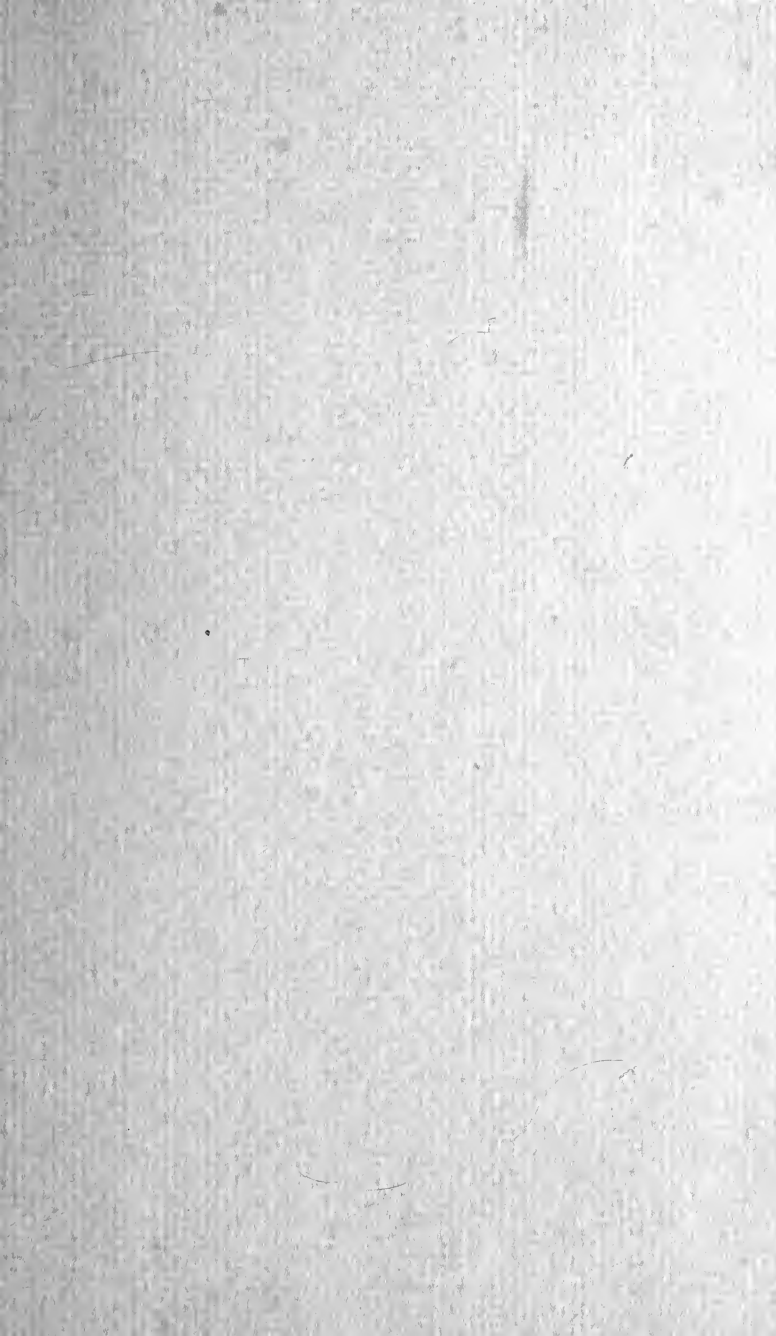
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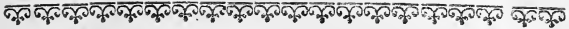


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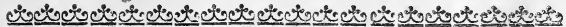
O R

Christian Submission to Personal Injuries :

Wherein is shewn, that the several texts of scripture, which command the entire submission of *servants* or *slaves* to their *masters*, cannot authorize the latter to *exact an involuntary servitude*, nor, in the least degree, justify the claims of modern *Slaveholders*.

By GRANVILLE SHARP.

‘SERVANTS, obey in all things (your) masters, according to the flesh; not with eye service, as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God.’ &c. Coloss. iii. 22.



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T H E

LAW OF PASSIVE OBEDIENCE,

O R

CHRISTIAN SUBMISSION to
PERSONAL INJURIES.

THE illegality of slavery among Christians is a point which I have long laboured to demonstrate, as being destructive of morality, and consequently dangerous both to body and soul. There are nevertheless some particular Texts in the New Testament, which, in the opinion even of several well meaning and disinterested persons, seem to afford some proof of the toleration of slavery among the primitive Christians; and, from thence, they are

A induced

induced to conceive, *that Christianity doth not oblige its professors to renounce the practice of slaveholding.*

A learned and reverend correspondent of mine seems to have adopted this notion, and has signified his opinion nearly to the same effect, in a private letter to me on this subject, to which I have not yet ventured to send him a reply, though it is a considerable time since I received his letter; but, to say the truth, the question in which I had never before apprehended any difficulty, was rendered very serious and important, upon my hands, by my friend's declaration; and I thought myself bound to give it the strictest examination, because I conceived (as I do still) that the honour of the Holy Scriptures, which of all other things, I have most at heart, was concerned in the determination of the point in question; and yet I know, that my
friend

friend is full as zealous for the honour of the Scriptures as myself, and much more learned in them, being very eminent in that most essential branch of knowledge.

I believe also that he is perfectly disinterested, and of undoubted *Christian benevolence*. The objection has therefore acquired an accumulated weight from the authority and worth of the person who made it ; and consequently, it demanded more circumspection and reading, to answer it in any reasonable time, than my short broken intervals of leisure (the only time that I was then master of) would permit me to bestow upon it; and as so much time has already elapsed, the answer which I originally intended for my friend's private perusal, shall now be addressed to all well meaning persons in general, who may have had the same motives for admitting in any degree the
 legality

legality of slavery ; and that there are many such (even among those that are concerned in the practice of slaveholding) the example of my disinterested friend's opinion, and common charity, oblige me to suppose. I shall therefore consider my friend's opinion as the common excuse of our American and West Indian brethren for tolerating slavery among them.

‘ I do not think (says he) that Christianity released slaves from the obligation they were under according to the custom and law of the Countries, where it was propagated.’

This objection to my general doctrine is expressed in the most *guarded* terms ; —so *guarded*, that it obliges me to acknowledge, that the observation is, in some respects, strictly *true*. My present attempt is not to confute, but rather

rather to demonstrate wherein this *truth* consists, which will afterwards enable me to point out such a due limitation of the doctrine, as will render it entirely consistent with the hypothesis, which I have so long laboured to maintain, viz. *the absolute illegality of slavery among Christians,*

In conformity to my worthy friend's declaration I must first observe, that the disciples of Christ (whose *Kingdom*, he himself declared,—‘*is not of THIS WORLD.*’ John xviii. 36.) had no *express* commission to alter *the TEMPORAL CONDITION OF MEN*, but only to prepare them for a *BETTER WORLD* by the general doctrines of *faith, hope, charity, peace and goodwill*, (or universal love and benevolence to all mankind) *submission to injuries, dependence upon God, &c. &c. &c.* which (though *general* doctrines) are amply and sufficiently

ciently efficacious indeed, for the *particular* reformation of ALL CONDITIONS OF MEN, when *sincerity* is not wanting in the application of them; but the principal intention of the whole system is evidently to draw men from the the cares and anxieties of *this present life*, to a better hope in the *life to come*, which is Christ's proper kingdom: Christian servants therefore were of course instructed to be *patient*, to be *humble* and *submissive* to their masters, 'not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.' So that even *ill usage* does not justify *perverse*ness of behaviour in christian slaves.

THE apostle *Paul* also frequently insists upon the absolute necessity of an unfeigned obedience in the behaviour of christian servants to their masters. 'Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.' 'Art thou called

called

‘ called being a servant? care not for it;’
 &c. 1 Cor. vii. 21. and again, ‘ Ser-
 ‘ vants be obedient to them that are (your)
 ‘ masters according to the flesh, with fear
 ‘ and trembling, in singleness of your
 ‘ heart as unto Christ; not with eye service,
 ‘ as men pleasers, but as the servants of
 ‘ Christ, doing the Will of God from the
 ‘ heart; with good will doing service, as to
 ‘ the Lord, and not to men: knowing that
 ‘ whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the
 ‘ same shall he receive of the Lord, whe-
 ‘ ther he be bond or free,” Ephes. vi. 5-8.
 ‘ Again, ‘ Servants obey in all things
 ‘ (your) masters according to the flesh; not
 ‘ with eye service, as men pleasers, but
 ‘ in singleness of heart fearing God: and
 ‘ whatever you do, do it heartily, as to
 ‘ the Lord, and not unto men.’ Colos. iii.
 ‘ 22, 23. The same apostle instructs Ti-
 ‘ mothy to recommend obedience to ser-
 ‘ vants, ‘ Let as many servants (says the
 ‘ apostle) as are under the yoke, count
 B ‘ their

' *their own masters worthy of all honour,*
 ' *that THE NAME OF GOD AND HIS*
 ' *DOCTRINE BE NOT BLASPHEMED.*
 ' *And they that have believing masters, let*
 ' *them not despise (them) BECAUSE THEY*
 ' *ARE BRETHREN; BUT RATHER DO*
 ' *(them) SERVICE, BECAUSE THEY*
 ' *ARE FAITHFUL AND BELOVED PAR-*
 ' *TAKERS OF THE BENEFIT. These*
 ' *things teach and exhort: If any man*
 ' *teach otherwise, and consent not to whole-*
 ' *some words, (even) the words of our*
 ' *Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine*
 ' *which is according to godliness; he is*
 ' *proud, knowing nothing, but doting*
 ' *about questions, and strifes of words,*
 ' *whereof cometh envy, strife, railings,*
 ' *evil-surmisings, perverse disputings of*
 ' *men of corrupt minds, and destitute of*
 ' *the truth, supposing that gain is godli-*
 ' *ness. From such withdraw thyself. But*
 ' *godliness with contentment is great gain.*
 ' *for we brought nothing into (this) world,*
 ' *and*

‘ and it is certain we can carry nothing
 ‘ out. And having food and raiment, let
 ‘ us be therewith content.’ 1 Tim. vi.
 ‘ 1 to 8.—And again he insists on the
 ‘ same doctrine, ‘ (Exhort) *servants,*
 ‘ (says he) *to be obedient unto their own*
 ‘ *masters, (and) to please (them) well in all*
 ‘ *things, not answering again, not pur-*
 ‘ *loining, but shewing all good fidelity;*
 ‘ *that they may ADORN THE DOC-*
 ‘ *TRINE OF GOD OUR SAVIOUR IN*
 ‘ *ALL THINGS.*’ Titus ii. 9, 10.

THESE Texts are amply sufficient to
 prove the truth of my learned friend’s
 assertion, so far as it relates to THE
 DUTY OF THE SLAVES THEMSELVES,
 but this *absolute submission* required of
 Christian servants, by no means implies
 the *legality* of slaveholding ON THE
 PART OF THEIR MASTERS, which
 he seems to apprehend.

THE slave violates no precepts of the gospel by his abject condition, provided that the same is *involuntary* (for if he can be made free, he is expressly commanded by the apostle to *use it rather* §) but how the master who enforces *that involuntary servitude*, can be said to act consistently with the Christian profession, is a question of a very different nature, which I propose to examine with all possible care and impartiality, being no otherwise interested in it, than as a Christian who esteems both masters and slaves as brethren, and consequently, while he pities the unhappy *temporal condition* of the latter, is extremely anxious for the *eternal welfare* of the former.

I

§ *Art thou called (being) a servant? care not for it; BUT IF THOU MAYEST BE MADE FREE, USE IT RATHER. For he that is called in the lord (being) a servant, is the lord's freeman, &c. 'ye are bought with a price, BE NOT YE THE SERVANTS OF MEN.'* I COR. vii. 21-23.

I HAVE already admitted, that CHRISTIANITY DOTH NOT RELEASE SLAVES, 'from the obligation they were under according to the custom and law of the countries where it was propagated,' agreeable to my learned friend's assertion, in favour of which I have produced a variety of texts: but as 'the reason of the law,' (according to a maxim of the *English* law) 'is the life of the law,' we cannot with justice draw any conclusion from thence, in favour of the master's claim, till we have examined the principles, on which the doctrine of *submission*, in these several texts, is founded; and we shall find, upon a general view of the whole, that the principal reason of enforcing the doctrine was not so much because the persons to whom it was addressed, were slaves, as because they were *Christians*, and were to overcome EVIL with

with GOOD, to the GLORY OF GOD
and RELIGION.

THESE principles are clearly *expressed*
in several of these very texts, and *implied*
in all of them, viz. ‘*That the name of
God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.*’
(1 Tim. vi. 1.) and again, ‘*that they
may adorn the doctrine of God our Savi-
our IN ALL THINGS.*’ (Titus ii. 10.) So
that a zeal for the GLORY OF GOD, and
of HIS RELIGION (the principles of the
first great commandment) is the appa-
rent ground and sole purpose of the
Christian *slave’s* SUBMISSION, which
was therefore to be ‘WITH SINGLE-
NESS OF HEART AS UNTO CHRIST.’
‘*not with eye service, AS MEN PLEASERS,
but as THE SERVANTS OF CHRIST,
doing the will of God from the heart ;
with good will doing service, AS TO THE
LORD, and NOT TO MEN : knowing
that whatsoever good thing any man doeth,
the same shall HE RECEIVE OF THE
LORD,*

‘LORD, *whether he* BE BOND OR FREE.’
 Ephes. vi. 5-8. And again, the same
 apostle charges the servants among the
 Colossians, to obey ‘*not* AS MEN PLEA-
 ‘SERS, *but in singleness of heart,* FEAR-
 ‘ING GOD: *and whatsoever they do, to*
 ‘*do it heartily, as TO THE LORD, and*
 ‘NOT UNTO MEN.’ Coloss. iii. 2.

THUS it is plain that the service was
 to be performed ‘as TO THE LORD,’
 and ‘NOT TO MEN,’ and therefore it
 cannot be construed as an acknowlegement
 of any *right, or property* really
 vested *in the master.* This will clearly
 appear upon a closer examination of
 some of these texts. In the first, for
 instance, though the apostle *Peter*
 enforces the necessity of the ser-
 vants *submission* to their masters, in
 the strongest manner, commanding
 them to be subject ‘*not only to*
 ‘*the good and gentle, but ALSO TO THE*
 FROWARD,’ &c. (1. Pet. ii. 18.)

yet

yet he adds in the very next verse,---
 ‘*for this is thank worthy, if a man, FOR*
 ‘CONSCIENCE TOWARDS GOD, *endure*
 ‘*grief, SUFFERING wrongfully,*’—*πασκων*
αδικως,’ so that, it is manifest, the apostle did not mean to *justify* the claim of the masters, because he enjoined the same submission to the servants that suffered *wrongfully*, as to those who had good and gentle masters: and it would be highly injurious to the *gospel of peace*, to suppose it capable of authorizing *wrongful sufferings*, or of establishing a *right* or power in any rank of men whatever, to oppress others *unjustly*, or *αδικως*! And though the apostle *Paul*, also, so strongly exhorts servants to submit to their masters, and ‘*to abide in*
 ‘*the same calling wherein they were call-*
 ‘*ed,*’ and ‘*not to care for it.*’ (1 Corinthians, vii. 20, 21.) Yet at the same time he clearly instructs them, that it is their duty to prefer a state of *freedom* whenever they can fairly and honestly
 obtain

obtain it; ‘*but if thou mayest be made free* (says he) **USE IT RATHER.**’ (v. 21.) And the reason, which he assigns for this command, is as plainly delivered, viz. *the equality of servants with their masters in the sight of the Almighty*, ‘*For he that is called in the Lord, (being) a SERVANT* (says he) *is the Lord’s FREEMAN: LIKEWISE, also he that is called (being) FREE, is Christ’s SERVANT.*’ (verse 22.) *Christ* having purchased all men to be his *peculiar servants*, or rather *freemen*. ‘*Ye are bought with a price* (says the apostle, in the 23d verse.) **BE NOT YE THE SERVANTS OF MEN,**’ which plainly implies, that it is inconsistent with the dignity of a Christian, who is the *servant or freeman of GOD*, to be held in an *unlimited* subjection, as the *bond servant or slave of a MAN*; and, consequently, that a toleration of slavery, in places where Christianity is established by law, is intirely illegal;

for tho' THE SLAVE commits no crime by submitting to the *involuntary service*, (which has been already demonstrated,) yet the CHRISTIAN MASTER is guilty of a sort of sacrilege, by appropriating to himself, as an *absolute property*, that body, which *peculiarly belongs to God by an inestimable purchase* ! For if God said of the Jews, even under the old law, (Levit. xxv. 52.) 'THEY ARE MY SERVANTS, *which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt* ; "THEY SHALL NOT BE SOLD AS BONDMEN." † How much more

† My learned friend, (mentioned in the beginning of this Tract) has remarked that 'tho' God expressed *himself concerning the Jews under the law in this manner*. "THEY ARE MY SERVANTS, WHICH I BROUGHT FORTH OUT OF THE LAND OF EGYPT, "THEY SHALL NOT BE SOLD AS BONDMEN." &c. yet 'This did not signify (says he) that they were not to be slaves at all. They might be slaves for seven years, as is well known, notwithstanding they were God's redeemed servants. Nay, they might remain slaves 'till the jubilee,

' WITH

more ought Christians to esteem their brethren, as *the peculiar servants of GOD* on account of their being *freed* from the more *severe bondage* of our spiritual enemy,

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‘ WITH THEIR OWN CONSENT, at the expiration of that
 ‘ short term of involuntary servitude. These words indeed
 ‘ contained a declaration that none of the Israelites were
 ‘ to be slaves for ever like the Heathen. But what a slip-
 ‘ pery proof, (says he) of this exemption with regard to
 ‘ Christians? How dangerous (continued he,) is it to
 ‘ build doctrines upon such parallels and comparisons!’ But
 my worthy friend seems to forget that the kind of slavery
 which I oppose, is not that *limited temporary servitude*,
 which he describes as *consistent with the law*, for that
 differs very little from the condition of *hired servants*,
 in which light, the Hebrew masters were bound
 by the law, to look upon their brethren, even though
 bought with their money as bond servants or slaves, ‘ If
 ‘ thy brother (that dwelleth) by thee be waxen poor, and
 ‘ BE SOLD unto thee; THOU SHALT NOT COMPEL HIM
 ‘ TO SERVE AS A BOND SERVANT: (but) AS AN HIRED
 ‘ SERVANT AND AS A SOJOURNER, he shall be with thee,
 ‘ and shall serve thee unto the year of Jubile. And then
 ‘ shall he depart from thee, (both) he and his children with
 ‘ him, &c. For they are my servants, (said the Almighty)
 ‘ THEY SHALL NOT BE SOLD AS BOND-MEN.’
 ‘ THOU

my, (of which the *Egyptian bondage* was only a type) by the inestimable price of Christ's blood! and, surely, we may therefore say, 'they are GOD'S SERVANTS,' whom Christ hath redeemed with his own blood, as much as the Jews of old, who were on that account expressly *enfranchised* from worldly bondage, 'THEY ARE MY SERVANTS, THEY SHALL NOT BE SOLD AS BOND MEN;' for this application of the text is entirely to the same effect as the apostle's expression to the Corinthians,-----'Ye are bought with a price, BE NOT YE THE SERVANTS OF MEN.' (1. Cor. vii. 23.)

Dr.

'THOU SHALT NOT RULE OVER HIM WITH RIGOUR, but shalt fear thy God.' Levit. xxv. 39, 43. Here is the very text, (with it's context) which I had quoted, to shew the *illegality* of holding a brother Israelite in absolute slavery, and as I have elsewhere fully demonstrated that men of all nations are to be considered as *brethren* under the gospel dispensation, so my learned friend surely does great injustice to the argument, when he calls it 'a slip-

'pery

Dr. *Whitby*, indeed supposes that the words ‘*ye are bought with a price,*’ refer only to a pecuniary price given by the primitive Christians, *to buy their brethren out of slavery.* But the authority of *Justin Martyr* and *Fertullian*, which he cites, by no means proves his interpretation of the text, tho’ it may sufficiently prove the primitive practice of *redeeming slaves*; which also furnishes a new argument against the legality of *slavery among Christians*, so far

‘*pery proof of this exemption with regard to Christians,*’ and asserts that the text in question *does not signify that they* (the Israelites) *were not to be slaves at all!* It clearly signifies however, that whatsoever right a master might have acquired (even by an absolute purchase) over his Hebrew brother, yet that he was still required to treat him as an *hired servant*, and to discharge him and his at a *limited time*: and when we compare it with the parallel text in Deuteronomy, (xv. 12, 14.) we find the master is there strictly enjoined to reward the Bond-man LIBERALLY for his past services, viz. ‘*And when thou sendest him out free from thee, THOU SHALT FURNISH HIM LIBERALLY out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine press,*’ &c. Surely when the true nature of such *limited servitude*

far as the example of the *primitive Christians* is concerned. But scripture is best interpreted by scripture, and therefore the most certain means of ascertaining the true meaning of the words *τιμης ηγορασθητε*, ‘*ye are bought with a price,*’ is to have recourse to the very same expression (*ηγορασθητε γαρ τιμης*, the words being only transposed) in the preceding chapter, 20th verse, where we shall find that it can refer to nothing less than the inestimable price of Christ’s redemption, ‘*What know ye not (says the apostle) that your BODY is the TEM-
PLE*

is duly considered, it affords but ‘*a slippery proof,*’ (if I may use my friend’s expression) ‘*that they were to be slaves at all,*’ at least, ‘*at all,*’ in the sense contended for by our American and West India slaveholders (which is the only matter in dispute at present) especially as the condition of a *hired servant* is expressly mentioned, as the rank in which such Bondmen were to be esteemed. And therefore I trust I may fairly retort the observation of my learned friend,--- ‘*How dangerous is it to build doctrines,*’ (that is in favour of absolute slavery) ‘*upon such parallels and comparisons !*’

‘ PLE OF THE HOLY GHOST, (which
 ‘ is) *in you, which you have of God, and YOU*
 ‘ ARE NOT YOUR OWN? FOR YE ARE
 ‘ BOUGHT WITH A PRICE: *therefore glo-*
 ‘ *rify God IN YOUR BODY, and in your*
 ‘ *spirit, WHICH ARE GOD’S,*’ (1 Cor. vi.
 19, 20.) and, consequently, it is the duty of
 a *Christian legislature* to vindicate THE
 LORD’S FREEMEN *from* SLAVERY, as
 all mankind are included in the same
inestimable purchase, for it is not only
 their *souls* but even their *bodies, which*
are God’s; and therefore it is an abomi-
 nable *sacrilege*, that those *bodies* which
 are capable of being the ‘ *temple of*
 ‘ *the Holy Ghost,*’ should be esteemed
 the mere *chattels* and private property
 of mercenary planters and merchants,
 merely for the sake of a little worldly
 gain!

BUT slaveholders may perhaps al-
 ledge that *believing masters* are mention-
 ed

ed as ‘*faithful and beloved,*’ in one of the texts, which I have cited, and are also expressly accounted as ‘*partakers of the benefit,*’ (see 1 Timothy, vi. 2.) so that, from thence, they may perhaps infer, that *slavekeeping* is not inconsistent with their Christian profession.

BUT these expressions are included in that part of the apostles charge to *Timothy*, which relates merely to the instruction of servants, so that there is no room to suppose, that any reference was intended to the practice of the masters by way of *justification*. The meaning therefore can amount to no more than this, viz. that, as it is the duty of servants to ‘*count their own masters,*’ (even those that are *unbelievers*) ‘*wor-*
‘*tby of ALL HONOUR †, THAT THE*
NAME OF GOD AND HIS DOCTRINE

BE

† Apparently meaning, ‘*all honour,*’ which is not inconsistent with their duty to God.

‘BE NOT BLASPHEMED,’ so the same reason obliges them, more especially, to count their *believing* masters ‘*worthy of all (lawful) honour,*’ because of their *Christian profession*, which renders them *accepted of God*. For common charity obliges us, as Christians, to suppose that all men, who believe and hold the same profession as ourselves, are ‘*faithful and beloved,*’ as well as ‘*partakers of the benefit*’ of Christ’s redemption, † because *Belief* is the true means

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† Christ’s redemption does not seem to be ‘*the benefit*’ spoken of in the text, though I have admitted this implication to avoid controversy. Dr. *Whitby*, supposes that *the benefit of the service* is meant, and he construes the sentence accordingly, ‘*because they who partake of the BENEFIT OF THE SERVICE, are faithful and beloved.*’ And Dr. *George Benson*, also, renders it in the same sense, viz. ‘*because they who partake of THE BENEFIT OF THEIR SERVICE, are Christians, and beloved of God.*’ And then he adds in a note, ‘*This (says he) I take to have been spoken of THE MASTERS, who received the BENEFIT OF THE SERVICE of their slaves. So the author of the Syriac version seems to have*

‘*understood*

of leading and disposing men to acquire such happiness; and though many other necessary Christian qualities may seem wanting in our *believing brethren*, yet we must not presume to condemn them; God alone being their *Judge*: and, for this reason also, *Christian servants* must not condemn and despise their *believing masters*, (though they know themselves *equal in dignity as brethren*, and that it is, consequently, their masters *duty* to treat them *as brethren*,) but must render them service the more willingly on this *account*, having *brotherly love* as an additional motive to *faithful service*. It is manifest, therefore, that this text was intended to regulate the
conduct

understood the words. The MS. called *Pet. 2.* read
 ‘(εργασίας labor) and *Pet. 3.* and *Borner*, read εὐσεβείας
 ‘piety,’ - for which he refers us to *Kuster’s* edition of *Dr. Mill.* - ‘And finally (says he) I would observe that εὐεργεσίας
 ‘is never used, throughout the New Testament, for the pri-
 ‘vilege of having the gospel or the unspeakable BENEFIT
 ‘of eternal life.’

conduct of *Christian servants*, and not that of *Christian masters*; for, with regard to the former, the doctrine is perfectly consistent with the other texts, that I have quoted; which is not the case when it is applied to justify the mere temporal claims of *masters* or *slaveholders*, because there are many clear and incontrovertible precepts throughout the New Testament for regulating the conduct of *Christian masters*, which exclude the *justification* of any *such claims* among Christians, and consequently forbid any application or interpretation of these particular texts in favour of them: and besides we must always remember, that it is not lawful to maintain an hypothesis upon the testimony of *any one single text of doubtful interpretation*, especially when the same does not clearly correspond with the rest of the scriptures, and cannot bear the test ‘*of the royal law,*’ of
which

which more shall be said in my tract
‘on *the Law of Liberty.*’

I mention this text of *St. Paul*, as one of ‘*doubtful interpretation,*’ because commentators are divided concerning the application of the very words on which the imaginary justification of the slaveholder is supposed to be founded! Many learned men (and *Dr. Hammond* among the rest) have construed the words — ‘*ὅτι πιστοὶ εἰσὶν καὶ ἀγαπῆτοι, οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβάνομενοι,* (1 *Tim.* vi. 2,) † in a very different manner from the common version, and applied them *to the servants*, which entirely destroys the presumption in favour of the slaveholder.

Nevertheless I have contented myself
th the common rendering, being con-
vinced

† These words are translated by *Dr. Hammond*, as follows, — ‘*because they who help to do good, are faithful and beloved,*’ and he uses several arguments to shew that these epithets refer *to the servants*, rather than *to the masters.*

vinced that no conclusions can fairly be drawn from this text in favour of Slavery, even when the epithets “*faithful and beloved,*” &c. are applied to *the Masters*; because the signification of them must necessarily be restrained within the bounds of *gospel doctrine*; and, therefore, we cannot conceive that the apostle intended, by the application of these epithets, to justify any practices which are inconsistent with *the benevolence* enjoined in other parts of the New Testament; for this would be liable to produce a contrary effect from that which the apostle expressly intended by his injunction, viz. that “*the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.*”

Thus it appears, I hope, that the principles, on which the doctrine of the *servants submission* is founded, are clearly expressed; so that *Slaveholders* can have no right to avail themselves of any
of

of these texts to *enforce an ABSOLUTE SUBMISSION* ; for, though these several texts clearly justify *the Slave*, yet they cannot justify the Master, unless he can shew that the same *principles, (or reason of the Law,)* on which they are founded, hold good also on *his* side of the question. (1) Can the Slaveholders and African

(1) This is apparently the case in the other “ *different relations of life, mentioned in these contexts ;*” as in the relation between husbands and their wives, parents and their children, but is far otherwise in the relation between masters and their servants, (unless free hired servants are to be understood,) and therefore the objection of my learned friend, drawn from thence, cannot be just. He says, “ *If the connexion of persons in the two former respects be lawful, so that husbands had a right to the subjection of their wives, and wives a right to the love of their husbands ; parents had a right to the honour and obedience of their children, and children a right to maintenance and instruction by their parents : unnatural (says he) is it to imagine the connection between Masters and Slaves was looked upon by him as absolutely unlawful, so that the former had no right to rule the latter ! Indeed, he very clearly signifies (says he) that the right of dominion remained, when he opposes DOING WRONG TO OBEYING IN ALL THINGS THEIR MASTERS ACCORDING TO THE FLESH,*”

“ &c.

African traders alledge, for instance,
that they shall “ *adorn the doctrine of*
“ *God*

“ &c. *as he docs. Coloff. iii. 25.*” “ Ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν
“ κομίζεται ὁ ἠδικήσεν.”

But my learned friend has entirely misunderstood the purport and intention of my arguments on these several texts relating to *obedience* and *submission*. I have not attempted to prove, *by these particular expressions of the apostle*, that “ *the connexion between Masters and Slaves was looked upon by him as absolutely unlawful, so that the former had no right to rule the latter;*” for this I have demonstrated, I trust, by OTHER AUTHORITIES of *Scripture* equally authentic, and much less liable to be misunderstood. My attempt to explain the texts in question extends no farther than to shew that they do not really *justify the uncharitable claims of the modern Slaveholders*, though they are frequently cited for that purpose.

An attempt to shew *that any particular doctrine is NOT NECESSARILY IMPLIED in a certain text or texts of Scripture*, is a very different thing from an attempt to PROVE OR AUTHENTICATE AN OPPOSITE DOCTRINE *by the same text of Scripture!* For instance, when my learned friend asserts, as above, that the apostle to the Colossians, iii. 25. *very clearly signifies that the right of dominion remained, when he opposes DOING WRONG to OBEYING in all things their Masters,*” &c. I do not pretend to build an *opposite doctrine upon the very same words*, but shall only endeavour to shew that this supposed “ *right of dominion*” is not necessarily implied in the text which my friend has cited in support of it.

The

“ *God our Saviour,*” (Titus ii. 10.) by persisting in their unnatural pretensions to

The servants are indeed expressly and plainly exhorted to *obedience* and *submission*, as well in this as in all the other texts before recited, so that a contrary behaviour in them might certainly be esteemed a “ *doing wrong*” on their part yet this by no means implies “ *a right of dominion*” vested in the Master; for that would prove too much; because the like submission is elsewhere equally enjoined to those who are expressly said to “ *endure grief, SUFFERING WRONGFULLY,*” (πασχων αδικως,) and we cannot suppose (as I have before observed) that the *submission* enjoined implies a *right* in the Master to exercise such a *dominion* as that of *oppressing others UNJUSTLY*, or αδικως; for that could not possibly tend to promote the declared purposes of the apostle’s exhortations, viz. “ *that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed,*” (1 Tim. vi.) and again, “ *that they may adorn the doctrine of God in all THINGS;*” (Titus ii. 9.) These purposes, however, are fully answered in the advice given by the same apostle to all the other *different relations of life* mentioned by my worthy friend. WIVES may “ *adorn the doctrine of God*” by SUBMISSION to their “ *own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord.*” (See Coloss. iii. 18.) And HUSBANDS, by *love* to their *wives*: for they are expressly charged in the following verse “ *not to be bitter against them;*” that is, they must, by *love* and *sincere affection*, moderate and soften that supreme authority with which *husbands* are entrusted, (by the laws of God and man,) that they may *rule* rather by the gentle influence of an inviolable *love* and *fidelity*,

as

to an absolute *property* in their poor brethren? or that they “do the will of
 E “ God

as so good an example will seldom fail to produce *due respect*, and will certainly “adorn the doctrine” or profession of the Christian. CHILDREN “may adorn the “doctrine of God” by OBEDIENCE to their “parents in “all things, for this is well-pleasing (says the text) unto “the Lord.” (v. 20.) And again, the reciprocal duty of FATHERS is plainly pointed out to be a prudent moderation of that *paternal* authority with which they are entrusted, for they are carefully warned against an arbitrary severity, “Provoke not (says the apostle) your “children to anger, lest they be discouraged.” SERVANTS are in the very next verse (v. 22.) commanded to “obey in all things their Masters according to the flesh, “not with eye-service, as MEN-PLEASERS, but in “singleness of heart, FEARING GOD:” so that the SUBMISSION of the servants was also to *adorn the “doctrine of God,”* it being manifestly enjoined only for God’s sake, and not on account of any supposed “RIGHT OF DOMINION” invested in the Masters, which the following verses (v. 23, and 24.) when applied to THE SERVANTS, sufficiently demonstrate,—“And “whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and “NOT UNTO MEN: knowing, that of THE LORD “ye shall receive THE REWARD OF THE INHERITANCE: for YE SERVE THE LORD CHRIST.” And to the same eternal and unerring Dispenser of Rewards (and not to *temporal Masters*) is attributed the power of punishing the “doing wrong,” mentioned in the very next verse; which, according to my learned friend’s notion, is opposed to obeying in all things the
 Masters

“ *God from the heart,*” (Ephesians vi. 5, &c.) when they retain their neighbour

Masters; — “ *he that DOETH WRONG (says the text) shall receive for THE WRONG which he hath done: and THERE IS NO RESPECT OF PERSONS.*” (v. 25.)

Such strict *impartiality* in the administration of justice cannot always be attributed, with certainty, even to the best-regulated *human* tribunal, and much less is it applicable to the decisions of uncontroled *will* and *pleasure*, in punishing “ *wrong doing,*” under the absolute *dominion* of Slaveholders! No earthly *dominion* whatever is conducted with such an equal distribution of *rewards* and *punishments*, as that it may always with truth be said, “ *there is no respect of persons,*” for this is the proper characteristic of the *judgements* and *dominion* of GOD and CHRIST alone. “ *For THE LORD is JUDGE, and with him is NO RESPECT OF PERSONS.*” Ecclesiasticus xxxv. 12. “ *For there is NO RESPECT OF PERSONS with GOD.*” Rom. ii. 11. And, therefore, we may fairly conclude that the punishment, not only of SLAVES, but that also of MASTERS, that “ *do wrong,*” is to be understood in the text which my friend has cited to support his notion of a “ *right of dominion*” vested in the *Masters*; so that the said supposed *right* has, indeed, but a very “ *slippery*” foundation! Agreeable to my last remark on this text, (Coloss. iii. 24.) the learned Dr. Whitby has commented upon it, as if he thought it exactly parallel to another declaration of the same apostle, (viz. Ephes. vi. 8 and 9.) wherein not only both *Masters* and *Servants* are unquestionably included, but also the *dominion*, or *judgement*, in which “ *THERE IS NO RESPECT*

“ OF

bour in an involuntary unrewarded fervitude for life? If they can do this, I

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shall

“ OF PERSONS,” is expressly attributed to our “ MASTER IN HEAVEN.” — “ *Christ, in judging men at the last day, (says the Doctor,) will have NO RESPECT to the quality or external condition of any man’s person; but, WHETHER HE BE BOND OR FREE, he shall receive recompence FOR THE GOOD THAT HE HATH DONE, in obedience to him; whether he be MASTER or SERVANT, he shall be punished for THE WRONG THAT HE DOTH in those relations.*”

If all these circumstances be duly considered, it will manifestly appear, I trust, that the Masters supposed “ *right of dominion*” (which, certainly, is not EXPRESSED in the text) cannot even be *implied* in these contexts, nor in any of the parallel passages already recited! Can the Master *adorn the “ doctrine of God our Saviour,”* (as in the other indissoluble relations of life,) by continuing the unnatural *connection of Master and Slave, and by exacting involuntary labour from his brethren, without wages or reward, agreeable to my friend’s notions of the supposed implied “ right of dominion?”* The reciprocal duty of the Master is mentioned, indeed, in the next chapter, (Col. iv. 1.) but it is of such a nature as must necessarily lead Christian Masters to abhor any such supposed “ *right of dominion*” as that which is tolerated in the British colonies, and which my friend seems desirous to defend! The *Masters* are not directed by the apostle to claim as their own, by “ *right of dominion,*” the labour of their servants WITHOUT WAGES, but, on the contrary, are expressly commanded to “ *GIVE unto (their) ser-*
“ *vants*

shall have reason to be silent. But if, on the contrary, it should evidently appear

“wants that which is JUST and EQUAL;” which comprehends (as I have fully shewn in the preceding tract) such a measure of *generosity, recompence, and benevolence*, on the part of *the Master*, as is totally inconsistent with the claims and views of modern *Slaveholders!* and, if put in practice, would necessarily effect the entire abolition of slavery!

The Masters are likewise carefully reminded, in the last mentioned text, that they “*also have a Master in Heaven.*” (Col. iv. 1) — A *Master*, by whose example they are bound to regulate their conduct, so that this consideration alone is a sufficient antidote against *slavery*; for the principal doctrine of *that heavenly Master* was LOVE, which cannot subsist with the contrary *exaction of involuntary servitude!* “*This is my commandment,*” (said that glorious and gracious MASTER,) “*That ye LOVE one another AS I have LOVED you.*” The nature of *his love* (which we are to imitate, that is, to LOVE *as he hath LOVED us*) is then immediately described as exceeding all bounds of comparison, “*Greater LOVE*” (said he) “*hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his FRIENDS. Ye are my FRIENDS, if ye do whatsoever I command you. HENCEFORTH I CALL YOU NOT SERVANTS.*” Here is an express *enfranchisement of his Servants* for our example! The universal *Lord and Master* of all men delights in promoting *the dignity of human nature*; which cannot be said of the temporal *Slaveholder*, who enforces an imaginary “*right of dominion,*” by exacting an *involuntary service*, and that
for

pear that a *very different behaviour* is required of *Christian Masters*, “that
“ *the*

for no other purpose than for the sake of a little pecuniary gain, by depriving the *labourer of his hire*; which favours of no other *love* but *self-love*; whereas, our disinterested Lord and Master hath even *laid down his life* through *love* and *compassion* to his SERVANTS, and hath *declared us free*, as before recited. — “Hence-
“ *forth I call you not SERVANTS; for the Servant*” (said he) “*knoweth not what his Lord doeth; but I have*
“ *called you FRIENDS; for all things that I have heard*
“ *of my Father I have made known unto you:*” (John xv. 12-15.) And, in the 17th verse, he again enforces his doctrine of LOVE: “*These things I command you,* (said he,) *that ye LOVE one another.*” The measure of this indispensable LOVE is expressly declared in the Scriptures, “*Thou shalt LOVE thy neighbour AS THYSELF.*” “*LOVE worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore LOVE*
“ *(is) the fulfilling of the law.*” (Rom. xiii. 9 and 10.)

Such LOVE, therefore, is clearly incompatible with the arbitrary claims of the Slaveholder, who can neither be *said to LOVE his neighbour as himself*, nor to cherish that LOVE *which worketh no ill to his neighbour*, whilst he strenuously contends for such “*a right of*
“ *dominion*” as may enable him to exact, not only the *involuntary* service of his *neighbours and brethren*, contrary to the law of nature, but also to rob them of the *fruits of their own labours*, “*GIVING THEM NOT*
“ *FOR THEIR WORK;*” against which practices a severe denunciation of WOE is expressly declared in the Scriptures; as I have fully demonstrated in my tract on “*the Law of Retribution,*” as well as in the preceding

“ *the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed,*” (1 Tim. vi. 1.) they must be obliged to allow that the “ *reason, or life of the law*” is against them; and, consequently, that none of these texts, relating to Christian servants, are capable of affording them the least excuse for their selfish pretensions. They will find also, upon a more careful examination of the Scriptures, that they themselves are as much bound by the gospel to bear personal injuries with patience and humility, as their Slaves. Because the benevolent principles of the *gospel of peace* require all men, *freemen as well as slaves,* to return “ *good for evil.*” “ *Bless them that CURSE you,*” (said our Lord,)

ding tract: and, therefore, as it is necessary to construe difficult or dubious passages of *Scripture* consistently with the general tenour of *Scripture* evidence, it would be highly improper to admit this *opposite doctrine* of a supposed “ *RIGHT OF DOMINION,*” especially as the same *is not expressed* in the text which my learned friend has cited for it, but is merely drawn forth by an imaginary *implication!*

Lord,) “ *and PRAY for them which DE-
 “ SPITEFULLY USE YOU. And unto
 “ him that SMITETH thee on the one
 “ cheek, offer also the other; and him
 “ that TAKETH AWAY thy cloke, for-
 “ bid not (to take thy) coat also,”* &c.
 Luke vi. 28, 29. But, though *submis-
 sion* and *placability* are thus unquesti-
 onably enjoined to the *sufferers* in all
 the cases above recited in the text, yet
 surely no reasonable man will pretend
 to alledge, from thence, that *tyrants* and
oppressors have thereby obtained a legal
right, under the gospel, to *curse others*,
 and use them *despitefully*; or that the
 unjust oppression of *strikers* and *robbers*
 is thereby authorized or justified! In the
same light exactly must we view the *Slave-
 holders* claim of *private property* in the
persons of men, whenever an attempt is
 made to support it on the foundation of
 any such texts as I have quoted, wherein
 servants or slaves are exhorted to submit
with

with *passive obedience*, &c. to their Masters; because the *right* (as it is improperly called) or pretension of the Master may with the greatest propriety be compared to the pretended *right* or authority of oppressing or robbing others, which is too often exercised by imperial tyrants and despotic princes, as well as by *their brethren in iniquity* of a lower class, viz. pirates, highwaymen, and extortioners of every degree! The gospel of peace cannot authorize the oppression of these lawless men, though it clearly enjoins patience, submission, and acquiescence, to the individuals that are injured, whether freemen or slaves! The *placability* and *absolute submission*, commanded by the last-cited text, to Christians *in general*, are manifestly founded on the very same principles with that *particular* submission which the gospel requires of *Christian slaves*; and is farther parallel to the latter, by being *equally*

qually passive; so that the *oppression* of the *Slaveholder* can no more be justified by any text of the New Testament, than I am able to find, than the *oppression* of the *striker* and *robber*.

Unhappily for the Christian world, the duties of *patience*, *submission*, and *placability*, enjoined by the gospel to *persons injured*, are too commonly either misunderstood or rejected; though the *temporal*, as well as the *eternal*, happiness of mankind greatly depends upon a conscientious and proper observation of these duties: for even the most rigid obedience to the letter of the command would be far from being productive, either of the *real evils* to which the pernicious doctrine of *a national passive obedience* apparently tends, or of the *imaginary inconveniences* apprehended by the advocates for *duelling*, because the same benevolent principles, (viz. universal love and

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charity,

charity, founded on the great commandment, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,”) which oblige the true Christian, most *disinterestedly*, to forgive all injuries, and pass over every affront offered to his *own person*, will necessarily engage him, on the other hand, as *disinterestedly*, to oppose every degree of oppression and injustice, which affects his *brethren and neighbours*, when he has a fair opportunity of assisting them; and from hence arises the zeal of good men for *just and equitable laws*, as being the most effectual means of preserving the *peace and happiness* of the community, by curbing the insolence and violence of wicked men. We have an eminent example of this *loyal zeal* in the behaviour of the apostle Paul, who could not brook an infringement of *the Roman liberty* from any persons whatever in the administration of government, though he could endure *personal injuries*
from

from men unconnected therewith, and the persecutions of the multitude, with all the *Christian patience* and *meekeuess* which the gospel requires. The Scripture-history of this great apostle affords many proofs of his extraordinary humility and patience *under sufferings*, so that his spirited opposition to the illegal proceedings of magistrates cannot be attributed to *private resentment* on his own account, but merely to his zeal for *the public good*, founded upon the great Christian principle of “*loving his neighbour as himself*,” since the maintaining of *good laws* is, certainly, the most effectual means of promoting the welfare and happiness of society. His resolute and free censure of the magistrates at Philippi, in the message which he sent by their own serjeants, (2) his spirited

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re-

(2) “ And, when it was day, the magistrates sent the
 “ serjeants, saying, Let those men go. And the keeper
 “ of the prison told this, saying to Paul, The ma-
 “ gistrates

remonſtrance to the chief captain at Jeruſalem, (3) and his ſevere rebuke to

“ magiſtrates have ſent to let you go : now therefore depart, and go in peace. But Paul ſaid unto them, *They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have caſt (us) into priſon : and now do they thruſt us out privily? nay verily ; but let them come themſelves and fetch us out.* And the ſerjeants told theſe words unto the magiſtrates : and they feared when they heard that they were Romans. And they came and beſought them, and brought (*them*) out, and deſired (*them*) to depart out of the city.” Acts xvi. 35 to 39.

(3) “ The chief captain commanded him to be brought into the caſtle, and bade that he ſhould be examined by ſcourging ; that he might know wherefore they cried ſo againſt him. And, as they bound him with thongs, Paul ſaid unto the centurion that ſtood by, *Is it lawful for you to ſcourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?* When the centurion heard (*that*), he went and told the chief captain, ſaying, Take heed what thou doeſt : for this man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came, and ſaid unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? he ſaid, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great ſum obtained I this freedom, and Paul ſaid, But I was free born. Then ſtraightway they departed from him which ſhould have examined him : *and the chief captain was alſo afraid after he knew that he* “ was

to the high priest himself, even on the seat of judgement, (4) are remarkable instances of this observation.

In the last-mentioned instance, indeed, the apostle was charged, by those
 “ *that stood by,*” with *reviling God’s*
high

“ *was a Roman, and because he had bound him. On*
 “ *the morrow, because he would have known the cer-*
 “ *tainty wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he*
 “ *loosed him from (his) bands, and commanded the*
 “ *chief priests and all their council to appear, and*
 “ *brought Paul down, and set him before them.*”
 Acts xxii. 24 to 30.

(4) “ And Paul earnestly beholding the council,
 “ said, Men and brethren, I have lived in all good
 “ conscience before God until this day. And the
 “ high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by
 “ him to smite him on the mouth. Then Paul said
 “ unto him, *God shall smite thee, (thou) WHITED*
 “ *WALL ; for, sittest thou to judge me after the law, and*
 “ *commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law ?* And
 “ they that stood by said, *Revilest thou God’s high*
 “ *priest ?* Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, that
 “ he was the high priest, for it is written, *Thou shalt*
 “ *not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.*” Acts
 xxiii. 1 to 5.

high priest, which would have been a notorious breach of the law; had there not been circumstances of justification sufficient to vindicate the severity of the Apostle's censure: these, however, were not urged by the apostle himself, who best knew how to behave towards those with whom he had to do. He readily allowed the principle (however) on which the censure of his accusers was founded, but he by no means retracted what he had so justly applied to the person of the unworthy magistrate *who sat to judge him*; neither did he even *acknowledge* him to be the *high priest*, though he was expressly questioned for a supposed misbehaviour to that dignitary! His answer was cautiously worded. — He did not say, — *I knew not that this person, whom I have censured, was the high priest*, but, — οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἐστὶ ἀρχιερεὺς, &c. “ *I knew not, brethren, that there is a high priest.*”

“*priest.*” (5) Which answer, though on the first hearsay it seems to bear some affinity to an excuse or apology for what had past, yet, in reality, includes a still farther rebuke; for it plainly implies that the *high priest*, in whose presence the apostle then stood, was (in some respect or other) deficient or blameable in his deportment as chief magistrate, either that he did not duly support the dignity of that sacred and distinguishing public character, so that he did not seem to be *high priest*, and of course could not be known and honoured as such; or else that his behaviour had been so unjust and illegal that he did not deserve to be considered as a *lawful magistrate*, who had publicly demeaned himself

(5) The learned Hugh Broughton has construed the text as follows, — “*I knewe not, brethren, that there was a high priest;*” but the words, *οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀρχιερεὺς*, are more literally rendered above. CASTALIO reads it, — “*Nesciebam, fratres, esse pontificem.*”—And HEINSIUS, — “*Summum esse sacerdotem ignorabam.*”

himself as *a tyrant*, by commanding a prisoner to be beaten, *contrary to law*, without hearing his defence! And, that this latter sense is most probable we may learn by the following circumstance, viz. that the apostle chose to decline the dispute, and to wave the accusation about *reviling the high priest*, by *acknowledging* the principle of law on which it was manifestly founded, viz. *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.* But, be pleased to observe, he neither *acknowledged* that he himself had broken the said precept by so severely censuring the unjust *ruler*; nor did he *acknowledge* the presence of a *high priest* in the person of Ananias; neither did he allow the by-standers time enough to criticise upon the true literal meaning of his reply, (whereby they would probably have been led to demand some express recantation of the *personal* censure which he had so amply bestowed

bestowed upon the high priest,) but he prudently changed the subject in debate from *the PERSON of the high priest* (who was a zealous overbearing SADDUCEE) (6) to an avowed *censure of his whole sect*, charging the SADDUCEES in particular with the unjust persecution, then before the assembly, and openly appealing to the opposite party, *the Pharisees*, in order to divide his united enemies: “ *I am a PHARISEE, (said he,) the son of a PHARISEE; of the hope and resurrection of the dead I AM CALLED IN QUESTION.*” Such a manifest reflection against the whole body of

G Sadducees

(6) Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος ΑΝΑΝΟΣ, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιεροσύνην ἐφάρμεν παρελήφεναι, θρασύς ἦν τὸν τροπὸν, καὶ τολμητὴς διαφέροντως. Αἵρεσιν δὲ μετῆει τὴν ΣΑΔΔΟΥΚΑΙΩΝ, οἵπερ εἰσι περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ πάλαι τῆς Ἰουδαίου, καθὼς ἡδη δεδηλωκαμεν· ἅτε δὴ ἐν τοιούτοις ὡν ὁ ΑΝΑΝΟΣ, &c. But the younger ANANUS, who, as we have said, obtained the pontificate, was of a bold and daring disposition, and followed the sect of the SADDUCEES, who, with respect to judgments, are more cruel than all the rest of the Jews, as we have already demonstrated. Therefore, Ananias being of this stamp, &c.

Sadducees cannot by any means favour the supposition of an intended apology, or recantation, in the preceding sentence, to soothe the enraged leader of that very party, whom he had publicly branded as a hypocrite, with the significant appellation of *whited wall!* Let it be also remembered that the supposed breach of the precept (“*thou shalt not speak evil of the RULER of thy people*”) could not rest entirely on the circumstance of KNOWING ANANIAS TO BE THE HIGH PRIEST; for, whether the apostle *did know*, or *did not know*, that Ananias was *high priest*, yet he certainly *knew*, before he censured him, that he was a *ruler of the people*, and that he then sat in the quality of a judge; (for this is declared in the very censure itself, — “*sittest thou to JUDGE ME after the law, and commandest me to be smitten CONTRARY TO LAW?*”) so that whether *Ananias* was really *high priest*,

or not, yet he was manifestly censured in his official capacity as a *ruler*, or *magistrate*, and not as a private individual, through any inadvertency or mistake of the apostle, as some commentators have conceived. And, even when the apostle was informed, by those “*that stood by,*” that the magistrate whom he had censured was the *high priest*, (“*revilest thou God’s high priest?*”) Yet his reply, (“*I knew not, brethren, that there is a high priest,*”) when fairly compared with the preceding censure of Ananias, as an *unjust* dispenser of God’s law, (“*sittest thou to judge me according to law? &c.*”) proves, as I before remarked, that the apostle neither acknowledged the dignity of a *high priest*, nor that of a *legal ruler*, in the person of Ananias, though he knew him at the same time TO BE A RULER, and had censured him as such, for having notoriously prostituted the power and autho-

rity of a *ruler*, and violated the law, by commanding him to be *stricken contrary to law*, notwithstanding, that *he sat to judge* (as the apostle remarked) “ACCORDING *to the law* ;” in which case no epithet whatever could be so apt and expressive to mark the true character of the dignified hypocrite in power, as *whited wall* ! This proves, that the apostle knew well enough with whom he had to do. The censure was too just, and his prophecy in the accomplishment too true, (“ *God shall smite thee,*” thou *whited wall,*) (7) to be esteemed a mere unguarded sally of resentment ! The latter supposition is, indeed, inconsistent with the remarkable *sagacity, prudence, and readiness of mind*, which always distinguished

(7) This denunciation of God’s vengeance against Ananias was fully justified by the event ; for, Josephus (as the learned monsieur Martin remarks) reports that he was killed in Jerusalem with his brother Ezechias. “ *Joseph rapporte,*” liv. 2. de la guerre des Juifs, “ *qu’il fut massacré dans Jérusalem avec son frère Ezéchias.*”

guished this apostle in bearing his testimony to the truth, on the most dangerous emergencies! The apostle's known character as *a chosen vessel* for Christ's service, and as an exemplary preacher of RIGHTEOUSNESS, will by no means permit us to conceive that he was either guilty of any *mistake* or *inadvertency* with respect to *the person* of the high priest on this occasion; or of any *illegal* or *misbecoming* behaviour to him as a *ruler* or *judge* of the people! When these several circumstances are compared with the general bad character of Ananias, (8)

as

(8) This malicious Sadducee very soon afterwards gave so flagrant a proof of his injustice and cruelty towards the Christians, that even the *Jewish historian*, Josephus, has recorded it as an event which gave offence to all good and loyal men at that time in Jerusalem; I mean the murder of the apostle James, bishop of Jerusalem, whom Josephus styles *the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ*. The Jewish historian, therein, bears a remarkable testimony in favour of Christianity, — Ἄτε δη ἐν τοιαυτοῖς ὡν ὁ Αἰωνός, (for he is described, in the preceding quotation from Josephus, as a bold daring man of the most cruel sect,) νομισσας εἶχειν καιρόν. ἐπιτηδεῖον, δια

as a persecuting zealot of the most virulent and intolerant sect among the Jews, it must appear that the apostle accounted that person unworthy of any esteem as a magistrate, whom he had so publicly convicted

δια το τεθναται μεν Φησον, Αλβινον δε ἐτι κατα την ὁδον ὑπαρχειν, καθιζει συνεδριον κριτων, και παραγαγων εις αυτο τον αδελφον Ιησου του λεγομενου Χριστου, Ιακωβος ονομα αυτω, και τινας ἑτερους, ὡς παρανομησαντων κατηγοριαν ποιησαμενος, παρεδωκε λευσθησομενους· ὅσοι δε εδοκουν επιειχεσθαι των κατα την πολιν ειναι, και περι τους νομους ακριβεις, βαρως ηνεγκαν ἐπι τουτω, και πεμποσιν προς τον βασιλεα κρυφα παρακαλουντες αυτον επισειλαι τῷ Ανανω, μηκει τοιαυτα πρασσειν, μηδε γαρ το πρωτον ορθως αυτον πεποιηκεναι. Which is translated by Mr. Whiston as follows, — “ *When, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity (to exercise his authority). Festus was dead; and ALBINUS was but upon the road. So he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them THE BROTHER OF JESUS, WHO WAS CALLED CHRIST, whose name was JAMES, and some others, (or some of his companions,) and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned. The MOST EQUITABLE OF THE CITIZENS, AND SUCH AS WERE THE MOST UNEASY AT THE BREACH OF THE LAWS, DISLIKED WHAT WAS DONE. They also sent to the king, (Agrippa,) desiring him to send to ANANUS, that he should act so no more; for that what he had already done was not to be justified.*”

victed of abusing and perverting the legal authority with which he had been entrusted ; and, indeed, a notorious breach of the law, by any man in the capacity of a ruler, may reasonably be esteemed a temporary disqualification for such an honourable trust ; for, a judge without justice and righteousness, who openly perverts judgement, does thereby unquestionably degrade himself from the dignity of his station, and render himself unworthy, for the time being, of that respect which is otherwise due to his rank in office. The same apostle, indeed, upon another occasion, commands us to give “ honour to whom honour” is due ; but what honour can be due to a convicted hypocrite, — a “ whited wall,” — a “ wolf in sheep’s clothing,” — to an “ Ananias on the seat of judgement ?” SUCH characters must expect SUCH treatment, as *Ananias* met with, from all sensible and discerning men ;

men ; if the latter are also equally *loyal* with the apostle, I mean in the strict and proper sense of the word *loyal*, (which is so frequently misapplied and perverted by sycophants,) that is, if they are equally zealous with that apostle for *law, justice, and righteousness*, for the general good of mankind ! So that if we approve of the apostle's advice, in the beginning of the same sentence, viz. " RENDER, THEREFORE, " UNTO ALL THEIR DUES,"—" *tribute, unto whom tribute,*"—" *custom, to whom custom,*"—" FEAR, to whom FEAR,"—" HONOUR to whom HONOUR ;" we must needs also allow, that the apostle's *practice* (even in his behaviour to *Ananias*) was strictly consistent with his own declared *precepts*, and that he most justly *rendered to Ananias HIS DUE*, when he so severely reprimanded his conduct *as a judge* ! When all these circumstances are duly considered,

considered, the meaning of the apostle's reply, may, fairly enough, be paraphrased in the words of LORINUS, (9)

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as

(9) “ *Nesciebam eum esse PONTIFICEM, quia, ex modo loquendi furioso, non videtur esse PONTIFEX, sed TYRANNUS.*” Many of the most learned and celebrated commentators have considered the apostle's censure nearly in the same light. In the learned commentary, commonly called Assembly's Annotations, the same sense is applied to the apostle's reply to the charge of having reviled God's high priest, viz. “ *I knew him not to be a lawful high priest, WHO THUS VIOLATETH THE LAW; and, indeed,*” (says the Commentary,) “ *he was but an usurper.* — For proof of which they refer us to “ Josephus, Ant. l. 20. c. 3. 5. “ Chr. Helvic. Theat. Hist. Anno Christi, 46.”

The learned MATHIAS FLACIUS FRANCOVITZ remarks, that the famous *Augustine*, bishop of Hippo, thought this reply of the apostle IRONICAL, * “ *and truly, (says he,) it borders upon IRONY; for, when he saw him (Ananias) sit in the chief place among the priests, to judge according to the law, he necessarily* “ *knew*

* “ *IRONIAM esse putat Augustinus. Est sane quiddam vicinum ironiæ. Cum enim videret eum sedere inter sacerdotes loco præcipuo, et secundum legem judicare; necessariò scivit eum esse pontificem: tametsi et alioqui etiam minimi pueri necessariò id illic vel ex sola ejus pompa et affectis vulgoque jactatis vocibus sciverunt, nedum Paulus homo tam vigilans et diligens. Sensus ergo est: Ego non agnosco in hoc homine pontificem Dei: sed hypocritam, seductorem, et veritatis persecutorem. Alioqui bene scio principii maledicendum non esse.*”

as I find him quoted by CORNELIUS A LAPIDE, viz. “ I knew not that he
 “ was

“ knew him to be the high priest : for even the little
 “ children knew that by his mere pomp and attendants ;
 “ and much less could a man, so watchful and diligent
 “ as Paul, be ignorant of it ; the sense therefore, is,” (says
 the learned Francowitz,) “ I do not acknowledge, in this
 “ man, the high priest of God, but a hypocrite, a de-
 “ ceiver, and a persecutor of the truth. Otherwise,
 “ I well know that a ruler is not to be spoken against
 “ or reviled.” To the same effect, also, the learned
 monsieur Martin, — “ as St. Paul” (says he †) “ was
 “ not ignorant, nor could be ignorant, that this was
 “ the high priest, especially as he saw him at the head of
 “ the sanbedrim, it is better to translate the term of the
 “ original, by I DID NOT THINK, &c. as in Mark ix.
 “ 6. and so to understand this reply of St. Paul as a
 “ grave and strong irony, by which he would make those
 “ understand, by whom he was accused of the want of
 “ respect for the high priest, that this person was a man
 “ unworthy of that character, and that he did not be-
 “ lieve, that a vicious and wicked man, such as Ananias,
 “ who

† Comme St. Paul n'ignoroit pas, et ne pouvoit pas même ignorer, que ce ne fût le souverain sacrificateur, puis qu'il le voyoit à la tête du sanhédrin, il vaut mieux traduire le term de l'original par *je ne pensois pas*, comme Marc ix. 6. et prendre ainsi cette répartie de St. Paul comme une grave et forte ironie, par laquelle il vouloit fair sentir à ceux qui l'avoient repris de manquer de respect pour le souverain sacrificateur, que c'étoit un homme indigne de ce caractère ; et qu'il ne croyoit pas qu'un vicieux et un impie, comme étoit Ananias, qui avoit usurpé le pontificat en l'achetant des Romains, méritat d'être regardé comme le *souverain sacrificateur de Dieu*.

“ *was the high priest*, because, from his
 “ furious manner of speaking, he did
 “ not seem to be a HIGH PRIEST, but
 “ a TYRANT.” This sense is strictly
 consonant to *reason and natural right!*

Justice and righteousness are so inseparably connected with the proper character of a CHIEF MAGISTRATE OR RULER, that any notorious perversion of those necessary principles, in the actual exercise of that official power with

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which

“ *who had usurped the pontificate by purchasing it of the*
 “ *Romans, could deserve to be esteemed as the high priest*
 “ *of God!*”

It would be tedious to quote all the authorities that may be found to this purpose; the evidence, however, of the learned Dr. Whitby, as it includes more authorities than his own, is worthy the readers notice.—

“ Dr. LIGHTFOOT and GROTIUS (says he) think as
 “ I do, that St. Paul does NOT go about TO EXCUSE
 “ HIS MISTAKE, but rather saith, I KNOW WELL
 “ ENOUGH THAT GOD’S HIGH PRIEST IS NOT TO
 “ BE REVILED, but that this ANANIAS is a HIGH
 “ PRIEST, I know not, i. e. I DO NOT OWN HIM AS
 “ SUCH *who hath procured this title by bribery: our*
 “ *celebrated RABBINS having declared that such an one is*
 “ NEITHER A JUDGE, nor TO BE HONOURED AS
 “ SUCH,” &c.

which a magistrate is entrusted for *legal* (and not for illegal) purposes, must unavoidably distinguish the *contemptible hypocrite*, THE WHITED WALL, from the honourable MAGISTRATE, and deprive the former of the respect which is due only to the latter! “ *Sittest thou to judge me ACCORDING TO THE LAW, and commandest me to be smitten CONTRARY TO LAW?*” Thus the apostle clearly explained the fitness and propriety of the reproachful figure of speech, (*whited wall*,) by which he had expressed the true character of the unworthy judge!

An appellation similar to this was given, even by our Lord himself, to *the Scribes and Pharisees*, who were the teachers and magistrates of the people: “ *Wo unto you, SCRIBES and PHARISEES, HYPOCRITES; for ye are like unto WHITED SEPULCHRES, which,*
indeed,

“ indeed, appear beautiful outward, but
 “ are within full of dead mens bones
 “ and of all uncleanness.” (Matth. xxiii.
 27.)—And, in the context, he calls
 them “ blind guides,” (v. 24.)—“ hypo-
 “ crites,” (v. 25.)—“ full of hypocrisy and
 “ iniquity,” (v. 28.)—“ partakers in the
 “ blood of the prophets,” (v. 30.)—“ ser-
 “ pents,”—“ generation of vipers,”—
 “ how can ye escape the damnation of hell?”
 &c. (v. 33.) Nay, Herod himself, the
 tetrarch of Galilee, was not exempt-
 ed from the severity of our Lord’s cen-
 sure, when there was a proper occa-
 sion to declare it; for, though our Lord
 lived, for the most part, under Herod’s
 temporal jurisdiction, that is, in GALI-
 LEE, yet he openly characterised the *craf-*
ty, base, and self-interested, disposition
 of the TETRARCH, by expressly cal-
 ling him a FOX,—(10) “ Go ye, and tell
 “ that

(10) “ The message, our Lord here sends to Herod,”
 (says a sensible and learned commentator, the Rev. Mr.

“ *that FOX,*” &c. (Luke xiii. 32.) and, though our Lord endured the most provoking

Francis Fox, in his edition of the New Testament, with references set under the text in words at length,) “ *is no breach of that command which forbids the* “ SPEAKING EVIL OF THE RULER OF THE PEOPLE, “ *and consequently is no blemish (says he) in our Lord’s ex-* “ *ample. For our Lord here acts AS A PROPHET, as* “ *one who had received an extraordinary commission from* “ *God: and those, who were truly PROPHETS, were, in* “ *the EXECUTION of their COMMISSION, above the* “ *greatest MEN and most powerful princes, whom they* “ *were not to spare when God sent them to reprove for sin.”* All this is certainly true with respect to the real authority of Christ to censure Herod, and that his applying so harsh and severe an expression to the tetrarch “ *is* “ *no blemish in our Lord’s example :*” but yet this is not, I apprehend, the proper method of reconciling the seeming difficulty, which arises from this example, of our Lord’s applying a severe and reproachful epithet to a chief ruler, (in calling Herod a FOX,) when it is compared with that precept of the law, which forbids the *speaking evil of the ruler of the people*; for, though our Lord had ample superiority and authority to reprove whomsoever he pleased, even the greatest ruler upon earth, yet, with respect to *his own personal behaviour, as a man among men*, he claimed no authority to dispense with the positive precepts of the Mosaic law, on account of his own real dignity, or superiority over the rest of mankind, but strictly obeyed the law in all things, and publicly declared his strict conformity thereto. “ *Think not,*” (said he,) “ *that* “ I

provoking indignities from the licentious soldiery and reviling multitude, *in silence*, answering not *a word*, agreeable to that striking character of a suffering Messiah,

“ *I come to destroy the LAW or the PROPHETS: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill.*” Matth v. 17.

“ *By THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS*” (says the same ingenious commentator above cited) “ *are meant the great rules of life, delivered in the writings of MOSES and the PROPHETS, or in the Old Testament, more especially the duties of the MORAL or NATURAL LAW;*” (from whence those, respecting our behaviour to RULERS, cannot with propriety be excluded;) “ *These, our Lord assures us, HE DID NOT COME TO DESTROY or DISSOLVE: It was not his design to FREE men from the obligation they were under to practise the MORAL LAWS of GOD, but to fulfil and perfect them. This our Lord did, BY LIVING UP TO THOSE LAWS HIMSELF,*” (which totally excludes the idea of his dispensing, on account of his own real superiority, with that moral law respecting behaviour to rulers,) “ *and becoming thereby AN EXAMPLE TO US, by freeing them from the corrupt glosses, which the teachers among the Jews put upon them, and by expounding them in their fullest sense, and according to their just latitude, shewing that they command not only an OUTWARD OBEDIENCE, but THE OBEDIENCE even of the MIND and THOUGHTS, as appears in what our Lord delivers in the following verses: — These laws have their foundation in the reason and nature of things, and therefore their obligation will never cease.*”

Messiah, so minutely described, many ages before, by the prophet Isaiah ; (11) yet he made an apparent distinction between the VIOLENCE *and* INJUSTICE of these, as *individuals*, and the INJUSTICE of a man in a *public character*, as a *chief magistrate* ; for even, in our Lord's state of extreme humiliation, when his hour of sufferings was come, he did not fail to rebuke *the* INJUSTICE of the *high priest* in his judicial capacity, because, instead of proceeding against him by the legal method of *examination by witnesses*, he had attempted to draw out matter of accusation from his own mouth, against himself, by INTERROGATORIES, according to the baneful method of arbitrary courts !

But,

(11) “ *He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, YET HE OPENED NOT HIS MOUTH: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter ; and, as a sheep before her shearers IS DUMB, SO HE OPENED NOT HIS MOUTH. He was taken from prison, and from judgement : and who shall declare his generation ? for he was cut off out of the land of the living : for the transgression of my people was he stricken !*” Isaiah liii. 7, 8.

But our Lord soon put a stop to his impertinent QUESTIONS, by referring him to the legal method of finding evidence by witnesses: — *Why ASKEST thou me? ASK them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said.*” John xviii. 21. Upon which, a time-serving officer, who probably had not accustomed himself to distinguish the different degrees of respect that are due to good and bad magistrates, “gave Jesus a blow, or rap with a rod,” (εδωκε ῥαπισμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ,) saying, “Answerest thou the high priest so?” (v. 22.) which open injustice, to a person uncondemned, (even while he stood in the presence of the magistrate, who ought to have protected him,) drew a farther *remonstrance*, even from the meekest and humblest man that ever was on earth, though the same divine person afterwards suffered much greater indignities *in silence!* For, “Je-
 I “sus

“ *hus answered him,*” — “ *If I have spoken evil,*” (said he,) “ *bear witness of the evil: but, if well, why smitest thou me?*” (V. 23.)

This shews that the reprehension of magistrates and their officers, for *injustice* and *abuse of power*, is not inconsistent with the strictest rules of *Christian PASSIVE OBEDIENCE*: and, though the apostle Paul, in a similar case, used much harsher language, yet his censure was undoubtedly *just* and *true*, and the severity of his expressions was plainly justified (as I have already shewn) by the event! i. e. by *the fatal catastrophe of ANANIAS*. The law, therefore, which forbids *the speaking evil of the ruler of the people*, is certainly to be understood with proper exceptions, so as not to exclude any just censure of *rulers*, when their *abuse of office*, and the cause of *truth* and *justice*, may render such censure

sure

sure expedient and seasonable. That the apostle Paul thus understood the text in question, is manifest from his manner of quoting it, when he was charged with *reviling God's high priest*, if the severity of his censure be compared with the indifference which he shewed, immediately afterwards, towards the offended *Sadducee*, by openly professing himself to be of an opposite party, and by throwing an oblique charge against the whole body of Sadducees, as the principal authors of the unjust persecution against himself,—“ *I am a PHARISEE,*” (said he,) “ *the son of a PHARISEE; of the hope and resurrection of the dead am I called in question.*” (Acts xxiii. 6.) Thus he manifestly threw the whole blame upon *the Sadducees*, and thereby shewed no inclination to apologize for the severity of his speech to their dignified chief!

I must farther remark, that the apostle's behaviour, in openly opposing the *high priest*, (who, as such, was also a *chief magistrate* and *judge*,) is by no means inconsistent with that excellent advice which the same apostle has laid down in the thirteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, though it is frequently cited by the advocates for arbitrary power, in order to justify their false notions concerning the necessity of *absolute submission and entire passive obedience!*

To an inattentive reader, indeed, the apostle's expression may seem too much to favour such doctrines, if the sense and connexion of the whole context are not carefully weighed together; but though he said,—“ *Let every soul be*
 “ *subject unto the higher powers. For*
 “ *there is no power but of God: the pow-*
 “ *ers that be are ordained of God. Whofo-*
 “ *ever*

“ ever, therefore, resisteth the power, re-
 “ sisteth the ordinance of God: and they,
 “ that resist, shall receive to themselves
 “ damnation.” Yet he immediately af-
 terwards signifies what kind of rulers he
 spoke of “ that were not to be resisted.”

“ For RULERS” (says he in the very next
 verse) “ ARE NOT A TERROR TO

“ GOOD WORKS, BUT TO THE EVIL.

“ Wilt thou then not be afraid of the

“ power? do that which is GOOD, and thou

“ shalt have praise of the same; for he

“ is the MINISTER of GOD to thee for

“ GOOD.” (But ANANIAS, as a ruler,

was certainly the very reverse of this

description, so that the practice of the

apostle, with respect to him, was by no

means opposite to this doctrine.) “ But”

(says he) “ if thou do that which is EVIL,

“ be afraid; for he beareth not the sword

“ in vain: for he is THE MINISTER

“ OF GOD, a revenger to (execute)

“ wrath upon him that doeth evil. Where-

“ fore (ye) must needs be subject, not only

“ for

“ *for wrath, but also FOR CONSCI-*
 “ *ENCE SAKE. For this cause pay ye*
 “ *tribute also : for they are GOD’S MINI-*
 “ *STERS, attending continually upon*
 “ *this very thing. Render, therefore, to*
 “ *all their dues : tribute, to whom tri-*
 “ *bute (is due) ; custom, to whom cus-*
 “ *tom ; fear to whom fear ; honour (12)*
 “ *to whom honour.”* (Romans xiii. 1 to
 7.) Now, be pleased to remark, that
 the apostle has expressly and repeatedly
 assigned the reason why so much respect
 and obedience is due to the *higher pow-*
ers, or to the ruler, or magistrate ; “ for
 “ *he is”* (says the apostle) *the MINISTER*
 “ *OF GOD TO THEE FOR GOOD,*” &c.
 and again,—“ *for he is the MINISTER OF*
 “ *GOD, a revenger to wrath upon him*
 “ *that doeth evil :*” and again,—“ *FOR*
 “ *THEY ARE GOD’S MINISTERS ;*” —
 that is, they are *God’s ministers* while
 they

(12) See pages 55, 56, and 71, concerning the kind of magistrates to whom honour is or is not *due* !

they maintain *justice* and *righteousness* in the execution of their *public* charge, howsoever deficient their characters may be in other respects, as *private* individuals; but, on the other hand, such an unjust ruler as *Ananias*, for instance, who *sat to judge* ACCORDING TO LAW, and yet *commanded a person to be beaten* CONTRARY TO LAW, such a ruler, I say, cannot be esteemed a *minister of God to us* FOR GOOD, or a *minister of God* in any respect whatsoever. A man, who is notoriously guilty of perverting the laws, and of abusing the delegated power, with which he is entrusted, by acts of *violence* and *injustice*, is so far from being “*the minister of God*,” that he is manifestly “*the minister of the devil*;” which is the express doctrine of *the common law of this kingdom*, according to the most approved and most antient authorities; wherein we find it applied not merely to inferior *rulers*, but to the *supreme*

preme magistrate, even to the king himself, (13) if he *rules* contrary to law,

(13) The celebrated and learned *Henry de Bracton* says,—“ *that a king can do nothing else upon earth, as he is THE MINISTER and VICAR OF GOD, but that only which BY LAW he may do,*” &c. And, a little farther, he adds,—“ *His power, therefore,*” (says he,) “ *is of right, (or law,) and not of wrong, (or injury,) &c.*” — “ *That a king ought, therefore, to exercise the power of right, (OR LAW,) as THE VICAR AND MINISTER OF GOD on earth, because that power is of GOD ALONE; but the power of WRONG (OR INJURY) is of the DEVIL, and NOT OF GOD, and the work of which so ever of these the king shall do, of him HE IS THE MINISTER * whose work he shall do.*”

“ *While,*

* This is perfectly agreeable to the doctrine of holy Scripture; —“ *Whosoever committeth sin*” (said OUR LORD HIMSELF) “ *is the servant*” (or minister) “ *of sin.*” John viii. 34. Here is no exception or exclusive privilege allowed on account of *temporal dignity, or offices of worldly power!* All men that wilfully *do evil*, (be they *high or low*,) are not only *servants of SIN*, but also *sons* (as well as *servants*) OF THE DEVIL, as our Lord himself declared, “ *Ye do the deeds of YOUR FATHER,*” &c. Ibid. ver. 41. And, when those men, to whom he addressed himself, still contended (notwithstanding their wicked deeds) that they were *the sons and servants of God*: Christ replied, “ *Why do ye not understand my speech?*” &c. — “ *Ye are of (your) father, THE DEVIL, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lye, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it.*” Ibid. ver. 43 and 44. And, in like manner, THE DEVIL is certainly *the FATHER, OR PROMOTER*, of every other immorality among men, as

much

law, by violating, corrupting, or perverting, in any respect, the powers of

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go-

“ *While, therefore, he does JUSTICE, he is the VICAR*
 “ *(OR MINISTER) of the ETERNAL KING ; but he is the*
 “ *MINISTER of the DEVIL while he turns aside to IN-*
 “ *JUSTICE, for he is called king (REX) from WELL*
 “ *RULING, and not from REIGNING ; because he is*
 “ *KING while he RULES WELL, but a TYRANT while*
 “ *he oppresses the people committed to his charge with vio-*
 “ *lent (or oppressive) government.*” “ *Nihil enim aliud*
 “ *potest rex in terris, CUM SIT DEI MINISTER ET*
 “ *VICARIUS, nisi id solum quod de jure potest, &c.*
 “ *Potestas itaque sua juris est, et non injuriæ, &c.*
 “ *Exercere igitur debet rex potestatem juris, sicut*
 “ *DEI VICARIUS ET MINISTER in terra, quia illa*
 “ *potestas solius Dei est, potestas autem injuriæ DIA-*
 “ *BOLI, non DEI ; et cujus horum opera fecerit rex,*
 “ *ejus MINISTER erit, cujus opera fecerit. Igitur dum*
 “ *facit justitiam, VICARIUS EST REGIS ÆTERNI ;*
 “ *MINISTER AUTEM DIABOLI, dum declinet ad inju-*
 “ *riam. Dicitur enim rex a bene regendo et non a*
 “ *regnando, quia rex est dum bene regit, tyrannus*
 “ *dum populum sibi creditum violenta opprimit*
 “ *dominatione.*” Henrici de Bracton de Legibus et
 Consuetudinibus Angliæ lib. iii. c. ix. And nearly
 the same doctrine in substance is laid down in Fleta,
 lib. i. c. 17.

much as he is of murder, lying, and deceit, howsoever dignified the visible agents therein may be by the investiture of temporal honours, titles, and power, or royal commissions! — “ *Know ye not*” (said the apostle Paul) “ *that to whom ye yield yourselves SERVANTS to obey,*
 “ *HIS SERVANTS*” (OR MINISTERS) “ *ye are to whom you obey ;*
 “ *whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness!*” Rom.
 vi. 6.

government! And that excellent constitutional lawyer, *Lord Sommers*, informs us, that ST. EDWARD'S LAW even goes farther, (14) viz. "That, unless the
 " king performs his duty, and answers
 " the end for which he was constituted,
 " not so much AS THE NAME OF A
 " KING shall remain in him." Now, when these constitutional principles of *the English law* are collated and duly compared with the precepts before cited from the apostle Paul, they are so far from being contradictory, that the full and clear meaning of them all may be maintained together without the least inconsistency or discrepance of doctrine; for we may surely say, with the apostle, "Render to all their dues," &c. without seeming to favour the pernicious and dangerous doctrine of an *unlimited passive*

(14) The judgement of whole kingdoms and nations, concerning the rights, power, and prerogative, of KINGS, and the rights, privileges, and properties, of the PEOPLE, &c. See the 61st paragraph.

few obedience! “*Render, therefore, to all their dues; tribute, to whom tribute (is due); custom, to whom custom; fear, to whom fear; honour, to whom honour.*”—For, though *custom, tribute, fear, and honour,* are certainly due to him who is the MINISTER OF GOD to us for good, yet, surely, no honour is due, or ought to be rendered, to THE MINISTER OF THE DEVIL, to the perjured violater of a public trust, who, in the eye of the English law, is not even worthy of “*so much as the name of a king!*”

Fear, indeed, may too often be said to be due to such men when in power; but it is a very different sort of *fear* from that reverential *fear* which is due to him who “*is the minister of God to us for good!*” It is such a *fear* only as that, which men have of a *wild beast* that devours the flock! He is *fierce* and

strong, say they, and, therefore, each individual, through fear of *personal inconvenience to himself*, is induced to wink at the ruinous depredations made upon *his neighbours* and *brethren*, so that, for want of a prudent and timely opposition, the voracious animal (which in a state is a many-headed monster) becomes stronger and more dangerous to the community at large, till the unwary time-servers themselves perceive (when it is too late) that, by their own selfish connivance, respectively, as individuals, they have been accessaries to the general ruin; and, as such, must one day be answerable to God for their shameful breach of that LAW OF LIBERTY, (15) (“*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*,”) in which we are assured *all the law is fulfilled*, (16) and

(15) See my Tract on the *Law of Liberty*.

(16) “*For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*” Galatians v. 14.

and by which, we are also assured, *we shall be judged!* (17)

This heavenly *principle* is the true and proper ground for *patriotism*, and undoubtedly has always been the predominant motive of great and good men, (such as the disinterested and loyal apostle Paul, following his Lord's example,) in their opposition to the injustice of *rulers* and *magistrates*, though they *passively* submit to personal injuries from other hands! for, in this, as I have already remarked, consists the due distinction between the necessary *Christian submission to personal injuries*, and the doctrine of an *unlimited passive obedience*.

THE SUBJECTION AND OBEDIENCE TO MAGISTRATES, enjoined by the same apostle in his Epistle to Titus, (c. iii. 1.) must certainly be understood with the
same

(17) " So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be
" JUDGED by the law of liberty." James ii. 12.

same necessary limitations,—“ *Put them*
 “ *in mind* (says the apostle) **TO BE SUB-**
 “ **JECT TO PRINCIPALITIES AND**
 “ **POWERS, TO OBEY MAGISTRATES,**”
 (πειθαρχειν, says he, but then he im-
 mediately subjoins,) “ *to be ready to e-*
 “ *very good work.*” — And no man
 can be esteemed “ *ready to every good*
 “ *work,*” if he is *obedient* to magistrates
 when their commands exceed the due li-
 mits of the law; or if (contrary to the ex-
 ample of the apostle himself) he neglects a
 fair opportunity of publicly discounten-
 ancing and censuring any notorious per-
 version of *justice and right* by a magistrate!

The same necessary limitation of the
 doctrine of *obedience* must also be un-
 derstood when we read the exhortation
 of another apostle on this head, viz.
 “ *Submit yourselves to every ordinance*
 “ *of man for the Lord's sake: whether*
 “ *it be to the KING, as supreme; or*
 “ *unto*

“ unto GOVERNORS, as unto them that
 “ are sent by him FOR THE PUNISH-
 “ MENT OF EVIL DOERS, and for the
 “ PRAISE OF THEM THAT DO WELL.
 “ For so is the will of God, that with
 “ WELL-DOING ye may put to silence
 “ the ignorance of foolish men: as free,
 “ and not using (your) liberty for a cloke
 “ of maliciousness, but as the servants of
 “ God!” (1 Peter ii. 13-16.) GOVER-
 NORS are here declared to be sent *for the*
punishment of evil doers, and for the
praise of them that do well; to such, there-
 fore, as answer this description, the *sub-*
mission and honour enjoined in the context
 are undoubtedly due; but, whenever the
 governors themselves become *the evil do-*
ers, and, like *Ananias*, instead of praising
 and encouraging “ *them that do well*,”
 do notoriously abuse, oppress, and mur-
 der, them, *as he did*, (18) it would be a
 manifest

(18) The apostle Paul was so far from retracting any part of his severe censure and remonstrance against Ananias

manifest perversion of the text to suppose that we are required thereby to
 “ *submit ourselves to every ordinance of*
 “ *man,*”

Ananias, that he afterwards (before Felix) defied Ananias and the rest of his accusers to shew that he had been guilty of any the least misdemeanour ever since his last arrival at Jerusalem, and more particularly while “ *he stood before the council,*” (meaning the time when he foretold that God should smite that *whited wall*, Ananias,) “ or else” (said he to Felix) “ let these “ *same here say,*” (meaning the high priest *Ananias*, the elders, and their orator, Tertullus, mentioned in the first verse of the chapter,) “ *if they have found any*
 “ EVIL DOING * IN ME WHILE I STOOD BEFORE THE
 “ COUNCIL, *except it be for this one voice,*” (now he once more provokes the malicious Sadducee,) “ *that*
 “ *I cried, standing among them, Touching THE RESUR-*
 “ RECTION OF THE DEAD *I am called in question by*
 “ *you this day.*” (Acts xxiv. 20.) This is a manifest declaration that there was nothing reprehensible either in his *behaviour* or *words* on that day “ *before the*
 “ *council,*” because his declaration concerning the *resurrection of the dead* was the only *one voice* (or expression) which he supposed these Sadducees could call in question and lay to his charge!

* The word in the original is *adynon*, signifying rather *injustice*, or *unrighteousness*, than EVIL-DOING; and as the former may be effected by *words* as well as by *deeds*, this public challenge from the mouth of the apostle includes a complete justification of all that he either *said* or *did* on that day *before the council*.

“ *man,*” (19) without admitting such just and necessary exceptions to the doctrine

L

as

(19) The apostles and disciples of Christ were so far “ *from submitting themselves to every ordinance of man,*” that they boldly rejected the *unjust* commands even of the high priest and the whole national council of the Jewish state! The great council, called SANHEDRIM, i. e. *συνηδριον*, (the commands of which they rejected,) included at that time all persons of their nation that bore any public authority or dignity among them, for the text expressly informs us that “ *their RULERS, and* “ *ELDERS, and SCRIBES, and ANNAS, THE HIGH* “ *PRIEST,*” (and the *high priests* since the time of the Maccabees were generally considered as a sort of princes,) “ *and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as* “ *many as were of the kindred of the high priest, were* “ *gathered together at Jerusalem.*”

No power, therefore, amongst the Jews, could be more respectable (in regard to temporal authority) than this great national council: and the apostle Peter accordingly acknowledged their legal authority at first, by respectfully addressing them, saying,—“ *Ye* “ *rulers of the people and elders of Israel,*” &c.

Yet, notwithstanding the temporal authority of this awful assembly of *rulers* and *elders*, (or senators,) they were publicly disregarded and contradicted by the apostles even in their presence, upon the very first proposal of an *unreasonable* and *unlawful* ORDINANCE; for “ *they called them,*” (the apostles,) “ *and COMMANDED* “ *THEM not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of* “ *Jesus.*”—But “ *Peter and John answered and said* “ *unto them, whether it be right in the sight of God to* “ *hearken,*

as I have already cited from the example of the apostle Paul, and even from that of our Lord himself.

And, therefore, though the apostle Peter adds,—“ *Honour all (men): love the brotherhood: fear God: honour the king:*” yet he must necessarily be understood to mean, with the apostle Paul, that we must render “ *honour to whom honour*” is DUE, and not to
honour

“ *bearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things we have seen and heard.*” (Acts iv. 19 and 20.) And afterwards, when they were brought a second time before the said great council to answer for their breach of this “ ORDINANCE OF MAN,” “ *the high priest asked them, saying, DID NOT WE STRAIGHTLY COMMAND YOU that you should not teach in this name, and behold ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man’s blood upon us. Then Peter and the other apostle answered and said,—WE OUGHT TO OBEY GOD RATHER THAN MEN,*” &c. This sentence, in effect, holds good with respect also to the rejection of every public ordinance that is contrary to reason, justice, or natural equity, as well as those that are contrary to the written word of God! This I have shewn more at large in my Declaration of the People’s Right.

honour such men and such kings as are unworthy of honour! (20)

L 2

But

(20) To the example of the patriotic apostle, Paul, upon this point, I must now add that of another chosen vessel of Christ, the protomartyr *Stephen*: this excellent man, “*full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom,*” (Acts vi. 3.) “*full of faith and power,*” (v. 8.) “*and whose wisdom and spirit none were able to resist:*” (v. 10.)—This excellent man, I say, has left us by his own example an unquestionable precedent on record to demonstrate that HONOUR IS NOT DUE to the highest temporal authority on earth, not even to a great national council of rulers and elders, while they exercise their authority in *unjust* prosecutions, and abuse their power by enacting *unreasonable and tyrannical ordinances*. The great council of the Jewish state had “*straightly commanded*” the apostles and disciples of Christ (as I have already remarked in a preceding note) “*not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus;*” which command, it seems, was given lest their preaching should “*bring this man’s blood*” (said the high priest, meaning the blood of our LORD JESUS) “*upon us:*” but *Stephen* paid so little regard either to the *unlawful* command itself, or to the reason of it, that he afterwards publicly upbraided the whole council, with the high priest at the head of it, (in the most stimulating and unreserved terms,) as the betrayers and murderers of that just One!—“*Ye stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears,*” (said he to their faces in the public assembly,) “*ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers (did), so (do) ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they*”
“*have*”

But what men (it will be said) are to be esteemed the proper *judges of desert* in such cases, so as to determine with propriety when *honour* is or is not to be rendered? To which I answer, — *Every man* is a judge of it if he be not an idiot or mad man! *Every man* of common sense can distinguish *justice* from *injustice*, *right* from *wrong*,
honourable

“ *have slain them which shewed before of the coming of the*
 “ JUST ONE, of whom ye have been now the BETRAY-
 “ ERS and MURDERERS,” &c. (Acts vii. 51 and 52.)
 Words could not well be *sharper* than these, which is manifest from their *effect*; for the text testifies that
 “ *when they heard these things they were CUT TO THE*
 “ HEART, and they gnashed on him with (their) teeth.”
 (V. 54.) Thus it clearly appears that the holy, innocent, and meek Stephen did not think himself bound (like our undistinguishing *passive-obedience* men) to “ *submit to every ordinance of man,*” &c. nor to “ *honour all men,*” without making reasonable and due exceptions! Nay, so far from *honouring* men merely on account of their *temporal dignity*, it is manifest that he treated the whole *body of rulers* with the utmost severity and contempt, while he thought them *unworthy of honour*, and yet there is no doubt but that he most conscientiously, on every occasion, rendered “ *honour to whom*
 “ *honour*” WAS DUE!

honourable from *dishonourable*, (21) whenever he happens to be an eye or ear witness of the proper circumstances of evidence for such a judgement! *Every man*, (except as above,) be he ever so poor and mean with respect to his rank in this life, inherits *the knowledge of good and evil*, or REASON, from the common parents of mankind, and is thereby rendered answerable to GOD for *all* his actions, and answerable to MAN for *many* of them!

In this *hereditary knowledge*, and in the proper use of it, (according to the different stations of life in which men subsist in this world,) consists the *equality* of ALL MANKIND in the sight of GOD, and also in the eye of *the law*, I mean the *common law* and rules of *natural justice*, which are formed upon the self-evident

(21) See my Tract on “ *the Law of Nature and the Principles of Action in Man*,” wherein, I hope, this point is fully demonstrated.

evident conclusions of *human reason*, and are the necessary result of the above-mentioned *hereditary knowledge in MAN*. Every man *knows*, by what we call *conscience*, (which is only an effect of *human reason* upon the mind,) whether his own actions deserve the *censure* of the *magistrate*, who “ bears not the sword in vain!” And the same principle of *hereditary knowledge* enables him to judge also concerning the outward actions of *other men*, whether they be *just* or *unjust*; whether they be *praiseworthy* or *censurable*!

But, if a man abuses his own *natural reason*, and suffers himself to be blinded by private interest, by passion, or unreasonable resentment, or by pride, envy, or personal partiality, and is thereby led to misconstrue the actions of his superiors, to behave unseemly towards them, and to censure them publicly

licly without a just cause, the *conscience* of such an offender against *reason* will speedily inform him that he has cause to *fear the magistrate*, and that he is liable to suffer for his misbehaviour “ *as an evil doer* :” but, when the like faults are discoverable on the other side, that is, on the side of the superior or magistrate, (as it happened in the case of Ananias,) a *just* censure of the *unjust* magistrate, even though it comes from the poorest and meanest man that happens to be present, will have its due weight in the opinion of all unprejudiced and disinterested persons, and may occasion a considerable check to the progress of *injustice* ; and, therefore, if any man neglects such an opportunity (when he has it in his power) of making a personal *protest* (as Paul did) against the public injustice of a wicked magistrate, he strengthens the hand of iniquity by his timidity
and

and remissness, and becomes accessory to the public disgrace by refusing his endeavours, according to his abilities, (howsoever small,) to vindicate the *laws of God*, and maintain the *common rights of his neighbours and brethren*. Such an one unhappily demonstrates that he has more *fear* of MAN than of GOD, and much more *love* for *himself* than he has for his *neighbour* and *country*, and, consequently, in that awful day, when he “*shall be judged by the law of liberty*,” (22) must be liable, (unless a timely repentance should have previously restored him to a better use of that *hereditary knowledge* for which all men are accountable,) must be liable, I say, “*to be cast with the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth!*”
Matth. xxv. 30.

ALL

(22) James ii. 12. See also my Tract on *the Law of Liberty*.

ALL MEN, therefore, be they ever so *rich*, or ever so *poor* and *mean*, are REQUIRED to vindicate the cause of *truth*, *justice*, and *righteousness*, whenever they have a favourable opportunity of doing so; they ARE REQUIRED, I say, because they ARE ENABLED by their NATURAL KNOWLEDGE of GOOD and EVIL to discern and judge concerning the *fitness* or *unfitness* of human actions, and of the *justice* or *injustice* of all measures and proceedings that happen to fall within the reach of their inspection and consequent observation. He, who denies this, is ignorant of the *true dignity of human nature*, and wants a teacher to point out to him not only *the equality of mankind before God*, but also *the universal conditions of man's subsistence in the world!*—THE HEREDITARY KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND EVIL may, at least, be esteemed as the ONE TALENT

for which *all mankind* are accountable to the universal Lord! And, therefore, if they wilfully *abuse* or *bury* THIS TALENT, they have surely nothing to expect but the condemnation above-mentioned of the *unprofitable servant!*

Shall we blame the patriotic apostle, then, for his zeal in vindicating *the natural rights of mankind* against an UNJUST JUDGE, when he had so fair an opportunity of protesting against his iniquity? God forbid! Let us, on the contrary, revere his example, which, in reality, affords no opposition to the doctrine laid down in the beginning of this Tract concerning the necessity of “*Christian submission to personal injuries.*” If he, sometimes, freely and courageously expressed his *resentment for personal ill usage*, (23) it was always

(23) In pursuing the examination of this subject concerning *resentment for personal ill usage*, I was gradually led

judge, jury, and executioner! He is so far from vindicating *the law*, like the generous and patriotic apostle, for the sake of *national liberty*, that he manifestly sets himself up *above the law*, (which is *the first characteristic of a tyrant*,) and thereby renders himself in fact an open enemy to *liberty*, and consequently a *disgrace to society!*

GRANVILLE SHARP.

“ GLORY to GOD in the Highest!

“ And on Earth — PEACE,

“ GOOD WILL towards Men!”

I N D E X

I N D E X

O F

Texts referred to in the foregoing Work.

LEVITICUS.

Chap.	Verses,	Pages.
xxv.	52.	18.

DEUTERONOMY.

xv.	12, 14.	21.
-----	---------	-----

ECCLESIASTICUS.

xxxiii.	12.	34 n.
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ISAIAH.

liii.	7, 8.	64 n.
-------	-------	-------

MATTHEW.

v.	17.	63 n.
xxiii.	24, 25.	61.
	27, 28.	} 61.
	30, 33.	
xxv.	30.	88.

MARK.

ix.	6.	58 n.
-----	----	-------

LUKE.

Chap.	Verses.	Pages.
vi.	28, 29.	39.
xiii.	32.	62.

JOHN.

viii.	34.	72 n.
	41.	72 n.
	43, 44.	72 n.
xv.	12 to 15.	37 n.
xviii.	21, 22.	65.
	23.	66.
	36.	7.

ACTS.

iv.	8.	83 n.
	10.	83 n.
	19, 20.	83 n.
vii.	51, 52.	84 n.
	54.	84 n.
xvi.	30 to 39.	44 n.
xxii.	24 to 30.	45 n.
xxiii.	1 to 5.	45 n.

ACTS

ACTS *continued.*

xxiii. 6. 67.
xxiv. 20. 80 n.

ROMANS.

ii. 11. 34 n.
vi. 6. 73 n.
xiii. 68.
I to 7 70.
9, 10. 37 n.

I CORINTHIANS.

vi. 19, 20. 23.
vii. 21. 7.
20, 21. 16.
21 to 23. 12 n.
21. 17.
22. 17.
23. 17. 20.

GALATIANS.

v. 14. 76 n.

EPHESIANS.

vi. 5 to 8. 7. 15.
5, &c. 34.
8, 9. 34 n.

COLOSSIANS.

iii. 2. 15.

COLOSSIANS *continued.*

iii. 18. 32 n.
20. 33 n.
22. 33 n.
22, 23. 7.
23, 24. 33 n.
24. 34 n.
25. 31 n. 34 n.
iv. 1. 35 n. 36 n.

I TIMOTHY.

vi. 32 n.
I to 8. 11.
1. 14. 38.
2. 24. 28.

TITUS.

ii. 9. 32 n.
9, 10. 11.
10. 14. 32.
iii. 1. 77.

JAMES.

ii. 12. 77 n. 84 n.

I PETER.

ii. 13 to 16. 79.
18. 15.

I N D E X

O F T H E

Different Authors referred to.

A.

ASSEMBLY'S ANNOTATIONS, 57 n.

Ananias, 49 n.

Ananus, 49 n.

Augustine, bishop of Hippo, 57 n.

B.

Benson, (Dr. Geo.) 25 n.

Borner, 26 n.

Brafton, (Hen. de,) 72 n. 73 n.

Broughton, (Hugh,) 47 n.

C.

Castalio, 47 n.

Cornelius a Lapide, 58.

F.

Fleta, 73 n.

Fox, (reverend Francis,) 59 n.

Francowitz, (Mat. Flac.) 57 n. 58 n.

G.

G.

Grotius, 59 n.

H.

Hammond, 28.

Heinfius, 47 n.

J.

Josephus, 52 n. 53 n. 57 n.

Judgement of whole kingdoms and nations, &c. 74 n.

Justin Martyr, 21.

K.

Kufter, 26 n.

L.

Law of Liberty, 76 n. 86 n.

Law of Nature, 85 n.

Lightfoot, 59 n.

Lorinus, 57.

M.

Martin, (monf.) 58 n.

Mill, (Dr.) 26 n.

P.

Pet. 2 and 3. MSS. so called, 26 n.

S.

Sommers, (lord,) 73.

Syriac version, 25 n.

T.

Tertullian, 21.

W.

Whiston, 54 n.

Whitby, (Dr.) 59 n. 21. 25 n. 34 n.

I N D E X

O F T H E

Various Topics discussed in this Work.

A.

ANANIAS. See FRANOWITZ, MARTIN, also *high priest, judge, and magistrate.* St. Paul's denunciation against him justified by the event, 52 n. his injustice and cruelty towards the Christians, 53 n.

Apostles. Did not submit themselves to every ordinance of man without exception, 78 & seq.

Author. A learned and reverend correspondent differs from him in his notions of slavery, 4; his character of that correspondent, 5; concessions of his, 6, 13; reasons for not answering a letter from him at the time of receiving it, *ib.* his design in this treatise is to demonstrate the absolute illegality of slavery among Christians, 7; esteems both master and slaves as brethren, 12; his reasons for printing his Remarks on the Crown Law prior to this tract, 91 n.

B.

Believers. God alone their judge, 26.

N

C.

C.

Christ. His disciples had no commission to alter the temporary conditions of men, 7 ; claimed no authority to dispense with the Mosaic law, 62 n.

Conscience. Only an effect of human reason, 86.

Correspondent of the Author's. See *Author.* Does not think Christianity released slaves, &c. 6 ; an opinion of his examined, 18 n. & seq. another, 30 n. & seq.

D.

Duties of placability, submission, and patience, too commonly misunderstood or rejected by the Christian world, 41.

E.

Edward, (St.). The strictness of his law concerning kings, 74 & seq.

Egyptian bondage. A type of our spiritual servitude to the enemy of mankind, 20.

F.

Fear. That we have of a tyrant very different from that we have of a good magistrate, 75.

Francowitz, (Mat. Flac.). His opinion of St. Paul's answer to Ananias, 57 n.

Freedom. The attainment of it legally enjoined servants by St. Paul, 12 n. 16.

G.

GOD. Submission in servants enjoined for conscience sake towards him, 15 & seq. masters and servants equal in his sight, 17. See *Believers, Judge.*

Good and evil. See *Reason.*

Good

Good men. From whence their zeal arises for just and equitable laws, 42.

Grotius. Quoted by Dr. Whitby concerning St. Paul's reply to Ananias, 59 n.

H.

High priest. St. Paul's spirited but cautious behaviour before him, 46 & seq. did not attempt to excuse or apologize for it, 47 & seq. 67; the justness of that behaviour, 56. 60. 90; Lorinus' paraphrase of the apostle's reply to him, 57; which is strictly consonant to reason and natural right, 59; our Lord's behaviour, in the same predicament, exactly similar, 60 & seq. the apostle's behaviour not inconsistent with his doctrine, Rom. xiii. 68 & seq. which behaviour he afterwards defended before Felix, 79 n.

J.

Jews. Not to be sold as bondmen, 18, 19, 20. See *Slavery.*

Injustice. Censuring bad magistrates may tend to check its progress, 87; which is the duty of every man, 89.

Interrogatories. Their illegality, 64.

Judge. One who perverts judgement degrades himself from his office, 55; our Saviour's character of such, 61 & seq. who cannot be deemed ministers of God in any respect, 71.

K.

Kings. Are not *ministers of God* when they act contrary to law, 72; and see the notes on that and the succeeding page. See *Edward* (St.); not worthy the name of a king, 75; but are *ministers of the devil*, and unworthy of *honour* while they do evil, ib.

L.

- Law.* A notorious breach of it by a ruler is a temporary disqualification, 55. See *Kings, Edward* (St.).
Loyal. What it is to be really so, 56.

M.

- Magistrates.* Their reprehension not inconsistent with Christian passive obedience, 66 & seq. good one. See *Fear, Injustice.*
Martin, (monf.). Agrees with M. Flac. Francowitz, Grotius, Whitby, &c. concerning St. Paul's reply to Ananias, 58 n.
Masters. See GOD, *Slavery.*
Ministers of God. See *Kings.*
Ministers of the devil. See *Kings.*

O.

- Obedience.* See *Servants.*
Oppression. That practised by the slave-holders no more justified by the New Testament than that of strikers or robbers, 41.

P.

- Passive obedience.* See *Magistrates.* Not due to evil magistrates, 77 & seq.
Patience. See *Duties.*
Patriotism. The proper ground for it, 77.
Paul, (St.). His zeal for the Roman liberty, 42 ; his Christian patience and meekness under personal injuries, 43. 44 n. See *high priest.* His injunction, Tit. iii. 1. explained, 77.
Peter, (St.). His injunction, 1 Pet. ii. 13 to 16. explained, 79.
Price. The meaning of that word in 1 Cor. vii. 23. examined, 21 & seq.

Q.

Questions. Serious ones to the slave-holders, 30 & seq.

R.

Reason. Inherited by all men, except idiots or mad men, 84. 89; which renders all men equal in the sight of God and the law, 85. See *Conscience*. The talent for which all men are accountable, 90.

Royal law. No single text to be depended on, which will not bear the test of it, 27.

Ruler. See *Law*.

S.

Sanhedrim. Its power and dignity, 81 n.

Scriptures. Their honour what the author has most at heart, 4.

Servants, (Christian,). Their obedience frequently insisted on by St. Paul, 8 & seq. the submission required of them does not imply the legality of slave-holding, 11; on what principles that submission is founded, 13 & seq. 24 n. which do not admit of any right or property in the master, 15; submission enjoined by St. Peter both to the good and bad master, for conscience' sake towards God, 15 & seq. See *GOD, Slavery, Slave-holders, Tyranny*.

Slave-holders. Cannot avail themselves of any of the texts relating to Christian servants, 29. 38. See *Questions, Oppression*.

Slavery. Some particular texts seem to prove the toleration of it amongst the primitive Christians, 3. See *Author*. No more than a state of hired servitude among the Jews, 19 n. 21 n. the text 1 Tim. vi. 2. no argument in favour of it, 24 & seq. that text intended for servants, not masters, 26; so understood by

by Dr. Hammond, 26; the texts which justify the slave's submission do not authorize the master's tyranny, 30. (See the whole note in that page.) 40.

Subjection (unlimited). Inconsistent with the dignity of a Christian, 17; and intirely illegal, ib. See *Duties*.

T.

Texts. See *Price*, *Slavery*, *Whitby*, *Paul*, *Peter*.

Tyrants. See *Fear*. The folly and wickedness of abetting them, 76; characteristics of one, 91.

Tyranny. The submission enjoined in the gospel no plea for it, 39.

W.

Whitby, (Dr.). Mistakes the meaning of the text 1 Cor. vii. 23, 21; is of the same opinion with Grotius concerning St. Paul's reply to Ananias, 59 n.

Whited wall. The propriety of that expression of St. Paul, 52.

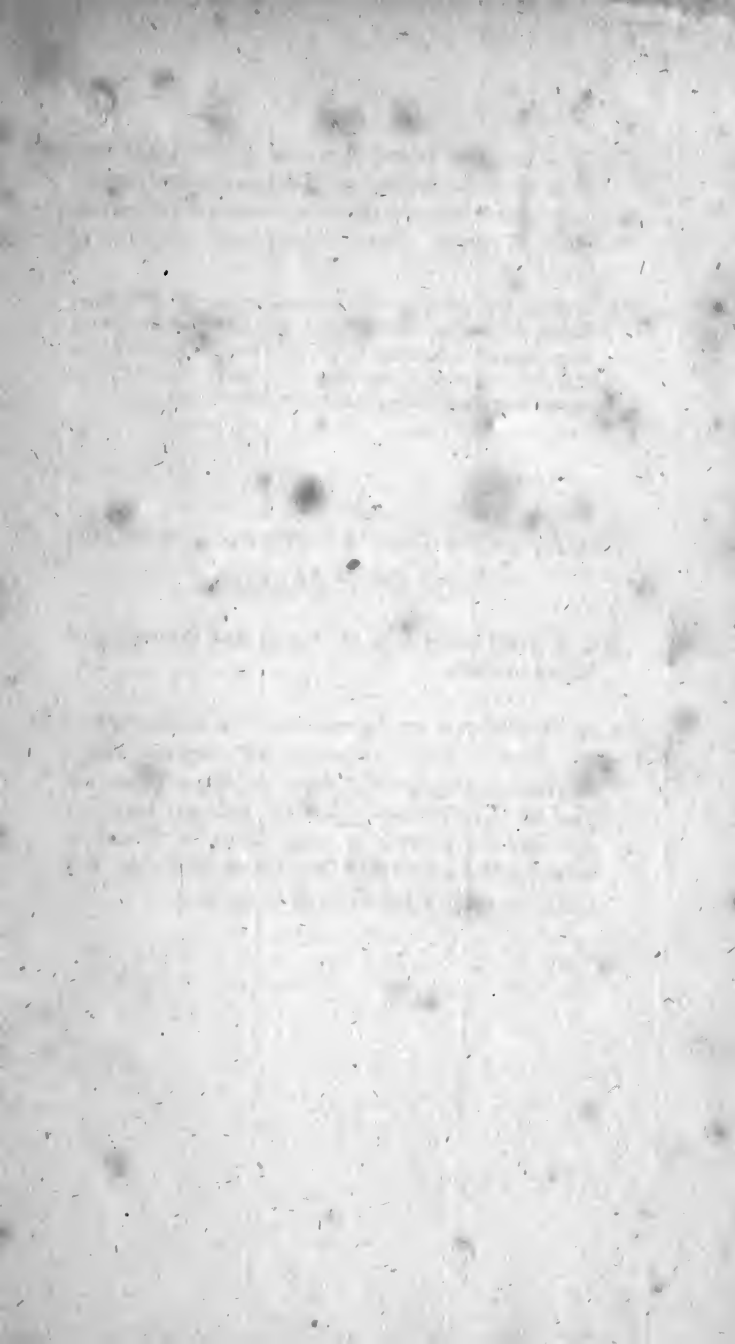
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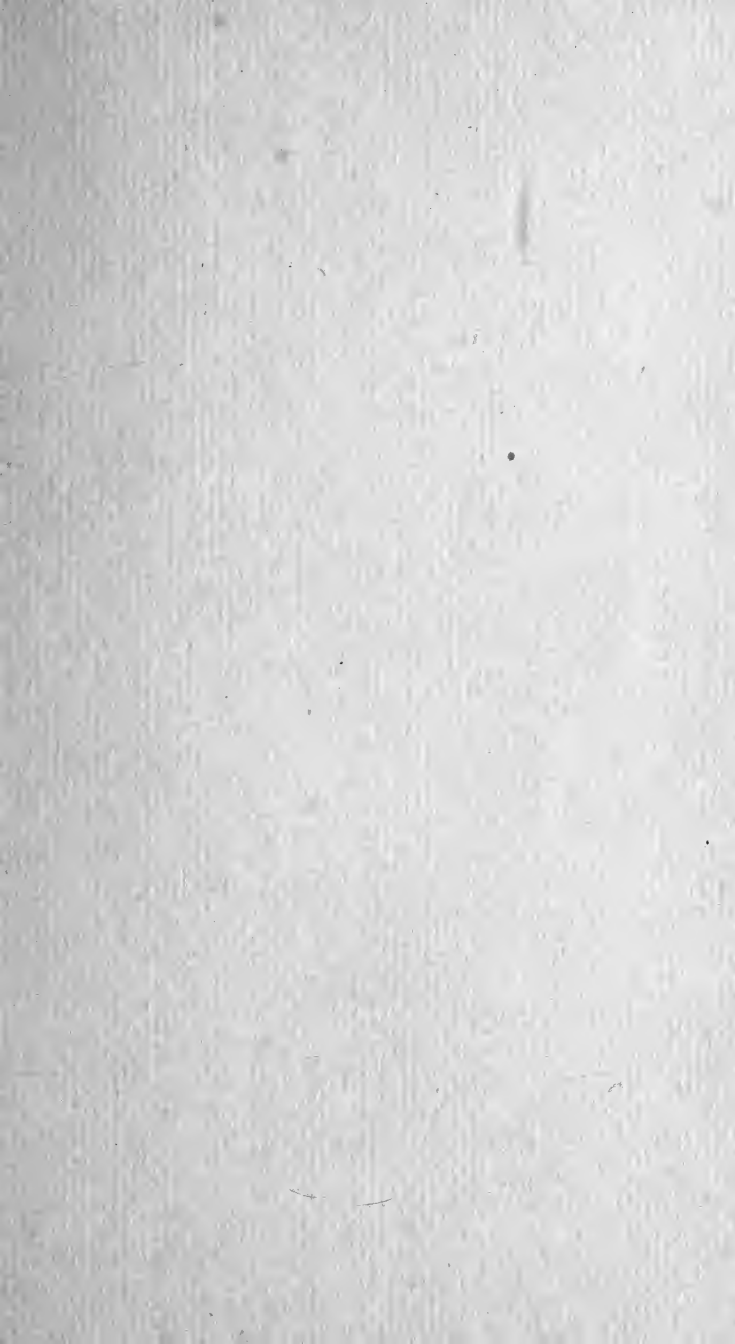
Page 47, line 2, for hearsay, read hearing.

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