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INVOLUNTARY,

UNMERITED, PERPETUAL, ABSOLUTE, HEREDITARY.

SLAVERY, EXAMINED;

ON THE PRINCIPLES OF

NATURE, REASON, JUSTICE, POLICY,

AND

SCRIPTURE.

By DAVID BARROW.

"Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy." Prov. xxxi. 8, 9.

"So thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me." Ezek. xxxiii. 7.

This pamphlet is not to be sold, but given away.

LEXINGTON:

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1808.

James Hunt Esq

TO THE READER,

BE not offended with my title-page, and proceed no further; for I can assure you, "Truth has nothing to fear from investigation." If you be a slave-holder, and truth is on your side of the question, you need not be uneasy; for not all that I can write, say or do, and ten thousand more such, can turn truth into falsehood: for every thing that can be said against it, will finally tend to make it shine with the greater lustre.—Some are opposed to reading pamphlets, or indeed any other book, but the Bible; but it should seem, that the same arguments that would operate against reading pamphlets and other books, would be good against hearing sermons, or men's verbal expositions on the Scriptures.

The contents of the following pages, are not the result of the prejudice of education, interest, or hasty conclusions made up in the heat of zeal; but the cool and impartial examination of nearly thirty years. Had I have been governed by the prejudices of education, popularity, or what some would falsely call my own interest, I should now have been the owner of a considerable number of wretched slaves: but all these, with every other obstacle, had to give way to conviction, the sweets of a good conscience, and what I then and still conceive to be the real interest of my country, fellow-creatures and family.

In pursuing this subject, I have endeavoured as much as possible, to avoid dropping any thing from my pen, that might seem rude or insulting; but after all, I am afraid, that some of my animadversions and remarks, on sundry occasions, will appear rather tart. So that I find by experience, the truth of Mr. Jefferson's observation, "It is impossible to be temperate and pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history, natural and civil."

I request my readers, when they meet with any remark that seems to bear hard, that they will recollect, that I had sin and not persons in view.

The subject I have had under examination, and now offer to the consideration of the public, is very unpopular, and therefore, I have not the least expectation of emolument or applause: but as a citizen of the world, and a friend to all mankind, have thought it duty to cast my mite into the public treasury, which (though very small) I hope may be acceptable with God, and in the end, prove a blessing to my country.

Every candid "critick, who shall point out my errors, that I may acknowledge, and as far as possible amend them, I shall esteem my friend:" as for cavillers, I expect no mercy from them, and shall pay no attention to them. But I need give myself no concern on this head, for as a great man once observed, "If tyrants were to read my book, I should have every thing to fear, but tyrants never read."

Finally, I have the happiness to assure my readers, feel as they may towards me and my little book, that I am the enemy of no person or society of orderly people on this globe; but most sincerely desire the peace and prosperity of the Church of Christ and my country, and the just and equal rights of all mankind; and hope they will not always esteem me their "enemy, because I tell them the truth."

D. BARROW.

Montgomery County, Kentucky, }
August 27th, 1807. }

John Paul

INVOLUNTARY &C. SLAVERY, EXAMINED.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS is a subject that has called the attention of the wisest, the greatest, and perhaps the best men in the world.—It is a subject on which much has been said and written, for and against, with appeals to the highest authorities, that can be applied to in this world ;—notwithstanding all, it still remains a dispute :—as if we had no certain standard by which it might be finally determined.—And perhaps it would be pleasing to some, to rest the matter here, and give ourselves no further trouble on the subject.—However, there is one thing relative to this matter, certain with me, and I think it will be admitted by all, viz. That *Involuntary, Unmerited, Hereditary Slavery*, is certainly *right*, or it is certainly *wrong* ; and if this be admitted, it must most assuredly, be a matter worthy of our repeated and impartial enquiries :—and it is strange indeed, if no standard can be found, that will certainly determine in favour of *one* or the *other*.

It may seem discouraging, for me to follow so many who have written on this subject ; but *Truth*, is so *precious a jewel*, that it is well worth searching for in the deep mines of Nature, Reason, and Divine Revelation ; and all the sincere lovers of truth feel themselves amply rewarded, who contribute in the least degree, in clearing it from the rubbish and sophisms, with which it is too often blended, through the sordid interests and dusky passions of men.

A man who not only enjoys his own civil and religious *rights* uninterruptedly, but at the same time is in peaceable possession of the *rights* of others, in such circumstances, hardly knows the value of *rights* : but the man who is deprived of all share in *rights*, must feel miserable indeed, if his soul has not become callous by suffering !

I wish the reader to remember, that when I may have an occasion to use the words *slave* or *slaves*, in my following examinations, that I do not intend such *servant* or *servants*, who might voluntarily bind or indenture him or themselves

for any term, or for life.—Nor the *subjects* of Kings and princes, who are frequently called their *servants*—Nor do I intend *soldiers*, who are often called *servants*—Nor such *servants* who might hire themselves for any term, or for life.—Nor such who might have been, or may be condemned for certain crimes, and be transported and sold *servants* for life—Nor those who may be obliged to have been transported and sold for a certain term of years to pay their passage—Nor such, who were taken prisoners in war, and were sold for *servants* during life; which it seems was a custom in the ancient Eastern countries, and among the Greeks, were called *servants* under the yoke—Nor do I intend *bond servants*; for in the case of a bond, or being bound, there are conditions and limitations; but in that of *involuntary, hereditary slavery*, there are neither conditions nor limitations.

When I use the words *slave* or *slaves*, I would be understood to mean such *beings* of the *human race* who are (without any crime committed by them, more than is common to all men) with their offspring to perpetual generations, considered legal *property*; *compelled by superior force, unconditionally to obey the commands of their owners, to be bought and sold, to be given and received, to go and come, to marry or forbear, to be separated when married at pleasure, to eat, drink, sleep, wear, labour, and to be beaten at their owner's discretion*; and all *this* sanctioned by *civil authority*.—*This* is what I consider *slavery*, with a witness; and the *propriety* of *this* is what I am about to examine on the *principles of Nature, Reason, Justice, Policy and Scripture*.

I find the advocates of *slavery*, in general, are not all fond of the term *SLAVE*—they will make almost any other *shift*, before they will use *it*, as, my *Negroes*, my *servants*, &c. They are aware, that the word *SLAVE*, implies an opposite character, very odious to all true republicans and lovers of the rights of man:—I forbear at present to mention the proper name of such *character*, and leave the reader himself to say what it must be. The God of Nature, it seems, made no *SLAVES*; but the laws of men have created them—and have rightly named them *SLAVES*!!

They do not only dislike the term *slave*, and what it implies, as sounding harsh in the ears of all true republicans; but they have another very good reason for disusing it, and adopting the word *servant* in the room thereof; because, by thus blending or confounding, the *meaning* of the *innocent scripture word servant*, with the *detectable meaning* of the word

SLAVE, gives them greater latitude, and better opportunity of *rambling and using sophistry to greater advantage*. That there were, and may be, consistent with *Nature, Reason, Justice, Good Policy, and Holy Scripture*, servants of *different descriptions*, I never shall deny;—as, *voluntary, hired and indentured servants, &c.* Also others, who for certain *crimes committed*, might have been justly sentenced thereto for life. But this could not affect their children, so as to bring them under the curse of *perpetual slavery*—See *Lev. xviii.* the whole chapter.

Involuntary servitude among the Jews, could not continue for more than *fifty years*, or to the year of *Jubilee*, (*Lev. xxv. 10.*) which is called for ever (*Exod. xxi. 6.*) in which limited sense, the phrase is often used in scripture.

For although the phrase “For ever,” or the word “Ever” in many places of scripture, signifies *eternity*, yet it is often limited—1st. To the time of the law, (*Lev. x. 15.*) 2d. To the year of Jubilee, (*Deut. xv. 17.*) 3d. To a man’s life time, (*1 Sam. i. 22. chap. xxvii. 12.*) 4th. It signifies, a long time, (*Josh. iv. 7. 2 Tim. iii. 7.*)—and numerous instances of the kind might be given, if it were necessary.

This controversy, like most others, has been carried to great lengths; but more is the pity: for it might be brought to a short and speedy issue. Do the advocates of slavery argue, that there were not only *servants*, but *bond servants, servants under the yoke, &c.*—and that it was allowable from Scripture, Reason, &c.—I answer—Agreed—I firmly believe so too. These are not matters in dispute—this is not coming to the point. The point is this—Is *involuntary, unmerited, perpetual, hereditary slavery right*? Can it be supported on the principles of *nature, reason, justice, good policy and holy scripture*? I say it cannot—the advocates for the above kind of slavery say it can—this is the matter in hand, this is the point to be tried by the above criterions. This, I wish all who read, argue or think on the subject, would keep in memory, and not suffer themselves to be bewildered by the arts of sophistry, and it would soon end the dispute.

In my arrangement for the examination of this subject, I have mentioned the holy scriptures last, not out of disrespect to those sacred writings, but rather because vouchers drawn from hence, are proper to substantiate and cap the whole; and indeed through the whole course of my disquisitions, I shall keep a strict eye upon that sacred volume, and produce its authorities as occasion shall require,

INVOLUNTARY, &c. SLAVERY EXAMINED.

CHAPTER I.

INVOLUNTARY &c. SLAVERY, EXAMINED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURE.

WHEN I use the word *nature* on this occasion, I do not mean human nature in fallen circumstances, under the influence of every sinful propensity, for in this case little can be expected from its dictates but what is false and delusive. In this inquiry, I intend by the word *nature*, those laws impressed on, and the fitness of the different parts of matter and spirit contrived by the great Creator, that were not only necessary to produce and perpetuate action and re-action, through the vast body of *nature*, collectively considered; but also to preserve union and harmony throughout the great whole. There was, and the remains of it are still discoverable, (if I may so say,) a kind of social disposition impressed on universal nature, inanimate as well as animate. In the latter, sociability appears very plainly in the different species of beings we are acquainted with, whether insects, reptiles, fowls, fishes, beasts or men:—in the former it is discovered by the detached parts of the same bodies thrown off by any means from the main fountain, having a disposition to return to their kindred species; this in inanimate matter is called gravitation. And it is evident that this union and harmony among the different species of things, was owing to the laws of society and gravitation inclining them thus to unite; and also that they united upon principles

of equality and reciprocity, without which there could be no harmony. Therefore whatsoever breaks those laws imposed on *nature*, by her *alwise Creator*, must in itself be a great evil, and as far as it operates, destroys union and harmony through all creation. The great parent when he had finished the fabrick of nature, pronounced it "very good"; not only good as originating from himself, but capable to do and produce good reciprocally. From this view of things it will appear, that a violation of the laws of nature, is a violation of the law of God. Conformity to the laws of *nature*, would diffuse peace, love, joy, order and harmony, through all parts of our world; under nature's dictates, *involuntary, unmerited, perpetual, hereditary, slavery* could not possibly exist; and I believe this will be acknowledged by the advocates of slavery themselves.

But I am aware that it will be said, all this is nothing to the point; nature acts now upon a different scale, speaks a different language. This is true indeed, but it is under the influence of the reigning *tyrant, sin*. Every deviation therefore from first principles, is a new proof of the tyranny of sin, and the sinfulness of such deviation. The less sin has affected any part of God's creation, the fewer deviations from first principles are discovered in that part. The inanimate part of creation moves regularly on, all is peace, all is harmony among the various different bodies, and infinitely numerous particles of which each is composed, no clashing, no jarring among the whole of them.

When we turn our attention to the brutal creation, they are not so harmonious; they will *fight, bite, kick* and *gore* one another, but this is chiefly in defence of themselves or their *young*, or in the *seasons* of their *love*, when *jealousies arise*. But we never see them deliberately invading each other's *rights*—they never form combinations and enter upon offensive wars with their fellow brutes at a distance—they never decoy, catch and drive one another to market, to sell to other *beasts* for *slaves*. Few instances have ever been known of the same species of beasts, even under the most pinching necessity, to kill and eat one another's flesh. All these and much worse, (if worse can be) men have done, but not under nature's dictates; for human nature, depraved as it even now is, unless hardened by long habit, shudders at the like.

It appears to me, that we have not learned to enslave our fellow-creatures, from any principle discoverable in the inan-

imate or brutal parts of creation; nor from the first dictates of our own nature; nor from any thing that we learn from the conduct of holy angels, one towards another; nor from Jesus Christ, for he preached "Deliverance (emancipation) to the captives." Luke, iv. 18. nor even from the conduct of one devil towards another, for a legion of them could all dwell peaceably together in one of our species. Mark, v. 9.

"Devil with Devil damn'd, firm concord hold,
"Men only disagree." MILTON.

Upon the whole it should seem, we have learned to enslave one another, from satan's conduct toward ourselves—He having enslaved our whole race, we in imitation thereof, turn in and enslave one another. "But from the beginning it was not so." The conclusion then is, that *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary* SLAVERY, is an *unnatural and devilish usurpation*, fraught with innumerable evils in domestic, civil and religious society.

CHAPTER II.

UNMERITED &c. SLAVERY, EXAMINED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF REASON AND JUSTICE.

REASON is said to be one of the distinguishing characteristics, that marks the difference between man and other animals; and without doubt the proper use of that noble faculty, joined with justice, places him in a very exalted sphere in the creation of God. It is owing chiefly to man's possessing reason, that he is enabled to maintain dominion over the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the air, and beasts of the earth; and not to his speed, strength, &c. For numbers of those creatures are abundantly swifter and stronger than man.

Whilst reason, and the other mental faculties with which man is endued, are tempered with justice, mercy, &c. he may be considered as a noble creature, and his dominion over other creatures will be attended with no bad consequences, his government will be temperate and mild. But if his reason be duped by his passions, his ease, or his own separate interests, that very faculty which ennobles him,

and renders him capable of usefulness, being prostituted, the more fully qualifies him for mischief, in which case he degenerates to a tyrant.

In reasoning up from effect to cause, or down from cause to effect, we discover a beautiful concatenation, or linking one thing with another in harmonious order, descriptive of the wisdom and goodness of the great Creator of all things. That method of reasoning, which admits of conclusions subversive of harmony and justice, must be delusive and false, and can deserve no better name than that of sophistry, which too often passes for sound reasoning. What is reasonable is just, and what is just certainly must be reasonable. There is a very great difference between reason as it is a faculty in man, and the manner of its exercising itself on various subjects, and drawing conclusions on those subjects. As a faculty it is acted upon by the various objects and subjects as they present themselves to its observations, and in the drawing conclusions, it acts accordingly to the discoveries and impressions made by such objects and subjects. The fact then is, if reason be clouded with darkness, or be under the influence of prejudice, passion, interest, &c. in its actings on any subject, the conclusions it draws in such circumstances will be erroneous and contrary to justice.

It is highly reasonable to conclude, the one who made all things out of nothing is God—and it is equally as much so, that he should govern, and also to expect rules of government from him—the conclusion then is, that whatsoever God has thought fit to reveal in the holy scriptures, however it may exceed the limits of reason, is notwithstanding, strictly consistent with the dictates of sober reason and real justice.

“And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. And God said, behold I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed: to you it shall be for meat.” Gen. i. 28.

This appears to be the grand charter on which alone the right of all property is founded. And if this *grant*, or *charter*, as it may be called, be admitted as reasonable, just, and every way worthy of him who gave it, then it will follow as the

proper conclusion, that every *claim* set up among *men* to *property*, not within the *limits* of the above *grant*, is *unlawful property*. The earth and waters, with their various productions, were given to man as his *possession*, but not a word of one *man's* being given to *another man* as his *PROPERTY*.

I conceive *justice* to be a *principle* that is founded on *reason*, *equity* or *right*, and these may be known by their correspondence with the written law of God, the supreme governor of the universe.

Reason and justice dictate, that two things are necessary in acquiring and holding property. First, that the claimant comes by it lawfully—secondly, that the matter itself claimed, be lawful property. And it is evident that in the acquisition of the slaves in America, fraud & violence were made use of. This cannot be a lawful way of obtaining property, and the matter itself claimed cannot be lawful, unless the claimants could really convert their slaves into lands and chattels. It is but trifling, to say the laws of England made heathens the property of his Britanic majesty's christian subjects, and that we gave our money for such property, therefore let the legislature refund our money with interest, and then we will relinquish our claim. Reason and justice are in reality as much the friends of a heathen as a christian, of a poor man as a rich man, &c. What are all the laws of England and America, or even the laws of the Medes and Persians, when they are not founded in reason and justice, and are contradictory to the grand *charter* given to the *human race* by the *God* of the *universe*?

That innocent unoffending persons and their posterity, should suffer the most degrading kind of slavery to perpetual generations, only because some of their fellow creatures, through covetousness, imprudence or ignorance, had paid inconsiderable sums of money for their parents several generations past, has no foundation in reason and justice.—Such purchasers are to be pitied under their misfortune, (and not much neither, for they have had the exclusive advantage of the labor of such slaves for several generations,) but shall their misfortunes deprive others of unalienable and invaluable rights forever? Reason and justice must answer in the negative; any human law to the contrary notwithstanding. Money is valuable it is true, and hard to come at: then let those who have it take the better care, how, and for what they lay it out.

I believe there are many in these United States, so deeply

impressed with the iniquity, and the bitter consequences that do, and will follow *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, hereditary slavery*, who never owned one, and others who have really emancipated numbers, who would cheerfully agree, to bear their full proportion in the redemption of the vast numbers who still remain in slavery ; but if the above *kind of slavery*, has no foundation in nature, reason, justice, good policy, nor scripture ; viz. if *human creatures* are not in themselves *lawful property*, then reason and justice say, they ought to go out *without redemption* ; and their owners think themselves well off, to get clear of them on as *good terms*.

Some reasonings of governor Greenup, in his objections to an enrolled bill, " to repeal in part the act incorporating the Kentucky Insurance Company, I think will apply in this case, and here follow—" He conceives the obligation on the part of the state to " do justice," depends not upon mere will, but upon first principles : It is not diminished because there exists no tribunal to coerce. A contrary doctrine would make power the test of right ; and the rights of individuals to fluctuate on caprice, than which nothing is more to be deprecated : for there exists in every popular government, a physical power to do any thing ; a majority being resistless. But it is the excellence of our government that it reposes upon its moral, not its physical strength, or in other words, that its measures of policy are bottomed upon, and restrained by moral principle."

That God may, and often does change his dispensations, in the holy management of his providential government towards his erring creature man, whether nations or individuals, in a way of correction for certain abominations, without the least shadow of a change taking place in his sacred nature or moral law, appears to be reasonable and just ; and what is abundantly held out in the Holy Scriptures. Hence we find, that most nations, and mighty cities, yea, even God's favourite people the Jews, have been visited with the scourge of bloody wars, and long servitude to foreign and wicked powers, for their sins ; which things have been done, under his immediate providence, and by his positive orders, though often were performed from wicked motives in the executioners, and their acts of slaying and enslaving their fellow creatures, altogether inconsistent with his moral law : which en-

joins, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."* It is therefore highly necessary, that we should observe the proper distinctions between God's *moral* and *positive commands*. His moral commands, require perpetual obedience, and are universally obligatory on all rational creatures, thro' Heaven, Earth and Hell. His positive commands, are of equal authority, as coming from the same source; but do not require perpetual obedience, nor are they universally binding; but were enjoined for particular reasons, and to answer certain purposes—For instance, when God commanded Abraham, to circumcise himself, and all "born in his house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed."—Gen. xvii. 11, 12. Also commanded the Israelites, concerning the inhabitants of the cities of Canaan, "Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth" &c. see Deut. xx. 16, 17, 18—are positive commands—and numberless instances of the same kind might be given, which commands were of divine

* Some of the friends of Slavery, exclude all persons from being neighbours who are any ways related, as husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, magistrates and subjects. But when we turn to the holy Scriptures—The word neighbour, implies—1. One who dwells near to us, 2 Kings, iv: 3. "Then he said, Go borrow thee vessels abroad of all thy neighbours."—2. A fellow labourer, Acts vii: 37. "But he that did his neighbour wrong, thrust him away," &c.—3. One who does us good, Luke x: 36. "Which of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?"—4. Every man, Matt. xxii: 39. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," viz. All mankind. This is what I believe, is generally understood in Scripture by the term neighbour. And the Saviour gives us an infallible rule, how it may be known that we do love our neighbours as ourselves. Matt. xlii: 12. "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." This golden rule will apply in all cases—but it binds a man in no case, further than his own feelings dictate he would wish, on a change of circumstances:—it is therefore, highly reasonable, it is just, and every way worthy of him who enjoined it.

It is insulting the wisdom of the blessed Redeemer, to assert (as some have done) that strict attention to this rule, would destroy all honorary distinctions, and place magistrates and beggars on a level, introduce anarchy and confusion, encourage idleness, &c. &c.

It is also trifling to argue, that Slavery is no where forbidden in the holy Scriptures:—for it may be answered, nor is it in so many express words forbidden,—No man shall have two wives, at one and the same time. No man shall fight a Duel:—Or follow Horse Racing, Card-Playing, &c. &c.

authority, and which Abraham and the Israelites were bound on their peril to comply with ; nevertheless, it is evident, that these, and such like commands, could not be universally and perpetually binding on all nations, places, and like cases, through all ages of the world. For want of observing this distinction, the advocates of slavery are wretchedly bewildered, flying for its support to this kind of commands, and certain tolerations peculiar to the Jews, and that *ceremonial dispensation* ; blending the *moral, positive, and ceremonial injunctions* all together, thereby forming a medley, contrary to reason and the very spirit of the gospel. And others on various occasions have run into wild extravagancies ; while some on the other hand, have been led to entertain very unfavorable ideas of the holy scriptures bordering on Deism.

To plead the right of *slavery*, from *prophecy*, the *decrees, permission, or foreknowledge* of God, is highly unreasonable as well as unjust.—There are few events of importance, either good or bad, but have been the subjects of Prophecy.—As the rise and depredations committed by the founders and leaders of the four grand Monarchies, the betraying and crucifixion of the Son of God, the introduction of errors and persecutions committed by the anti-christian man of sin, &c.—Prophecy therefore, of actions inconsistent with the *moral law* of God, could never have been intended to sanction the events predicted ; but to confirm the truth of God's divine prescience, to establish the divine authority of the holy Scriptures, and to forewarn and prepare the children of God in all ages, of and for their approaching trials and sufferings, &c. Nor can it be made appear, that the decrees, permission and foreknowledge of God, were ever intended as a standard by which man should regulate his conduct through life.—God's decrees, &c. and method of managing and governing the great affairs of the universe, belong alone to himself, as the unlimited Sovereign, wise and gracious Disposer of all events ; these are great deeps ! and which man can form very imperfect ideas of at present :—things with which he can have nothing to do, further than to wonder and adore ! “ Secret things belong unto the Lord our God ; but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and to our children forever, that we may do all the words of this law.” The *moral law* of God therefore is the criterion to which we must appeal, in this and every other case ; for “ by it is the knowledge of sin,” and “ sin is the transgression of the law.” To argue the propriety of slavery, on the

ground of God's *decrees, permission and foreknowledge*, is to open the floodgates for, and to justify all the abominations that ever were, or possibly can enter into our world:—in a word, it is entirely to destroy the distinction between moral good and evil.—Upon the whole, it appears that nothing can be said in favour of *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, hereditary slavery*, on the ground of *sound reason and strict justice*.

CHAPTER III.

UNMERITED, &c. SLAVERY, EXAMINED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF POLICY.

By the word *policy*, is meant, the system of laws, orders, or regulations of a state, or in other terms, the art of governing rational creatures; also, the good management of a person's private affairs; also, sublety, cunning, artifice &c. Policy is of two kinds, viz. good or bad, wise or foolish, righteous or wicked.

The methods hitherto of governing rational creatures, have been different. Some have been in favor of monarchical, others of aristocratical, and others of democratical and republican governments;—the United States of America have as yet, preferred the latter. But that method of governing, or policy, under whichsoever of the above kinds of governments, in its regulations and administrations, that is not calculated, or does not secure the lives, limbs, characters, liberty, property, equality, peace, harmony, happiness and safety of the whole, and every virtuous rational creature within its dominions, is tyrannic; or in other terms, is *wicked policy*.—And if I am not under a mistake, it will be found, that the present system of laws, relative to slavery, are so far from securing those invaluable blessings, that they were made with a design, and are executed in a manner, to deprive a sixth part of the unoffending inhabitants of these United States of those blessings; and finally, in future, to endanger the safety of the whole.

The shedding of innocent blood, is surely a high crime, and defiles those lands where it is suffered to pass with impunity. It is true the laws of this state, and all the states, go to protect the lives and limbs of slaves, and to secure to

them what is generally called good usage ; but it is well known, that in many instances, numbers have suffered the loss of limbs and lives too, under the hands of angry masters and cruel overseers : and notwithstanding the law is in their favour, it is but too rarely executed—those who have no interest in those individual suffering victims, hate to meddle with such affairs, for fear of the frowns of their powerful owners, and so many such things pass with impunity. Who can tell how much innocent blood has been shed in America, from the veins of those wretches, by whips and scourges, on very trivial occasions ? and in many instances, for endeavoring to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of their consciences ? what can be said in favor of a policy, that puts and keeps, a part of the human species, in a situation to be treated in this manner by the other part ? I do not say this is generally the case ; and God forbid it should !—but I must say, that their political situation is such, that exposes them to this and the like.

Good character among men, is of high importance to society, and to noble deeds ; which when once lost (or if a rational creature of good parts, should be so circumstanced as to see and feel it out of his power ever to be respected) the consequence is fatal :—for in such case, he either falls into despair and becomes mischievous to society ; or if his parts be but ordinary, sinks into a lethargy, and degenerates to the condition of a mere beast. — What can be said in favour of a policy, which has placed, and still holds, hundreds of thousands of men in a state of barbarism without the knowledge of letters, &c. whose persons, words and oaths, are not respected much above beasts ?

Philosophers and statesmen of distinguished virtue and abilities, have considered *liberty* among the greatest blessings on earth ; and have maintained, that it is the *birth right* of all rational beings, and so says united America ; and indeed they have expended much blood and treasure to support the principle. Now if *liberty* be such an inestimable blessing, and the *birth right* of all *mankind*, can that be honest policy especially in America, which withholds the blessing from one million of our fellow creatures !

I believe it is acknowledged by all men of understanding, that the strength and riches of a civil community, principally consists in the number of its free, virtuous and industrious inhabitants. And that which gives men the strongest at-

tachment to any country, is their having permanent interest in it, and an unmolested privilege in common with other good citizens, of acquiring, holding and enjoying property. That therefore, appears to be a foolish policy, that not only deprives vast numbers of the inhabitants of these states of a *natural right*, viz. of *acquiring and possessing property*; but contrary to the *law of nature*, converts *men themselves* into *property*:—thereby rendering them, not only in a manner useless, but really *dangerous* to the *community*:—at the same time, injuring their present owners and successors, by giving them an opportunity of living in idleness and extravagancy, to the injury of civil society.

Peace and harmony, are peculiar blessings, and usually are closely connected with *equality*; for without *equality*, *peace* and *harmony*, seldom long *exist*. But what shall I say of *equality*? The idea of it seems of late, to be very much obliterated from the minds of *many Americans*. Time has been, when it was a favourite *theme* among us. “All men are by nature equally free and independent”—“All men are entitled to *equal rights*,” &c. was the general cry, when George the third, and his *Parliament* attempted to enslave *America*. But alas! how different our *declarations* then, from our *conduct* since, to our poor wretched *slaves*!—If “God made of one blood all nations of men;” “If we have all one Father”—And if our former *declarations* were *founded in truth*—How *contradictory* and *unrighteous* must that *policy* be, that deprives a very considerable *part* of the *inhabitants* of these states, of their *equal share*, in those *rights* their *nature* entitles them to?

The love, or desire of *happiness*, is coeval with human nature; and is the *pursuit* of all *mankind*. And that kind of *slavery* I am examining, appears to operate against it in every *point of view*.—Perhaps there are few things in this world, which contribute more to human felicity, than conjugal, parental, and filial enjoyments:—but all these tender and endearing *relations*, lie prostrate at the foot of absolute *dominion*. *Marriage*, is one of the first *institutions* of our adorable Creator, for wise and most noble *purposes*—and ought to be held *sacred* by every civil government, which contemplates the *good* of the *community*.—But *slavery*! wicked *slavery*! sets it aside! ! !—or dissolves it at pleasure! ! !—That must therefore (if I may be allowed the phrase) be *worse* than the *worst* of *policy*, in a nation favoured as

America has *been*, even in the smallest degree, to tolerate such things.

General safety is among the great objects, of every civil government. That policy therefore, must be considered best, that unites its inhabitants the closest, and attaches them the strongest to their country, and the existence and execution of its laws. Let it be enquired whether the existing policy among us, relative to *slavery* is calculated in the course of its operations to answer this end? And I believe it must be answered in the negative. In fact, the present policy, is calculated to fix eternal discord between the slaves and their masters:—and it cannot be otherwise, except it were possible to turn the current of human nature; for their interests in the relations they stand connected with each other, are diametrically opposite. *Slavery* with all the mortifying degradations it involves, does not, nor indeed cannot, divest MAN, the noble image of his adorable Creator, here below, of the sensations and powers it has pleased his kind benefactor to endue him with. Deprived of his *birth right*, *FREEDOM*,—he still sees, hears, feels, tastes and smells—~~and above all,~~—thinks, reasons, reflects and draws conclusions, independent of all the TYRANTS on earth. And it is well known, that from the commencement of the revolution in America, our declarations and some partial laws made in the favor of *Slaves*, have greatly tended to open their eyes relative to their rights: and add to this, what they sometimes hear escape the lips of some of their republican masters, in conversation on the subject;—and especially the *lively opposition*, made by the foes of humanity, on the occasion, must certainly keep up their attention. That therefore, must be the most weak and foolish policy, under these circumstances, to retain perhaps a hundred thousand able bodied men, within the boundaries of the *United States*: when in the course of a few years, they might all be made our everlasting friends, without any loss to any individual.—From a consideration of the history of former empires and nations, with taking into view, our multiplied impieties as a great republic, and our ingratitude to our best benefactor: we cannot expect to continue long without some national scourge. And in all probability it may be war; we know not from what quarter it may come.—It may arise in the *United States* themselves, or it may come from abroad; the arbiter of heaven and earth, only knows and will choose his will;—but suppose it to be war—What a pitiful case

should we then be in, with such a number of enemies in our bosom? That must therefore, be the most imperfect and foolish policy, that will take no prudential and timely steps to prevent the evil. We have it from under the hand of one of the greatest politicians, that the "prudent foreseeth the evil, and hideth himself: but the simple pass on, and are punished."

It is really astonishing, that men who have only a moderate share of common sense, leisure, books, &c. should have the assurance, to come forward vapouring in our streets, under the names, the distinguishing names, of republicans, patriots, friends to the American revolution &c. &c. professed enemies to absolute monarchy, despotism, aristocracy &c. who themselves, both in principle and practice, are absolute monarchs, despots and aristocrats at home. Such men without doubt, have never understood the meaning of the above phrases; or else certainly must conclude, that the citizens in general, have no English dictionaries, or are as careless and as ignorant as themselves.

I hear our puny patriots crying out against crowned heads in Europe, poor little Aaron Burr, a miserably disappointed monarch in America, and particularly, against Bonaparte, the great modern Alexander. But it may be asked, and I hope, will be calmly and rationally answered by some of the advocates of *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary* SLAVERY: how it can be proven, or be made appear, so as to even bear telling to men of understanding, that any man notwithstanding his profession of republicanism or real friendship to the American revolution, who holds, maintains, pleads for, and does absolutely *reign* over one, two, three, four, five or six, of his *fellow men*—would not, if it were in his *power*, absolutely *reign* over as many *hundreds, thousands, or millions*?—The *principle* appears to be the same; *power* only is wanting.

Fellow-citizens open your eyes!!!—And do not rest your invaluable *liberties* on the sandy foundation of the colour of your skins, or on the fantastical declarations of some of our noisy patriots, and purblind politicians.—For you may be sure, that he who will enslave a black man, or his own, or his son's, nephew's, or fellow-citizen's children begotten on a black woman, or slave, even if she were seven eighths white (which is sometimes the case) would not spare you, if he had you legally in his power.—That must there-

fore, be a shocking policy, in an enlightened government, that lays right, at the foot of might;—and puts it in the power of men, not only to commit adultery with impunity, but to enslave their own children!!!—Which is well known to be too common, in countries where *slavery prevails*.

It is no uncommon thing of late, to hear some of our high toned republicans, as they complaisantly speak of themselves, and would wish to be thought of, and spoken to by others; (men in high posts)—swaggering in our public assemblies, both civil and religious; talking loudly in favour of *Liberty!*—*General union!*—*Occupiers of lands!*—And of the *American revolution!!!* &c. &c.—But then, when opportunity serves, we hear the same characters change their notes—and speak a different language.—“Some are so far deluded, that their printing, preaching & private conversation, go to encourage disobedience in servants, & a revolution in our civil government.”—See circular letter, North District Association of Baptists, 1805. This is introduced, to stigmatize those who simply plead the rights of mankind, against the usurpation of *despots*.* Surely such men, must be unacquainted with the definition of common words, and would it seems, persuade others to run wild with themselves. As if the words *servant* and *slave*, were synonymous terms; whereas, not only our English dictionaries, the laws of this

* The advocates of slavery, think it uncharitable, when we speak of them under the character of tyrants, monarchs, despots &c. These are synonymous terms, and signify *absolute, uncontrollable, arbitrary governors or rulers, &c.* And it is evident a person may be as *absolute, uncontrollable and arbitrary*, over a few, as Ahasuerus, who reigned over an hundred twenty and seven provinces. And every *slave-holder*, (in his little dominion) certainly is as *absolute, uncontrollable, and arbitrary*, as were most of the *ancient or modern monarchs*. I do not say, all *slave-holders* are *cruel men*; very far from it; nor were all *these ancient or modern monarchs*: but I must say, all of them *had and have* it in their power to be *cruel*, and most of them *were and are so*—And *this* I believe, cannot be denied, by a cool disinterested observer. *Slave-holders* in general, make no conscience of *parting* those whom they (to save appearances) *call husband and wife*. They do without the least apparent signs of *fellow feeling*, *separate parents and children*, by *buying, selling, swapping, bequeathing* &c. &c. they breed them in *dirty-ness and ignorance*—and indeed, the more *ignorant*, the better they serve their purposes—If the like of *this* be not *tyranny, monarchy or despotism*—I ask, what is?

and other states, but the common sense of mankind, prove to the contrary.—“And a revolution in our civil government.”—The principles of the American revolution were equal rights and liberties, which were attempted to be invaded by British authority.—See the Declaration of Rights, and Constitution, or form of government of Virginia. “That all men are by nature equally free and independent.” &c.—The man or men therefore, who shall say to the contrary, is or are, in reality he or they who would bring about a “revolution in our government ;”—and would (for any thing that appears in their conduct to the contrary) once more establish monarchy in America.—If I seem to bear too hard, let the *advocates of unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary SLAVERY*, come forward, and justify themselves on the principles of *sound policy* and the *American revolution*.—But by the way let them remember, if they support their *doctrine*, they must according to their own *principles*, go back to their old master GEORGE the THIRD: for they are expressly commanded, 1 Peter, ii: 17. “Honour the king.”—But this I expect will not so very well suit them:—for they wish to be ~~kings~~ *kings* themselves.—That therefore, must be the most foolish policy, and they the most trifling politicians, who can be guilty of such inconsistencies.

Sin, it must be acknowledged, is the procuring cause, of all the calamities that have fallen on individuals, or larger circles of man.—And we are informed; John iii: 4. that ‘sin is the transgression of the law.’ This is a revealed truth: And will be confessed by all Christians.—And though *sin* may put on different appearances, and may become very fashionable and seemingly convenient and be sanctioned by the policy of states, kingdoms and empires,—and even by the church of God itself:—still *sin* is *sin*.—That must therefore, be a very strange notion entertained by some, that *sin*, because it may be authorised by civil government, must not be meddled with by the ministers of the gospel and churches of Christ.—The slavery I am examining, it is confessed by its advocates, is a great political evil,* I pre-

* Moral evil is the transgression of the moral law of God: this law is not confined to the prohibition that God laid on *Adam*, nor yet to the Decalogue, or ten Commandments; but is that eternal rule of right, which took its rise in the scale of being and runs through the

sume they mean a great political *sin*; but it seems it must not be meddled with, either by ministers, churches, or associations:—viz. after the great senior body of this kind had taken it in hand, and had come to a determination thereon.—See the minutes of the Elkhorn Association of Baptists, held at Bryan's, Aug. 10th, 1805.

“This association judges it improper for Ministers, Churches or Associations, to meddle with emancipation from slavery, or any other political subject; and as such we advise ministers and churches to have nothing to do therewith in their religious capacities.”—Surprising indeed!!! That a religious and respectable body of men both clergy and laity, residing in the most popular part of the state, should let such counsel escape their lips: much more, appear under the signature of their moderator and clerk, in public print.—I believe it will be found on examination, that few abominations have ever existed among mankind, but have been established by law, or countenanced by the state, king or emperor, in company with priests, where such abominations have prevailed.

The above *advice*, seems to hold out the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; and looks like the ecclesiastical, playing into the hand of civil power:—and is as much as to say, if the legislature passes a wicked law, we will tamely and silently submit to, and recommend it.—Whereas, it appears to me, that no human policy, or law, can be obligatory on rational creatures, that infringes the rights of conscience, or violates the laws of God. It seems also, from the complexion of the above advice, that Pharaoh,

like a golden chord; enjoining on all rational creatures, that which is right of itself, both towards God and man, in all places and conditions of life: any deviation from this rule is moral evil, commonly called sin.

“*Social or political evil*, consists in actions only: the philanthropy or turpitude of the heart, the motives, views, or designs of men, are entirely out of the question before this tribunal. The divine government of Jehovah takes cognizance of every exercise of the heart, as well as all external actions; but social government arrests visible actions only: hence it appears, that all political evils are moral evils; but all moral evils are not political evils. No evil simply moral, is punishable by a political tribunal; yet every political evil comes within the jurisprudence of the Almighty, because it is morally wrong.”—See Leland's Blow at the Root. Page 3—Kentucky edition.

Saul, Jeroboam, &c. together with Nebuchadnezzar, George the third of England, and numberless other great political characters, were unblameable;—and according to the idea of some ancient and modern courtiers, were incapable of doing wrong. If we are to judge by the minutes and doctrine, held out by the Elkhorn, Bracken, and North-District Associations, held in 1805—together with the notion of some of our ministers relative to unmerited slavery; we must conclude, that the old prophets—Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah, yea and all the prophets, together with John the Baptist—were impertinent, meddling men:—for we find by examining the sacred history, they dreaded no consequences, spared no sins, nor respected characters. And indeed, if the prophets, or ministers of Christ, will not speak in the cause of God and truth;—who may we expect will?—In case of their silence, the “stones will cry out.” It therefore, appears to me, that a man favoured with free access to the bible, and he being a sincere lover of truth, and the principles of the American revolution, (*viz.* supposing him to be uninfluenced by custom, prejudice or interest) must be under a strange infatuation, who can plead the divine right of *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary* SLAVERY, and lay himself down silently and contentedly, under the covert of an *inconsistent and wicked policy*.

Surely it cannot be forgotten (at least by old men) and I hope will be acknowledged by all;—“that no free government, or the blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.” See the Declaration of Rights of Virginia, art. 15th.* But it will appear on a view of the

* The constitution of Kentucky, article x. sec. 1. declares, “That all free men, when (*i. e.* at the time) they form a social compact, are equal.”—This cannot be *true of all men* (even free men) at any time. Because it is well known to the most superficial observers, “That all free men,” are not equal, *viz.* are not equally wise, handsome, strong, honest, &c.—But it is certainly *true of all men without distinction, in a primary sense.* In this sense all men are equal, *viz.* Are equally entitled to their *natural rights*: which are, “The enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.”—See Declaration of Rights of Virginia.

And if our convention had been *consistent*, they must have made

present *system* of *slavery* among us, that it is subversive of all these. For there are few *evils* or *sins*, now existing, in church, state or families,—but what rise out of, or are connected with *slavery*. Now let the reader open his eyes, when the catalogue is stated, and say if it be not fact. The *evils* or *sins*, that arise out of, or are connected with *slavery*, are on the master's side—Imperiousness, covetousness, idleness, effeminacy, pride, hardheartedness, cruelty, superfluity of naughtiness, intemperence—an opportunity for secret fornication and adultery, prevention of lawful marriage, and of obedience to parents, disqualifying converts for membership in the church of Christ, &c. &c.—and on the side of the slaves, perpetual celibacy, or inevitable adultery, very often, necessitous theft, lying, low cunning, gross ignorance, dirtiness, indecency, fornication, &c. &c. The laws of the Jews;—and from what I can gather, those of the Pagans and Mahometans, freed or emancipated their proselytes. But it seems, *Christianity*, the most *benign* system ever promulgated on earth, and which sets aside all distinctions among men:—or rather the professors of *Christianity* in America, make no conscience of enslaving their fellow men, and in many in-

such declaration: whether they, or the citizens in general, had virtue to carry it into execution or not.

Sec. 2. Declares the origin of all civil power in republican governments, &c. with the right of the people “to alter, reform,” &c.

Sec. 3. Expressly declares without *exception*, “That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent: that no human authority ought, in any case whatever, to controul or interfere with the rights of conscience.”—From which it appears (whether it was intended or not) if we follow the literal meaning of words, which I presume, is the way we are to read and understand our constitution and laws—*Slaves* may worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and are not to be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against their consent;—and it seems, if they should be *conscience bound* in respect to their *condition* as *slaves*, may *plead* their *freedom*, from the clause—“That no human authority ought, in any case whatever, to controul or interfere with the rights of conscience;”—All this follows of course, and cannot be denied, viz. if we allow *slaves* to be *men*.

Query. Can a person enjoy the rights of conscience, who is in a state of absolute slavery?

stances, their nearest relations in the flesh ;—but their brethren in the bonds of the gospel of Christ!!!—And what is very strange indeed!!!—some of the modern ministers of the gospel, join with our present wicked policy and say, or by their silence consent, that *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary* SLAVERY, is right, is just, and that it is consistent with both the old and new Testaments :—and it seems, the “ people love to have it so : ”—but I know not “ what (they) will do in the end thereof.”

Upon the whole, it appears to me, that we have every thing to fear as enlightened republican states, when politicians,* clergy and laity, join together to act wickedly and inconsistently, with the principles on which we first sat out :—for after all, “ honesty is the best policy.”

CHAPTER IV.

UNMERITED, &c. SLAVERY, EXAMINED FROM THE SCRIPTURES.

THE *Scriptures* or *Sacred Writings* are the strong **HOLD**, resorted to by contending parties, almost on all occasions :—and yet they continue to differ. This proves beyond all contradiction (at least to me) these writings are not generally understood :—for if they were, and rightly viewed and compared as a history of ancient and important facts ; together with the doctrines and morality they contain—must appear to such readers, worthy of a God :—and finally would bring all contending parties, into union, and everlastingly settle the disputes which now divide, and keep them asunder. This I expect will be acknowledged by all Christians. But then the dispute will be, who, or what party among us, really understands the Bible best ?—This is not with me at present to say—Events, future events, will determine it.

* Some of the advocates of *unmerited, &c. slavery*, wish all their opposers were in a state, or states, to themselves :—but I am persuaded, if it were so, that all the *opposers* of *slavery*, together with all who have no *slaves*, were removed, *slave-holders* would find themselves in a very lonesome situation !—And many of them be afraid to go to sleep :—especially in some parts of the union.

I believe the subject under examination, is given up, even by most of its *decided advocates*, on the *principles* of *nature, reason, justice, good policy, humanity* and the *American revolution*:—if it be not, I hope they will answer for themselves, and come out in a way that they may be known by the *citizens* in general.

Before I enter on this part of the examination, I wish, again, to call the reader's attention, and beg him to keep in memory, that it is not *merited bondage, servitude or slavery*, or that which is *voluntary*, or that which may be for a *term of time*, or that which may be for a *father's or mother's own life time*. But it is *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute hereditary bondage, servitude or SLAVERY*, that I object to, as *unnatural, unreasonable, unjust, impolitic*, and that which is *inconsistent* with the *principles* of the *American revolution*:—it is this *kind of bondage, servitude or slavery*, I am now about to examine from the holy scriptures. On these premises, the dispute may be brought to a speedy and certain issue:—but to follow some men through all their *ramblings*, on all the scriptures which mention *servants, bond-men, and obedience of servants to their masters &c. &c.* is tiresome, and nothing to the purpose after all. These are things, that nobody that I know of has denied. The fact is, if scripture can be found, to prove *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary bondage, servitude or SLAVERY*, the advocates of that doctrine have gained their point:—if not, their cause is forever lost.

We will now pursue the inquiry, according to the premises.

Noah's prophecy, Gen. ix : 25. relative to the future condition of the inhabitants of Canaan, proves nothing in point.*

* I am persuaded, that no passage in the sacred volume of Revelation, has suffered more abuse, than "Noah's curse or malediction"—as it is generally expressed, by the friends of despotism.—From this text, they justify all the cruelties which have been committed on the sons of Africa, by the Portuguese, French, Spaniards, English and Americans.—By it, they find out, without having recourse to the principles of philosophy, or the effects of natural causes, how the Africans became black, have woolly hair, flat noses, no gristle in their ears, &c.—It answers them almost every purpose, and saves them abundance of labour, both in philosophy, and in their farms, &c.—Ham had four sons, viz. Cush, Mizraim, Phut and Canaan. Gen. x : 6—And not one of them is mentioned in the prophecy but Canaan.

For if it should be argued that a part of the Canaanites, were reduced even to a state of *unmerited, involuntary, absolute* SLAVERY. It can no where be made appear, that it was *perpetual* or *hereditary*:—for if their *bondage* had been *perpetual* and *hereditary*, they must be still in *slavery*, which cannot be true, for their old masters, the *Jews themselves*, have long since been scattered among, and are now tributaries to other nations. But the reverse is true; for very many of them, were only made tributaries of their brethren, who themselves before had been *bond-men*, or *servants* in *Egypt*:—so the Canaanites, in this instance, became “servants of servants.” That vast numbers of the Canaanites were only tributaries, see Deu. xx: 10, 11. also Judg. i: 27. to the end. And those of them who were bought and received into Jewish families, if they should become proselytes;—and at any rate their children, who were obliged to be circumcised, were entitled to the privileges of Jewish citizens. So that nothing like—*perpetual, hereditary slavery* appears from this passage.

Abraham's three hundred and eighteen “trained servants, born in his own house,” Gen. xiv: 14. and those we read of, chap. xvii: 12. “bought with money of a stranger,”—will by no means prove that kind of *slavery* I plead against. Those mentioned in the first passage, are represented more under the character of *regular soldiers*, than men in a state of abject SLAVERY—and those spoken of in the latter, said to be “bought with money,”—proves no more than that they were servants for a certain term, or perhaps for life. Which is very likely to have been the case;—for we read nothing of said servants, or their progeny, when his grandson Jacob, moved into Egypt;—though the number of souls, are particularly mentioned, who went down with that patriarch, together with an inventory of their possessions:—and not a *servant*, or *bond-man* or *woman*, mentioned in the whole, see Gen. xlv: 6, 26, 27. It appears therefore, that nothing can be gathered out of this account, in favour of—*perpetual, hereditary* SLAVERY.

“Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren,” &c. Chap. ix: 25.—Of this prophecy, if I may so say, they make a saddle for every horse, they are disposed to ride. It should seem by their explanations, that Canaan's descendants peopled all Africa:—and that Cush, Mizraim and Phut, had no offspring.

It must be very evident to an unprejudiced mind, that the *servants* and *bondage*, which existed in those days and nations, differed very much, from that which now prevails and is advocated (I am sorry it can be said) by christians. A proof of this, appears from the account we have of Abraham's bond-woman Hagar, Rachel's and Leah's hand-maids Bilhah, Zilpah, whom these patriarchs, it seems took to be their wives, with and by the consent of their mistresses. If therefore, the bare mentioning, or even the recital, of the customs, laws and manners of ancient countries and patriarchs, handed down to us by sacred history, warrants, or tolerates us in one *thing*, why not in *another*? Consequently, *polygamy* or a *plurality* of wives, stands on as good ground, as *perpetual, hereditary slavery* (and though a wicked doctrine) can be as well defended by a perversion of the holy scriptures. And further, if it should be proven, that the *servants* and *bond-people* of those days, were legally in a state of *perpetual, hereditary slavery*, it must of course, introduce the doctrine of the *Emancipation* of slaves. In consequence of which, the No. District Association of Baptists, will have to acknowledge their *wrong*, for "expelling the author, from his seat in the Association for preaching the doctrine of *Emancipation*." * For if Hagar, Bilhah, and Zilpah,

* As this piece did not go to the press so soon as was at first intended, it gives the author an opportunity, and he thinks it necessary and is happy to add this note for the information of such of his readers, who may be unacquainted with the affair.

The North District Association, of which he was a member, at their meeting in October 1805, in consequence of charges sent against him from the Bracken Association, relative to emancipation, where he had the month before attended as a correspondent, undertook to try him for the same, and it was settled. At the same time they gave advice to two enquiring churches, which advice, formed a rule for the trial of ministers, who should preach unsound doctrine, &c. In October, 1806, the association dealt with him under the said rule; and expelled him from his seat in the association publicly, "for preaching emancipation"—and sent on a committee, to take him under dealings in the church at Mountsterling, where his membership is. But to the lasting honour, of the members of the association, in October, 1807, they proceeded and determined as follows:

"On the motion of brother James Quissenberry, after considerable discussion, the association agreed to re-consider the whole of the business in the case of Elder David Barrow.

"On the motion of brother James French, the association agreed to annul and revoke the act of last association, in expelling Elder Da-

Abraham's and Jacob's wives, were in the same *state* that *slaves among us are*, then certainly, the patriarchs must have *Emancipated* the *children had by them*, or they would according to *our laws*, have been the *property* of their other *brothers*: which was not the case. For Ishmael was the father of a powerful nation,—and Dan, Naphtali, Gad and Asher, were fathers of respectable tribes in Israel. Therefore, the *doctrine of perpetual, hereditary slavery*, falls through on the ground of the *bond-men* and *bond-women*, mentioned in those *days*:—or the doctrine of *Emancipation*, follows of course.

The passage, Lev. xxv: 44, 45, 46. so often referred to by the *advocates of despotism*, or in other terms, by the *friends of unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary slavery*, cannot on a close examination, answer their purpose. “Both thy bond-men and thy bond-maids which thou shalt have, shall be of the ~~Heathen~~ *Heathen* that are round about you; of them shall ye buy *bond-men* and *bond-maids*. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families, that are with you, which they begat in your land:—and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your *bond-men* forever: † but over

vid Barrow, from his seat in association, and appointing a committee to deal with him in the church at Mountsterling, and to reverse the decision of the council of five ministers in the case of said Barrow—and also to rescind the advice given to Providence and Boon's Creek churches, by the association in the year 1805; in conformity to which advice, as forming a rule for the trial of ministers, the council of five ministers reported to last association, they had dealt with Elder David Barrow, upon which report last association acted in said case.”
—See Minutes of North District Association, in 1805, 1806, and 1807.

† The advocates of *hereditary slavery*, put a peculiar emphasis on the phrase “for ever,” as it occurs in this place—But it is nothing to their purpose:—because, the land of Canaan, was given to the seed of Abraham “for ever.” Gen. xiii: 15. “For all the land which thou seest to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever.” But they have since lost their land, and with it, one would think, their bond men and their bond maids; or else we must conclude, that one “for ever,” was longer than the other.—However, I will allow, if any among us, can prove themselves to be of the Israelitish stock, and can find ~~Canaanites~~ *Canaanites*, they may hold them, as bond men and bond maids:—but

your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor." Though this may prove *unmerited, involuntary, absolute, personal servitude, bondage or slavery for life*: it fails to prove, *perpetual, hereditary servitude, bondage or slavery*. For the children of the bond-people, mentioned above, could not be affected by the condition of their parents. For as has been before observed, such children, were according to the positive command of God, obliged to be circumcised, and so consequently, became entitled to the privileges of Jewish citizens: and were to be esteemed *brethren, children of Israel* who it seems, according to the above injunction, were not to be *ruled over with rigor*.

That the horrid and unnatural practice of trading or merchandizing on the human species, was anciently in vogue among the eastern nations, may be learned from Joseph's brethren, selling him to the Ishmaelites, or Midianites, and they

then I must say, they ought to take them home to Canaan;—which is the only place, that they have a right according to the text, to hold them as such.—For it is expressly said, ver. 44. "Both thy bond men and thy bond maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the Heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond men and bond maids." And ver. 45. "Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall you buy, and of their families, that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession," &c. To make this passage serve their purpose, they must metamorphose, or change us American Gentiles into Jews, and the western continent of America, into Canaan or the land of Palestine. Then if the general government will pass an act to sanction it—according to this text, it should seem, we may fall into buying (but let the reader take notice, the text mentions nothing of selling) our heathen neighbours the Indians, and white heathens who are round about and among us, and their children, which they begat, or have begotten in our land, and have bond men and bond maids in abundance, without crossing the great Southern Ocean, to distress the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, dooming them and their posterity to abject and perpetual slavery. Note also, here is no mention, of the children of the purchased, descending to the children of the purchasers. "And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond men for ever"—viz. during the life, or lives of the person, or persons purchased; but not a word of children's descending to children.—I think I have heard of a few covetous bigots, who from the phrase "for ever" in this text, &c. have concluded, that all who have slaves here, will have a right to, and hold them in the next world.

to Potipha "an Egyptian." Gen. xxxvii: 36. and chap. xxxix: 1. Also, see Eze. xxvii: 13. "Javan, Tubal, and Mesheck, they were thy merchants: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market." But he must be a strange kind of a christian, who will argue the divine right of the *slavery*, I plead against, from the historic account of those wicked facts: and especially when we take into view, the prohibition, and awful denunciation of God, against those who shall be guilty of the like. Exo. xxi: 16. "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."—And the Apostle Paul, ranks "*men-stealers*," with and among, the most atrocious culprits. 1 Tim. i: 9, 10. "Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine." If any should deny the *sin of men stealing*, who hold and maintain the doctrine of *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary SLAVERY*, as it respects the African race among us, let them prove, that the "receiver, is not as bad as the thief." Or in other terms, whether they do not on this occasion, "bear witness, that they allow the wicked deeds of the British parliament and their traders; for they indeed kidnapped, or used unlawful means to come at them, and the advocates of the doctrine, justify the parliament, &c. by holding the Africans and their posterity, in the above kind of *slavery*." I have no doubt, but Mat. xxiii: 29, 30. And Luke xi: 47, 48, will apply in this case.

The *servants* of Saul, David, Solomon and others, whom we read of, appear to have been their *subjects, soldiers, confectionaries, cooks, bakers, &c. &c.* See 1 Sam. viii: 10, to 19. Or at any rate, were only hirelings, dependants, or were bought for life. But admitting they were in a state of *unmerited, involuntary, absolute, bondage, servitude or slavery*, I believe it cannot be proven from those accounts, that it was *perpetual, hereditary bondage, servitude or slavery*, they were under, viz. such as is plead for by the *despots* of our day:—if any think otherwise, let them make it appear.

The word or term *SLAVE*, occurs twice in the holy Scrip-

tures (on which some place great confidence) viz. Jer. ii: 14. Rev. xviii: 13. In the former it stands in the singular, in the latter it is in the plural. But it will appear to attentive readers, even from the face of our English Bibles, that the word (slave or slaves) was not in the original text at all—Nor even known among the *ancients*, in the sense fixed and authorized by the *laws* of the *British parliament*,* and (I am sorry to say) sanctioned by the *laws* of some of the *United States of America*. Where the word *slave*, is found in Jer.—three questions seem to be asked in the same verse:—“*Is Israel a servant? Is he a homeborn slave? Why is he spoiled?*”—Here it is observable, that both the first verbs in the sentence are in *italics*, and also the word *slave*; therefore leaving out the *italics*, or supplement, the text will read thus:—“*Israel a servant? He a homeborn? Why is he spoiled?*”—That in Rev. xviii: 13—the margin has it (*bodies*)—Then it will read—“And beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and *bodies*, and souls of men.” *Bodies and souls of men! A distinguishing characteristic of the trade of the great whore of Babylon, which is the very quintessence of popery, and the foundation of absolute monarchy. Bodies and souls of men—Unnatural and shocking traffic, to be carried on by rational beings, enlightened republics—and above all, by Christians! ! ! But one comfort is, the downfall of the great WHORE, is at hand.* The word *slave* appears to be of modern date. *Bailey's Dictionary*, gives the *derivation and definition as follows*: “A SLAVE, (Esclave, Eclave, Spanish—Sclave, Teutonic—As if he should say—A *Sclavonian*, of which a great number were taken captives by the Germans and Venetians) a perpetual servant, a drudge, a person in the absolute power of a master.” But will any who are lovers of right, or friends to the American revolution, justify the Germans and Venetians in their conduct towards the *Sclavonians*? Or undertake to advocate the doctrine of *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute hereditary slavery*, as derived from *Sclavonian*; or from hence, pretend to make out, that the words *servant* and *slave*, are of equal date, or synonymous

* I would have gratified the reader, with some extracts of the *parliamentary laws* relative to the *African slave trade*, &c.—but they were not in my possession; nor could I handily come at them. Any *christian gentleman*, who may be inclined to justify the present *system of slavery*, will bring them forward and reconcile them to the *christian religion*, and he may depend, he will do numbers of professors a special favour.

terms? If there should an unprejudiced, disinterested being in our enlightened day exist of this cast—the worst harm I wish him is (so as not to affect his posterity) that he were a *slave* in some of the states of Barbary, till he *learned more sense*.* But in such a *school of instruction*, I suppose such a person's *slavery*, would continue but for a very *short time*.

I will now in my examinations, turn to the new Testament. The Centurion's servant that we read of, Mat. viii: 9. "For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: and I say to this man, go, and he goeth; and to another, come, and he cometh; and to my servant, do this, and he doeth it"—is thought by some very conclusive in favour of *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary slavery*. But I should have thought, that any person who had the least acquaintance with military government, would have known better. This Centurion, was a Roman captain, of an hundred men—And indeed, he himself was but a *servant* to the *emperor*, as he observes to the Saviour—"For I am a man under authority." Every body knows, or ought to know, that such an *officer*, could select one of his men, to wait upon him, manage his camp affairs, &c. who might very properly be called his *servant*, without being his *slave*, in the sense, I plead against.

The passage, Luke xvii: 7, has been introduced by the

* Some of the *advocates of slavery*, in the present case, lay all the *blame* on the British parliament, and their wicked merchants and traders; but let not *America* flatter herself, she is *guiltless* in this *affair*. We learn there was in the latter end of the reign of David, a famine three years in the land; and when he came to enquire of the Lord, for the cause—he received for answer:—"It is for Saul, and his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites." This visitation fell on the nation, a long time after the wicked deed had been committed:—God, in his goodness, gave the kingdom space to repent and atone for the iniquity; but they repented not—But it seems, three years famine at last, brought them to their senses, and drove the king to do justice.—See 2 Sam. xxi: 1, &c.

Wrong has been committed on the *sons of Africa*, and it has generally come to the knowledge of the *sons of America*, and they have had sufficient time to consider of it, and have had labour out of them and their fore fathers and mothers, to more than *reimburse* their *holders*, for any thing that has been given, or done, to or for these sons and daughters of affliction;—therefore, *justice says*, *fit* them for it, and let them go *free*, as soon as the nature of the *case* will admit of it, consistent with their *good*, and the *safety* of the *states*:—for I verily believe that the existing *slavery* of the *African race*, with its concomitants, is the *crying sin* of the *nation*.

advocates of the above kind of *slavery*. "Which of you having a servant plowing, or feeding cattle, will say unto him by and by, when he is come from the field, go, and sit down to meat?" &c. But what does this amount to? Does it affect the subject under examination? Does it prove *unmerited*, &c. *SLAVERY*?—If any would wish to know, what kind of *servants*, those were mentioned in the above *text*—let them turn to chap. xv: 17. "How many *hired servants* of my Father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!" See also, Mark i: 20. "And they left their father Zebedee in the ship with the *hired servants*," &c.—And several other passages might be produced to the same purpose.

We read Eph. vi: 5, &c. "Servants, be obedient to them who are your masters according to the flesh," &c. Also Col. iii: 22. "Servants, obey in all things your masters, according to the flesh," &c. And 1 Tim. vi: 1. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour," &c. Tit. ii: 9. "Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again," &c. And 1 Pet. ii: 18. "Servants be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward," &c.* But on examining these sacred passages either separately or collectively, I cannot see any thing, to support the doctrine I plead against. These might have been *hired servants*, *indentured servants*, or *convict servants*," &c. But supposing for a moment, the *servants* above mentioned, were

* To insist upon, and exhort *servants*, whether *hirelings*, *indentured*, *convicted transports*, or *such* who have agreed to serve a certain length of time, to be transported to a foreign country, &c. to obedience, honesty, &c. is *apostolic*, and has foundation in equity and reason, and surely is the duty of every minister of the Gospel, and all the lovers of morality and good order. But to address persons, in a state of *unmerited*, *involuntary*, *absolute*, *perpetual*, *hereditary slavery*, under the innocent, scriptural character or relation, of servants; is what we cannot in conscience do.—Because, we consider it, a perversion of scripture, an abuse of language, a method to mislead the ignorant, flatter the great, sink the oppressed still lower, introduce relations, which have no foundation in scripture, reason, or justice, viz. *despot* and *vassal*—and finally, to sap even the very foundation of the American revolution. Yet I ever have thought, and still think it proper, to advise even our poor *slaves*, to behave themselves honestly, humbly and obediently:—and be patient and prayerful, till God, in his providence, shall alter their condition for the better.

in a *state of unmerited, involuntary, absolute servitude, bondage or slavery, for life*—Yet nothing appears from the above cited texts, or from any other part of sacred *Scripture*, to justify *perpetual, hereditary servitude, bond or slavery*, viz. such as *British and American laws* have inflicted upon the *Africans* and their *unborn descendants in America*. I repeat it, “if any think otherwise, let them make it appear,” from the holy Scriptures, and the controversy will be at an end.

In pursuing the examination, I find the whole tenour of both law and gospel, is against *unmerited, &c. slavery*.—*Oppression* and *extortion*, which are synonymous terms, are held out in both Testaments, as highly offensive to God:—to quote passages, to prove this, would be needless, to those who are conversant with the Bible. To *oppress*, signifies, to injure, use, or press hard upon a person or thing, by violence or authority. To *extort*, signifies to exact illegally, or get or take violently, and by unjustifiable means to abuse authority, and under that pretence to get or take more than is due. If then, it would be thought *injurious*, or *ill usage*, to *exact illegally*, to *get or take violently*, or by *unjustifiable means*, to *deprive a fellow creature, of a few pounas, saillings, or pence*; what can be said of that usage, which *deprives a man of all that he has*; and then *enslaves him and his posterity, to the latest generations*? This is *oppression or extortion*, in the *highest degree*:—and I think it would be well, for the advocates of *unmerited, &c. slavery*, to take it into *serious consideration*.

Further, it does appear, from the holy Scriptures, that the above *kind of slavery*, is inconsistent with *mercy and justice*. The word *mercy*, signifies, “pity, compassion, clemency, and bounty towards our fellow creatures.” The word *justice*, signifies, “equity, reasonableness, uprightness, legality, or judgment.” And these the Saviour holds forth, as, “the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy,” &c. Mat. xxiii: 23. And charged the men of that generation with their *omission*—“For ye pay tithe of mint, and anise; and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, *judgment, mercy*,” &c. And his prophet Micah, under the influence of the same spirit, long before, taught the same doctrine. See Mic. vi: 8. “He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do *justly*, and to love *mercy*, and to walk humbly with thy God?” Numbers of passages might be brought forward to the same purpose—as “Blessed are the merciful: for they

shall obtain mercy." Mat. v : 7. "Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful." Luke vi: 36. "For he shall have judgment without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy; and mercy rejoiceth against judgment." James ii: 13. And it is said, Prov. xii: 10. "A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast; but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." These remarks may seem to bear very hard;—but I ask, what *justice* or *mercy*, there can be, in taking an unoffending people forcibly from their native country, and that at a great distance, under the pretence of refining and christianizing them, and then reducing them, and their *posterity* to *abject hereditary slavery*?—Subjected to every species of drudgery and *ill usage*—Raised without the *knowledge* of *letters*, even so as to be able to *read* the *holy Scriptures*.—If such treatment, be either just or merciful—what is not?

The *slavery* under *examination*, appears contrary, to the *example* and *doctrines* of the blessed Redeemer. He had no *slaves*, but it seems *wrought* for his *livelihood* (at least, before he entered on his public ministry) at the *business* of a *carpenter*. "Is not this the carpenter the son of Mary?" Mark vi. 3. The doctrines he taught, were most pure and benevolent: such that awakened the *resentment* of the *vicious*, but were *unspeakably delightful* to the *souls* of the *truly pious*—*Doctrines*, that directly *opposed* every *species* of *oppression*, *fraud*, *revenge*, &c. Let the whole of his sermon on the Mount be attended to, and his discourses, and remarks elsewhere, on different occasions, and I think it will appear to an *unprejudiced reader*, that *he* was no *friend*, to *unmerited*, &c. *slavery*. One instance of this, with its effects, is, when he preached at a certain time at Nazareth. Luke iv: 18, 19. "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance (emancipation) to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty (or emancipate*) them that are bruised; to preach

* It is something strange, to those who have not considered it, how far *ignorance*, *prejudice* and *interest*, will carry *mankind*.—*Emancipation*, is an *innocent English word*, and signifies "the act of setting free." The verb, to *emancipate*, from which the substantive, or word, *emancipation*, is derived—signifies—"to set free from servitude." But of late, we have some, who are esteemed men of *talents*, who if those *terms*, should occur in a *discourse*, think that *sedition* or *heresy* is held forth. From hence it should seem, that the words, *Heretic*, *freedom*, &c. &c. ought to be expunged from our language.

the acceptable year of the Lord." The effects were, ver. 22. "And all (the truly pious) bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth." Ver. 28. "And all they in the synagogue, (the proud and selfish) were filled with wrath." Ver. 29. And rose up, and thrust him out of the city," &c. Similar treatment many of his servants have met with since on like occasions. However, I am apprized, that it will be said by the advocates of *unmerited*, &c. *slavery*—all such passages that we meet with, either in the old or new Testaments, are to be taken *allegorically*, and do not respect our political situations at all:—and that the Saviour did not interfere with civil or political matters in any case whatsoever. This is true indeed, viz. as a *civil judge*. But it is observable, Luke, xiii: 13, 14, 15, &c. that though he would not act as a *civil judge*, in the case of the man who *appealed to him*, as *such*, or in other terms, desired him saying, "Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me,"—Yet he immediately added, "and said unto them, take heed and beware of covetousness," &c.—which fully *embraced the subject*—and in fact, was giving a *judgment against the brother* who had committed the wrong: and the sequel, proves him, and all who will and do, take undue advantages of their *brethren*, luxurious fools. See Ver. 20. To suppose, that Jesus Christ, had no regard to *common justice*, is paying him a very poor compliment, as the God of the universe, and final judge of all things. The truth is, his *examples and doctrines*, are sufficient guides in every case, to those who love and wish to obey the truth;—and when rightly understood and applied, set aside the kind of slavery under examination.

The exercise of no *passion*, belonging to rational creatures, is so repeatedly impressed in the holy Scriptures on mankind, as *charity or love*—Obedience to this "royal law," as it is expressed, James ii: 8, would supercede all other laws—It would lead to a general reformation of manners, tend to meliorate the state of the miserable among us, conquer enemies without injuring them, spread the blessed gospel into foreign parts, prevent litigious and expensive law suits, settle difficulties in the church of Christ, produce harmony and happiness among nations, neighbours and families; by influencing husbands, wives, parents, children, neighbours, magistrates, citizens, masters and servants, to their duty. In short, nothing would make them so happy as love. I do not mean

self-love: for an over proportion of *it*, is the bane of society, and one of the strongest proofs, of the depravity of man. It is said, Lev. xix: 18, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." And it is well known, without citing passages to make it appear, that our Saviour and his Apostles, uniformly inculcated the same doctrine. And as a distinguishing mark, by which we may know *self* or *hypocritical love*, from that which is of a *genuine kind*—we have an *infallible rule*. Rom. xiii: 10. "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." But *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary slavery* works the greatest *ill* to our neighbour, because, it deprives him of every *thing*, that is *near* and *dear* to a rational creature in *this world*—I mean his *birth-right*, his and his offspring's *all here below*, viz.—*his LIBERTY*—and that to PERPETUAL GENERATIONS!!!—And this is not *all*, for he and *his*, are not only deprived of the *right of liberty*, but subjugated to almost every kind of abuse, drudgery, dirtiness, brought up in worse than Gothic ignorance, &c. &c. &c. But if the state of the *slave* should be *tolerable*, or even *comfortable* to-day, (as is the case, under some owners) he knows not who will be the *successor*, how *he*, or *his*, will be *treated*, or where they will be *sent to*:—for they are *totally* at the *disposal* of *every one*, into whose *hands* they may *fall*.* If holding a

* To see a man (a Christian) in the most serious period of all his life—making his last will and testament—and in the most solemn manner addressing the judge of all the earth—*In the name of God, Amen*—Hearken to him—he certainly must be in earnest!—He is closing all his concerns here below!—He will very shortly appear before the judge, where kings and slaves have equal thrones!—He proceeds.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son—a negro man named—a negro woman named—with five of her youngest children.

Item. I give and bequeath to my daughter—a negro man named—also a negro woman named—with her three children.

Item. All my other slaves, whether men, women or children, with all my stock of horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, I direct to be sold to the highest bidder, and the monies arising therefrom (after paying my just debts) to be equally divided between my two above named children!!!

The above specimen is not exaggerated; the like of it often turns up. And what can a real lover of the rights of man, say in vindication thereof?

Suppose for a moment, that the testator, or if the owner, dies intestate (which is often the case) was ever so humane a person; who can vouch for their heirs and successors?—This consideration, if nothing else, ought to make all slave holders take heed what they do:—*"for they must give an account of themselves to God."*

fellow creature in such a *state*, and *treating* him in such a *manner*, (when it is in my power to do otherwise) be to "LOVE him as *myself*," and to "do to him as I would he should do to me;" I say, if this be consistent with "the royal law," then I must confess, I neither understand our Saviour, his prophets or apostles.

Forasmuch then, as it appears on examination, that the detested, distorted *monster*, *unmerited*, &c. *slavery*, is not the *production* of *nature*, *reason*, *justice*, *good policy*—nor to be *found* in all the *holy scriptures*; the only proper conclusion is, that the above *kind* of *slavery*, is of *diabolic extraction*; a *spawn* of the *devil*, *begotten* of *he himself*, by an *unnatural commerce* on *fallen human nature*. The likeness of it among any other beings, is not to be found in heaven, earth or hell.

Finally, *unmerited*, *involuntary*, *perpetual*, *absolute*, *hereditary slavery*, appears to be *inconsistent* with *nature*, *reason*, *justice*, *good policy*, and *holy Scripture*; and also, with the *principles* of the *American revolution*. And indeed with our own, and the *real interests* of our *children* and our *country*: which next to our own *immortal happiness* and the *glory* of *God* should lie near our *hearts*.

The above *kind* of *slavery* is inconsistent, with all those *fine*, *generous*, *tender*, *noble feelings*, which adorn *human nature*.

From the experience I have had, and the observations I have made, it is impossible as an *owner* of *slaves*, so to *act* towards them in *general*, as to give them *content*, and render them *tolerably happy*, and keep a *conscience* void of *offence* towards *God* and *man*: for I have heard some confess that their *slaves* have *caused* them to *run* into *more sin*, than *all things else*.

Upon the whole, I do most sincerely pity (as well as blame) those *poor Christians*, and *others*, who are involved in the *fashionable sin* of *holding slaves*, who must feel at times the *scourges* of *conscience* on the *occasion*, and *foresee* the *bitter consequences* which *do*, and *will*, in *future* attend it: yet will *plead* for, and *hug* the *evil*.

I am apprehensive, some suppose, that we who are called *emancipators*, *envy* the *happiness* of our *slave-holding brethren* and *neighbours*, and that we would wish to *wrest* what they call *their property* from them *all* of a *sudden*, *without* their *consent*: but they are under a *gross mistake*; at least, as it respects myself.

I do not know one among us, who is in favour of an *immediate general emancipation*. Those who have considered the subject, know, that it is a *matter of very great importance*, and that it will require *time*, to *prepare those sons and daughters of wretchedness*, to receive the *blessing of liberty*, as well as to remove the *prejudices, &c.* of the *citizens in general*. The *truth is*, we wish to see the *good citizens of the United States*, *rationally convinced of the iniquity of unmerited, &c. slavery*; and the *liberation of slaves brought on in a way, consistent with their good, and with as little loss to their owners and successors as may be*, and so as to give no *shock to the community*.

Here two questions generally arise, from the advocates of slavery, i. e. How can the emancipation of slaves take place upon equitable terms? And if they were emancipated, what can be done with them? To which I answer:—Let the *citizens in general* get convinced of the iniquity and impolicy of the practice, and the horrid consequences which do, and certainly will in future attend it, and there is no doubt but their wisdom will find out a way to effect their liberation, consistent with the good of all parties.

But should we lie still, “basking in the sunshine of peace and freedom,” boasting of our constitution and laws, which render us the most happy people on earth; till God shall be provoked, to avenge those suffering fellow-creatures of ours, who for ages have groaned under the heavy hand of oppression, the galling chains of abject slavery:—we may reasonably expect the visitation on our part, will be awful indeed! The following questions are asked twice in one chapter, Jer. v: 9, 29. “Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this:”

It appears from the sacred history, that the crying sins of Israel and Judah of old, which so frequently brought the judgments of God on the people, were *idolatry, drunkenness, whoredom, false and profane swearing, and extortion or oppression of the poor and helpless*; and if unmerited &c. slavery, be not oppression, I know not what oppression is.

In conversation on the subject of slavery, I have heard many arguments and what are called proofs to establish it, and also, a number of objections against emancipation, but I remember to have seen but two solitary printed pieces in

its favour: from whence it should seem, that there are but few who are capable of writing, whose consciences will suffer them to espouse the cause.

The arguments and proofs in favour of slavery, are mostly drawn from four sources.

1st. From the Scripture account, we have of servants, bond men, bond maids, servants under the yoke, and the obedience that is so strictly and repeatedly enjoined on them to their masters in the new Testament. All this no body denies, this does not touch the matter in dispute: *It is unmerited, &c. slavery we deny:* and on examination it appears, no Scripture can be found to support the doctrine: *It therefore, falls through upon this ground.*

2. Slavery is plead for by some, from the *decrees, foreknowledge and permission of God.* But to support any doctrine or practice, on this principle, as has been before observed, is to justify all the abominations that have ever infested our world. The truth is, the moral and positive commands of God, are the only safe rule, for the government of our conduct through life. And our Saviour, comprehends the whole of the moral law, under two heads, namely,—
“Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,” &c.
“and thy neighbour as thyself.”

3. Slavery is supported by others, from a supposition, that the grand progenitor of the African race, must have been guilty of some almost *unpardonable offence*; though no body knows what it was, unless it were, Ham's mocking at his father's nakedness, when he lay uncovered in his tent. But it is unluck for the advocates of slavery, this account but badly serves their purpose, because the prophetic curse denounced on this occasion, was against Canaan only, and it is evident from the best authority, that he did not settle in Africa. So that we are still left at a loss to know, what this *great crime* was, that Cush, Mizraim and Phut, (the other sons of Ham) were guilty of, that their offspring should be *doomed to perpetual, hereditary slavery.*

4. Slavery is justified by many, on the ground or principle of Christian experience.

The argument runs thus: We hope we have been convinced of sin, and have obtained forgiveness for the same, through our Lord Jesus Christ—and amidst all our conviction, never saw that enslaving the Negroes was a sin; there-

fore, we cannot think it to be wrong to hold them as slaves, provided we use them well.*

1st. Here let it be observed, that many have been convinced of sin, and have shewn hopeful signs of repentance and of forgiveness, have gone far, stood long, possessed great zeal, acquired much knowledge, been in high esteem among christians, have done much good, in, and for the church of Christ, &c. with whom the work of conviction and repentance, was not genuine after all.

2. It is possible, that a person may have been, rationally, powerfully and spiritually, convinced of sin in general, and may have received pardon for the same through Christ in reality; and yet for want of information, or by reason of certain prepossessions, habits, customs, interests, &c. many things that are really sinful, and others that are binding duties, may for a time, and perhaps, for a long time, be kept out of such person's sight.

3. There have been many in the case of slavery, and others in respect to certain duties, who have had conviction, so as to make them very uneasy, and draw candid confessions from their lips, who have again fallen asleep, and seem to "be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin;" but I tremble for such characters!

The notion of using persons well, while kept in a state of unmerited, &c. slavery, is very strange to me! I will ask those who talk thus the following question: Would you think it good usage, to be forcibly taken from your native country, and be carried to a foreign land, and you and your children to be treated in all respects, just as the best of you, treat your slaves and their children? If you can in truth before God, answer yes; then I suppose, you may with some kind of propriety hold your slaves; but if you

* The greater number of the most zealous friends of unmerited, &c. slavery, confess, that the slaves among us, cannot be regular members of the church of Christ: which is a tacit confession that slavery is wrong, and that the slaves among us, are in a very different condition from the servants mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. For some of them at least, were members of the visible church, and were written to by the Apostles, in common among others; from whence it should seem they could read, and enjoyed equal privileges with their masters in the house of God—Which it is well known, is not, nor cannot be allowed to our slaves, in their present degraded circumstances. I must allow our slave holders ought to have credit, for this degree of candour.

answer no; be assured you are a guilty person, and must answer for it, at some future period, before the Judge of all the earth.

It appears from a review of these sources of argument and proofs, that nothing can fairly be gathered in favour of, much less to establish unmerited, &c. slavery; it remains then, that its advocates must either shift their ground, give up their cause, or content themselves without foundation to rest upon, or any thing to cover them in this practice.

The objections against the emancipation of slaves, that are founded in their want of natural abilities, their disposition to theft, idleness, their inclination to sedition, mixture of colours, intermarriages, &c. &c. are very trifling. Considering their education, their degraded, and in many instances, pinched situation, in respect to the necessities of life, their ingenuity, industry, honesty, virtue and fidelity to their masters and their country, vastly exceed (what in their circumstances) could be expected. Indeed I believe I may venture to say, their talents or natural abilities, are not inferior to the whites in any respect; and evidences are not wanting to prove, where opportunity has been afforded them, that they are equal to any other people in arts, &c.

Mixture of colours, is with me, by no means desirable, but it is hard to determine, whether their liberation would facilitate it or not: for by the means of *illicit embraces*, it is rapidly increasing both in town and country; and it should seem, if it must take place, it had better be on lawful grounds, than otherwise.

I allow the emancipation of the slaves, would lead on to marriages taking place between them and the whites: and in process of time, perhaps it might become common, which at present cannot be wished for; yet better so than worse; wisdom dictates, of two evils, choose the least. It has long been my sentiment, that any woman, who is good enough to make a man a concubine, &c. ought to serve him for a wife.

Finally, I believe, the main objections against emancipation are never brought in sight—which I presume are the following, viz. “The love of money,” which is covetousness, self-aggrandizement, and self-ease. If it were possible to do away these objections, I make no doubt, all others might be easily gotten over.

CONCLUSION.

UPON an impartial disinterested view of the subject, of unmerited &c. slavery, with its numerous aggravations inconsistencies &c. it is amazing to consider—how many consciences are kept in quiet, upon no other foundation but because they sin under the authority of Christian and republican laws, falsely so called, and in company with numbers of great, wise and good men!

How many directions in the blessed gospel lie unregarded? And how unconcernedly do many persons read them, for no other reason, than because they seem unregarded by too many Christian professors in our day?

How many compliances do professors of religion, make in this, and other things, to what may be called the Christian world, without any hesitation or remorse; which, if such things had been required of them only by heathens, would have been refused, as contrary to the holiness of Christianity.

Who could be content with being now contrary unmerited &c. slavery is to the spirit of the gospel, if it were not that he sees he lives as a great number of Christian professors do?

There is nothing therefore, that Christians ought more cautiously and constantly to guard against, than following a multitude in this and other things to do evil: for it is a well known maxim, that “Evil communications corrupt good manners.”

The advocates of *unmerited* &c. slavery, seem willing to tolerate us in the *sin* of holding the *sentiment* of emancipation; provided we will say nothing about it in public, to disturb their repose, and enlighten their vassals.

I suppose, Pharaoh would never have fallen out with Moses, for holding the *sentiment*, that his brethren, the children of Israel ought to be *free*, if he had kept it a *profound secret*—Nor George the third, with our *American patriots*, if they had held their *peace*, and not have *diffused* the *idea*, or *sentiment* of equal rights &c. through all his *plantations* in *America*. The Prophets and Apostles, would have escaped many insults and afflictions, if they had kept their instructions and *sentiments* to themselves. From which it appears, that nothing is more distressing to designing men, than public investigation. The cry in such cases is, *sedition!* “Our craft is in danger to be set at naught!” *Confusion! Disor-*

der ! The *general union and peace of churches* are in danger !
The *poor slaves* will be worse used ! &c.

The fact is, the advocates of unmerited &c. slavery, find themselves on very unequal ground, with those who espouse the "Rights of Man." For it would seem too glaring to hear a man praying and preaching in favour of the slave trade, and of slavery in general, praying that God would encrease the number of slaves among us, and that he would make their bonds strong, and enable us to keep them in ignorance of the *Rights of Man*, that we might the more easily keep them in vassalage, that he would encrease the number of despots, monarchs &c. and that he would strengthen their hands, and make them successful in conquering the nations, and that he would direct all extortioners and oppressors of mankind : and that if the Trump of Jubilee must ever be blown, and a general emancipation take place, let it be at as late a period as possible !—Though this in some degree, may be the breathings of the hearts of numbers ; it will not do to come into language : therefore for this, or some other reason, or reasons, I know not what, they seem to be willing to come to a *kind of compromise* with us, upon the following plan. viz. *We the advocates of unmerited &c. slavery, on our part, will freely indulge you in holding the sentiment of the equal rights of mankind ; if you on your part, will agree not to publish or preach it :—*but this appears like begging the question. For if *unmerited &c. slavery*, be inconsistent with *nature, reason, justice, good policy* and *holy scripture* ; then it is a *sin*—and preachers of the gospel, and all good men, ought to cry out against it : and if it be *consistent* with the above *criteria* ; then it is no *sin*, it is *right*, and all the preachers of the gospel, and all good men should publicly inculcate the doctrine, and take pains to remove the needless scruples of conscientious persons on the subject : and our constitution, so far as it allows of the emancipation of slaves, ought immediately to be revised, and the laws founded thereon repealed.*

* The notion which some modern preachers and moralists have taken up, on the subject of *unmerited &c. slavery*, is very strange and *equivocal*. They generally will allow, that the above kind of slavery, is a great *political evil* or *sin* ; but will still argue it is not a *sin* in individuals to hold and practice it, under our present *circumstances* and *policy*. What is this in fact, but saying, the policy of a nation supercedes the law of God ? On the same principle it may be argued, that

The United States of America, have declared unanimously in favour of the *Rights of Man*, they have set aside all *titles of nobility*, they have *broken entailments*, and very justly have altered the former laws *directing descents*, and have renounced the *idea of hereditary right*—This looks like doing away those *fulsome distinctions*, kept up among *men*, by *despots, monarchs &c.* And what a pity it is, that we have not virtue enough in general, to give those principles their full scope !

The *friends of slavery*, plead their *right of enslaving the Africans*, from the sacred scriptures ; but it appears to me, that *George the third*, can support the doctrine of a *kingly government*, and his *right over America* as a *king*, on much better scripture grounds, than they can support *unmerited &c. slavery*.

I suppose, no one who is acquainted with his bible, will deny, that *monarchical, or kingly governments* were in vogue, in the time of *Christ and his Apostles* : and that subjection was yielded to them by our Lord, and his followers, and that obedience to *sovereigns or kings*, was as strictly enjoined on subjects, as obedience is, on servants to their masters. See *Mat. xvii : 24, 25, 26, 27. Chap. xxii : 21.—1 Tim. ii : 1, 2. “ I exhort therefore, that—intercession,—be made for all men ; for kings, and all in authority ; ” &c. 1 Peter ii : 13, 14, 17. “ Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake : whether it be to the king, as supreme : or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the*

Jeroboam’s setting up the golden calve at Beth-el and Dan, 1 Kings, xii : 28, 29, 30. Nebuchadnezzar’s decree, Dan. iii : 1, &c. Or if our government should undergo a revolution, and should alter the Sabbath, tolerate polygamy, authorize parents to sell their children for slaves, or establish idolatry, &c. the like would be nothing more than political evils—And therefore, ought to be tamely submitted to by the people in general ; and the person, prophet or preacher, who should publicly say to the contrary, ought to be driven into exile, go into the furnace, or be treated as an enemy to his country, a heretick or schismatick. The like of this, is an old heathenish way of reasoning, and surely is favourable to idolatry, popery, and no matter what, that the policy of a nation should think it their interest to introduce. But after all, it will appear, that the above kind of slavery, is morally right, or it is morally wrong, viz. the subject is embraced in the second table of the law of God : and consequently, no one, can impartially insist thereon, but must either directly or indirectly, condemn unmerited, &c. slavery, and hold forth emancipation therefrom.

praise of them that do well. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king."

Here let our high toned republicans, pause a while, and try, if they can find as good scripture evidence for *unmerited &c. slavery*, as can be produced for *monarchical or kingly governments*—If they think they can, let them bring it forward—If they cannot produce *better evidence* in support of *unmerited &c. slavery*, than can be produced in favour of *monarchical or kingly governments*, I hope they will *keep silence*, or at least, *give up*, that *absolute monarchy*, and *holding and maintaining the principle of unmerited &c. slavery* are the *same in substance*, and that he who will hold the *one*, must in *heart*, be a *friend* to the *other*.

We learn from the holy scriptures, that Nimrod, which name signifies rebellious, or a rebel, Gen. x: 8, 9, 10. was the first among men, who assumed sovereign dominion, which from what followed was very offensive to God, and the kings of Israel were given in judgement to that people, and most of them proved a curse to the nation; and kings generally were so among all other people: and nothing better can be expected of them while they continue on the earth.

Absolute monarchy or despotism, are as closely connected with slavery, as soul and body: for there can be no absolute monarchs or despots, without slaves, and there can be no slaves, without absolute monarchs or despots.

Kings or despots, were sent as a scourge or curse on mankind, and at the close of the reign, of the antichristian man of sin, which was to continue, a "thousand, two hundred, and three score," prophetic "days," they will be taken away as a blessing—The happy period is drawing near, when it will be announced, "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen," the 'trump of Jubilee will be blown,' slavery cease, and "every man return to his inheritance," and "sit every man under his vine and under fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid."

If any in future, should undertake to write or argue in favour of slavery, I can inform them how they may save themselves their readers and hearers, abundance of trouble, viz. let them not dwell on points, wherein we are all agreed.—That there were servants of different descriptions, who were to serve for different periods, and who became so on different accounts, and that they were and are bound by the law of God, to be honest and obedient, during their servitude; I

say, to insist upon, and prove all this, when no body denies it, is to no purpose, it is like beating the air.

But if any shall see cause to take up the subject, and shall fairly substantiate the doctrine of *unmerited, involuntary, perpetual, absolute, hereditary slavery*, from *nature, reason, justice, good policy* and the *holy scriptures*; it will be doing *something to purpose*: otherwise it will be but *labour in vain*.

The reason I have so frequently used, the epithets *unmerited &c. slavery*, has been, that I would not be misunderstood and because, I would leave as little room for cavilling as possible.