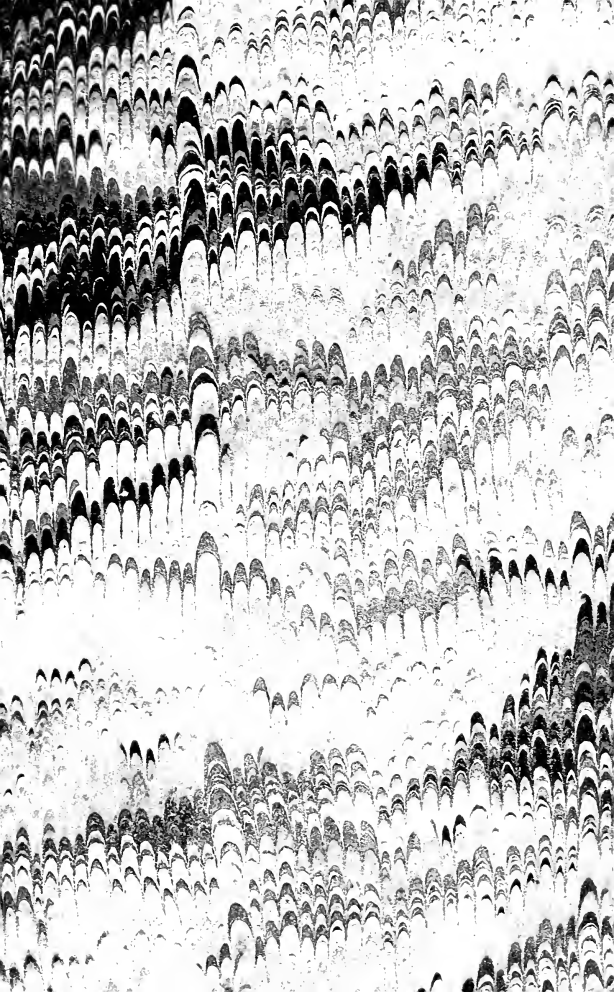
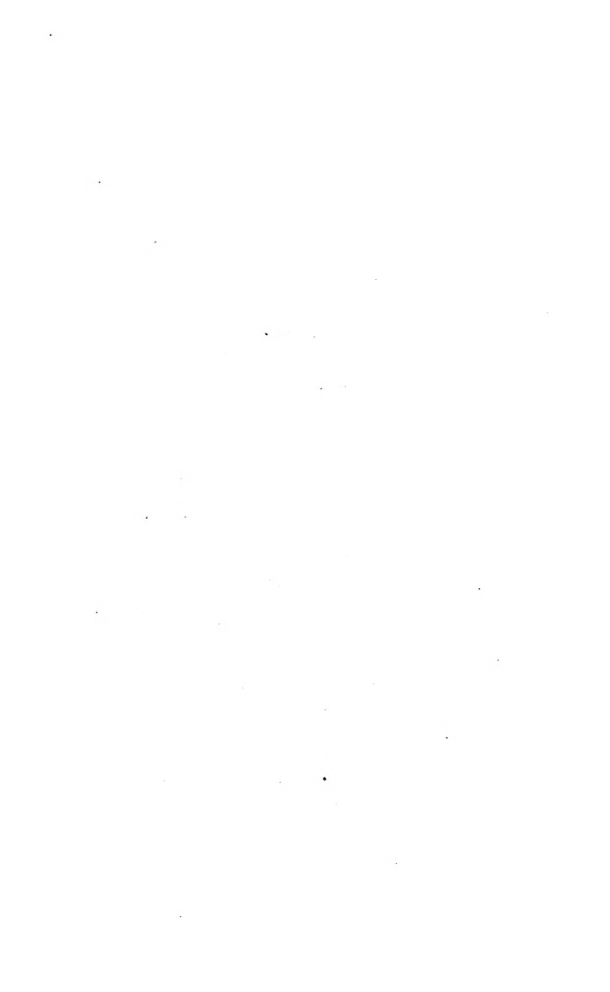


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AN
APPEAL TO CHRISTIANS,

ON THE

SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

BY JOHN HERSEY.

SECOND EDITION.

BALTIMORE:
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CONTENTS.

	Page.
Desultory Remarks,	5
Extracts from the speech of J. A. Chandler, mem- ber of the house of delegates of Virginia, .	11
" from E. Rushton's letter,	18
" " T. J. Randolph's speech,	<i>ib.</i>
" " Henry Berry's do.	22
" " Thos. Marshall's do.	25
" " James M'Dowell's do.	26
" " Philip A. Bolling's do.	35
" " Chas. J. Faulkner's do.	37
" " Jefferson's Notes on Virginia,	43
" " Thos. Jefferson's letter to E. Cole and J. Sparks,	45
Remarks and reflections,	50
Moral objections to slavery, founded on the word of God,	52
Arguments in favour of slavery considered and answered:	
FIRST—"Slavery has existed in all ages and coun- tries. Abraham the friend of God owned servants."	67
SECOND—"Slavery existed among the Jews by the express permission of Almighty God."	68
THIRD—"By the curse of God pronounced by his servant Noah, these people were doomed to be servants."	75

	Page.
FOURTH—"Our slaves are in a more eligible and enviable condition than the peasantry of Europe."	78
FIFTH—"The New Testament is silent on the subject. Masters and servants are mentioned, yet the practice is not forbidden,"	81
SIXTH—"The testimony of <i>Christian masters</i> , who have died triumphant deaths,"	82
Remarks and reflections,	85
The inquiry, what can be done with our slaves? answered,	87
Remarks on the colony at Liberia.	88
An estimate of the time and expense, required to remove all our coloured population to Africa,	90
An exhibition of our pecuniary account with those people for the last ten years,	95
A plan recommended by which a sufficient fund can be raised to remove them all to Africa in less than 33 years,	<i>ib.</i>
Objections to colonizing them in Africa considered,	99
An appeal to those who are involved in the evils of slavery,	104
An appeal to those who reside in free states, who are exempt from this great incumbrance	112
An appeal to Christians in the United States of every name,	114
The Christian missionary's dilemma,	116
Inconsistencies and absurdities connected with slavery as it exists in our country,	118
Remarks and reflections,	121
Reference to the word of God,	<i>ib.</i>
Concluding reflections,	123

APPEAL.

THE inhabitants of the earth are emerging from their obscurity—the folds of night are falling off, and mankind are starting from their midnight slumber. The political and intellectual; the moral and the religious worlds are in motion.

The womb of time swells with events of infinite magnitude. The signs of the times are truly ominous—they speak the impressive language of prophecy, unfolding and maturing scenes of the deepest interest. Jehovah's heralds are going forth; they loudly and unequivocally proclaim the approach of the Lord. The God of the whole earth is drawing nigh.

“Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him. Even so, Amen.”*

“But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for

*Rev. i. 7.

he is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap; and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness."*

The gospel of Jesus Christ—the glad tidings of salvation is sounding from every eminence; and through the lonely vale, the echo of “glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace; good will towards men,” is heard to reverberate.

But alas for fallen, erring, inconsistent mortals; they are ever prone to depart from the path of righteousness. They are ever disposed to provoke the Holy One of Israel to anger, and thereby draw down destruction and misery on their own heads.

Notwithstanding the great light which is now shining in the earth, and the unparalleled blessings and privileges which we enjoy as a Christian nation—in the midst of Columbia's highly favoured land, a dark cloud of *ignorance*, *degradation*, and misery, still lowers over the destiny of a large portion of our fellow mortals. The unfortunate offspring of injured Africa is still doomed to degradation and bondage; not in the wilds where their fathers

*Mal. iii. 2, 3.

dwelt, and their brethren still breathe out a wretched existence in vice and ignorance; but under circumstances more mortifying and cruel: they are sentenced like Tantalus, amidst an ocean of civil and religious liberty to perpetual exclusion; they must not taste its limpid stream, though they are immersed in its bosom!

It is not our intention to anathematise the slaveholder; nor to sport with the feelings of the master or the slave; we sincerely sympathise with each party: neither do we intend to inflame the unhallowed passions of any rational human being in the discussion of this difficult and delicate subject. Our appeal will be made *rationaly, respectfully*, and exclusively to those who profess to be children of the Most High God. It is our design, simply and honestly, to point out some of the difficulties and dangers to which slavery as it now exists in our country, subjects Christians respecting their final salvation. And then, recommend, affectionately, a salutary remedy for this evil, which may be effected in an easy, noiseless, tranquil manner, without exciting jealousy, or unkind feelings in the breast of any human being.

There can be very little diversity of opinion respecting the subject of slavery. More than nine-tenths of all the respectable and reflecting part of society who make no profession of reli-

gion, but who are not implicated in the traffic, immediately or remotely, consider it as a practice derogatory to the character of any enlightened nation. Men of refined feelings—of intelligence and honourable principles, regard it as a reproach to any people; and not a few of those who are deeply involved in the practice of slavery, view it as an evil of no ordinary magnitude; they believe that its existence among us, blots the brightest page of our country's history with inconsistency, cruelty, and disgrace.

The existence of slavery in this land of civil and religious liberty is felt, and deeply deplored by almost every honourable, intelligent, and reflecting citizen. It is, generally, viewed as a moral and political hydra, alike destructive to the peace, harmony, and happiness of society, and the prosperity of our country. Patriots, philanthropists, and Christians, mingle their tears together and weep in silence over this black ulcer which deforms the fairest features of Christianity, and corrupts the pure stream of liberty which otherwise would flow unsoiled through Columbia's happy land.

It is certainly true that slavery has been entailed upon us by our ancestors; hence, many are under an impression that we are not culpable, or in any way reprehensible or accounta-

ble for the existence, or the continuance of the evil. They believe (and no doubt very honestly) that no man can be, in justice, held responsible for the crimes or the errors of others. This sentiment is perfectly correct in most cases, and would apply in the present instance had we made every effort in our power to extricate ourselves from the evils and difficulties imposed on us by our fathers; this has not been done; the crime has, therefore, been legally and righteously transferred to our father's children.

Children frequently inherit poverty and ignorance from their parents; and unless they make a successful effort to relieve themselves from those embarrassments, they will be compelled to remain in a state of ignorance and poverty through life. Again, E is banished from his native country for the perpetration of a desperate crime; in his exile he begets children; they are perfectly innocent; they have not participated in their parent's evil deeds; yet they are necessarily involved in the fatal consequences growing out of their father's acts of infamy; and unless they make a rational effort to relieve themselves, they will for ever remain aliens and exiles.

The evil of slavery was not only commenced by our ancestors in error and avarice, but it has been continued by their descendants to

the present day in the same spirit. As the light of reason and religion has dawned on our own minds, we have uniformly endeavoured to shroud their's in deeper obscurity.

Instead of ameliorating their condition by legal authority, their chains of *bondage* and *ignorance* have been more securely rivetted on them, by laws of our own making.

Hence, we have uniformly endeavoured to shroud the evil deeds of our ancestors in darkness. We have hitherto strove to cast a veil of obscurity over the whole scene, intending thereby, if possible, to bury this mass of political and moral deformity in the tomb of *profound silence*. The time, however, has arrived when the grave of oblivion can no longer conceal the wretched—the deathlike condition of that unfortunate and outcast race of human beings. After an interment of nearly two hundred years the lethean spell has been dissolved. The important subject of slavery has been openly discussed during the past year in the legislature of Virginia; a large and respectable state, as deeply interested as any of her sister states in this dark tragedy.

Without offering any apology to our readers for doing so, we shall present them with a few extracts taken from several speeches delivered in the house of delegates of the state of

Virginia during the session of 1831-2. From the declarations made by those statesmen, we may learn definitely the sentiments held by a large and respectable number of distinguished political characters, respecting the subject of slavery; and from the number of petitions presented to that enlightened political body during the pendency of the debate on the slave question, we are highly gratified to learn that those honourable sentiments are in accordance with those held by a large portion of the respectable and intelligent citizens of that state.

Extract from the speech of John A. Chandler of Norfolk county, in the house of delegates of Virginia, on the policy of the state with respect to her slave population, delivered January 17th, 1832.

“It is admitted by all who have addressed this house; that slavery is a curse, and an increasing one. That it has been destructive to the lives of our citizens, history, with unerring truth, will record. That its future increase will create commotion, cannot be doubted.

“The time, then, sir, has arrived, when the *salus populi* applies, and every consideration of patriotism requires us to act upon it. This principle, this fundamental principle, the safety of the people, embraces not only the present race, but posterity also. The gentleman from

Brunswick, with great force and eloquence, has insisted that the master has property not only in the female slave, but in the issue **AD INFINITUM**. And, sir, we have an interest not only in our own welfare, but in that of our posterity. We are bound to legislate for them as well as for ourselves.

“This principle, that posterity are interested in the acts of their ancestors, is recognized in the Bill of Rights, in the very first section of it. That instrument is hallowed by its antiquity—by the double confirmation of the people of this dominion. I may say, it is superior to the constitution itself, as that professes to be based upon the Bill of Rights.

“What says that instrument? “That man has certain unalienable rights,” of which, when he enters into society, he cannot by any compact deprive his *posterity*; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and of pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. Has slavery, interfered with our means of enjoying **LIFE, LIBERTY, PROPERTY, HAPPINESS AND SAFETY?** Look at Southampton. The answer is written **IN LETTERS OF BLOOD**, upon the floors of that unhappy county. Under these circumstances, may we not inquire into the **RIGHT** of our ancestors to inflict this curse upon us, seeing that

it has interfered so essentially with the first article of the Bill of Rights?

“But, sir, will this evil—this CURSE, not increase? Will not the life, liberty, prosperity, happiness, and safety, of those who may come after us, be endangered in a still greater degree by it? How then can we reconcile it to ourselves, to fasten this upon them? Do we not endanger our very national existence by entailing slavery upon them?”

“Sir, the gentleman from Brunswick very emphatically asked, “are not our slaves our property?” and the gentleman from Dinwiddie, sustaining his position, said in that integrity and firmness which characterises all his actions, that he would own no property, respecting which he was afraid to shew his title papers. He even invited discussion upon this question of title to slaves as property. *As a Virginian*, I do not question the master’s title to his slave; but I put it to the gentleman, *as a man*, as a *moral man*, as a Christian man, whether he has **NOT SOME DOUBT**, of his claim being as *absolute and unqualified* as that of other property? I do this not for the purpose of raising an argument to sustain the power of the legislature to remove them, which I think I have satisfactorily shewn; but mainly to call his attention to the title, that if a doubt as to that should be

created, it may operate, in some measure, in withdrawing opposition to the removal of the slaves. Let us, sir, in the investigation of this title, go back to its origin. *Whence came slaves into this country?* From Africa. *Were they free men there?* At one time they were. *How come they to be converted into slaves?* By the stratagem of war, and the strong arm of the conqueror: they were vanquished in battle, sold by the victorious party, to the slave trader, who brought them to our shores, and disposed of them to the planter of Virginia. *Had the conqueror an absolute and unqualified right to them?*

“The gentleman from Campbell, (Mr. Daniel,) in arguing this part of the subject, stated, that ancient authors insisted upon two modes by which a free man might become a slave, to wit: by voluntary compact, and by conquest; but he was in the end compelled, by the course of his reasoning, to admit that those doctrines have been exploded by modern writers. If, then, LIBERTY, RIGHTFULLY, cannot be converted into slavery, may I not question whether the title of the master to the slave is absolute and unqualified, and beyond the disposition of the government? In general cases the derivative title cannot be better than the primitive. If the warrior had no absolute right to the person

of his captive, may there not be SOME DOUBT whether the Virginia planter has an unqualified one?

“What, sir, would be thought at the present day, if an elephant were taken by force or fraud from its true owner, on the coast of Africa, and brought to our country, and an individual knowing of the circumstance were to purchase it? Would it not be said that he participated in the crime? Would not the old adage—“that the receiver of stolen goods is as bad as the thief,” apply? And, sir, is the reasoning different, **WHEN THE SUBJECT IS A HUMAN BEING?** When a **MAN** has been taken by force or fraud from his native shore, and sold in your market? It may be said, that our ancestors did not know the circumstances under which the slave lost his liberty. I hope they did not. It will, in some measure, extenuate the crime, **BUT CANNOT ENHANCE THE TITLE.** The truth is, that our ancestors had no title to this property, and we have acquired it only by legislative enactments, sanctioned by the necessity of the case.

“It may be argued that length of time has created a title. Some thirty years ago a frigate which had been captured from the French by the valour and skill of our gallant tars, after having been brought into port was refitted, and

sailed on a cruise; she has never been heard of since. Imagine for a moment that it was now announced to this nation, that the ship had foundered on the coast of Africa, and her crew, or part of them, were alive, SLAVES to some petty monarch in that country? Think you, sir, that we would listen to the plea of length of time? No; the voice of a mighty people, with resistless force, would proclaim that freemen can never be made slaves, and the hum of preparation to demand our long lost brethren, would soon resound throughout the land. And, sir, but for the degradation and absence of nationality in Africa, one of the most interesting principles of international law might be presented to the American people, which has ever engaged the attention of the statesman. A principle that would be advocated by the good and wise throughout the union. Were Africa erected into a sovereign and independent state, and recognized as a nation by the potentates of the world, to make a demand upon our government, *for her long lost and enslaved children*, accompanied with a recital of all the circumstances of fraud by which they were taken from their native country, it would present a claim too strong to be discussed—a demand too just to be denied by the free born sons of Virginia. These reflections I have thrown

out, Mr. Speaker, in the hope, that, if masters of slaves should perceive some defect in their title, they may be inclined "TO LET THEM GO."

"I have, Mr. Speaker, entered into but few statistical details; the course of my argument, I trust, made it unnecessary. One estimate, however, I will mention—it is this: that if the slave population increase as it has done for some years past, in the year 1880, less than 50 years hence, there will be in the seven states, of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi, something more than 5,000,000 of slaves, of which Virginia, alone, will possess largely upwards of 1,000,000—an amount too great, too appalling for a statesman not to apprehend *some danger from*. I acknowledge, I tremble for the fate of my country at some future day, unless we "DO SOMETHING!" "

The sentiments expressed in the preceding extracts from J. A. Chandler's speech, are rational and conclusive. Agreeably to his views something must be done speedily in this momentous business, or ruin will be inevitable. He has proved incontestably that no man in a Christian country can possess a *legal* right or title to his fellow man as his property. Then in the sight of heaven, are not all slaveholders UNJUST people? This argument and decision

imperiously calls for the solemn consideration of every Christian slaveholder; as a moment's reflection will convince any unprejudiced mind that no unjust person can enter into the kingdom of heaven.

There is something in the very idea of buying and selling human beings, that is altogether repugnant to the feelings of every Christian.

In a letter written by Edward Rushton, and addressed to George Washington, president of the United States, dated Liverpool, (Eng.) February 20th, 1797—he indignantly exclaims—“shame! shame! that *man* should be deemed the PROPERTY of *man*, or that the name of Washington should be found among the list of such proprietors.”

Our friends will pardon us for introducing the above sentiment from the pen of an Englishman. It is not our intention to appeal to foreigners, or those who are happily ignorant of the difficulties connected with slavery, for their aid in the discussion of this important subject. We cannot, however, refrain from advertizing further to the opinion and views of distinguished characters who have been born and educated in the midst of slavery—of those who are still encompassed about with this growing evil.

Extracts from the speech of Thomas J. Randolph, (of Albemarle,) in the house of delegates

of Virginia on the abolition of slavery, delivered Saturday, January 21st, 1832.

“I will quote, in part, the statistics of the gentleman from Dinwiddie, whose accuracy cannot be questioned. Judging the future by the past, in 40 years the coloured population in Eastern Virginia will exceed the white 200,000. In the last 40 years, the whites in the same district have increased 51 per cent: the blacks 186 per cent. Forty years ago, the whites exceeded the coloured 25,000: the coloured now exceeds the whites 81,000: a net gain of the blacks over the whites in 40 years of 106,000: and these results too, during an exportation of near 260,000 slaves since the year 1790, now, perhaps, the fruitful progenitors of half a million in other states. By reference to document No. 16, on your table, you will perceive that in the year 1830, of that part of the population of 10 years old and under, the blacks exceed the whites 26 per cent.—over that age, only 3 per cent. What a change will not 18 years make for the worse when those children shall be grown. What a change will not 40 years, with its geometrical progression, evolve, when they shall become fathers and mothers, and some of them grandmothers? If exportation ceases, some of those now within the hearing of my voice, may live to see the

coloured population of Virginia 2,000,000, or 2,500,000: children now born may live to see them 3,000,000, determining their increase by their average increase in the United States in the last 40 years.

“Sir, is not this the case of the *salus populi* demonstrated to exist in the certain future? Who will be so hardy as to assert, that when the time arrives, a remedy can be applied: who will say that 2,000,000, can be attempted to be removed: they will say to you long before that “we will not go.” Here, sir, applies that wise maxim of the law “*venienti occurrere morbo*,” (meet the coming ill.)

“The gentleman has spoken of the increase of the female slaves being a part of the profit: it is admitted; but no great evil can be averted, no good attained, without some inconvenience. It may be questioned, how far it is desirable to foster and encourage this branch of profit. It is a practice, and an increasing practice in parts of Virginia, to rear slaves for market. How can an honourable mind, a patriot, and a lover of his country, bear to see this ancient dominion, rendered illustrious by the noble devotion and patriotism of her sons in the cause of liberty, converted into one grand menagerie where men are to be reared for market like oxen for the shambles. Is it better, is it not worse

than the slave trade, that trade which enlisted the labour of the good and the wise of every creed and every clime to abolish it? The trader receives the slave, a stranger in language, aspect, and manner, from the merchant who has brought him from the interior. The ties of father, mother, husband, and child have all been rent in twain; before he receives him, his soul has become callous.

“But here, sir, individuals, whom the master has known from infancy, whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood, who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mother’s arms, and sells into a strange country among strange people, subject to cruel task-masters. In my opinion, sir, it is much worse.

“He has compared slave property to a capital in money. I wish it were money, sir, or any thing else than what it is. It is not money, it is labour; it is the labour which produces that for which money is the representative. The interest on money is 4 to 6 per cent. The hire of male slaves is about 15 per cent. upon their value: in ten years or less, you have returned your principal with interest. Thus it is with much of the 100,000,000 of property, the loss of which the gentleman has so eloquently depicted in ruining the country.

He has attempted to justify slavery here, because it exists in Africa, and has stated that it exists all over the world. Upon the same principle he could justify Mahometism, with its plurality of wives, petty wars for plunder, robbery and murder, or any other of the abominations and enormities of savage tribes. Does slavery exist in any part of civilized Europe? *No, sir, in no part of it.* AMERICA IS THE ONLY CIVILIZED CHRISTIAN NATION THAT BEARS THE OPPROBRIUM. In every other country where civilization and Christianity have existed together, they have erased it from their codes, they have blotted it from the page of their history."

"The gentleman has appealed to the Christian religion in justification of slavery. I would ask him upon what part of those pure doctrines does he rely; to which of those sublime precepts does he advert to sustain his position? Is it that which teaches charity, justice, and good will to all, or is it that which teaches, "THAT YE DO UNTO OTHERS AS YE WOULD THEY SHOULD DO UNTO YOU?" "

Extracts from the speech of Henry Berry, (of Jefferson,) in the house of delegates of Virginia, delivered Friday, Jan. 20th, 1832.

"Sir, I believe that no cancer on the physical body was ever more certain, steady, and

fatal in its progress, than is this cancer on the political body of the state of Virginia. It is eating into her very vitals. And shall we admit that the evil is past remedy? Shall we act the part of a puny patient, suffering under the ravages of a fatal disease, who would say the remedy is too painful, the dose too nauseous, I cannot bear it; who would close his eyes in despair, and give himself up to death? No sir, I would bear the knife and the cautery, for the sake of health."

"I believe it is high time that this subject should be discussed and considered, by the people of Virginia. I believe that the people are *awakened* on the subject, but not *alarmed*; I believe they will consider it calmly, and decide upon it correctly. Sir, I have no fears now for any general results, from any efforts at insurrection, by this unfortunate class of our population. I *know* that we have the power to crush any such effort at a blow. I know that any such effort on their part, at this day, will end in the annihilation of all concerned in it. And I believe our greatest security now, is in their knowledge of these things, in their knowledge of their own weakness.

"Pass as severe laws as you will, to keep these unfortunate creatures in ignorance, it is vain, unless you can extinguish that spark of

intellect which God has given them. Let any man who advocates slavery, examine the system of laws that we have adopted, (from stern necessity it may be said,) towards these creatures, and he may shed a tear upon *that*, and would to God, sir, the memory of it might be blotted out forever. Sir, we have, as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds; we have only to go one step further—to extinguish the capacity to see the light, and our work would be completed; they would then be reduced to the level of the beasts of the field, and we should be safe; and I am not certain that we would not do it, if we could find out the necessary process—and that under the plea of *necessity*. But, sir, this is impossible; and can man be in the midst of freemen, and not know what freedom is? Can he feel that he has the power to assert his liberty, and will he not do it? Yes, sir, with the certainty of the current of time, will he do it whenever he has the power. Sir, to prove that the time will come, I need offer no other argument than that of arithmetic, the conclusions from which are clear demonstrations on this subject. The data are before us all, and every man can work out the process for himself. Sir, a death struggle must come between the two classes, in which one

or the other will be extinguished forever. Who can contemplate such a catastrophe as even possible, and be indifferent?"

Extracts from the speech of Thomas Marshall, (of Fauquier,) in the house of delegates, delivered January 14th, 1832.

"Wherefore, then, object to slavery? Because it is ruinous to the whites—retards improvement—roots out an industrious population—banishes the yeomanry of the country—deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter of employment and support. The evil admits of no remedy. It is increasing, and will continue to increase, until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave, covering its whole extent, with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is vested in human flesh; the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them. There is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprize. Labour of every species is disreputable, because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost every where declining; and the general aspect of the country, marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished.

Public improvements are neglected; and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature has done so much, and art so little.”

Extracts from the speech of Jas. M'Dowell, Jr. of Rockbridge—January 20th, 1832.

“Who, sir, that looks at this property as a legislator, and marks its effect on our national advance but weeps over it as the worst of patrimonies? Who that looks to this unhappy bondage of our unhappy people in the midst of our society, and thinks of its incidents and its issues, but weeps over it as a curse upon him who inflicts, as upon him who suffers it?

“If I am to judge from the tone of our debate, from the concessions on all hands expressed, there is not a man in this body, not one, perhaps, that is even represented here, who would not have thanked the generations that have gone before us, if, acting as *public* men, they had brought this bondage to a close—who would not have thanked them, if, acting as private men on private notions, they had relinquished the property which their mistaken kindness has devolved upon us? Proud as are the names for intellect and patriotism which enrich the volumes of our history, and reverentially as we turn to them at this period of waning reputation, that name—that man—

above all parallel would have been the chief, who could have blotted out this curse from his country—those, above all others, would have received the homage of an eternal gratitude, who, casting away every suggestion of petty interest, had broken the yoke which, in evil hour, had been imposed and had translated, as a *free man*, to another continent, the outcast and the wretched being who burdens ours with his presence, and defiles it with his crimes.

“But, sir, it has been otherwise appointed. Slavery has come down to us from our fathers, and the question now is, shall we, in turn, hand it over to our children? Hand it over to them aggravated in every attribute of evil? Shall we perpetuate the calamity we deplore, and become to posterity, the objects, not of kindness, but of cursing?”

“Sir, you may place the slave where you please—you may dry up, to your utmost, the fountains of his feelings, the springs of his thought—you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge and cloud it over with artificial night—you may yoke him to your labour as the ox which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live—you may put him under any process which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush

him as a rational being—you may do this and the idea that he was born to be free will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of immortality—it is the ethereal part of his nature which oppression cannot reach; it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of the Deity and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man.”

This member spoke with prophetic voice respecting the dismemberment of our union. And if history has not yet recorded this dark deed, recent occurrences renders the destructive event quite probable, if not certain; he says—“If gentlemen do not see nor feel the evil of slavery whilst this federal union lasts, they will see and feel it when it is gone; they will see and suffer it then in a magnitude of desolating power to which the “pestilence that walketh at noon-day” would be a blessing—to which the malaria that is now threatening extinction to the “eternal city,” as the proud one of the Pontiff’s and the Cæsar’s is called, would be as refreshing and as balmy as the first breath of spring to the chamber of disease.”

“It has been frankly and unequivocally declared from the very commencement of this debate by the most decided enemies of abolition themselves as well as others—that this

property is an "*evil*"—that it is a dangerous property. Yes, sir, so dangerous has it been represented to be even by those who desire to retain it, that we have been reproached for speaking of it otherwise than in fireside whispers—reproached for entertaining debate upon it in this hall; and the discussion of it with open doors, and to the general ear, has been charged upon us as a climax of rashness and folly which threatens issues of calamity to our country. It is then a dangerous property. No one disguises the danger of this property—that it is inevitable or that it is increasing. How then is the government to avert it? By a precautionary and preventive legislation, or by permitting it to "grow with our growth" until it becomes intolerable and then correcting it by the sword? In the one way or the other, by the peaceful process of legislation, or the bloody one of the bayonet, our personal and public security must be maintained against the dangers of this property."

After meeting in an impressive and dignified manner the facetious remarks of another member of the house, who considered the insurrection as a "*petty affair*," and wished by his wit to turn the whole scene into ridicule; J. M'Dowell read a number of extracts from letters written by, and to, the most distinguished

characters in the state, respecting the dismay and terror which almost universally pervaded the minds of the citizens in every part of the state—He then proceeded: “Now, sir, I ask you, I ask gentlemen in conscience to say, was this a “petty affair?” I ask you whether that was a petty affair which startled the feelings of your whole population—which threw a portion of it into alarm—a portion of it into panic; which wrung out from an affrighted people the thrilling cry, day after day conveyed to your executive, “we are in peril of our lives, send us arms for defence.” Was that a “petty affair” which drove families from their homes, which assembled women and children in crowds and without shelter at places of common refuge, in every condition of weakness and infirmity, under every suffering which want, and pain, and terror could inflict, yet willing to endure all—willing to meet death from famine, death from climate, death from hardships, preferring any thing rather to the horrors of meeting it from a domestic assassin? Was that a “petty affair” which erected a peaceful and confiding portion of the state into a military camp, which outlawed from pity the unfortunate beings whose brothers had offended, which barred every door, penetrated every bosom with fear or suspicion, which so

banished every sense of security from every man's dwelling, that let but a hoof or a horn break upon the silence of the night, and an aching throb would be driven to the heart; the husband would look to his weapon and the mother would shudder and weep upon her cradle!

“Was it the fear of Nat Turner and his deluded drunken handful of fellows which produced or could produce such effects? Was it this that induced distant counties where the very name of Southampton was strange, to arm and equip for a struggle? No, sir, it was the suspicion eternally attached to the slave himself, the suspicion that a Nat Turner might be in every family, that the same bloody deed could be acted over at any time and in any place, that the materials for it were spread through the land and always ready for a like explosion. Nothing but the force of this withering apprehension, nothing but the paralyzing and deadening weight with which it falls upon and prostrates the heart of every man who has helpless dependants to protect, nothing but this could have thrown a brave people into consternation, or could have made any portion of this powerful commonwealth, for a single instant, to have quailed and trembled.

“This commonwealth in the late war stood

the shock of England's power and the skill of England's veterans with scarce a moment of public disquiet. Admiral Cockburn with his incendiary spirit and backed by his incendiary myrmidons alarmed not the state; struck no fear into its private families; and had his spirit been tenfold more savage than it was, and his army an hundredfold stronger, and had he plied every energy and pledged every faculty of his soul to the destruction of the state, he could not have produced one moment of that terror for private security which seizes upon all at the cry of insurrection. He would have been our enemy in the field, would have warred an open combat with the disciplined and the gallant of the land. But an insurgent enemy wars at the fireside—makes his battle ground in the chamber, and seeks, at the hour of repose, for the life of the slumbering and the helpless. No wonder, sir, that the gentleman from Brunswick, (M. Gholson,) with his sensibilities aroused by the acts and the full energies of such an enemy as this should have said that “they filled the mind with the most appalling apprehensions.””

Respecting the profound silence which has generally obtained on this subject—a course which many—yes, very many, professing Christians still believe to be the only *true po-*

licy—to be indispensably *necessary*, our author remarks—“Why from the earliest period of our history until the massacre of Southampton, was a silence, deep and awful as that of death, observed upon this subject? Why was it forbidden in legislative debate, or to the public press, and spoken only in mysterious whispers around the domestic hearth? Because a sense of security required, or was thought to require, this course. Why, sir, is this mystery now dispelled? Why has the grave opened its “ponderous and marble jaws?” Why is the subject openly and freely discussed in every place, and under every form?—because a general sense of *insecurity* pervades the land, and our citizens are deeply impressed with the belief that something must be done. The numerous petitions and memorials which crowd your table, furnish abundant evidence of this truth. They may mistake the remedy, but they indicate most clearly that some action is imperiously required at our hands—that the evil has attained a magnitude which demands all the skill and energy of prompt and able legislation. It is contended on the other hand that nothing efficient can be accomplished, and that any proceedings by this legislature will reduce the value of property, and endanger the security of the people. With respect to

the first consideration, he would say—that the price of property can never be injuriously effected, by a system which would operate on that portion only of the slaves, who belong to masters desirous to liberate them, or to sell them for their own benefit, at a reduced price. The effect, if any, upon the residue, must be to enhance their value. As to the other, and more serious objection, he would remark, that it constitutes, and must forever constitute, an obstacle to abolition; requiring all the wisdom and discretion of legislature and people;—but the removal of free blacks, or the purchase and deportation of slaves, can involve no danger. If, indeed, the whole fabric shall totter to its fall when touched by the gentlest hand, it must rest on a precarious foundation. If danger lurks under just, benignant legislation; aiming to relieve both master and slave—to combine justice with humanity—will the period ever come when it will be safe to act?

“But, admitting the subject cannot be approached without danger *now*, the great question for us to determine is, whether, by delay, it may not become fearfully worse, and in process of time attain a magnitude far transcending our feeble powers. We owe it to our children to determine whether we or they shall incur the hazard of attempting something.

Gentlemen say, let things alone; the evil will correct itself. Sir, we may let things alone, but they will not let us alone. We cannot correct the march of time, nor stop the current of events. We cannot change the course of nature, nor prevent the silent, but sure, operation of causes now at work."

If this momentous subject presents difficulties and dangers which will increase every day, and *must* ultimately involve our country in ruin, and we who compose the Church of Christ, have it in our power, (which we certainly have,) to relieve all concerned; and we fold up our arms, and close our lips in silence, and say, "*dont speak, there is a lion in the way,*" what will be the consequence? If we, as watchmen placed on the walls of Zion, see the sword coming, and warn not the people, and they are cut off in their sins and in their blood; how shall we meet the righteous Judge of all the earth in the final day of retribution? Has he not declared already that their blood will be required at our hands?

We must, however, beg leave to furnish a few more extracts from the speeches, and letters of slave-holding politicians and statesmen, and then proceed with our original design.

Extracts from the speech of Philip A. Boll-

ing, (of Buckingham,) in the house of delegates of Virginia, delivered on the 11th and 25th January, 1832.

“The time will come, and it may be sooner than many are willing to believe, when this oppressed and degraded race cannot be held as they now are: when a change will be effected by means abhorrent, Mr. Speaker, to you, and to the feelings of every good man.

“The wounded adder will recoil, and sting the foot that tramples upon it. The day is fast approaching, when those who oppose all action upon this subject, and, instead of aiding in devising some feasible plan for freeing their country from an acknowledged curse, cry “*impossible*,” to every plan suggested, will curse their perverseness, and lament their folly.

“Those gentlemen who hug slavery to their bosoms, and “roll it as a sweet morsel under their tongue,” have been very lavish in their denunciations of all who are for stirring one inch on this subject.

“There is, sir, a “still small voice,” which speaks to the heart of man in a tone too clear and distinct to be disregarded. It tells him that every system of slavery is based upon injustice and oppression. If gentlemen disregard it now, and lull their consciences to sleep, they may be aroused to a sense of their danger, when it is too late to repair their errors.

“However the employment of slave labour might be defended, gentlemen would not, *could* not, justify the traffic in human beings. High-minded men should disdain to hold their fellow creatures as articles of traffic—disregarding all the ties of blood and affection—tearing asunder all those sympathies dear to men—dividing husbands and wives, parents and children, as they would cut asunder a piece of cotton cloth. They have hearts and feelings like other men. How many a broken heart—how many a Rachel mourns because her house is left unto her desolate. The time has come when these feelings could not be suppressed—the day would come when they could not be resisted. Slavery was, and had long been offensive to the moral feelings of a large proportion of the community. Their lips had been sealed; but their minds had been unfettered—many had thought and thought deeply on the subject. This, sir, is a Christian community. They read in their bibles, “*do unto all men as you would have them do unto you*”—and this golden rule and slavery are hard to reconcile. Gentlemen may, perhaps, curl the lip of scorn at such considerations; but such a feeling existed in Virginia.”

Extracts taken from the speech of Charles J. Faulkner, (of Berkley,) in the house of

delegates of Virginia, delivered January 20th, 1832.

“Mystery in state affairs, I have always considered impolitic and unwise. It is unsuited to the genius of this government, which is based upon the rights of the people, to a free and full examination of whatever concerns their interest and happiness. Sir, they pay you for your council—they have a right to it. If there be danger let us know it, and prepare for the worst. If slavery can be eradicated * * * * * let us get rid of it. If it cannot, let that melancholy fact be distinctly ascertained; and let those who are, we have been told, now awaiting with painful solicitude the result of your determination, pack up their household goods, and find among the forests and prairies of the west, that security and repose which their native land does not afford.

“Wherever the voice of your people has been heard since the agitation of this question, it has sustained your determination, and called for the present inquiry. I have heard of courts, meetings, county petitions, and county memorials. I have heard from the north, the east, and the south. They are all, with one voice, against the continuance of slavery. None for it. The press, too—that mirror of public sentiment—that concentrated will of a

whole community, has been heard from one extremity of the state to the other. Its power is with us—its moral force is united—efficient and encouraging.

“Again, sir, I ask, what new fact has occurred—what new light has dawned upon the gentleman from Mechlinburg, that we should be called upon to retrace our course, and to disappoint the hopes which our first manly decision gave? Does not the same evil exist? Is it not increasing? Does not every day give it permanency and force? Is it not rising like a heavy and portentous cloud above the horizon; extending its deep and sable volumes athwart the sky, and gathering in its impenetrable folds, the active materials of elemental war? And yet, shall we be requested to close our eyes to the danger, and without an effort, without even an inquiry, to yield to the impulses of a dark and withering despair? Sir, is this manly legislation? Is it correct? Is it HONEST legislation? Is it acting with that fidelity to our constituents, which their sacred interest requires?

“Sir, if this evil, great as it is, was even stationary—if the worthy gentleman from Mechlinburg and Brunswick, (M. Gholson,) could give us any assurance that it would not increase until it reaches a point which is too

horrible to contemplate, I might be induced to acquiesce in the course which their pathetic appeals suggest. But when they know it is otherwise—when they know that each successive blow is detracting from the small space of ground left between us and the angry ocean chafing at our feet, how can they advise us—how can they advise their own constituents to remain still, when the next advancing wave may overwhelm them and us, in hopeless ruin and destruction?”

“But, sir, vain and idle is every effort to strangle this inquiry! As well might you attempt to chain the ocean, or to stay the avenging thunderbolts of heaven, as to drive the the people from any inquiry, which may result in their better condition. This is too deep—too engrossing a subject of consideration. It addresses itself too strongly to our interests—to our passions, and to our feelings. There is not a county—not a town—not a newspaper—not a fireside in the state, where the subject is not fully and fearlessly canvassed; and shall we, the constitutional inquest of the commonwealth, sworn to make a true inquiry into all the grievances of the people, and to the best of our ability apply the remedy—shall we alone, be found to shrink from this inquiry?”

If slavery is such an evil, full of danger and

of deadly poison; if the politician and statesman can no longer remain silent spectators of this dark rolling current of iniquity through the midst of our land, diffusing a pestilential vapour through every recess of our country, which vitiates the taste, perverts the understanding, corrodes the morals, and sours the temper and disposition of all classes and conditions in society, and must end in death, degrading and eternal; if those guardians of our political liberty, can no longer suffer this venomous serpent to repose undisturbed in our bosom, secretly and silently infusing its deadly poison through the whole system; if a sense of honour and patriotism, constrains them to cry aloud and spare not—to raise their voice, and to put forth all their energy to drive the hydra from our land; how can we as children of the living God remain silent unconcerned spectators of the destructive scene, and even become participators in the evil, and hope to hear the righteous Judge say—“Well done good and faithful servant,” particularly when he has commanded Zion’s watchman to *lift up their voice like a trumpet—to cry aloud and spare not—to shew my people their sins?*

The member from whose speech we give the last extract, after contrasting the prosperity and comfort of the free states over those involv-

ed in slavery, pertinently asks, "To what, sir, is all this ascribable?"—and emphatically replies—"To that vice in the organization of society, by which one-half of its inhabitants are engaged in interest and feeling against the other half—to that unfortunate state of society in which free men regard labour as disgraceful—and slaves shrink from it as a burden tyrannically imposed upon them—" *To that condition of things in which half a million of your population can feel no sympathy with the society in the prosperity of which they are forbidden to participate, and no attachment to a government at whose hands they receive nothing but INJUSTICE.*"

As some have, and others may, charge the members of the legislature from whose speeches these extracts have been made with imprudence, precipitancy, religious mania, &c. &c. we will now present our respected readers with the opinion and sentiments of an individual who stands second only to one as a patriot, a politician and a statesman. Nor will any individual, friend or foe, charge him with the crime of *religious fanaticism*. He was himself the proprietor of a large number of slaves. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence. He occupied the presidential chair for eight years with as much honour as any other man who preceded him, or that has

succeeded him, Washington excepted. His views and sentiments must be interesting to, and respected by all, who are implicated in the evil of slavery.

Extract from Jefferson's Notes--Query, xviii.

“There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.

“The man must be a prodigy who can retain

his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and them into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriæ of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavours to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that their liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep forever: that considering numbers, nature, and natural means

only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.”

Extracts taken from letters written by Thomas Jefferson, addressed to Edward Coles, and Jared Sparks, dated Monticello, August 25th, 1814, and February 4th, 1824.

“I had always hoped that the younger generation receiving their early impressions after the flame of liberty had been kindled in every breast, and had become as it were the vital spark of every American, that the generous temperament of youth, analagous to the motion of their blood, and above the suggestions of avarice, would have sympathized with oppression wherever found, and proved their love of liberty beyond their own share of it.

“But my intercourse with them, since my return has not been sufficient to ascertain that they had made towards this point the progress I had hoped. Your solitary but welcome voice is the first which has brought this sound to my ear; and I have considered the general silence which prevails on this subject as indicating an apathy unfavourable to every hope. Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing, in the march of time. *It will come*; and whether

brought on by the generous energies of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, if once stationed permanently within our country, and offering asylum and arms to the *oppressed*, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over.

“As to the method by which this difficult work is to be effected, if permitted to be done by ourselves, I have seen no proposition so expedient on the whole, as that of emancipation of those born after a given day, and of their education and expatriation at a proper age.

“I am sensible of the partialities with which you have looked towards me as the person who should undertake this salutary but arduous work: but this, my dear sir, is like bidding old Priam to buckle the armour of Hector *“tremantibus aevo humeris et inutile ferrum cingitur!”*—No, I have overlived the generation with which mutual labours and perils beget mutual confidence and influence. This enterprise is for the young; for those who can follow it up, and bear it through to its consummation.

“It shall have all my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man. But in the mean time are you right in abandoning this property, and your country with it? I think not.

“My opinion has ever been that, until more can be done for them, we should endeavour, with those whom fortune has thrown on our hands, to feed and clothe them well, protect them from ill usage, require such reasonable labour only as is performed by free men, and be led by no repugnances to abdicate them, and our duties to them. The laws do not permit us to turn them loose, if that were for their good; and to commute them for other property is to commit them to those whose usage to them we cannot control. I hope then, my dear sir, you will reconcile yourself to your country and its unfortunate condition; and that you will not lessen its stock of sound disposition by withdrawing your proportion from the mass. That on the contrary you will come forward in the *public councils*, become the missionary of the doctrine truly Christian; insinuate and inculcate it softly but steadily; through the medium of writing and conversation; associate others in your labours, and when the phalanx is formed, bring on and press the proposition perseveringly until its accomplishment. It is an encouraging observation that no good measure was ever proposed, which if duly pursued, failed to prevail in the end. We have proof of this in the history of the endeavours of the British parliament to suppress that

very trade which brought *this evil on us*. And you will be supported by the religious precept, "be not weary in well doing." That your success may be speedy and complete, as it will be of honourable and immortal consolation, I shall fervently and sincerely pray, as I assure you of my great friendship and respect,

TH: JEFFERSON."

"Edward Coles, Esq."

In his letter to Jared Sparks, after stating the immense amount of money that would be required to purchase and deport the slaves, and the impossibility of procuring such an amount, he observes: "I am aware that at the end of about sixteen years, a gradual detraction from this sum will commence, from the gradual diminution of breeders, and so on during the remaining nine years. Calculate this deduction, and it is still impossible to look at the enterprise a second time. I do not say this to induce an inference that the getting rid of them is forever impossible, for that is neither my opinion nor my hope. But only it cannot be done in this way. There is, I think, a way in which it can be done; that is, by emancipating the after-born, leaving them on due compensation, with their mothers, until their services are worth their maintenance, and then

putting them to industrious occupations, until a proper age for deportation.”

It will be perceived that this distinguished statesman, considered the want of money, as the only obstacle in the way of removing our slave population to another country. If Christians are what they *should* be, and what they **MUST** be if they are received into heaven, they can remove that barrier with the greatest facility.

In the same letter, after making various calculations respecting the plan and the expense of carrying the object into complete effect, he observes:

“I do not go into all the details of the burdens and benefits of this operation. And who could estimate its blessed effects? I leave this to those who will live to see their accomplishment, and to enjoy a beatitude forbidden to my age. But I leave it with this admonition, *to rise and be doing*. A million and a half are within their control; but six millions, (which a majority of those now living will see them attain,) and one million of them fighting men, will say, “we will not go.”

“I am aware that this subject involves some constitutional scruples. But a liberal construction, justified by the object, may go far, and an amendment of the constitution, the whole length necessary.

“The separation of infants from their mothers, too, would produce some scruples of humanity. But this would be straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

“I salute you with assurance of high respect and esteem,

TH: JEFFERSON.”

If men of distinction, men of wisdom and discernment in all things pertaining to this life, and many of them strangers to the power of religion on the heart, consider slavery a great evil—a political and moral blot—UNJUST AND CRUEL in its very nature, and destructive to peace, harmony, and prosperity in its tendency; should not children of the Most High God make every effort in their power to remove this dangerous destructive evil from our borders, and thereby heal the wound which has already been inflicted upon a large portion of our own family by the sting of this poisonous serpent?

“Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall

be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.”*

It has been frequently asked—“can a slaveholder be received into that rest which has been provided for the people of God?” This is an interesting inquiry—one of infinite importance.

Some have peremptorily decided this question in the *negative*; others positively affirm that they can, and that thousands of them have, and will be received into Abraham’s bosom; while others again consider their case *doubtful*.

Without offering an opinion respecting this momentous and delicate inquiry, we shall proceed to state in a plain simple manner some of the difficulties which must necessarily lay in the way of every slaveholder, leaving each individual free to decide for himself; and then respectfully submit a plan, which if faithfully adhered to, will deliver us and our country from this growing destructive evil, without noise, or danger, or commotion.

Christians, like their divine Master, should promote peace and love among men under all circumstances. They should not lift up their voice nor suffer it to be heard in the streets. As Christ Jesus is essentially the **LIGHT** of the world, so are his followers, who, like the silver

* Is. i. 18, 19, 20.

queen of night, receiving the burning rays from the Son of Righteousness, should reflect them upon a benighted disordered world with a mild, but untarnished lustre. LIGHT is the only medium through which we can enjoy any blessing on earth. *Light can be seen*, but cannot be heard. At its approach, fear, and danger, and darkness flee away. It is only necessary that *Christians* should trim their lamps, and let their light shine, to fill the whole world with peace and virtue—with tranquillity and happiness.

By the divine standard, rationally applied, we must *all* stand or fall. To the law and the testimony.

FIRST. The grand requisition of the Gospel, upon which hang all the law and the prophets, is, "*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; AND THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.*"*

No Christian—no individual of common understanding will presume to say, that any one, blessed with the light of the Gospel, can be received into heaven who does not meet this command—this divine requisition. To admit such a principle, would be to open heaven for the reception of all the desperate characters

*Mat. xxii. 37, 38, 39.

who have ever lived on earth. If one who was only one *hair's breadth* below this standard were to be admitted, another only one shade lower must also be received, or the first delinquent, and not the Gospel, will be made the standard for God's holy word! Establish this principle, and you may dispense with the judgment day, as well as the law and the Gospel.

Let us, therefore, be careful in the examination of our own hearts, testing them by the divine standard. If I *slight*, or *injure*, or *insult your child*, I touch one of the most tender cords which vibrates through your heart; neither can you in that case respect, esteem, and *tenderly LOVE ME*. It is then only necessary to prove that our slaves are the *children of the Most High God*, to show the great *difficulty*, if not the *impracticability of loving their Father supremely*, while we hold his *children in perpetual bondage*. That Almighty God is the author of their existence, consequently their **FATHER**, we presume none will for one moment deny. "*Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every one against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?*"* The language of the Gospel is—"And have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge

*Mal. ii. 10.

after the image of him that created him: where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all."*

Christian brethren are you prepared to meet your slaves, and that God who is the *Father of your slaves*, together in judgment? Do not decide this momentous thought precipitately—weigh the inquiry in the golden scales of righteousness. Again, remember, if you are a child of God, *your slave is your brother*. Would it be esteemed *honourable*, or *merciful*, or *affectionate* in any human being to hold his own BROTHER in *bondage for life*, and make a slave of him? *Judge ye*. The word of truth expressly says—"For ye are all the children of God, by faith in Christ Jesus." Again, our divine Redeemer makes the following impressive declaration: "*For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my BROTHER, and SISTER, and MOTHER.*" In this declaration, he excludes neither colour, nor circumstances in life—the *slave and the beggar*, are alike included.

Is there a human being on earth who does not love and honour the name of MOTHER? Could any man see his MOTHER *degraded*, or *insulted*, or *oppressed*, or even *slighted*, and not feel more injured and insulted than his fa-

* Col. iii. 10. 11.

avourite parent? If such a character can be found among men, no individual of respectability would enter that man's name on the list of his friends. And do we vainly suppose that our divine Redeemer, who affectionately recommended his mother to the care of a beloved disciple, and prayed for his own murderers when he was nailed to the cross, can possess less sensibility than fallen man?

Remember Christian brother, Christ will acknowledge your SLAVE if she fears God and honours his great name by acts of righteousness, as HIS MOTHER—will you be pleased to meet her in that character in a coming day? We speak as unto wise men—judge ye what we say. Under such circumstances, can we, as *masters*, have strong confidence? Can we exercise unwavering faith? Can we hope to hear the righteous Judge of all the earth say of us—“there are they who loved me while they dwelt on earth, with all their heart, strength, soul, and mind; and as an evidence of this great truth, they loved my MOTHER also, although she was their slave and they kept her in profound ignorance?”

This important subject cannot be too carefully investigated *now*; the time is at hand when it will be too late to correct errors. The pious psalmist prays—“*Search me, O God,*

and know my heart; try me, and know my thoughts, and see if there be any wicked way in me; lead me in the way everlasting."

It is not only necessary, agreeably to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that we should *love God supremely*, but we must love *our neighbour as ourselves*, if we expect to enter into heaven at the gospel door. Do you inquire, with the Jewish lawyer, "who is my neighbour?" Our divine Master will freely impart that important information to every candid inquirer. Jesus Christ informed the inquisitive Rabbi that "a certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed leaving him half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way; and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side. But a Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow, when he departed, he took out two-pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, take care

of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again I will repay thee. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was *neighbour* unto him that fell among thieves? And he said, he that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, go and do thou likewise.”*

The priests and the Levites, it will be recollected, were among the most honoured and distinguished characters of that day. The Samaritans were universally despised by the Jews; they considered them a degraded class of human beings, unworthy the notice of God’s people; they looked down on them with contempt; the woman of Samaria informed our Saviour that the Jews have no dealing with the Samaritans. The supposed disparity between these two characters, was no doubt as great as that which now exists between the white and the black population in our own country; yet our Saviour compelled the dignified Israelite to acknowledge that the good Samaritan was a better character than the unfeeling (though highly exalted) Jew—the Jew himself being judge.

Therefore *we* should take heed to our ways, lest those people whom we now look down upon with so much indifference, because of their complexion, should rise in judgment and condemn us, and that out of our own mouth.

*Luke x. 30 to 36.

The *Africans*, the *slaves*, the *beggars*, are all our neighbours, and we are bound by the Gospel of Jesus Christ to *love them as ourselves*. Do we *now*, or can we ever hope to love our slaves as ourselves, while we hold them in perpetual bondage? If we cannot, we necessarily exclude ourselves from heaven.

SECONDLY. That sacred, honoured precept, **DO UNTO OTHERS AS YE WOULD THEY SHOULD DO UNTO YOU**, will have a tendency to trouble earthly masters, when the holy standard of righteousness is applied to their action in the day of judgment. Would you be willing to be any man's slave on earth, under any circumstances? If you would not, how can you hold your fellow being—your brother—your heavenly Father's child as your slave, and do as you would be done by?

If this principle is correct—if we cannot hold our brother in bondage for life, and do as we would be done by, what well grounded hope can we who are masters, entertain of entering into heaven, seeing that agreeably to the plain rules laid down by the **RIGHTEOUS JUDGE** himself, we must be excluded from that holy place. That exalted precept—that plain simple command "*do as you would be done by,*" duly considered, must at least present a tremendous difficulty to the mind of every consci-

entious Christian, who holds his BROTHER in bondage for life.

THIRDLY. There is another sacred injunction contained in the holy Scriptures, which is calculated to militate against the master's claim to an inheritance in the heavenly world, and to weaken the slaveholder's faith, i. e. "My brethren have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons. For if their come into your assembly a man with a gold ring in goodly apparel, and their come also a poor man in vile raiment, and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him sit here in a good place; and ye say to the poor, stand thou there, or sit under my foot-stool: are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts? But if ye have respect to persons, ye COMMIT SIN, and are convicted of the laws as transgressors."*

It is possible that some of our friends will inquire "Do you intend to equalize mankind, and thereby destroy all distinction and subordination among men?" Perfect *subordination* and perfect *equality*, are not incompatible terms. For instance, children are not inferior in any way to their parents; the father considers his child as honorable, and his character as dear

* James ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 9.

to him as his own life and reputation; there does not exist a shade of distinction between them, yet good children are always obedient to their parents; it is their indispensable duty, kindly and promptly, and faithfully to obey their parent's commands, and to be governed by their will under all circumstances; unless their parents should wickedly command them to violate the plain law of God. This kind of subordination is righteous altogether—it is honourable, salutary, essential to the well being of society. Almighty God has wisely and mercifully instituted and established grades and distinctions among men. The divine law enjoins uniform obedience and reverence from subjects to magistrates and rulers, as well as from children to their parents. The word of God is very explicit on this subject. *“Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore resisteth the powers, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.”** Consequently, every real Christian must be an obedient, submissive subject, or citizen; yet the poorest peasant in our country, if he is an honest man, is virtually as good as the president of the United States.

* Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

Servants are also commanded to "*obey in all things their masters according to the flesh: not with eye service as man pleasers, but in singleness of heart, serving God.*" The servant, therefore, is not only bound to obey his master's commands, but he must do so *diligently, promptly, affectionately*, and as faithfully if his master were one hundred miles from home, as if he were standing in his presence. No servant living and acting in any other way, can have any well grounded hope of entering into heaven; neither can he love his master or his Maker, if he does not faithfully and affectionately discharge every rational duty imposed on him by his master. If any man teach servants any other doctrine than this, he is either a stranger to the precepts and principles of the Gospel, or he is a deceiver, or he is deceiving his own soul.

It may be said, "that by prescribing the duty of servants so strictly, we thereby establish the principles of slavery; for if it be just and right to obey strictly and faithfully, it must necessarily be correct to hold slaves; if there is a slave, there must necessarily be a master." A moment's rational reflection; will dissipate this apparent difficulty. The Gospel is a lamp of light which fills the whole soul with wisdom and knowledge, producing peace

and joy in the Holy Ghost: it exerts a *noiseless, peaceful, powerful* influence wherever it is seen or felt, operating alike in the palace and in the cottage, in the mansion house, and in the cabin. The religion of Jesus Christ, sways its sceptre, and constrains men to bow to its superior power, not by the sword but by the voice of reason and righteousness, searching and making manifest the most secret recesses of the human heart. As a pure fountain cannot give rise to an impure stream, a soul sanctified by divine grace, and filled with the spirit of God, can only produce a current of MEEKNESS and LOVE, imparting bountifully the same heavenly influence to every soil through which it meanders. If the love of God exists in the breast of a *slave*, it constrains him to be *humble*, and *faithful*, and *cheerful*, in discharging every duty; just as much resigned to be a slave as a master—*equally as willing to obey as to rule*.

But while the religion of Jesus Christ, shines into the servant's heart with such transcendent lustre, it also illumines the master's path, and clearly exhibits to view his character and his duty. "*Masters give unto your servants that which is JUST and EQUAL knowing that ye have also a master in heaven. And ye masters, do the same things unto them, FORBEARING THREATENING; knowing that your master also is in*

heaven; NEITHER IS THERE RESPECT OF PERSONS WITH HIM.”*

The master’s duty here plainly specified, is **FIRST—JUSTICE**. To render **JUSTICE** unto every one of them—i. e. *give them the full value of their labour*, making a **JUST allowance** for their trouble and expense. No man can violate the principles of **JUSTICE** and be innocent before God. Masters, have you no *doubts* nor *fears* on this subject? Weigh this principle carefully, and ascertain definitely how the account will be adjusted between you and your slave in the day of judgment.

SECONDLY. “Equality.” Almighty God declares that he is no respecter of persons; and surely one *worm* should not assume a superiority over another worm on account of his colour, or condition in life. As the servant is God’s *child*, and as dear to his Maker as his *master*, there should certainly be an equality observed towards the servant, at least in meting out to him his due—i. e. let every transaction with the slave, be conducted on the same *fair* and *honourable* principles by which you are regulated in your intercourse with other people.

Christian master, do you righteously observe this rule of conduct towards your servants at all times? Remember that by the holy word of

* Ephes. vi. 9. Col. iv. 1, 2.

God, both you and your slave will ultimately stand or fall.

THIRDLY. The third principle or rule laid down in the word of God for the observance and government of masters, is, "*forbearing threatening*" respecting this injunction, Dr. A. Clark observes in his notes on Eph. vi. 9. "If they shall transgress at any time, lean more to the side of *mercy*, than *justice*; and when you are obliged to punish, let it be as light and as moderate as possible; and let *revenge* have no part in the chastisement, for that is of the devil and not of God."

Masters, do ye in your intercourse with your slaves, at all times feel that *sweet* and *heavenly* frame of mind which the Gospel enjoins on all the followers of the Lord Jesus? When you are constrained to correct them for their faults do you feel conscious that you have their good in view equally as much as your own interest? On such occasions are you entirely free from anger or resentment? If not, you violate the holy law of LOVE.

If we reflect, or slight, or look down upon an individual when he is in adversity—in poverty; but when the capricious wheel of fortune elevates him high in the estimation of men, we then advance and offer him our hand and our friendship, we act a mean and con-

temptible part; such conduct would sink us far below the level of a common '*respector of persons,*' and the word of the Lord expressly declares that such characters cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.

FOURTHLY. Another, and perhaps a greater difficulty than any of the preceding considerations, grows out of the relation which our slaves sustain to their great Creator.

God is a universal sovereign, and justly demands the homage and the reasonable service of every rational human being. All we possess or enjoy in this world has been derived from him. Our bodies and our souls—our time and our talents, all are his. An infinitely wise God gives nothing in vain. Almighty God has given to every individual on earth, (idiots excepted,) one or more talents, not that they may be concealed, or lie dormant, or be wasted; but that each recipient may diligently, and faithfully improve that which has been freely and bountifully committed to his trust: a day has also been appointed when every man's conduct will be investigated, and a righteous sentence will be passed upon him agreeably to his works.

In the xxv. chap. of Matthew we have an account of a slothful servant who received *one* talent, but instead of improving it, he kept

the sacred treasure carefully laid up in a napkin; his conduct was condemned, and he was cast into outer darkness to weep and gnash his teeth in endless night and misery. It necessarily follows that every individual who neglects to improve his talent, or talents, must meet a similar fate, or the Judge will be *partial* and *unrighteous*.

Our slaves have received a talent to read and write, and calculate by the power of figures. When the righteous Judge of all the earth demands of them the reason why this talent was not improved; what can they say? On whom will the condemnation fall? Are we prepared as masters to meet this difficulty? Our earthly subterfuges of *custom*, and *inexpediency*, it is greatly to be feared, will not be received on that momentous occasion.

If it had been the design of Almighty God in creating these people with a dark skin, that they should serve white men and masters, like horses or oxen, then would he not have given them that superfluous talent; it would have been as unwise, as it would have been unnecessary. Our great Creator has done all things well, and will most assuredly demand the improvement of every talent he has given, either to the servant or to his master; in the case under consideration, which of the two do you

suppose will be accountable? Let us not be deceived in this business. The period is at hand when it will be too late to revise our conduct, or correct mistakes. This rational and alarming difficulty should cause every master who does not educate his slaves, to pause, and reflect, and proceed no further until it is obviated.

There are individuals who, when they are pressed by the difficulties connected with slavery, will appeal to days gone by—to the custom of dark ages; and even to the present practice of heathen nations, to justify the principles of slavery. See T. J. Randolph's appropriate and excellent refutation of this flimsy excuse, page 22. Others will apply to father Abraham for one drop of water to allay their burning fears. "Has not slavery existed," say they, "from the earliest ages; and was not Abraham the friend of God, a master—a slaveholder?" We answer that slavery has existed from a very remote period; but will that circumstance extenuate the crime? Has not sin, and a thousand nameless evils existed ever since Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit? But does that fact render sin innocent or inoffensive? "The times of this ignorance God winked at, but now he commandeth all men every where to repent."

It is true that Abraham was a master, and owned servants; but can his example justify *Christians* in holding their brethren in bondage during their natural life? Would any of us in the present age be willing to send our most favoured servants to procure a wife for our son? "Certainly not; that was a custom peculiar to the early and dark ages of the world, which has been exploded by the progress of civilization and Christianity." And shall we retain the vicious part of ancient custom, and cast away the innocent simplicity of the patriarchal age?

The Christian master, however, contends that God himself through the agency of his servant Moses, did authorise his favoured people, the Jews, to hold servants during the term of their natural life; therefore if God is immutable, that which was once pleasing in his sight must always be so. It is very certain that the Jews were permitted by divine authority to hold certain characters in bondage during the term of their natural life; but what can Christians gain by an appeal to that circumstance? Suppose you are permitted to receive the law, and ceremonies of Moses, and take them for your guide in this matter; in applying them to the Gospel dispensation, what will be the result? The Jews were permitted to take the **HEATHEN**,

OF THE GENTILES who were round about their borders, and to hold them as bond servants forever, but their brethren, those who bore the seal of God's covenant-people were more highly favoured. A Jew by his own law, could not hold his Jewish BROTHER as his servant for *more than six years*. Apply this law, or rule to the merciful dispensation of the Gospel, and it will forever explode slavery from the earth. Who is the *Christian's* BROTHER? Has not Christ broken down the middle wall of partition between the Jew and gentile, and extended mercy's boundary line as far as to include the whole human family, whether they tread the burning sand beneath the equator, or shiver around the frozen poles; whether men are found in Asia, or Europe, or America; or even in degraded Africa, **THEY ARE NOW, ALL BRETHREN.** The word of God in establishing this fact, is very explicit. "Wherefore remember that ye being in times past gentiles in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision, by that which is called the circumcision in the flesh made by hands; that at that time ye were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world. But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometime were far off, are made nigh by the blood

of Christ. For he is our peace who hath made both one, and broken down the middle wall of partition between us.”* “For as many of you as have been baptised into Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither BOND NOR FREE, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.”†

If, therefore, we appeal to Moses, and seek an apology for slavery, under the legal dispensation, by claiming the privileges of the laws and customs of the ancient Israelites, our hopes are forever blasted. *All are now brethren*; and agreeably to the law of Moses, no man can retain his brother as a servant for more than *six years*. It necessarily follows that perpetual bondage in any country where the sound of the Gospel has been heard, must be *illegal*; consequently UNJUST.

J. A. Chandler has proved incontestably, that we can have no legal title to any human being as our property, (see page 13, 14, 15,) consequently the very principles on which interminable slavery is founded is UNJUST. According to the sentiment of one of the highest authorities in our country as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, we cannot have a title to any human being as our property. In that

*Ephes. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

†Gal. iii. 27, 28.

instrument he declares that ‘we hold these truths to be self-evident; that **ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL**, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness:’ therefore according to this venerated instrument, the principles of which served as a basis of the constitution of the United States, the existence of slavery in this country—is not only **UNJUST**, but *illegal*. If we appeal to the principles of reason, we shall be conducted to the same conclusion. Were we for argument sake, to admit, that for a crime, or by voluntary contract, a free man might be converted into a *slave*; yet it is unreasonable, and contrary to any code of laws on earth to say that one man shall be punished for another man’s crimes.—It is true that children are frequently involved in the consequences flowing from their father’s evil deeds, and are thereby made to suffer exclusively on account of the wicked conduct of their parents; but this necessary effect produced by a definite and uncontrollable cause, cannot possibly give a disinterested person a right to inflict the penalty on them; or to punish them for that which is neither their error nor their crime, but exclusively their misfortune; such a principle would not only be **UNJUST** but **CRUEL**.

In confirmation of this sentiment, we beg leave to refer our readers to a tract on the subject of slavery published in the year 1774 and republished in a late edition of Wesley's Works, vol. vi. p. 286.

“But waiving, for the present, all other considerations, I strike at the root of this complicated villany, I absolutely deny all slave holding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice.

“I cannot place this in a clearer light than that great ornament of his profession, Judge Blackstone, has already done. Part of his words are as follows:—

“The three origins of the right of slavery assigned by Justinian, are all built upon false foundations: (1.) Slavery is said to arise from captivity in war. The conqueror having a right to the life of his captive, if he spares that, has then a right to deal with him as he pleases. But this is untrue, if taken generally, —that, by the laws of nations, a man has a right to kill his enemy. He has only a right to kill him in particular cases, in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence. And it is plain, this absolute necessity did not subsist, since he did not kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation: therefore it gives us no right

over prisoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much less can it give a right to torture, or kill, or even to enslave an enemy when the war is over. Since therefore the right of making our prisoners slaves, depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence which is drawn from it must fail likewise.

“It is said, secondly, slavery may begin by one man’s selling himself to another. And it is true, a man may sell himself to work for another; but he cannot sell himself to be a slave, as above defined. Every sale implies an equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty? His property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes his slave: in this case, therefore, the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what validity then can a sale be, which destroys the very principle upon which all sales are founded?

“We are told, thirdly, that men may be born slaves, by being the children of slaves. But this, being built upon the two former rights, must fall together with them. If neither captivity nor contract can, by the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state

of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring." It clearly follows, that all slavery is as irreconcilable to justice as to mercy."

J. Wesley was as celebrated for his moderation and prudence, as he was for his zeal and piety; he adds, page 292.

"And this equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in our American plantations; yea, all slaveholders, of whatever rank and degree; seeing men buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers. Indeed you say, "I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how they are come by." Nay, but you are; you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by. Otherwise you are a partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honester than him. But you know they are not honestly come by; you know they are procured by means nothing near so innocent as picking of pockets, house breaking, or robbery upon the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villany (of fraud, robbery, and murder) than was ever practised either by Mohammedans or Pagans; in particular, by murders, of all kinds; by the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now, it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the captain and the African

butchers. You therefore are guilty, yea, principally guilty, of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion; they would not stir a step without you; therefore, the blood of all these wretches who die before their time, whether in their country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. "The blood of thy brother" (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of Him that made him) "crieth against thee from the earth," from the ship, and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late: instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent! Do not hire another to shed blood; do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a Christian or no, show yourself a man! Be not more savage than a lion or a bear!"

Others about to sink beneath the waves of conscious guilt rolling over their heads from the dark ocean of slavery, have caught at another part of the sacred page to justify them in holding their fellow beings in bondage "Did not," say they, "Almighty God through his ser-

vant Noah, pronounce a curse upon those people, and peremptorily declare that they *should* be servants? It is true—Noah by divine authority no doubt, did pronounce a solemn curse upon his grandson Canaan for the folly and crime of his father Ham, in the following words: “Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren!” The descendants of this unfortunate character inhabited the land of Canaan, and this curse no doubt began to fall on them, when the Israelites took possession of that land. This prophetic declaration, (for it cannot rationally be viewed in any other light,) may have had direct reference to those events recorded in the history of the Jews for some centuries after they entered into the promised land; be that as it may, it cannot be satisfactorily proved that the Africans are the legal descendants of Ham. But for argument sake we will admit that fact; and also allow the fearful, awful, incomprehensible sentence pronounced upon them to have all its force. Suppose Almighty God has entailed the penalty of slavery on these unfortunate characters to the latest generation; we would, notwithstanding, find infinite difficulty in proving that we are legally authorized to sway that fearful sceptre over those who are now recognized, and declared by the Gospel to be our *brethren*.

Where laws are legally enacted, and the punishment due to the offenders is clearly specified, the medium through which that punishment is to be inflicted, must also be identified: to illustrate this principle—suppose any court or jury in our own country were to find an individual guilty of murder in the first degree, and the judge was legally to pronounce the sentence of death upon the culprit; would you then be justified to step forward and kill the poor wretch? No; although the man was legally and righteously condemned to die, yet would you be considered in the eye of the law *an officious murderer for taking his life*.

If, therefore, you can prove that the Supreme Being has doomed the descendants of Ham to *perpetual slavery*, and they are certainly the unfortunate children of Africa; has the same divine authority, authorized *you*, directly or indirectly, to be their *masters*? If so, where is your commission recorded? Produce your authority, or under the most favourable circumstances, you only occupy the *place of a man who would arbitrarily kill a condemned criminal*.

Saul was vested with legal authority to destroy the Amelakites—they had filled up the measure of their iniquity. Now are you entirely certain that God is angry with the poor, ignorant, unoffending Africans? And if so, are

you quite sure that he has authorized *you* to inflict such severe punishment on them? If both those points cannot be clearly established, all your arguments to prove that a God of infinite mercy and goodness, has destined the African race to interminable bondage, and that you are, therefore, justified in binding this galling yoke upon their necks is but sophistry, and will, in the end, prove abortive, and draw down ruin and disgrace on the heads of all concerned in the cruel traffic.

Again: some of our Christian masters find an opiate to lull the painful sensations which frequently accompany the practice of slavery, by supposing and asserting that our slaves are in a more eligible and enviable condition than the peasantry of Europe. It is not surprising to see a drowning man eagerly catching at straws, to save him from a watery premature grave; but to hear those who profess our holy religion, resort to such an argument, to support a corrupt cause is truly mortifying, and degrading to the Christian character. This flimsy subterfuge, (for it is no argument,) is equally as just, honourable, and cogent, as the reasoning of a man who enters the widow's apartment, and robs her of all her money; and when she dares to complain, the aggressor haughtily retorts:—"You should be very thankful—you

should rejoice that I have not taken, every article in your house; you know that I have the power to do so. My brave companion Benincasa, would have spared you neither property, money, nor *life*, reckless of all the laws and constituted authorities on earth; and my friend Shylock, would have exacted and taken, not only the last cent, but the last pound of flesh also, if he could have done so under a **LEGAL CLOAK**; he is rather afraid of the halter, and would not openly violate the law of the land. You know that he is rich, and highly esteemed among men generally. Under existing circumstances, you have no right to complain; I can mention more than fifty families, who have been deprived of all they possessed on earth—even their beds have been taken from them, either by force or fraud. As I have been so liberal and have only taken your money, you should esteem me as *your friend and benefactor!!*”

Because the ambitious, extravagant, tyrannical kings and potentates of Europe, have pressed their poor subjects literally into the earth, by cruel and exorbitant taxes to support their assumed dignity, you have, therefore, a right to lord it over God’s heritage, by erecting every farm into a monarchical dominion, where each master becomes an independent sovereign—a king—a potentate, and from his self-created

elevation, looks down and insults his broken hearted brother, whom he holds in abject bondage, by saying "you should be thankful and rejoice that your situation is no worse; *George*, and *Lewis*, and *Charles*, and *Frederick*, and *Nicholas*, all grind the face of their poor subjects with far more severity than I have yet ground yours; therefore you should consider me your best friend and benefactor." Christian brethren blush, and never again resort to such an argument to support the cause of oppression.

To say nothing of Great Britain, with whose peasantry the condition of our slaves is generally contrasted; is there a king or tyrant on earth who can legally, and with *impunity*, sell as he would a domestic animal, the poorest man's child in his realm? Is there a petty monarch in the world who can take the wife and expose her to public sale, while the husband dare not speak one word, or utter one complaint? No; we may safely say that there is no such glaring cruelty and oppression legally practised in any part of the whole world, but among the *equal, honourable, free, enlightened Christians* of America, and a few islands in the Atlantic ocean.

In Europe, the poorest peasant receives the full value for his services; if it is only twopence per day, he can legally demand and receive that

amount; consequently his employer may be governed by the pure principles of JUSTICE.

Can we who are masters living in a land of boasted freedom and Christian liberty, conscientiously say that we have paid, or will pay the poor man who has toiled in our field through the day, the full value of his labour? If not, where is our *justice*, or our *religion*? Where is our superiority over our European neighbours? Will not our character suffer materially, and be found wanting, when weighed in the balance with the heathens, whose motto was—“*let JUSTICE prevail if the pillars of heaven should fall.*”

Those who attempt to justify slavery, find an argument in its favour, in the silence of the New Testament respecting the subject. They say, that “Masters and servants are mentioned, and their respective duties prescribed, but nothing is said to forbid the practice.” Neither is there any express command or precept which forbids polygamy; yet Christians universally esteem it a crime of no ordinary magnitude. A man would be expelled from the pale of any living branch of Christ’s church for marrying two wives, and why? Because the practice embraces principles, which, in their very nature, are neither salutary to the well being of society, nor compatible with the

sublime precepts of the Gospel. We respectfully ask, is the *complexion of slavery any better?* Nay, is it not *much worse?*

It is urged, however, by the objector, that "If slavery is really incompatible with the plain principles of the Gospel, it should, and no doubt would, have been forbidden in the New Testament, in plain intelligible language."

We answer, if the Gospel contains plain unequivocal precepts, and enjoins requisitions which no man can comply with, and holds his fellow man in bondage, then is slavery as effectually forbidden, as it would have been by any language or expression, which could have been used.

God commands all men every where to honour and obey the powers that be; therefore, Christ's laws interfere not with the laws of earthly kings or rulers. Hence, the infinitely *wise, silent, effectual*, prohibition placed on slavery by the holy precepts of the Gospel.

There is another city of refuge into which the pious slaveholder flies as his *dernier resort*, when he is closely pursued by the principles of *justice or mercy*, or his own *conscience*.

"Have not," says he, "many masters died triumphantly and left a testimony sufficient to satisfy any rational being, expressed almost with their dying lips, that they have gone to rest in Abraham's bosom?"

This ground of justification is as flimsy to stand on, as it is delicate and dangerous to assail.

It is not impossible for honest good men to be really deceived in life, particularly when their interest is concerned; and if we may be really deceived when we are in possession of all our faculties, unimpaired by bodily ability; may we not be mistaken when disease has paralysed the whole system?

There is no new light to be seen, nor additional knowledge to be gained by the approach of death. It will generally, if not always, unmask the hypocrite; but it cannot correct errors previously contracted. Our divine Master says, "Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophecied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name have done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them I never knew you: depart from me ye that work iniquity."*

Again, St. Paul says, "And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."†

Therefore the sentiments or expression of dying characters afford but doubtful testimo-

*Math. xii. 22, 23. †Thes. ii. 11, 12.

ny in favour of the innocence of slavery; at least it is very little better than a straw to save a drowning man from a watery grave.

Many of our friends will startle and almost indignantly inquire—"what—do you suppose that our pious ancestors are lost who held slaves, and died apparently happy in the love of God?"

Recollect, your good fathers and mothers enjoyed less light than you are blessed with.—In their day, there was no colony settled in Africa. There was no politician, statesman, or Christian minister to speak openly on this dark subject when they lived on earth. Hence it is written—"the times of this ignorance God winked at; but *now* he commandeth all men everywhere to repent."

Can you plead the same apology for continuing to hold slaves, that your fathers could honestly plead? If not, do not advert to their example, nor mourn over their destiny. Allow their ashes to slumber in quiet repose, and their souls to rest in the hand of a merciful Creator.

Remember, to you is the word of this exhortation addressed. Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God. Undo the heavy burdens and let the captive go free.

The Gospel is a system of pure, honourable, and distinguished *privileges*; its character is not

to exercise unbinding coercion—its *theme*, its *substance*, its *glory* is LOVE—love unsullied and universal. Can there be found among the bitter ingredients of which slavery is composed, one particle of pure, undefiled LOVE? If not, then all the ingenuity and sophistry of man cannot commingle one drop of its bitter gall, with the sweet pellucid streams of salvation.

A moment's reflection on the practice of slavery, as it exists in our Christian country, must cause every sympathetic, affectionate heart to bleed, and every delicate, innocent cheek to blush. *Shall we see our BRETHREN, FOR WHOM CHRIST DIED, BOUGHT AND SOLD LIKE BEASTS OF THE FIELD?* Frequently they are set up at auction and *sold to the highest bidder; the wife and husband sundered never again to meet on earth.* Can a rational being blessed with one particle of piety, believe that those who engage in such scenes are doing as they would be done by? Can such characters LOVE MERCY?

Mothers, suppose that precious babe of yours was exposed at public auction, and there were a parcel of merciless speculators in human flesh, with hearts harder than the nether millstone, and blacker than the pit of Tophet, standing by ready to grasp your child and bear

it off forever from your sight, to be bartered for gain, among strangers in a distant clime, what would be your feelings? Language is too feeble to describe your sensations, or to paint the turpitude of the crime in its true colours.

It may be said that none but the cruel, the hard hearted part of community would separate husband and wife—parents and children. Others would not sell, or suffer their slaves to be sold out of their own family for any earthly consideration. Come and let us reason together for one moment. We greatly admire the honourable principles by which you are influenced; but remember life is very uncertain; human events are ever fluctuating. You may by some earthly contingency lose your property, and be *compelled* to sell your slaves. But should you be successful in business, and not forced into such a painful alternative; yet you *must die*.

Should all your children be as virtuous and honourable as yourself, yet they may and *will* marry; they are not infallible, and may marry imprudent characters, who may waste your property in dissipation and extravagance. The sheriff may come and sell their possessions, nor will the iron arm, or deaf ear of the law, incline in mercy to the suppliant cries of your servants about to be separated and sold to strangers;

your former tenderness will only cause them to feel the pangs more acutely. Can you willingly continue to pursue a system which may terminate in such painful results? Can your dying pillow be free from thorns with such reflections staring you in the face?

As *Christians*, we have hitherto slumbered on our post, while the voice of danger, and the plaintive sound of suffering humanity daily arising to heaven from every slaveholding state in our Christian country, has fallen unheard, and unheeded on our deluded senses. Let us *now*, even at this advanced period, awake and arise from our beds of repose and indifference,

It will be unnecessary at this time to inquire what can be done with our slaves? The divine hand has drawn a line of distinction between the slave and his master which can only be erased by the hand of death. We presume not to say, that a just and holy Creator designed the black skin as a badge of disgrace or inferiority; but custom and prejudice, strengthened by station and pride, has written that opinion indelibly on the heart of almost every white man in our country, whether he lives in Boston or in Charleston. Therefore, if our slaves could be delivered from a state of bondage at once, and compelled still to dwell among us, it would not better their con-

dition, or cause them to be more respected, happy, or independent. In this country the black man must ever remain a degraded, insulted, and oppressed character. All unani- mously agree that they must be removed from our borders. A great and effectual door has already been opened for their reception. The country from whence they originally came, is sufficiently large and fertile to support them and their descendants for ages to come. Their forefathers are yet involved in heathen dark- ness—in profound ignorance. Those of their own colour, their own descendants will be bet- ter qualified than any other people can be, to penetrate that extensive, gloomy continent, and to diffuse the light and blessings of civilization and of Christianity among the natives of long neglected Africa.

An experiment has already been made which has more than realized the expectations of its most sanguine friends. The colony which has been settled at Liberia, on the shores of Africa, is now in a more flourishing condition than any new settlement of the same nature and age ever before made in any part of the world.

Our own country—the United States of America, in their progress—in the increase of their population—their improvement in the arts and sciences, and in the diffusion of Christian

knowledge, stand without a parallel on the page of history? yet, in their origin—in the dawn of their existence, this powerful and *now* independent nation, was far less successful than has been the little vine planted at Liberia. The first settlers reached the shores of Africa in June, 1822; they are now in a prosperous condition; three churches have already been erected; several schools are in successful operation. They have a newspaper regularly conducted by a coloured man; many of the new settlers are becoming wealthy. The population already amounts to about three thousand souls. They are gradually extending their territory along the shores of the Atlantic, and also into the interior among the natives, with whom they are on friendly terms and highly respected and honoured by those poor savages.

The whole amount of money received by the Colonization Society up to the 20th of June, 1832, is \$155,912 52. With this small sum of money, a new world has been purchased—a new nation has been settled, and the prejudice of thousands respecting the deportation and colonization of our slaves in Africa has been wiped away. Surely never before was the same amount of money so judiciously expended.

It is only necessary to sustain the Coloniza-

tion Society, and furnish them with a sufficient amount of money, and under the smiles of heaven, and the direction of the divine hand, our country will, in due time, be delivered from impending ruin; our coloured brethren will be rescued from heavy bondage? while this double blessing will confer one of greater magnitude on unfortunate, degraded, benighted Africa.

It is not practicable, neither would it be desirable, or prudent to remove our slave population from this country in one, or two, or even in ten years, but let the subject be warmly espoused by Christians generally, and this great object can be effected in thirty or forty years, nor would the loss be felt even by their masters.

The annual increase of the coloured population in the U. States, amounts to about 60,000. By making provision to remove 100,000 annually to Africa, the first ten years would reduce the old stock 412,000 leaving about 1,588,000. The net increase from that number would be a fraction less than 48,000; continue to remove 100,000 annually, and in the next ten years, the original stock would be reduced to 1,035,000. The increase from that number would be about 30,105. Still continue to remove 100,000 annually, and in ten years more

the old stock would be reduced to about 275,000; which number could be removed in less than three years. Thus in less than 33 years, the name, and stain of slavery might be wiped away forever. Should we even proceed on a more limited scale, and effect this great work in one hundred years, it would be an achievement worthy of a free and Christian nation; and by far the greatest and the best legacy which we could bequeath to our posterity.

The amount of money required to remove 100,000 persons from our country to Africa, would be less than three millions of dollars annually. Large as this sum may appear, it can be furnished with ease by the church alone. If every member of Christ's church in the U. States, would contribute **THREE CENTS** every week, it would amount to the sum required! Can this statement be correct! And are we what we profess to be, i. e. children of the Most High God—members of his earthly family and *all one* in Christ Jesus? And are our Father's children in abject bondage, many of those whom our Saviour will condescend to call *mother—sister—brother*, doomed to ignorance, disgrace, and perpetual slavery; and the small pittance of **THREE CENTS** per week from all Christ's professed followers would pay their expenses to Africa, where they might be free

and happy. With these facts staring us in the face—with this picture before our eyes; under such circumstances, can we any longer remain idle spectators of the scene, and be innocent?

No; we can *now* frame no apologies; a door has been opened by the hand of a wise and merciful God, and if we do not enter into the work promptly and zealously, in all human probability, the door of mercy will be closed on us forever.

To prove that it will be neither cruel nor chimerical to colonize our slaves in Africa, we again refer our readers to Wesley's Works vol. vi. p. 279.

“And, first, what kind of country is that from whence they are brought? Is it so remarkably horrid, dreary, and barren, that it is a kindness to deliver them out of it? I believe many have apprehended so; but it is an entire mistake, if we may give credit to those who have lived many years therein, and could have no motive to misrepresent it.

“That part of Africa whence the negroes are brought commonly known by the name of Guinea, extends along the coast, in the whole, between three and four thousand miles. From the river Senegal, seventeen degrees north of the line, to Cape Sierra Leone, it contains seven hundred miles. Thence it runs eastward

about fifteen hundred miles, including the Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast, with the large kingdom of Benin. From thence it runs southward about twelve hundred miles, and contains the kingdoms of Congo and Angola.

“Concerning the first, the Senegal Coast, Monsieur Brue, who lived there sixteen years, after describing its fruitfulness near the sea, says, “The farther you go from the sea, the more fruitful and well-improved is the country, abounding in pulse, Indian corn, and various fruits. Here are vast meadows, which feed large herds of great and small cattle; and the villages, which lie thick, show the country is well peopled.” And again: “I was surprised to see the land so well cultivated: scarce a spot lay unimproved; the lowlands, divided by small canals, were all sowed with rice; the higher grounds were planted with Indian corn, and peas of different sorts. Their beef is excellent; poultry plenty, and very cheap, as are all the necessaries of life.”

“As to the Grain and Ivory Coast, we learn from eye witnesses, that the soil is in general fertile, producing abundance of rice and roots. Indigo and cotton thrive without cultivation; fish is in great plenty; the flocks and herds are numerous, and the trees loaden with fruit

“The Gold Coast and Slave Coast, all who have seen them agree, are exceeding fruitful and pleasant, producing vast quantities of rice and other grain, plenty of fruit and roots, palm wine and oil, and fish in great abundance, with much tame and wild cattle. The very same account is given us of the soil and produce of the kingdoms of Benin, Congo, and Angola. From all which it appears, that Guinea, in general, is far from a horrid, dreary, barren country,—is one of the most fruitful, as well as the most pleasant, countries in the known world. It is said indeed to be unhealthy; and so it is to strangers, but perfectly healthy to the native inhabitants.”

Let us now examine partially the means we have in our power, and contrast them with the efforts we have heretofore made in behalf of suffering, degraded humanity.

We have no correct data by which we can ascertain the exact number of church members in the U. States. There is said to be in all, about 11,000 houses of worship or churches, in our country: of that number the Methodist Episcopal and the Baptist churches alone, own and occupy about 4,500, leaving the balance of 6,500 for all other denominations. There are more than one million of members connected with the Methodist Episcopal and Baptist

churches. It is at least a moderate calculation to allow all the other sects (who occupy 2,000 houses more than those two denominations,) as many members as they have; which would make the whole number of professing Christians in the U. States more than *two millions*. The state of our accounts will be as follows, viz.

The church of Christ in the U. States of America, in account current with their Father's coloured children, now in bondage.

DR.

For amount required to remove the whole number to Africa in 33 years estimated annually at \$3,000,000 00

CR.

By—*part* of amount paid to the Colonization Society in ten years, i. e. from June, 1822 to June, 1832—
\$155,912 52.

Averaging per annum. 15,591 25

Balance due each year!!! \$2,984,408 75

Our Christian brethren should not forget, that to furnish the above account of three millions of dollars, each individual member of Christ's church will be called on to contribute only **ONE DOLLAR AND FIFTY CENTS! PER ANNUM.**

Will not our ample means, compared with our feeble efforts in days gone by, cause us to blush, and implore pardon for the past; and resolve to act more wisely, liberally, and efficiently in future?

From this view of the subject, we respectfully submit the following plan for the consideration of every minister of the Gospel having the oversight or charge of any part of our Saviour's little flock on earth; i. e. immediately form, or make a zealous attempt to form your church into a society for the relief of our coloured brethren now in bondage. Let the terms of membership be, the payment of not less than *three cents* per week, or 1,50 per annum. Members in favoured circumstances should be permitted to give as much as they please. A special clause of the following import should be inserted in the constitution—i. e. we solemnly pledge ourselves to the Great Head of the church, and our brethren that we will either *SAVE out of our ordinary expenses*; or we will make an *extraordinary effort* to earn, or make, **THREE CENTS** every week; which amount shall be regularly paid over to the treasurer of the society for the relief of our brethren now in bondage in our own country.

If the design be carefully explained, and the means pointed out to all our coloured brethren

in the church, they too, can, and will meet the demand without difficulty.

By this simple, rational, easy course of proceedings, the whole mass of our slave population could be redeemed, and restored to liberty and their native country, without drawing one cent from the private desk, or the ordinary resources of one individual in our country. That there is *one member* in Christ's church who deserves a name or place among Christians, who would be unwilling to contribute the small pittance of *three cents* per week for this noble purpose, we are utterly unwilling to believe.

And should there be one member found in any branch of the church who is really unable to **SAVE, OR TO MAKE, OR TO GIVE, THREE CENTS** per week for the accomplishment of such an important object; surely there would be ten others both able and willing to pay the amount for their unfortunate brother.

There are, no doubt, hundreds, nay thousands in the church who spend for unnecessary articles every week, more than one hundred times the amount required to effect this great purpose, and yet they honestly believe that nothing can be done for our unfortunate slaves. It should be the minister's duty to correct the errors of all such members; in attending to this

part of our duty, however, we must be very careful to have the mote removed from our own eye, or all our labour will be lost.

The ministers of the sanctuary especially, should stand firm in this great cause. They should adopt the sentiments of the evangelical prophet, and resolutely declare—“*For Zion’s sake will I not hold my peace; and for Jerusalem’s sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof goeth forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth.*”

It may be said that the deportation of 100,000 souls annually, ignorant and degraded as our slaves generally are, would form a stream of corruption better calculated to deluge, not only the present little colony at Liberia, but the whole continent of Africa with indolence, vice, misery, and darkness, than to form a beacon of light to guide the steps of the benighted Africans to a state of civilization and Christianity. To this objection we answer, it would be unnecessary as it would be imprudent to overstock, or inundate the nursery already planted at Liberia, with a greater portion of crude materials than they could prudently receive. Other locations may be procured: settlements should be made on every spot of eligible ground, until the whole continent of Africa shall be environed around with colonies.

Many intelligent, sincere friends to the prosperity of our slaves, could not believe that it was practicable to found a living, growing colony of coloured people in any part of Africa; they have been completely and most agreeably disappointed.

A learned and respectable writer in the *American Quarterly Review*, has endeavoured to prove that it is impracticable to colonize our coloured population in Africa. As far as an experiment has been made, (experience must test the truth of every theory,) his sentiments are incorrect. The colony at Liberia has been established under circumstances more unfavourable than would exist in settling colonies, either in the same section of the country, or on any other part of the continent.

All our coloured population may be thrown into Africa to-morrow, and leave it a wilderness still in point of population. Therefore, whatever difficulties may lie in the way, nothing can justify Christians in shrinking from their duty. Let us unite and raise the money—let us place *three* or even *one* million of dollars annually in the hands of the Colonization Society, or any other association of men for the same purpose, and they will very soon prove, to all concerned, that all other obstacles are visionary—are like the morning cloud, or

the early dew. At least the effort will cost each individual but a trifle; and should the final success not be as complete as we anticipate, we should thereby secure the blessing of an approving conscience, and the smiles of heaven.

Our author believes that the negroes are an inferior race of beings, incapable of rising to an honourable standard of civilization and science. It is also his opinion, that their ancestors in Africa are not susceptible of a high state of improvement in consequence of their indolent debased nature. *Poverty* and *ignorance*, it is true, are materials out of which, *exclusively*, no edifice, possessing either beauty or strength, can be erected—slaves liberated, and still doomed to live among us, even in any of the free states, must ever remain a degraded people in the estimation of white men. Place them, however, where they can be operated on by encouraging incentives—where the hope of an adequate reward will sweeten their labour—where they can be honoured and respected in exact proportion to their merit and virtue, and they will soon rise to a level with other civilized and Christian nations.

To doom an entire race of human beings to *poverty*, *ignorance*, and degradation, may be policy in designing men; but it was never the design, neither can it meet the approbation of

a just and holy God. That our coloured population, in their present condition present discordant materials for colonizing purposes is readily granted; yet, perhaps they are better prepared to form a prosperous and happy community, than would the *learned* and wealthy if they were selected out of any country and colonized exclusively by themselves. This respected author has himself complimented our slaves very highly by attributing to them an amiable and affectionate disposition. He says, that many of them *sincerely love* their masters. Now we greatly fear that our learned friend with all his *natural* and *acquired* advantages, would be utterly unable to *love* that character, and kiss affectionately that hand, which had bound an iron yoke of bondage around his neck.

By the assistance of humane and religious characters, now ready to afford their aid, those people could very soon be educated and taught the principles of our holy religion; and under the smiles of heaven, they would soon rise to a happy state of civilization and Christianity in any part of the earth where men can live.

Under the weight of prejudice which operates against them, and surrounded by almost every discouragement in our own country, some of them have risen to independence and

intelligence; and many of them to an exalted state of piety.

All savage and barbarous nations, as well as the Africans, are *poor—ignorant—indolent*, and *degraded*; nor can any thing but civilization and religion correct those evils. Let us extend these blessings to degraded, injured Africa, and her wilderness and solitary places too, will soon blossom as the fragrant rose on our own favoured hills.

The same writer supposes that a removal of our slaves from among us would be attended with ruinous consequences. Were they all removed in one, or even in ten years, it would no doubt produce considerable inconvenience; but let it be known and believed that our slaves will certainly be removed to Africa in the course of thirty or fifty years, and from that moment our population and our prospects will begin to improve. There is now a strong current in motion which is bearing a large amount of our best citizens to the west because they dread the consequences of slavery. Arrest the growth of this evil, and say it shall be extirpated from our land, and you will at once weaken, if you do not dry up that current. The Atlantic states possess advantages which the western states can never enjoy.

But let the present state of things continue

without any hope of a favourable change, and in a few years your soil, or rather your hills, robbed of their soil and substance by the withering hand of slavery—a population composed of wealthy nabobs, and a few white skeletons, more *indolent, ignorant* and degraded than your slaves—together with a dark dense cloud of human forms like the locusts of Egypt in the days of Pharaoh, darkening the sun, and desolating the earth, will mark your certain condition, and constitute your faded glory. Pass through the eastern, and free western states, and how many dilapidated churches—deserted villages—houses empty and in a state of ruin; how many old fields grown over with briars and sedge capable of bearing nothing but the black signature of *poverty*, will you find? Perhaps not one for one hundred that you will see in the state of Virginia, which should, and would be the garden spot of the United States were it not for the existence of *slavery*.

When this truly benevolent scheme goes into extensive operation, every *Christian* master will educate his slaves, and prepare them for the reception and enjoyment of liberty before he sends them away. It may be said that the laws of nearly all the slaveholding states will not admit of their education. Those

laws were enacted from *supposed* necessity; such a restriction was deemed essential to the safety and well being of the white population, and under an impression that slaves and masters were to remain together forever. A change in the circumstances and prospects of our slaves, would induce the state authorities promptly to rescind those legal restrictions, repugnant to the feelings of every patriot's heart; offensive to every free man; and at open war with the whole system of civil and religious liberty.

Were all the professors of religion in these United States to take up the cross of Jesus Christ resolutely, and firmly sustain that sacred banner, the important work of removing the coloured population from our country, could be effected without injuring the master one cent, or asking him for one favour. Were all Christians unanimously and promptly to commence the work of retrenchment, by cutting off *every* unnecessary expense from our *houses and furniture*, our *wearing apparel*, our *food*, &c. not expending *one cent* exclusively to gratify our *passions* or our *appetites*, and cast one-half of the redeemed amount into the Lord's treasury, it would make a sum sufficient to purchase at the ordinary price 100,000 slaves annually, and send them to Africa and furnish

them with one year's provision in advance. Can we examine this subject with care, and then contemplate the day when we must meet our slaves and the heathen nations at the judgment seat of Christ, without feeling alarmed?

Having briefly considered the *disgrace*, the *cruelty*, the *injustice* and the *danger* of slavery; and also pointed out a remedy for this growing, alarming evil, we now appeal:

FIRST. To our brethren in the church who are implicated in the evils of slavery, to those who have inherited from their ancestors the name of **MASTER**, and also the incumbrance of human souls, as a legacy.

Our heart's desire, and prayer to God, is, that you may be speedily delivered from the degrading, dangerous evil of slavery. You should immediately emancipate your slaves on condition that they remove to Africa.

Every effort in your power should be made to effect this important object as soon as practicable. Do not, therefore, sleep until the rights of your Father's children are secured to them in a legal form. Remember that you have enjoyed your good things in this life, and your Father's coloured children, who are your slaves, have received their evil things. You should, therefore, not stop at a few cents per week; you should make a fair and honest calculation, and ascertain

how much you can possibly give, for the laudable and important purpose of redeeming your unfortunate brethren from reproach and bondage. If you have derived any pecuniary benefit from their labour, you should be the more liberal on that account. Do not we beseech you, begin to say—“*my people are worth so much money—they cost me so many dollars.*”

Reflect for one moment—the silver and the gold belongs to God. Your slave bears the same relation to the great Sovereign of the universe, that you do. Israel’s God can bless your temporal concerns, and cause them to prosper abundantly, were that for your good; or he can curse your efforts, and send poverty and misery into your habitation. You should, therefore, freely impart liberty to the captive, and not take your fellow servant by the throat, saying “*pay me that thou owest,*” lest the Almighty God should be wroth with you, (to whom he has forgiven a debt of more than ten thousand talents,) and deliver you to the tormenters, until you pay all that you are indebted unto him. The testimony of an approving conscience and the smiles of heaven are more to be desired than all the gold and silver, which “*sinews bought or sold have earned.*”

Remember that your slaves are all your hea-

venly Father's children, and cost his Son's blood to redeem their souls from death; and if they fear God, and work righteousness, they will be recognized by our Lord Jesus Christ in the day of final retribution, as *his mother, sister, and brother*.

We respectfully and affectionately *appeal* to your sense of honour, and the refined feelings of your own heart and ask if your own honoured and beloved *mother*, together with your *sister* and *brother*, were literally doomed to *servile bondage*, and money could redeem them from that degraded condition, would you not give the last cent within your reach for that honourable purpose. Under such circumstances, would you spend even ONE CENT *unnecessarily—exclusively to gratify your passions or your appetites?* No, you would not; as an *honourable* man we confidently anticipate your conduct in such a case; you would discard every delicacy from your table; you would even dispense with the use of tea and coffee, and substitute milk, or rye, or barley, or sage, or sassafras in their place: you would not then chew, or smoke, or snuff that *bitter weed*, and say—“*it is a harmless luxury.*” You would not expend unnecessarily *one cent* in building and ornamenting that house in which you are to lodge for a few nights only before you appear in the

presence of the righteous Judge of all the earth, to here him pass sentence on your character and conduct.

Under such circumstances, you would exclude *all costly furniture*, and pictures of every kind, from your habitation. Were the painter or the pedlar, to approach your door with their splendid trash, you would drive them from your presence, and indignantly exclaim—“*will you insult a man of sorrow, whose dearest friends and nearest relatives, are involved in abject bondage, but may be redeemed with money?*”

Neither would you under such *painful, mortifying* circumstances, repair to the store and purchase a fine hat, when you could procure one of a coarse texture which would be as durable for one half the money. That fine broad cloth of which your coat is made, would have remained unmolested on the merchant's shelf. Nor would your affectionate daughters consent to waste your money for silk, or lace, or veils, or ribands, or jewellery of any kind; they would cast such flimsy trash from their presence with contempt. If they were tantalized, or derided by the gay, the thoughtless, the vain and frivolous part of their sex, because of their rustic appearance, they would honourably reply, “*Our father's mother, sister, and brother, are in poverty, degradation, and bondage, and*

may be redeemed with money; therefore we will not waste *one cent* of our father's money unnecessarily until they are relieved from their deplorable condition, and can enjoy the blessings of liberty, and the sweets of religion, with our father and his family.

Would not such a course of conduct in your daughters be truly honourable, and cause your heart to swell with emotions of gratitude?

Were the daughters of Columbia universally influenced by such just and exalted sentiments, there would not be found so many unhappy families in our country. The sheriff and the lawyers would then be left almost without employment; they would be compelled to return to agricultural or scientific pursuits for their support. Peace, plenty, and harmony, would everywhere abound, giving rise to a stream of righteousness flowing through the land in every direction, fertilizing the soil, and invigorating the roots of virtue until the whole earth would be crowned and clothed with the flowers of Eden, and the fruits of paradise.

We do not presume to say that strangers should receive the same degree of protection at our hands which we extend to our near relatives. In this probationary state, the members of our own family are made more dear to us than others for wise and merciful purposes;

were it not so, fallen sinful men would regard their children or their parents no more than they now respect the sufferings of their degraded slaves.

The great truth which must be defended, is, that God is no respecter of persons; therefore our slaves are as dear to him as we are, and we shall all stand on the same level in the day of judgment.

Brethren we beseech you no longer slumber and fold your hands together, and say, "*we can do nothing.*" Neither should you wait one moment for others to precede or accompany you in effecting this important object. Every one will have to give an account to God for himself. You should at least give all that you can possibly save from the ordinary expenses of your family or can make by extra labour.

If all your brethren in the church will not unite with you—nay if not one of them will join you in this work of righteousness and labour of love, you should proceed alone.

It would be a desperate argument to say—"*I will be virtuous and honourable, if all my neighbours will unite with me and be virtuous and honourable also.*"

Respecting emancipation, some of our friends say, their slaves are utterly unwilling to leave them—they will not go to Liberia, and they

cannot possibly force them. In all such cases we can only recommend you to act in the fear of God. Honestly represent, or get some person in whom your slave can confide, to make to them a fair statement of facts as they exist. Let them know that in Africa they can be, not only free, but honoured and respected just in proportion to their virtue and merit. In our country they can never hope to be ever respected by white people generally. They must here forever remain a degraded people, nor is it possible for a master to treat them as justice and mercy would dictate. When a fair representation of the case is made to them and they still refuse to be free, you must then do the best you can with, and for them, honestly committing yourself and your slaves to the guidance of Almighty God, who will soon incline their hearts to go to Africa, or he will open some other door for their reception.

These circumstances, however, need not prevent you from contributing liberally to the fund for their relief, which will, in a few years, if zealously engaged in, render Africa an honourable, desirable home for every coloured man in our country. Then will they go and thank you for your kindness. At present they lack confidence.

Make an honest effort; faithfully perform

your part; and then leave the result to that God who sitteth on the throne and ruleth all things well. Inactivity will form an important part of your crime. Your condemnation will proceed from your own remissness.

SECONDLY. An appeal may next be made with great propriety to our brethren whose location is more fortunate than our own; to those who are happily placed beyond the boundary line of slavery; to those who dwell in our free and happy states, where the degrading epithets of *master* and *slave* are never heard.

Because you are far removed from the region where the destructive epidemic of slavery exerts its fatal influence; because you are located on a soil which produces no slavery, will you, therefore, feel no interest in the safety and prosperity of your brethren placed under different circumstances? Are you the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ—the children of the Most High God? And can you expatriate yourselves from the family of our common Father? Are we not all emphatically one in Christ? St. Paul says, “*so we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.*”

Can this endearing, this intimate and honourable connexion, we respectfully ask, be dis-

solved by climes, or by circumstances? It cannot; consequently, you are bound by the ties of the Gospel—by the bonds of Christian charity, to identify your fortune and your fate, in a good degree, with your brethren who are implicated in this evil.

In this fraternal—this rational appeal, we would not advert to former times and circumstances. Our eastern brethren have not forgotten that they greatly contributed to bind the polluted badge of slavery around our necks. This fatal error—this reprehensible course of conduct growing out of an unhallowed thirst for gold, we freely forgive; but do not forsake us when your aid is necessary. Do not begin to say:—"We are safe, and contented, and happy, therefore our unfortunate friends at a distance who are differently situated must manage their own concerns in their own way." Were you at sea in a violent storm, when every succeeding wave threatened the vessel, and all on board with destruction; would you feel entirely unconcerned, and make no effort to save the ship because you were only a passenger? The existence of slavery in our country is a *national crime*, as well as a *national disgrace*; and we must all stand or fall together. If we are all the children of God; if we are all one in Christ Jesus, you can no more feel unconcerned about our situation, or stand off and

refuse to administer to our necessities, than a sober man could see a dreadful ulcer on his arm, and disregard it, because it was not on his head, or on some other part of his body.

THIRDLY. We impressively and affectionately appeal to every individual member in every branch of Christ's church in these United States.

How long shall we disgrace our heavenly Father's name, and tarnish the Gospel of Jesus Christ, by our unnatural, and our unholy divisions and contentions? Do we not, like the Israelites of old, draw nigh to God with our lips, while our hearts are far from him? Do we not daily pray—*“thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven?”*

There is no division or discord in heaven; neither should there be in the church on earth. If, however, we have so little religion—so little of our divine Master's spirit, that we cannot agree in sentiment respecting our doctrine—our views of church government—our forms and ceremonies—our meats and our drinks; surely we can all harmonize, and unite our efforts to promote the cause of **JUSTICE** and **HUMANITY**. Our brethren—our heavenly Father's children, are now in bondage;—ignorance and degradation, encompass them about as a thick cloud. They cry, and their cries have reached the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth;

nor will he forget the cry of the needy forever. If we neglect our duty, and turn away from our brother in distress—Almighty God may turn away from us in the day of our calamity.

In view of this momentous subject, and at the sacred shrine of mercy, surely we can all meet, and meet as children of the same Father. In this just and righteous cause, there is nothing to excite our jealousies, or to provoke any of us to displeasure; here the Calvinist and the Armenian, can walk side by side in perfect harmony—the Catholic, and the Protestant—the Episcopalian and the Dissenter—the advocates for sprinkling and for immersion, may all stand together on the same holy ground of sympathy, and commingle their tears and their pence together, those little rivulets, rising into a broad stream of *mercy*, would bear the unhallowed *name* and *stain* of slavery from our shore, and bury it deep beneath the Atlantic wave; while upon the surface of this swelling tide, the sacred treasure of liberty and the Gospel should be deposited securely on the benighted coast of Africa, there to rise and shine with transcendant lustre, never again to be extinguished.

“Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God. Princes shall come out of Egypt.” The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, and who will disannul his words?

Great and noble efforts are now making to send the Gospel into all the world—into every clime and country on earth. Let us for one moment reflect on the inconsistency of sending missionaries to distant countries and the isles of the sea, to preach liberty to the captive—life and salvation to the poor degraded, heathen nations; while such a large portion of our *own family* at home are entirely neglected. Suppose an intelligent heathen were to submit the following interrogatives to one of our missionaries, i. e. “in your happy country where the Gospel has so long obtained, do Christians all love each other tenderly? Is there no oppression, or violence practised in all your Christian land? Does every Christian there love his neighbour as himself? This is the substance of what you preach to us; how is it in your own country?”

Would not the plain, honest Christian missionary have to confess his sins before a heathen tribunal? He would be compelled to say:—“In the very heart of our Christian land, where the Gospel is preached daily, nearly one-half of the inhabitants are involved in impervious darkness; they are not taught, nor permitted to read the word of God; they are nearly all profoundly ignorant. They are set up at auction and sold to the highest bidder, like oxen and horses, by the authority of our *Christian laws*. Pa-

wives and children, wives and husbands, are torn asunder for the sake of a few cents, no more to meet on earth; nor are they suffered to utter one word of complaint. If they are caught together worshipping their Creator, any common wicked man if he wears a white skin, may disperse them, and have them chastised for their presumption."

Would not the heathen man say:—"Return home and learn to be **JUST** and **MERCIFUL**, before you attempt to be generous. Teach your Christian brethren to let their captive brother go free—to unloose the heavy burden from the shoulders of the oppressed. Go home and learn your own people to do **JUSTICE** and to love **MERCY**, before you come so far to teach us these important lessons."

Can we rationally hope to be permanently respected and useful abroad, while we are so deeply disgraced at home? Such a supposition is not reasonable; therefore, our first great effort should be to remove the evil of slavery from our own land, if we expect to be successful in preaching liberty and the Gospel to the heathen nations.

The existence of slavery among us as a free and religious people, presents innumerable inconsistencies and absurdities. It may not be unprofitable to advert to a few of them.

Through the assistance of Almighty God, we broke the yoke of bondage imposed on us

by George the Third, from our own necks; we established our independence as a nation; we then proclaimed our sentiments to all the world by declaring that, "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, *that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS;*" and then, fearlessly, and without a blush of shame, we placed our feet on the necks of a large portion of our own family, and peremptorily say; *YOU shall not taste the cup of liberty, YOU shall not inhale one free breath.* We sing around our festive board, and publicly cry in the streets, in open day—"LIBERTY AND EQUALITY. There are no *kings* nor *tyrants* in our *free, happy, Christian country*—hail Columbia, happy land." With this triumphant song of liberty and equality on our lips, and while we are feasting on the richest bounties of heaven, we hold in our hand a chain with which we bind two millions of our own brethren in servile abject bondage, because they are guilty of the crime of bearing a dark complexion! They are made an object of sale and barter, like our domestic animals, nor are they permitted to speak one word in their own defence.

We boast of our freedom, and say *we make OUR OWN LAWS;* but when our attention is directed to the condition of our *slaves*, we piously sigh and say: "*We are truly sorry for these poor*

creatures; but the LAWS OF OUR COUNTRY will not suffer us to educate or emancipate them; therefore, we can do nothing to alleviate their sufferings—the providence of God has placed them among us, and we must patiently wait the Lord's time to deliver them!"

God commands us to do as we would be done by—to love our neighbour as ourselves; and positively says, *we must not love the world*—yet, we as free and pious Christians, can buy and sell for a few pieces of silver, our own brother—God's child, and that soul for whom Christ died, and then repair to the Lord's earthly sanctuary, and occupy the chief seats in the synagogue; there assume a dignified position and a sanctified appearance, and with great reverence and delight listen to the exalted principles of **JUSTICE** and **MERCY**, illustrated and enforced from the pulpit!!

By our conduct and words we virtually charge a merciful and just God with placing among us two millions of his own children, to be held in degradation, ignorance, and perpetual bondage, and openly say, "we can do nothing—the subject is too great and fearful for us even to look upon;"—when **THREE CENTS PER WEEK** from every member of the church, would pay their passage to Africa and in less than thirty-three years send them back to the land of their forefathers, to bless and comfort their heathen ancestors; yet, we will

expend ten or twenty, or even fifty times that amount in extravagance; we will contract debts which we are unable to pay, that we may gratify our own passions and appetites, and indulge our children in vanity and dissipation!!

The contemplation of these scenes, of these inconsistencies and absurdities, which the practice of slavery present to our view, should cause every honourable individual in our country to blush and say, "slavery shall be banished from our land, if that object can be accomplished by human effort."

Were we strictly and faithfully to follow our divine Master's command and example, this disordered world would soon be delivered from the tyrannical grasp of the prince of darkness; vice and ignorance; cruelty and oppression—violence and slavery would soon be banished from the world.

Let us, therefore, as Christians, "*arise and be doing.*" Leave those who do not belong to the Redeemer's fold, to act for themselves; if they aid in this good cause, be it so—let them do all they can; we hope they will—but soldiers of the cross should march forward under the command of the Great Head of the church—the Captain of our salvation. They should proceed to this holy war in solid phalanx, clothed with *light* and *love*, "looking forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

Christians “are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and to be trodden under foot of man.”

If we who profess to be Christ’s followers, exert not a SAVING INFLUENCE—if the CORRUPTION OF SLAVERY *is not healed*—if the church and state is not cleansed from this moral pollution, we must be cast out of the Lord’s sight, and not only be trodden under foot of man, but fall into *eternal ruin*.

The Lord commanded the Israelites, saying, “*thou shalt neither VEX A STRANGER NOR OPPRESS HIM, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy STRANGER’S that are in thy land within thy gates; at his day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor and setteth his heart upon it; lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it shall be sin unto thee. The Lord will also be a REFUGE FOR THE OPPRESSED, A REFUGE IN TIME OF TROUBLE. He shall judge the poor of the people; he shall save the children of the needy: AND SHALL BREAK IN PIECES THE OPPRESSOR. Rob not the poor because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the gate; FOR THE LORD WILL PLEAD THEIR CAUSE, AND SPOIL THE SOUL OF THOSE THAT SPOILED THEM. Is*

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

These solemn and impressive injunctions and declarations, should cause us who are slaveholders under the burning rays of Gospel light, to fear and tremble and search our own hearts, and in the Gospel scales of **JUSTICE** and **RIGHT-EOUSNESS**, weigh well our conduct.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ which proclaims peace and mercy to all mankind; Jew and gentile; rich and poor; bond and free, speaks a language which should make every rich man pause and reflect seriously, and every slaveholder's ears tingle.

“Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the labourers which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them that have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth

*Exo. xxii. 21. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. Ps. lx. 9, and lxxii. 4. Prov. xxii. 22, 23. Isaiah lviii. 6.

*and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter.”**

It is unnecessary to make any comment on these impressive declarations from the mouth of the Lord. They will apply to us with peculiar force. We should, therefore, no longer slumber on the verge of such an awful precipice, when the next step may precipitate us into the gulph of ruin. If we are honest, and discharge our duty diligently and faithfully, the merciful aid and blessings of heaven will not be withheld. If we are careless or refractory, and refuse to act our part until all concerned will unite with us, we must in all probability be *destroyed*; reason's voice will at least justify such a conclusion; and the lowering signs now perceptible in our political horizon, strengthen this apprehension, and proclaim the momentous period to be not far distant.

Ministers of the most high God, discharge your duty, and the ransomed of the Lord will soon return home, with songs of everlasting joy upon their heads. Joy and gladness will soon spring up in the heart of every poor African, and sorrow and sighing will flee away forever.

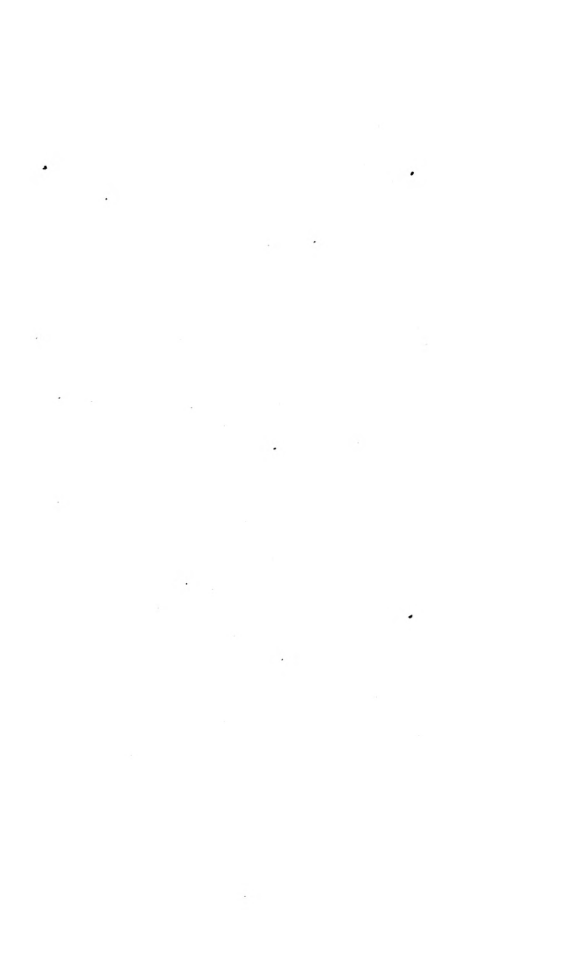
The approach of those returning exiles to the gloomy shores of degraded Africa, with

*James v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

the Gospel torch of redeeming love burning on the altar of their hearts, would cause those beasts of prey which have so long prowled in shades of night, revelling on blood and carnage, to fly from their favourite haunts, to be seen no more on earth. The voice of Israel's God would then be heard to sound from children's lips, long lost—long dead, returning home, alive, renovated, and restored to the image of their Maker. No stranger's voice would then be heard to speak the soft but cruel language of avarice. No longer then would Jacob's voice be heard, and Esau's hand be felt by the degraded sons of Ham.

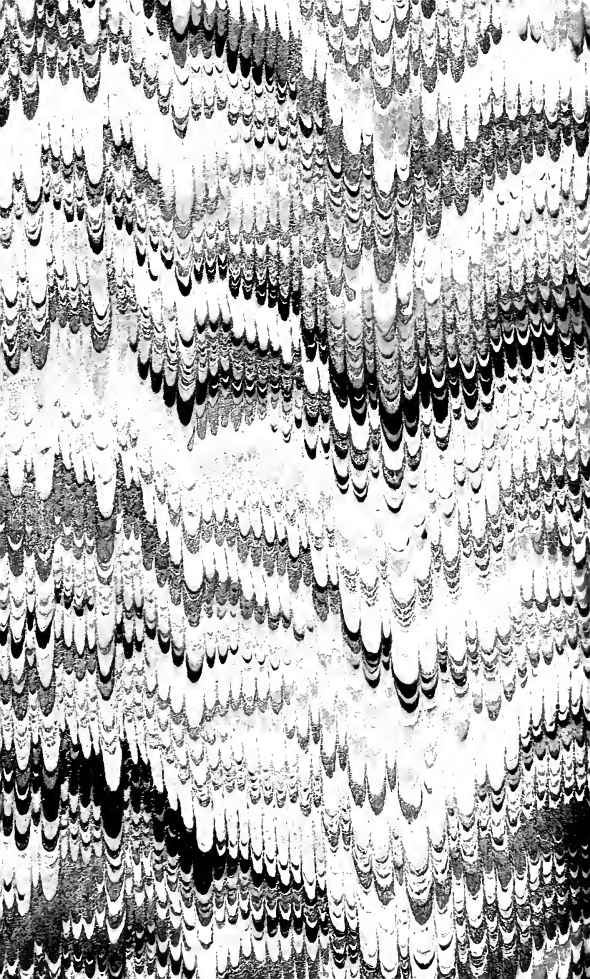
The sound of mercy would then, like the angel's message to Judah's shepherds in days gone by, fall like Hermon's dew, on the ears of savage men, saying, *hail* long benighted land—world of darkness, tears, and blood. Awake!—awake!—Ethiopia stretch out thy sable arms—shake off the gloomy folds of night. “Arise and shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.”

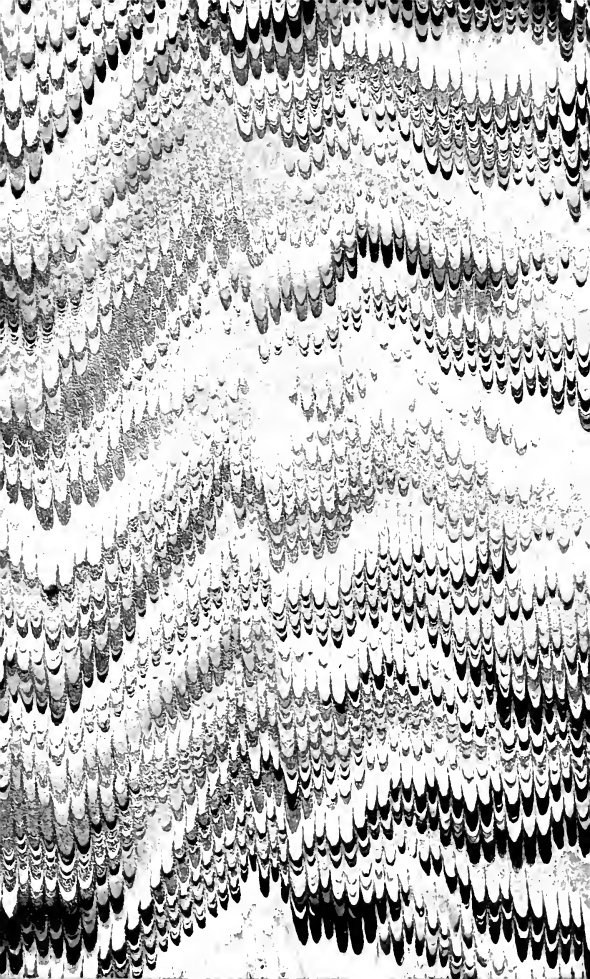
Nor would the picture at home be less pleasing to contemplate than the changed scenery in Africa. We should then *all* be really *free*; all of one complexion; all of one family; and thus be better prepared to glorify God on earth as angels do in heaven.











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