

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
863 BROADWAY.

No. 39.

PART 1.

Bible View of Slavery,

BY JOHN H. HOPKINS, D. D., BISHOP OF THE
DIOCESE OF VERMONT,

EXAMINED

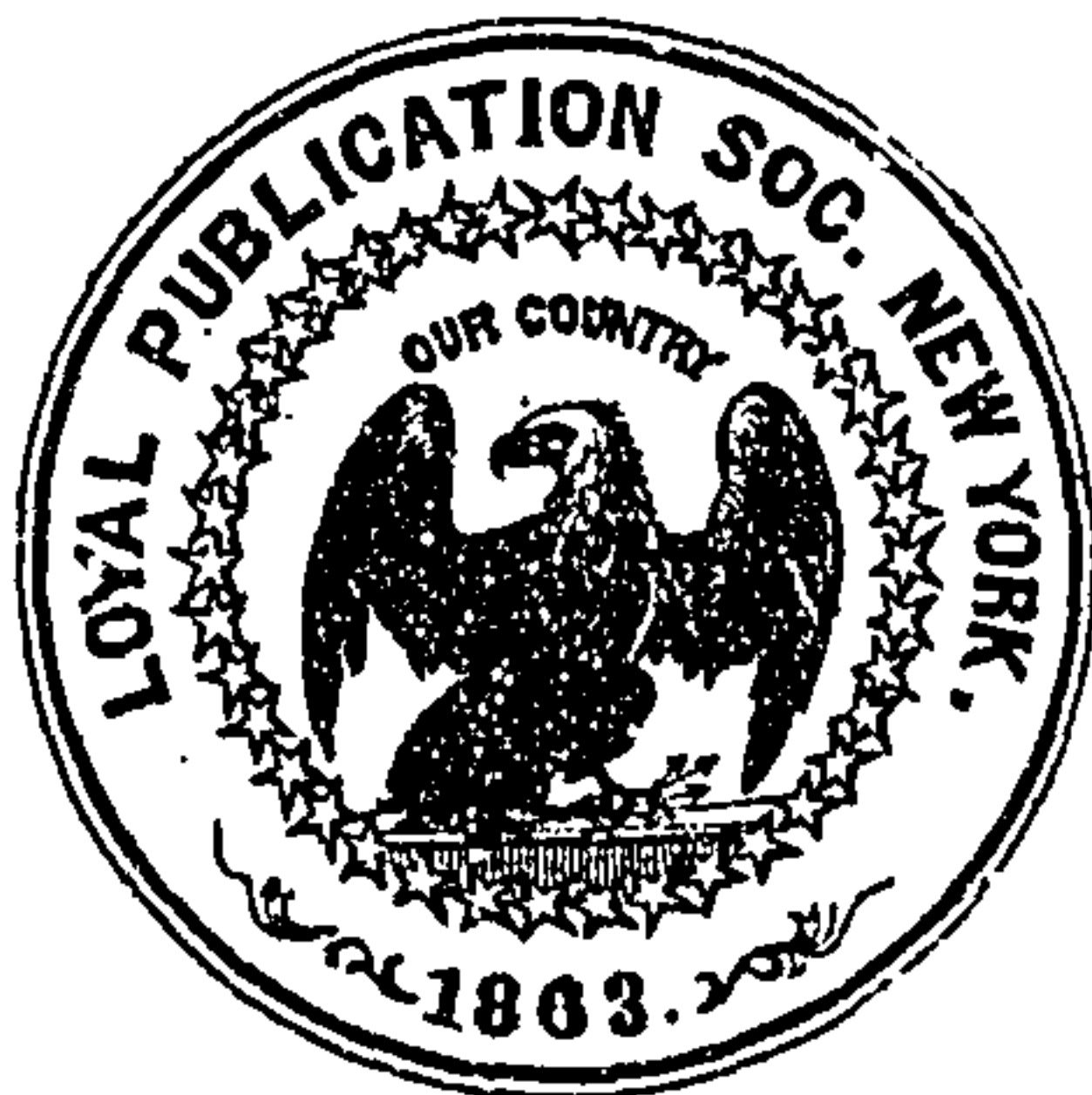
BY HENRY DRISLER.

PART 2.

Bible View of Slavery,

RECONSIDERED.

LETTER TO RT. REV. BISHOP HOPKINS, BY
LOUIS C. NEWMAN.



NEW YORK:

O. S. WESTCOTT & Co., PRINTERS, 79 JOHN STREET.

1863.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

863 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

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PART I.

A REPLY TO THE
"BIBLE VIEW OF SLAVERY, BY J. H. HOPKINS, D. D.,
BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE OF VERMONT."

BY H. DRISLER.

THE "Bible View of Slavery" is the title of an essay by Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, reissued in a pamphlet of sixteen pages, by an association for the "Diffusion of Political Knowledge," in this city, to influence the recent election in Pennsylvania. Though professing only to bring forward the Biblical arguments in defence of slavery, it yet discusses political subjects, drawing an unfavorable picture of the immorality and crime of our free Northern States, as contrasted with the moral purity and primitive simplicity of the slaveholding Southern States. The value of its political teachings, with its bitter denunciation of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, filling four and a half of its sixteen pages, has been already passed upon by the people of Pennsylvania. Its attempt to press Holy Scripture into the cause of a system of tyranny almost unequalled in the history of our race, and founded on violence and robbery—a system which, frowned upon by the almost universal reprobation of the Christian world, sets itself in defiant opposition to and raises its rebellious hand against the duly constituted authorities, has called forth the indignant protest of the noble Bishop of Pennsylvania, in whose diocese it was circulated.

The assertion which the writer undertakes to prove from Holy Scripture is this, as set forth by himself: "The slavery of the negro race, as maintained in the Southern States, appears to me fully authorized in both the Old and New

Testaments, which, as the written word of God, afford the only infallible standard of moral rights and obligations :” “and thus [by the Southern slaves becoming Christianized through slavery] the wisdom and goodness of God are vindicated in the sanction which his Word has given, and the sentence originally passed upon Canaan, as a curse, has been converted into a blessing” (p. 16) ; and again : “Under the rule of the Scriptures and the Constitution of the United States, the negro belongs to an inferior race, which *the law did not presume to be fitted for freedom at any age*” (p. 12) ; and finally : “God, in his wisdom and providence, caused the patriarch Noah to predict that he [the negro] should be the servant of servants to the posterity of Japhet” (p. 12). This, then, is the proposition, that the *negro slavery of the Southern States* is justified by Holy Scripture.

In the examination of the writer’s arguments, therefore, we have nothing to do directly with Hebrew slavery, or Greek slavery, or Roman slavery, or any other system than that now in force in the slaveholding states of the Union. The writer divides his arguments into two main heads, those from the Old Testament and those from the New Testament Scriptures. The most of these have necessarily nothing to do with the subject under discussion, as they relate exclusively to the special enactments for the regulation of the Hebrew social system. By way of introduction the writer asserts that “Slavery appears to have existed in all the ages of our world, by the universal evidence of history, whether sacred or profane.” It may be sufficient to set over against this, the assertion of one certainly not less eminent in the church than the author of the pamphlet before us. St. Chrysostom says : “But if you ask whence slavery has its origin, and why it has entered into human life, for I know that many readily ask and are desirous of learning such things, I will tell you ; avarice, vulgar display, and insatiable cupidity, beget slavery ; since Noah had no slave, Abel had no slave, nor Seth, nor yet those after this ;” (Hom. in Epist. ad Ephes. 22.)

The first argument from the Old Testament, and the only one really touching the subject, is from Genesis ix. 25 :

“Cursed be Canaan, *a servant of servants* shall he be to his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan *shall be his servant*. God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant;” which the writer applies to the unfortunate African in this wise: “But the actual fulfilment was reserved for his (Ham’s) posterity, after they had lost the knowledge of God and become utterly polluted by the abominations of heathen idolatry. The Almighty, foreseeing this total degradation of the race, ordained them to servitude or slavery under the descendants of Shem and Japhet. Subtly because he judged it *to be their fittest condition*. Here and in subsequent passages the writer substitutes Ham for Canaan, which is essential to his object; and combines with this the astonishing declaration that we are still living under the Mosaic law. To show that this is no exaggeration or perversion, however surprising it may be, we give his own words. In fact these two points are essential in order to derive any countenance to negro slavery from the Bible: 1st, that the curse passed upon Canaan shall extend to the other children of Ham; and 2dly, that we, conjointly with the children of Israel, should be directed or authorized by God’s law to buy bondmen and bondmaids of the heathen nations around us. Otherwise what becomes of the African slave trade, and its supporters? After quoting our Saviour’s words: “Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil” (Matt. v. 17, which very passage ought to have stayed the hand of this Christian Bishop, as he copied it, by recalling to his mind that Saviour’s own summary of the law and the prophets, in Matt. xxii. 37–39: “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;” and “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets”)—he goes on to say: “The next evidence which proves that *the Mosaic law was not held to be inconsistent with the Gospel* occurs in the statement of the Apostles to St. Paul, made some twenty years, at least, after the establishment of the first Christian church in Jerusalem. ‘Thou

seest, brother,' said they, 'how many thousands of Jews there are who believe, *and they are all zealous of the law.*' (Acts, xxi. 20.) How could this have been possible, *if the law was supposed to be abolished by the new dispensation?*"

That the law here referred to was the ceremonial law is quite evident from the rest of the chapter; for in the next verse St. Luke says: "And they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs." They therefore prevail upon St. Paul to go through certain ceremonies of the Jewish religion, the conclusion of which leads to a tumult, in which St. Paul's life is in danger, and he is only saved by the interposition of the Roman commander. In the next chapter (xxii. 3), St. Paul says, in his address to the people, that he was "taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers, and was zealous toward God, as ye all are this day." Under this Mosaic law, then, one of the most stringent and most frequently repeated commands of God, and the longest in the Decalogue is: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," etc., and, in enforcing this command, God said: "Every one that defileth the (Sabbath day) shall surely be put to death; for whosoever doeth *any work* therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people." If the law is not fulfilled or abolished, then this command is in force, for it was not repealed by our Saviour, since he taught on the Sabbath days; yet the whole Christian world, with few exceptions, constantly violate it, observing another day, and thereby incurring the penalty of death. St. Paul says (Ephesians ii. 15) of Christ: "Having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments (contained) in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain one new man, (so) making peace." Again (Gal. ii. 16), "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law, for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." Hooker (Eccles. Law, bk. 3, ch. 10)

says: "The law of ceremonies came from God, Moses had commandment to commit it unto the sacred records of Scripture, where it continueth even unto this very day and hour ; in force still as the Jew surmiseth because God himself was the author of it. . . . But (that which they in the blindness of their obdurate hearts are not able to discern) sith the end for which that law was ordained is now fulfilled, past and gone ; how should it but cease any longer to be which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before." God's moral law endures though institutions change, and "thou shalt not covet" will be in force, when and where "man servant," or "maid servant" exists to be coveted.

But let us turn to the Bible narrative, and see whether it sustains the Bishop's proposition. In the ninth chapter of Genesis the sacred writer says : "God blessed *Noah and his sons*, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply . . . and the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast, etc. . . . Into your hand are they delivered," and again, vv. 8, 9, "God spake unto Noah and to his sons [no exception is made] with him, saying, Behold I establish my covenant with *you* and with *your seed* after you." Thus from God's holy Word we see that the Almighty blessed *Noah and his sons*, and made a covenant with them and with their seed after them ; and that blessing we are justified in believing continues unto this day. In vv. 21-25 of the same chapter Noah's drunkenness and Ham's offence are narrated, and the curse pronounced on Canaan as previously quoted. No revocation of God's blessing previously bestowed is hinted at, no censure is passed upon the other children of Ham ; there is not the slightest authority in the Bible for any such unwarrantable inference as the writer draws that all Ham's posterity passed under the curse. In chapter x. 6, we are told that the sons of Ham were Cush and Mizraim and Phut and Canaan ; in vv. 15-18, the children of Canaan are enumerated, but we will first follow the other sons of Ham in the Bible narrative, and then trace the posterity of Canaan, and we will thus clearly see that the latter alone were under the curse.

Without entering into any of the ethnological or linguistic speculations in regard to the people of Africa, but taking the

Bible narrative as it is commonly received, that Mizraim is Egypt, and Cush Ethiopia, the land above Egypt, we will find that the Bible has made special provision to secure us against the fallacious reasonings of these Christian advocates of most un-Christian slavery. Sacred history informs us that the Israelites found refuge and shelter in Egypt, that afterward they were reduced to servitude and served the Egyptians many years. In due time God led them forth out of Egypt, and it is to be noted how frequently and how earnestly the Almighty impresses this fact upon his chosen people, "I brought you out of the *land of bondage*;" the very preamble to the ten commandments recites the fact that he had brought them out of the *house of bondage*. In the subsequent history of God's people frequent mention is made of the Egyptians; sometimes they conquered portions of the land of Israel, sometimes they came to aid the Israelites against their enemies; but they never were reduced to subjection and held in bondage by them, and finally what is conclusive in their case that they were not under the curse is the statement in Deut. xxiii. 7, 8, "Thou shalt not *abhor an Egyptian*, because thou wast a stranger in his land; the *children that are begotten of them shall enter into the congregation of the Lord* in their third generation." Is any further proof required that the curse upon Canaan did not extend to Ham's other children? Is it not a fearful thing for mortal man to seek to hurl the thunders of the Almighty, and to override the Gospel dispensation of peace and pardon in behalf of a loathsome and accursed system of robbery and oppression? When Balaam was called upon by Balak to curse Israel he replied, "How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed?" There are Christian ministers, it seems, who have no such scruples.

Again in Isaiah (xix. 21): "And the Lord shall be known unto Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation; yea, and they shall vow a vow unto the Lord and perform it." Isa. xix. 24: "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria even a blessing in the midst of the land." In Psalm lxviii. 31, we read, "Princes shall come out of

Egypt," and "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God." Some of the descendants of Cush were settled in Arabia and Upper Asia, among them Nimrod the mighty hunter, and their descendants were among the conquerors of the Israelites in some of their many revolts against the commands of their God.

Let us now turn to the record of Canaan, and see on the other hand, in the history of his posterity, the positive fulfilment of the curse. In Genesis x. 15-18, the children of Canaan are enumerated, "Sidon and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite." In Deut. xx. 10-14 and 16, 17, after the Israelites have been directed to slay the male inhabitants of the cities that are far off and not of the Canaanites, they are expressly commanded, "But of the cities of these people which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the Hittites and the Amorites, *the Canaanites* and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites; as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee," i. e., the people of God are here expressly directed, instead of making slaves of the descendants of Canaan, the very ones enumerated above, not the other descendants of Ham, to exterminate them. But in Judges ii. 21, the Lord says: "I also will not henceforth drive out any from before them of the nations which Joshua left when he died:" in iii. 5, 6, we read: "And the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites, and they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods," in this way now and on many subsequent occasions blending the blood of the races. In 1 Kings ix. 20, 21, Solomon is said to have levied bond-service upon all the children that were left of them in the land, whom the children of Israel were not able to destroy, and their descendants are enumerated finally among those who returned from the captivity. (Nehemiah vii. 57.)

Hence it is manifest that the curse pronounced by Noah on

Canaan was strictly limited to his posterity, and that curse was, therefore, exclusively confined to a *white* or at least *non-negro* race. It was moreover fulfilled in the dealings of the Hebrews with the surrounding nations in their conquest and occupation of the promised land.

In the prophets we see already the foreshadowing of the new dispensation of mercy instead of justice, of the remission of all past offences, of the breaking down of that middle wall of partition which the Apostle speaks of between Jew and Gentile, by which all men were placed on an equality in the eyes of God without respect of persons; as we read in Malachi, who closes the books of the Old Testament, "Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us?" In Jeremiah (xviii. 8), God says: "If that nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them." In those days, too, were men who resisted the degenerate and fanatical spirit of philanthropists, and insisted upon the letter of the law as we learn from these words of Ezekiel (xviii. 19): "Yet say ye, why? doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father?" to which the answer is, "When the son hath done that which is lawful and right, and hath kept all my statutes, and hath done them, he shall surely live. The soul that sinneth it shall die. *The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father;*" and again, in the same chapter; "But if a man be just and do that which is lawful and right, . . . and hath not oppressed any, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry . . . hath executed true judgment between man and man, . . . he is just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord."

Finally with the advent of our Saviour came full pardon to all mankind, "for he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also *for the sins of the whole world.*" (1 John ii. 2.) He expiated in his own person on the cross the curse upon Canaan, having in his own veins the blood of that very race, since he was descended in a direct line from Rahab of Jericho (to say nothing of Bathsheba and Ruth), if we are to believe the received account of Christ's genealogy. Was this accidental, that the blood of one of this race should mingle with that of the princely line of

Judah, David, and Christ? Or was it not a part of God's eternal design, that in Christ all nations of the earth should be blessed? With Christ's expiation of the curse, therefore, ceased the slavery of the race of Canaan which was the penalty of the curse. How can any Christian man, how can any Christian minister, dare to question the universality of Christ's atonement? How can any minister of the Episcopal Church read in his place Sunday after Sunday those consoling words of the glorious communion service, "for that Thou of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) *a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world,*" and then deliberately write and publish to the world, that the slavery of the *negro race in the Southern States* is justified by the curse pronounced by Noah upon Canaan?

The other proofs of slavery being sanctioned by the Almighty have all reference to the Hebrew polity, and refer either to the poor Hebrews, their own children, or to the heathen nations around them, and therefore are utterly irrelevant to the point at issue. Whoever wishes to see Hebrew slavery fully and ably discussed, with its numerous checks upon the power of the master, its almost innumerable provisions for the oppressed, sometimes when a master had daughters but no son giving a daughter in marriage to the servant with the inheritance, its amelioration of a harsher earlier slavery, which was adopted like polygamy and other oriental practices by the Hebrews, themselves an Oriental race, sometimes with, sometimes against the consent of the Almighty, must consult the treatise of Dr. Mielziner, admirably translated in the "Evangelical Review" for January, 1862, by Professor Schmidt of Columbia College. To look for a moment at the writer's other arguments: The next proof he adduces is the case of Abraham, who had 318 bond servants born in his own house; and also the case of Hagar, Sarah's fugitive female slave, whom the angel of the Lord commanded to *return to her mistress and submit herself*. The writer adds: "If the philanthropists of our age had

been willing to take the counsel of that angel for their guide, it would have preserved the peace and welfare of the Union." In a subsequent part of his pamphlet the writer finds a difficulty in maintaining the doctrine of the continuance of the Mosaic dispensation when he seeks to combat the objection, that his argument proves polygamy as well as slavery. He satisfies himself, however, if not his readers, by making slavery an ordinance of the Almighty, but polygamy and the law of divorce which Christ censured, a mere permitted enactment of Moses. In the case of Hagar, the angel, when sending back the slave, tells her at the same time that she is with child by her master, though that master's lawful wife was living, while in Genesis (xxi. 13) God said to Abraham: "And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed." (See this applied to the two covenants in Gal. iv. 24.) In like manner the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel were sons of Jacob by two different wives and their two handmaids, all which was allowed and sanctioned by the Almighty before Moses wrote his laws. In 2 Sam xii. 8, God says to David (through Nathan): "I gave thee thy master's house, and *thy master's wives* into thy bosom," &c.

The next argument is taken from the Tenth Commandment: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's." The Bishop thinks there is some prejudice against the idea of *property* in a human being, and is "aware that the wives of our day may take umbrage at the law which places them in the same sentence with the slave, and even with the house and the cattle. But the truth is none the less certain." The writer is certainly consistent in admitting the conclusion from his premises. But what think you, Christian wives, who are with your husbands one flesh, no longer twain, of that Christianity which puts you on a level with the house, and the ox, and the ass? which calls you, our wives and mothers, property, merely to enable the Christian minister to aid the slave-driver and the slave-breeder in keeping his hold on the throat of the man-servant and the maid-servant, lest

those for whom our Saviour died might claim His death as their release ?

Again we may ask, what are the commandments ? They are the same which God spake in the 20th chapter of Exodus, saying, "I am the Lord thy God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt and out of the house of bondage : Thou shalt" &c. If we hold to the literal interpretation, then "thee" and "thou" must refer to the same person, and the commandments must be restricted to those who came out of the land of Egypt. Our Saviour, who was the fulfilment of the law, omitted the "man-servant" and the "maid-servant" in his summary, and substituted the universal brotherhood of man. Will any one quote God's express command to his chosen people, to exterminate the heathen around them, to leave nothing alive that breatheth, as authority for similar acts at the present day ? Can any people in the present age of the world stand in a similar relation to the Almighty with that of the Israelites of old, whose deliverance and settlement in their appointed land were a succession of miracles ? But having shown, as we trust, the fallacy of the argument which deduces *negro* slavery from Noah's curse upon Canaan, it is hardly necessary to dwell upon the other arguments from the Old Testament, for they do not touch the case.

Let us now turn to the second main head, or the arguments in defence of *negro* slavery from the New Testament. The writer enters upon this portion of his subject with the remark : "I grant, of course, that we, as Christians, are bound by the precepts and example of the Saviour and his Apostles ;" while at the same time he quietly ignores the influence of their personal example altogether, since neither our Saviour nor his Apostles ever held slaves. But we will quote the writer's statement on this head of his subject in full : "First, then, we ask what the divine Redeemer said in reference to slavery. And the answer is perfectly undeniable. HE DID NOT ALLUDE TO IT AT ALL. Not one word upon the subject is recorded by any of the four Evangelists who gave his life and doctrines to the world. Yet slavery was in full existence at the time, throughout Judea ; and the Roman empire, according to Gibbon, contained sixty millions of

slaves, on the lowest probable computation ! How prosperous and united would our glorious republic be at this hour, if the eloquent and pertinacious declaimers against slavery had been willing to follow their Saviour's example !" That is the argument, and that the deduction.

Next follow the two arguments previously quoted to sustain in full force the Mosaic law, and then those passages are given from the Epistles, which direct servants (*bond servants* or *slaves*) to be obedient to their masters, concluding with St. Paul's letter to Philemon, by the hands of his fugitive slave' Onesimus. As in the previous case from the Old Testament, where our argument was directed against the general principle, rather than the individual cases, so here we hope to show that the precepts and example of our Saviour rendered the continued existence of slavery impossible ; this being established it will be unnecessary to follow the writer into special details. It may be remarked, however, that the whole argument from the New Testament falls to the ground, as specially bearing upon *negro slavery*. It would only prove the justice of Roman slavery, with its sixty millions of slaves, as the writer quotes from Gibbon. Now of whom did these slaves consist ? Not of the descendants of Canaan only ; not of those said to be under the curse merely ; but of the descendants of Shem and Japhet, as well as of those of Ham. Guizot says above one hundred thousand prisoners were taken in the Jewish war, and Titus sold all the inhabitants of Jerusalem under seventeen years of age. Men of rank and intelligence were reduced to slavery ; had it not been for the influence of "the precepts and example of our Saviour and his Apostles" the question which the writer pronounces puerile, "How would you like to be a slave ?" might not have been so absurd. The citizens of a conquered city, when once the battering ram had struck the walls, had lost all rights, and were put to death or sold at auction. According to this principle Gen. Grant, instead of paroling his 30,000 prisoners at Vicksburg, should have sold them for thirty millions of dollars.

Now it must be remembered that our Saviour came into the world to preach a personal religion, a reformation of the indi-

vidual heart and life, and therefore had nothing to do with corporations or political ordinances. He belonged to a conquered and subject race, itself under the curse of the Almighty; whatever reformation he desired to make in governments or political institutions must be done by first reforming the individuals controlling them. And this was what actually took place. His silence on the subject of slavery as an institution was no more an approval of it in general, than it was of the oppression and abominations connected with it; the application of torture in an Athenian court, which always accompanied the testimony of a slave; putting to death the slaves of a master who had been murdered; the barbarities of the amphitheatre; crucifixion for the most trifling misconduct (such as speaking disrespectfully, *Blair's Roman Slavery*, p. 111), and the oriental practice introduced into Greece and Rome of making eunuchs, to whose condition our Saviour incidentally refers without censuring it. Did he therefore approve of this practice, and would it be justifiable by Biblical arguments?

But let us look at the result that soon flowed from the lessons of humility, love, and human brotherhood, which form the teachings of the meek and lowly Jesus. "Who is my neighbor?" Not the favored Jew, not the self-sufficient Levite, but the despised and hated Samaritan. "A new commandment give I you, that ye love one another." "And whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant (*doulos*)." Christ came on one occasion into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and read from Esaias: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; . . . to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised" (St. Luke, iv. 18); and he began to say to them, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears" (21). Bishop Hopkins tells us, quoting Gibbon's authority, that in our Saviour's time the Roman empire contained sixty millions of slaves. What became of them? In the course of centuries all those provinces of this same Roman empire, which adopted Christianity, abolished slavery. Slavery only continued in those provinces of the old empire, which were overrun and subdued by Oriental and non-Christian races.

And now we see this fact staring us full in the face, that the Christian countries of Europe are the non-slaveholding countries, while slaves are found under the Turk and the infidel.

Whence comes this result, if not from the silent but irresistible influence of "*the precepts and example of our Saviour and his apostles*," which this writer admits we are bound by? Will he tell us that Christianity had nothing to do with it? Hear what he says on this head (p. 4): "It is said by some that the great principles of the Gospel, love to God and love to man, necessarily involved the condemnation of slavery. Yet how should it have any such result, when we remember that this was no new principle, but on the contrary; was laid down by the Deity to his own chosen people, and was quoted from the Old Testament by the Saviour himself? And why should slavery be thought inconsistent with it? In the relation of master and slave, we are assured by our Southern brethren that there is incomparably more mutual love than can ever be found between the employer and the hireling." Is not this the very spirit which God himself rebukes by the mouth of his prophet Ezekiel: "Yet ye say, The way of the Lord is not equal," and "yet ye say, Doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father?" Will Christian men, will Christian ministers, to support a tottering and abominable system of wrong and oppression, pluck from the crown of our holy religion its brightest jewel? Will they join with the infidel and skeptic in ascribing this amelioration in the condition of mankind to a vague civilization, and aid in proclaiming "Christianity a failure"? Even the skeptic Gibbon did not deny this praise to Christianity. But the author says (p. 13): "The Anglo-Saxon race is king, why should not the African race be subject, and subject in that way for which it is best adapted, and in which it may be more safe, more useful, more happy, than in any other which has yet been opened to it, in the annals of the world?" This is strange doctrine—that might makes right—for a Christian minister to promulgate. On what ground, then, does he attack (p. 13) the much-abused King of Dahomey? Is not his the more powerful intellect, and

should not the surrounding tribes be subject? Has the writer any other reason to give for interfering in the local institutions of this king, who is an independent monarch, obeying his own laws—which are his own will—than that same *higher law of conscience*, for obeying which, in reference to the injustice of negro slavery at the South, he assails so violently the philanthropists of our age?

But to return to the point from which we digressed: the religion of Christ, then, we assert, practically put an end to slavery. What distinction of master and slave could long exist in a community where the disciples of the same Lord had all things common? under a religion which taught men to be lowly in their own eyes; which taught that “God had chosen the base things of the world and things which are despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught the things that are; that no flesh should glory in his presence” (1 Cor. i. 27, 28). Having thus shown that the Gospel influence, by acting upon the hearts and consciences of individuals, gradually but surely worked the release of the slave and the extinction of slavery, it will hardly be deemed necessary to dwell upon those exhortations and consolations addressed by the apostles to the faithful servants of Christ, who were also servants after the flesh. All these exhortations show the sympathy of the apostles (St. Paul particularly) with the condition of their unfortunate brethren; where their case is hopeless with an earthly master, they exhort them not to bring reproach upon their Christian profession; advising them to bear for a time their earthly misfortune, since God, for Christ’s sake, will in good season give them eternal freedom. St. Paul was a Roman citizen; he was also a Jew, who had abandoned and decried the traditions of his fathers; he was bitterly hated and eagerly watched by the unbelieving Jews, who sought every opportunity of entrapping him. His mission was in no respect political; he was an ambassador of Christ: his duty was to enforce that personal purity of life, and reformation of the heart, which he knew would work all other changes in due time. But in his writings, as everywhere in the New Testament, slavery is the hard lot, to be borne—the burden and the yoke; freedom—the blessing

and reward of endurance. How constantly is this contrast introduced—freedom, liberty—that liberty with which Christ has made us free on the one hand ; and the bondage of sin—servants to uncleanness and to iniquity on the other ? “Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men.” (1 Cor. vii. 23.) Such language, even on spiritual subjects, could not be addressed to men, and men of intelligence, as many of those slaves were, without exciting hopes and wishes for their bodily emancipation. But this the apostles could not procure for them, except by appeal to the consciences of their masters. There was no supreme government which acknowledged the obligations of Christianity. It was therefore necessary to teach slaves the same lessons of submission for the time, which the apostles themselves were bound to observe. How often were they seized upon without process of law, dragged outside the walls, and scourged or stoned ? Though they submitted patiently to such treatment, and gloried in it, we certainly cannot quote their encouragements to each other under the injustice as removing its illegality or sinfulness.

The passages, therefore, which are quoted from St. Paul and the other apostles, as justifying slavery by advising submission to masters, have no force except as addressed to slaves under a heathen master, or where Christianity is an intrusive and foreign element in an unfriendly and heathen state. In the case of Onesimus, whom it is said St. Paul sent back to his “master” as a “slave,” how marked the difference between his return and that of Anthony Burns, or any other fugitive slave from the *Christian* South. Read the letter of St. Paul throughout, and then say if it be possible that the two persons there mentioned could have stood afterwards, even allowing they did before, in the relation of master and slave. With what sweet and tender solicitude does the Apostle speak of this “runaway slave ;” what fatherly affection breaks out in every sentence ; with what earnestness, nay, almost authority, does he ask his kindly reception. His language is, “Receive him, that is, mine own bowels ; not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and

in the Lord ? If thou count me therefore a partner, *receive him as myself*. . . . Having confidence in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also *do more than I say*." Now, notwithstanding the positiveness with which Onesimus is asserted to be a "runaway slave," there is no proof in the whole epistle that Onesimus was a *slave* at all ; the inference that he was a slave rests on the 16th verse—"Not now as a servant," &c. (*doulos*, but *doulos** is not in Greek necessarily a *slave*). There is not a particle of evidence that St. Paul forced or even urged the return of Onesimus. That he returned *as a slave* is inconsistent with the whole tone of the epistle, with the endearing epithets employed, and especially with the last clause quoted above. The circumstance related in the epistle to the Colossians (ch. iv. 7-9) also opposes that view, where Onesimus is joint bearer with Tychicus of St. Paul's message to the Colossians ; the same affectionate epithet is applied to him as to Tychicus ; and St. Paul says to the Colossians, (Onesimus) "*is one of you ;*" i. e., of the Church or of the people of Colossæ, and "they [Tychicus and Onesimus] shall make known unto you all things which are done here." The man who bore that message was surely no *chattel*. Besides, if St. Paul were "zealous of the law," would he venture to send back a "fugitive slave," which the Jewish law so strictly forbade ?

St. Paul, moreover, in another remarkable passage, while following the example of his Divine Master, whose kingdom was not of this world, in setting forth the much higher and nobler freedom of the soul, that freedom which even the slave after the flesh may possess and derive happiness from, shows his appreciation of civil freedom by advising, which he may do without risk of interfering with the civil power, "But if thou mayest be free, use it (freedom) rather." (1 Cor. vii. 21.)

The precepts and example of our Saviour and his apostles then brought about that change of feeling which over-

* *Doulos* includes also the Roman *libertus* or *freedman*, Chrysipp. ap. Ath. vi. 93. Onesimus was probably steward, or in some responsible position in Philemon's household, thus having the opportunity of appropriating money, which St. Paul promises to repay.

threw the whole system of slavery, the way for which had been prepared by the Jewish economy, with its protection to fugitive slaves, ordained by God himself, and its denunciations against man-stealing. Christian Europe became free—the curse upon Canaan had been expiated—the Jews, as a nation, had ceased to hold slaves—Christian nations had ceased to hold slaves. Now, let the justifier of *negro slavery* point to the revelation of God's will which directed the re-establishment of slavery. No, God did not authorize it. History can here point to the source and the cause. Whence, then, came slavery again into *Christian* society? It arose, as St. Chrysostom says of the first rise of slavery, from avarice and inordinate cupidity. When thousands of adventurers, on the discovery of this new world, in their eager pursuit of wealth, tore away by violence and robbery the unfortunate sons of Africa, to toil for them in the mines and on the plantations of the West Indies and Central America, then was established that horrible iniquity, the African slave trade, and that barter in human flesh which Christianity had entirely removed. The learned Dominican Soto (1542), confessor to Charles V., in opposing this inhuman traffic soon after its establishment, says: "It is affirmed that the unhappy Ethiopians are, by fraud or force, carried away and sold as slaves. If this is true, neither those who have taken them, nor those who purchased them, nor those who hold them in bondage, can ever have a quiet conscience till they emancipate them, even if no compensation should be obtained."—(*Mackintosh's Ethic. Phil.*, p. 79.)

The justification of negro slavery at the South justifies the slave trade; nay, the advocates of the doctrine of this pamphlet are bound to sustain and defend the slave trade. The author tells us: "I believe that the number of negroes Christianized and civilized at the South, through the system of slavery, exceeds the product of (English and American) missionary labors in a proportion of thousands to one." Let us place in contrast with this system, that which was sanctioned by the "precepts and example of the apostles." St. Luke, in the Acts (viii. 26), relates how St. Philip received a special commission to go towards the South to meet an Ethiopian, and

unfold to him the interpretation of the Scriptures which he was reading. The eunuch was enlightened, converted, and baptized, and returned to his home to carry the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ to his fellow-descendants of Ham ; and perhaps then the first seeds were sown of the Church in Abyssinia which exists to this day. The apostles did not find it necessary to establish a slave trade with Africa, or to bring the body of the wretched Africans under the slave lash in order to convert their souls.

May we not justly fear that we are now, as a nation, suffering the penalty of our complicity in this great wickedness and sin ? God has said : “ And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death ” (Exod. xxi. 16) ; and Jeremiah (xxii. 13) writes : “ Woe unto him that useth his neighbor’s service without wages.” God does visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate him, i. e. of those who do not abandon the sins of their fathers ; and the children of this generation share in the iniquities of their fathers by adding to the grievances of those whom their fathers wronged. We are told that Virginia and other Southern states commenced a movement to liberate their slaves, but that it was abandoned in consequence of the interference of Northern fanatics. May we not read in this refusal to grant liberty to the oppressed the real cause of the desolation which has spread over the state which was foremost in that iniquity ? The prophet Jeremiah presents us with a similar case, which drew on it the threatened vengeance of Heaven : “ And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbor : and ye had made a covenant before me in the house which is called by my name ; but ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom he had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants and for handmaids. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor : Behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord,

to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine ; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth."

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, Nov. 12th, 1863.

NOTE.—The Rev. Dr. Howe, of Philadelphia, states in the Philadelphia Inquirer of Nov. 6, which statement the writer of this article has not seen contradicted, that "a considerable portion (of the original letter of Bishop Hopkins in 1861) was devoted to an argument 'that the Southern states have a right to secede,'" and further, "that this letter was circulated in the slave states, was read, and, as is alleged by the Southern people, did its part in 'firing the Southern heart,' and intensifying its determination to sacrifice the Union, in order to maintain and perpetuate slavery." He adds also, on the authority of a clergyman of Philadelphia, formerly of Virginia, that "Bishop Meade said, at the outbreak of this rebellion, that he had always been opposed to secession, until a letter of Bishop Hopkins convinced him that the Southern states have a right to secede." Numerous inquiries have been made among the dealers in pamphlets and private collectors for this (original) letter, but without success.

After the above was in type, a copy of the original letter (of 1861) was sent to the writer by a friend. The following extracts will show that the charge of justifying secession is only too true.

After charging upon the North every kind of hostility (individual, legislative and congressional) to slavery, the author goes on to say (p. 11 of edition of 1861): "Convinced, as well as they might be, that they could not long resist this advancing deluge of hostility, and knowing that its probable results would be a general insurrection of their slaves, a war of extermination to preserve their own lives, and the final ruin of their prospects if they remained subject to it a few years longer, many of the slave states have resolved to secede from the Union, in despair of obtaining any effectual remedy or guarantee from their uncompromising adversaries. They have desired to secede peaceably, if permitted. If not, they stand prepared to defend what they believe to be the sacred right of self-preservation. . . . In my humble judgment, they have a right to secede, although I grant that the point, being entirely new, is not without considerable difficulty. I fear that the ingenious arguers against secession have hardly given sufficient attention to this fact, and have therefore very naturally fallen into the mistake of applying the principles of ordinary government to a Constitution which stands alone in the history of the world. . . . But, on the other hand, the *Constitution does not deny the right, nor forbid the act, of secession.* The subject is not expressly adverted to at all. The power of the free States which have thus carried on their assaults upon Slavery, has at length obtained the mastery in the administration of the government, and therefore the Southern States have resorted to their *reserved rights* by seceding, as the only peaceable remedy remaining, since warnings, expostulations, and arguments, have been employed for many years, and all in vain. This act of peaceable secession they utterly deny to be treasonable, because the Constitution, in Article III., § 3, lays down the rule that 'Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.' "

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
863 BROADWAY.

No. 39.

PART II.

THE BIBLE VIEW OF SLAVERY
RECONSIDERED.

LETTER TO THE RT. REV. BISHOP HOPKINS,
BY LOUIS C. NEWMAN.

SIR : It was once the glory of the Protestant Episcopal Church that her clergy kept aloof from all political agitations as foreign to their purpose. When about three years ago you departed from that time-honored practice, and became the political champion of slavery, on Biblical principles, and published your "Bible View of Slavery," many of us, though dissenting from those views (apart from the dangerous innovation), held our peace, from the mistaken supposition that your course would conciliate "our erring brethren of the South," and prevent the disruption of our beloved Union. But when, on application from a prominent party, whose energies are solely directed to harass and weaken the hands of our rightful government, and to strengthen those of the bastard government of rebellion, you consented to republish those views—and that, too, "in a Diocese not your own"—we, because our respect for you is so widely known in this Diocese, were, in self-defence, *compelled* to issue a protest—that we "have no complicity or sympathy with such a defence." Approving of that protest, because I do not believe that the Bible teaches the perpetual bondage of *the negro or any other race*, I desire you to divest yourself of your former bias, and reconsider the *Biblical aspect of slavery*.

You state that you do not "oppose the prevalent idea that slavery is an evil in itself." You admit "it may be a physical evil," but you maintain that it is "no *moral evil*, no pos-

itive *sin* to hold a human being in bondage." What is *sin*? It is deviation from rule. God has placed man under his law, and requires him to walk by *rule*. In reference to himself, he requires us to love him, with all the heart, mind, soul, and strength. In reference to our fellow-creatures, he requires us that we should love our neighbors as ourselves, and do unto others as we would they should do unto us. This is *the rule*—and every departure from this rule, in thought, word, or deed, *is sin*. *From this law "there can be no appeal."*

It is not my intention to reconsider every proposition in your pamphlet. If its criticism can be proved *incorrect*, its "proofs" *erroneous* and *misapplied*—if the statement, so often repeated, that "Southern slavery is a divine institution," can be proved to be *untrue*, then Southern slavery will stand condemned as "a *moral evil* and a *positive sin*." I shall leave to others to argue with you "the soundness of the proposition of the far-famed Declaration of Independence." I shall simply confine myself to the Old Testament "proofs" advanced in your pamphlet in behalf of Southern slavery.

Your opening proposition states that the term "servant" has generally the meaning of "slave"* in the Hebrew. This is *incorrect*. The Hebrew word "Ebed," translated "servant," has a very wide signification, and is indiscriminately applied. It comprehends all manner of service that can be rendered under the sun. 1st. In Gen. ii. 5, the last three words, "lacobod eth ha-adamah," literally, "to serve the ground," our translators rendered, "to *till* the ground," v. 15; the same word is rendered, "to dress it," Gen. iii. 23. Chapter iv. 12, the same word is again rendered, "to *till*." 2d. It is applied to the service of Jehovah; as also to the service of strange

* Page 1st, you say, "The word 'slave' occurs only twice in the English Bible." Yes, in the *English Bible*. But in the originals, and, indeed, to the intelligent reader of the English version, *it does not occur at all*. There are two well-known rules laid down for the guidance of the general reader of the Bible. 1st. Where the marginal reading differs from the textual, the marginal is *the literal*. 2d. That all words in italics are *not in the originals*, but were placed there by the translators, to make out what they believed to be the sense. The word "slave" occurs first, in *italics*, in Jeremiah ii. 14, which shows that the word is *not in the Hebrew*. It occurs the second time in Revelation xviii. 13; the margin reads it "*bodies*," proving conclusively that the word "slave" is not in the Greek.

gods. Thus, in Joshua xxiv. 2, "and they *served* other gods;" v. 14, "and *serve* ye the Lord;" and so in several instances of the same chapter. 3d. To patriarchs—Gen. xxvi. 24, "Abraham, my servant;" Isaiah xli. 8, "Thou Israel art my *servant*;" Isaiah xlv. 1, "Jacob, my *servant*." 4th. To prophets—Numbers xii. 6, 7, 8, the same term is three times applied to Moses. And so Deuteronomy xxxiv. 5, "Moses the servant of the Lord died." And so Joshua i. 1, 2; xxiv. 29. Jeremiah vii. 25: "I sent to you all my servants the prophets." 5th. *To the ministers of the state*—Gen. xlv. 16: "It pleased Pharaoh well and his *servants*." Exod. x. 7, the *servants of Pharaoh* chided their prince, and advised him what to do. 6th. *To soldiers and their officers*—2 Samuel ii. 12, 13: "Abner the son of Ner went with the servants of Ish-bosheth to fight with Joab the son of Zeruiah and the servants of David." In this whole chapter David's army is called "the *servants* of David." In chapter xxi. 22 (2 Sam.) the captains of David are called "*his servants*." 7th. *To ambassadors*—2 Samuel x., the gross insults to the *servants* of David, brought about the war between him and the children of Ammon. 8th. The same persons who are called, 2 Sam. xxiv. 20, "The king and his *servants*," are called in 1 Chron. xxi. 16, "David and the *elders* of Israel." In this same chapter (1 Chron. xxi. 3), Joab asks David concerning the whole nation, "Are they not all my Lord's *servants*?" And finally, to confidential friends and advisers: thus Hushai, David's confidential friend, is directed to say to Absalom, 2 Samuel xv. 34: "I will be thy *servant* [Ebed] as I have been thy father's *servant* [Ebed] hitherto, so will I now also be thy *servant*."

In the Chaldaic, which is a twin sister to the Hebrew language, the word "Ebed" is used with still greater latitude. Thus, Gen. i. 7, where the Hebrew has, "Vay-ahs Elohim"—"And God *made* the firmament," the Chaldaic has, "Va-eabed," &c., &c.—"And the Lord *served* the firmament." And so in *every* instance where the Hebrew word, "to make" and its derivatives occur, the Chaldaic reads, "*served*." In Gen. ii. 2, 3: "And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from

all his work which he had made ;” the Chaldaic has it: “And on the seventh day the Lord finished all his *service* which he had *served*, and he rested on the seventh day from all his *service* which he had *served*.”

From the above it is seen that the signification of the word Ebed is very extensive ; it comprehends to worship, to officiate, to perform the services of the state, to advise and also to do the work of a domestic or that of a field laborer. The distinction between “Ebed,” when applied to a domestic or field laborer, and the word “Sachir,” translated “hired servant,” is simply this : The “Ebed” is a servant who was hired for a *term of years*, whereas the “Sachir” was hired by the day. When Jacob, therefore, offered his services to Laban for *seven years*, he did not say, I will be seven years a Sachir with thee, but I will be seven years thy Ebed. Hence the injunction in Leviticus xix. 13 : “The wages of him that is hired [*Sachir*] shall not abide with thee until morning.” In fact, the same distinction which exists in our day between “an apprentice” and “a day laborer” existed then. The one is under bonds to serve one master for a term of years, and the other can hire himself out to whomsoever he will.*

* This distinction between the word “Ebed,” as applied to a servant when hired for a term of years, and “Sachir,” a servant who was hired by the day, is *most distinctly* brought out in the 29th, 30th, and 31st chapters of Genesis, in the transactions between Laban and Jacob : chap. xxix. 15, Laban asks Jacob, “Because thou art my brother, shouldest thou be my ‘Ebed’ for naught? tell me what shall thy wages [as a Sachir] be.” Verse 18, Jacob says : “I will be thy Ebed seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter.” Ver. 20 states the fulfilment of the contract under the term “Ebed.” Ver. 25, discovering the deception practised on him by Laban, he addresses him, “What is this thou hast done unto me? Was I not an Ebed with thee for Rachel,” &c., &c. Ver. 27, Laban proposes : “Fulfil her week, and we will give thee this also for the service which thou shalt do as an Ebed for seven other years,” Chap. xxx. 26, at the completion of the fourteen years, Jacob says to Laban : “Give me my wives and my children for whom I have been thy Ebed, and let me go, for thou knowest my service which I have done as thy Ebed.” Ver. 28, Laban changes the term : “Appoint me thy wages [as a Sachir] and I will give it.” Ver. 32, Jacob requires “the spotted and the speckled of the goats for his hire [as a Sachir].” Chap. xxxi. 7, 8, Jacob complains to his wives that their father has changed his hire as a Sachir ten times : “If he said thus, The speckled shall be thy wages [literally, thy Sachir’s reward], then all the cattle bare speckled ; and if he said thus, The ringstreaked shall be thy [Sachir’s] hire, then bare all the cattle ringstreaked.” And finally, in

Your statement, therefore, that the term "Ebed," commonly translated "servant," has the meaning of "slave" in the Hebrew, is *incorrect*, and the inference that it is to "be defined as servitude for life, descending to the offspring," is a most serious error, fraught with the *most awful consequences*.

I now proceed to your "array of positive proofs," and re-examine their validity with all the impartiality in my power.

Your first "proof" is advanced from Genesis ix. 25—a passage which the ultra pro-slavery divines are so excessively fond of repeating: "Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren." Here it is seen that the first appearance of slavery is coupled with a "*curse*," which pro-slavery advocates pronounce to be "*an incalculable blessing*"—a marked Biblical difference. But can you tell us why the descendants of Canaan were at first conquering nations? And what is most remarkable, that civilization is deeply indebted to Ham's descendants for its first development? Besides, if "this remarkable" imprecation was to be literally fulfilled, why were the Israelites positively commanded *not to enslave* but to *annihilate them*? Deuteronomy xx. 16, 17: "Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth. But thou shalt utterly destroy them—namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee." And what connection has this *curse* with the enslavement of the negro race in the South? for it is *not* Ham, but *Canaan* that is cursed, and his descendants were *destroyed* by the Israelites *nearly three thousand four hundred years* since. By what historical facts did you come to the knowledge that the negro is a veritable descendant of Canaan? Your vehemence in the advocacy of slavery caused you to overlook the stubborn fact, that all commentators, *Jews and Gentiles*, maintain that from *Cush*, the son of Ham, the black

verse 41, he makes the same distinction between the two services to Laban: "Thus have I been twenty years in thy house; fourteen years I was thy Ebed for thy two daughters, and six years for thy cattle, and thou hast changed my hire [as a Sachir] ten times." I am sure if the Bishop had critically examined these passages, he never would have made so fatal a statement that the term (Ebed) commonly translated "servant," has the meaning of slave in the Hebrew.

races descended. The statement, therefore, that the "Almighty has ordained the negro race to servitude," is *pure imagination*.* The proof cannot be found. But should you still insist on an "*actual* fulfilment of this wonderful" imprecation (with which the descendants of Cush can have no possible connection), then the Southern slave-owners ought first to be reduced to slavery themselves, and then the negro would be a "slave to slaves."

Will your "second proof," advanced from Genesis xiv. 14, that "Abraham had three hundred and eighteen bond servants born in his house," stand the test of sound criticism? It must be known to you as a scholar that *ch'neechor* literally signifies consecrated, dedicated, or *trained retainers*. Is it possible that the number of three hundred and eighteen young men perplexed you? I can easily remove that difficulty. Abraham wherever he went proclaimed the name of the Lord, and made proselytes. The life then being nomadic, they attached themselves to his household, and considered him as their chief. Their children are properly said to be "born in his house." These he consecrated to the service of Jehovah; they were his "trained retainers." Hence, when he declined to take a reward from the king of Sodom, he adds (verse 24): "Save only that which the *young men* [mark, he did not call them "my bond servants," but *the young men*] have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, let them take their portion." He could decline for himself, but could not decline for his retainers—a strong proof that "Father Abraham" had *no idea* that they were "his property."

Though I pass Hagar, I will not omit her. Let us see the logic of your third proof. Because the tenth commandment says "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt

* The following is a logical summary of your first "proof:"

Noah cursed Canaan, and doomed his descendants to "perpetual slavery."

But

God *strictly prohibited* the enslavement of the Canaanites under *any circumstances*.

Therefore

It is incontestably proved that the enslavement of the negroes (who *are not* descendants of Canaan), "by our Southern friends," is a Divine institution.

not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant," &c., &c., therefore "it is evident that the principle of property runs through the whole." Now, permit me to ask if you ever had in the *free state of* Vermont a worthless "maid-servant"? and if your neighbor happened to have a good one, were you ever disposed to say, "I wish I could get that good servant"? did such a thought ever escape your lips? Is it not evident that the whole of the tenth commandment is directed against *covetousness in general*? Did not St. Paul understand it so? "Nay, I had not known sin, but by the law; for I had not known lust, except the law had said, 'Thou shalt not covet.'" Romans vii. 7. For the sake of common fairness, I beseech you not to torture every passage of Scripture into a defence of "*slave property*."

Your "fourth proof" strongly supports my distinction between "Ebed" and "Sachir." "Ebed" is the name of a "servant" who was said to be sold (the term "*apprentice*" not being known then) for a term of years. The law limited that term to *six years*. Whether that servant was *male* or *female*; whether he sold himself through poverty, or to learn a trade, or was sold by the magistrates for his crimes, *six years* were fixed as the utmost limit of time during which he could be deprived of his personal liberty. "If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself; if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons and daughters," and his term of six years expire *before her term is completed*,* "the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself." That this is the true exposition of this law appears clear, from the fact that the wife *must* have been an *Israelitish woman*; the prohibitions against intermarriages with the heathens are so very express. That female servants were under the same law of six years, is expressly stated in Deuteronomy xv. 12: "If thy brother, a Hebrew man or

* The Hebrew servant was *not* freed every *Sabbatical* year, unless he happened to be sold at the *end of one*. Thus, if he were sold two, and she four years after the last *Sabbatical* year, the next *Sabbatical* release would free neither of them. *Each must serve his term of six years.*

a Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee." Verse 17: "And also unto thy maid-servant thou shalt do likewise." But should he refuse to wait the legitimate time when she would be entitled to her liberty, and "say I love my master, my wife and my children, I will not go out free," then he is to be disgraced, and have his ear bored to his master's door, and he with his wife and children must serve that master "To Ohlam," "*to ever*"—that is, *to the Jubilee year*; the surest method of deterring any one placed in such circumstances of availing himself of the provisions of the statute.

In arguing for a *perpetual bondage* of the heathen races from Leviticus xxv. 46, "they shall be your bondmen forever," you have overlooked several facts. First. You did not take into consideration the historical facts, and did not inform us whence the heathen slaves were obtained, whether from a particular race or from one class; whether from a regular slave-market in Africa, or from the surrounding conquered nations; and, secondly, you did not critically examine the *limited duration* expressed by these words, and therefore erroneously concluded that their "bondage was perpetual"—that the Jubilee did not emancipate them. This is an *error*. Let us see how the heathen slaves were obtained. In those times, the captives of the conquered nations (the Canaanites *always* excepted), no matter of what *complexion*, if they were not put to the sword, were sold as slaves. They and their children were kept in bondage until they adopted the religion of their conquerors. The Jews were *commanded* to make proselytes of and circumcise all these heathen slaves. Genesis xvii. 13: "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised." The descendants of these proselytes, *in the third generation*, became entitled to all the rights and privileges of the native Israelites, and would, therefore, acquire their freedom after they had attained their twentieth year—at the first proclamation of a "release," Deuteronomy xv. 1, or, at the farthest, at the first *Jubilee**

* I know that very high authority will be brought to disprove this statement. But, in proof of the truth of the above proposition, I beg to observe, 1st. That the literal language of Levit. xxv. 10, warrants the belief that the benefit of

proclamation, which year is termed by Moses "Leohlam," "to ever."

I will now state a few facts which you did *not* consider, and which I hope you will notice in your promised forthcoming work, and which will prove Southern "slavery, as it exists in the cotton states" to be *contrary to the teachings of the Bible*.

1. The issue of the female slave always enjoyed the privileges of the father. If the father was a free man, the master had no claim upon the offspring. If the master ever "*knew her*," she regained her freedom at once. More than that, she became entitled to all the rights and immunities of *a wife*. In fact, he was commanded to marry her. This law is specially laid down in the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th verses of Exodus xxi., when the slave is an Israelitish woman (the same chapter from which you selected your "fourth proof"), and in Deuteronomy xxi. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, when the slave is a heathen woman—but which it never suits the con-

the Jubilee reached *all classes* of slaves: "Ye shall sanctify the fiftieth year, and ye shall proclaim *liberty* in the land unto *all the inhabitants thereof*."

2d. The first part of the forty-sixth verse, "And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession," presents no such insurmountable difficulties, and does not of necessity make their enslavement perpetual. In our own days, in England, men buy leases for a certain period of years—the utmost, I believe, is ninety-nine years. These leases are literally "taken as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession;" but at the expiration of the stipulated period, the land becomes free, and returns to the heirs of the original owners.

3d. The second part of the forty-sixth verse, "They shall be your bondmen forever," reads in the literal, "Leohlam bah hem tha-cabodu"—"To Ohlam ye shall serve yourselves with them." The same expression is used in Exod xxi. 6: "And he shall serve him forever." All the Jewish and Gentile commentators declare with one voice that "Leohlam" ("to ever") here signifies *to the Jubilee*; and I have yet to find a pro-slavery divine who would dare to maintain that the Jubilee did not free the Hebrew slave, "though his ear was bored to his master's door with an awl;" and if Leohlam signifies "to the Jubilee," in Exod. xxi. 6, why should it not signify "to the Jubilee," in Levit. xxv. 46?

Finally. In verse thirty, Moses himself *names the exceptions*: "A house in a walled city, if not redeemed within a certain period, that house shall not go out in the Jubilee;" and if the heathen slaves would have been excluded from the benefit of the Jubilee, he would have stated so, just as he did in the case named.

venience of pro-slavery divines to notice. Hagar's case comes in here appropriately. Was Ishmael Abraham's son or slave? When he became obnoxious to Sarah, did she ask Abraham to sell him and his mother for the benefit of Isaac, or to send him away? Does the *Scripture* recognize Ishmael as Abraham's son or slave? When Abraham died, who buried him? Ishmael, his slave, and Isaac his son? What says the *Scripture*: Genesis xxv. 9: "And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him."

Again, in Genesis xxix. we find that Laban gave to his two daughters, Zilpah and Bilhah, for "handmaids." Jacob "knew them." Their children were Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher. Were these four children counted as Jacob's "slave property," or as *his sons*? Was there any inequality among them, or were they counted as head tribes of Israel? How does Southern slavery compare with the Biblical teaching of these cases? "Upon the rock of the everlasting *Scriptures*," exclaimed one of your admiring followers, "I will stand forever." By what laws are the *mulattoes* kept in slavery? Can you maintain that the enslavement of the *mulattoes* (whose blood proclaims their *Scriptural and divine right to freedom*) is a divine institution? Does the Bible ever teach the enslavement of one's own wife and children?*

Again: In your "fourth proof," you admit that the slave can say, "I love my wife and my children," I will not be separated from them. Even the idolatrous Egyptians who enslaved Israel, whom the Bible describes as being very rigorous—"for they made Israel's life bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, in brick, and in all manner of service in the field,"

* You say (page 12), "The third objection is, that slavery must be a sin, because it leads to immorality. *But where is the evidence of it?*" One would suppose that the hundreds of thousands of *mulattoes* held in slavery would be a *standing evidence* against the immoralities of slavery. In numberless cases, the resemblance of the slaves to the owner is so striking, that it is utterly impossible to conceal the paternity of the unfortunate slave-sons and slave-daughters. And yet, in the face of the most "*positive proofs*" of the transgression of the *Seventh Commandment*, we are asked, "Where is the evidence of the immorality of slavery?" As for "the offences against Christian morality committed in the single city of New York," I am thankful to state, that no *Biblical champion* has yet appeared to claim for it a divine sanction.

practised no such cruelty as forcible separations of husband and wife and children, and acknowledged the necessity of giving proper food to their slaves. And Israel in the wilderness remembered “the flesh, and the fish, and the cucumbers, the melons, and the leeks, &c., &c., which they did eat in Egypt freely.”

The law courts of the Christian South have decided, again and again, that slaves can contract no marriages,* and therefore can confer no legal rights on the children. That he, she, or their children, can be sold at their master’s will and pleasure. And Southern Christian slave owners, who “fare sumptuously every day,” have decided that two meals per day, consisting of Indian corn and hominy or rice, with an occasional piece of salted pork or salted codfish,† is a sufficient allowance for

* In the case of *Merlinda vs. Gardiner*, 24 Alab. 719, the law record stands that “slaves cannot contract marriages, nor can they confer any legal rights on their children.”

Or take for instance the following case : Mr. Elisha Brascalle, a Mississippi planter, was, during a long and dangerous illness, faithfully nursed by a mulatto slave of his. He afterward took her to Ohio, had her educated and emancipated her, by deeds recorded in Ohio and Mississippi, and afterwards married her. He returned with her to his plantation in Mississippi, where she gave birth to a son. Upon Mr. Brascalle’s death, his will was found, in which he ratified the deed of emancipation, and devised all his property to his son. The will was contested by some distant relatives of the testator in North Carolina. Judge Starkey delivered the decision. “The state of the case shows conclusively that the contract had its origin in an offence against morality, pernicious and detestable as an example. But above all, it seems to have been planned and executed with a fixed design to evade the rigor of the laws of this state. The acts of the party in going to Ohio with the slaves, and there executing the deed, and his immediate return with them to this state, point with unerring certainty to his purpose and object. The laws of this state cannot be thus defrauded of their operation by one of our own citizens, and, therefore, John Monroe and his mother are still slaves and part of the estate of Elisha Brascalle.” This decision gave to the North-Carolinians the whole estate, and mother and son were reduced to slavery. Even the cruel and merciless laws of Pagan Rome, rewarded the devotion and faithfulness of the slave with freedom, and would scorn a decision like the above from her statute book. See 2d Howard Miss. Rep. 827.

† It may not be amiss to state here how the Jews fed *their slaves*. Says Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon, *the highest Rabbinical authority*, in his commentary, *Yad Hachshakah* (the strong hand) on *Hilchoth Eabadim* (on the Laws on Slavery), commenting on the text that “the heathen slaves are *not* to be treated with *rigor*”—“Piety and justice require us to be merciful and kind to them. We ought not to oppress them, nor lay heavy burdens upon them.

their over-worked slaves. Are these decisions also a divine institution, and can they be proved from the Bible?

2. Excessive punishment, by which a slave might lose his life, is positively forbidden in the Bible. Indeed, the law makes no distinction between the murder of a man and the murder of a slave. "If a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod and he die under his hand, Nackaum yeenackaim, avenging he shall be avenged." The Jewish Rabbins, who can be relied upon respecting the treatment of their slaves, insist that the death penalty is to be visited on the master of the murdered slave. Now, it is not enough that your Southern slave owners can chastise, can horribly mutilate, can hunt with dogs,* and can even shoot their slave without ever being troubled by a living creature, but the very passage which the law has decreed for his protection, is by you dressed up in such a shape as to prove that severe corporal correction may be administered.

You also justify (p. 11) severe corporal correction, under the designation of "presumed cruelty," because "the Saviour himself used a scourge of small cords when he drove the money-changers from the temple," and then self-complacently ask, "Are our modern philanthropists more merciful than Christ and wiser than the Almighty?" Bishop, for whose benefit was the scourge used by Christ?—for the *hapless victims* or for the "*buyers and sellers*"? Who are "*the buyers and sellers*," *the money-changers* in Southern slavery?—the unfortunate victims who are bought and sold against their will—the men and women who are lashed at the whipping-post—or the slave owners? Is here not a manifest *misapplication* of Scripture?

Nay, we ought to let them partake of the *same food* which we eat ourselves. Our ancestors of blessed memory, made it a rule to give to their slaves a portion of every dish prepared for their own use; nor would they sit down to their meals before they had seen that their servants were properly provided for—so that they could approach God and truly say, 'Behold, as the eyes of slaves are directed toward their masters, and as the eyes of the handmaid toward her mistress, so are our eyes directed toward Jehovah our God, until he have mercy upon us.'"

* See the case of *Moran vs. Gardner Davis*, 18 Georgia Rep. 722, in which it was decided that "it is lawful to hunt runaway slaves with dogs, provided it be done with a due degree of caution."

Finally, permit me to draw your serious attention to a special fact which has escaped your consideration. It is recorded in Jeremiah xxxiv. Jerusalem was besieged by the army of the Chaldeans—within the famine and the pestilence consumed—without the sword devoured. The Jews set their hearts to search out their sins, in order to repent. They soon discovered that no “liberty year” was proclaimed to their slaves. They at once entered into a covenant to do so. The proclamation was issued, liberty was granted and the slaves were emancipated. No sooner was the transaction completed than avarice caused them to repent of it, and they re-enslaved them. That, according to your views of the case, ought to have pleased the Lord, slavery being so divine, holy, and blessed an institution. But hear the word of the Lord: “Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, I made a covenant with your fathers, saying: At the end of seven years let you go every man his brother, a Hebrew, which hath been sold unto thee; and when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee; but your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear. And ye were now turned and had done *right in my sight* in *proclaiming* LIBERTY, every man to his neighbor. But ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom ye had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants and unto you handmaids. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother and every man to his neighbor; behold I proclaim a liberty for you—to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine, and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.” So that, in accordance with the teaching of this chapter, *slavery*, though God *tolerated* it, is nevertheless a *pollution in his sight*—a pollution of his holy name, and emancipation is a *righteous deed in his sight*.

I know that in order to escape from the divine teaching of the above passage, you will point out the words “*his brother a Hebrew*.” But is not the Southern negro equally “his brother a Christian”? Yes, for we are all one in Christ Jesus, members of the same mystical body, living stones of the same

spiritual temple, built on the same foundation, begotten again to the same blessed hope by the same means—the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. We all are heirs of the same inheritance, candidates for the same imperishable glories, renewed to the same likeness, and sanctified to the same obedience, by the same blessed spirit. And therefore “in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither *bond nor free.*” Gal. iii. 28.

Your faithful servant,

BIBLICUS.