



THEODORE DWIGHT WELD



1803



November 23, Tuesday: Theodore Dwight Weld was born with a mis-shapen skull in Hampton, Connecticut.

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1827

→ The Oneida Institution opened on the bank of the [Erie Canal](#) in Whitesboro near Utica, New York under the leadership of one George W. Gale who “having impaired his own health through hard study had regained it through farm work.” It may have been an informal sort of institution until the Oneida Presbytery took it over and appointed Gale its 1st president.¹ At that time it was being intended as a school for the preparation of Presbyterian ministers. According to Benjamin Thomas’s *THEODORE WELD* (Rutgers UP, 1950, page 18), one of the students at this Whitesboro “manual labor institution” would be [Theodore Dwight Weld](#).



William Aspinwall Tappan would attend the Academy of the Oneida Institution under “Monitor-General” [Weld](#). Lewis Tappan or Arthur Tappan would, among others, sponsor a “Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions” and send [Weld](#) to the west on salary to “collect data from which might be deduced guiding principles for the most successful union of manual labor with study; to ascertain to what extent the manual labor system was suited to conditions in the West; and to compile a journal of his findings” (Thomas, page 31). After losing his journal of observations in a near-fatal carriage accident, Weld would never resume

1. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, in his *LEWIS TAPPAN AND THE EVANGELICAL WAR AGAINST SLAVERY*, 1997 LSU paperback edition of 1969 Case Western Reserve U original, page 352 in “Bibliographic Essay,” has termed Thomas’s book “a short, lively life of the great antislavery orator, though it accepts uncritically the anti-Garrisonian interpretations popular at the time of its composition.”


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it. He would apparently think of himself more as a missionary of manual labor education than as any kind of mere investigator. He would interview educators and collected facts, but primarily what he what he would do would be make speeches and promote the cause — until in the late 1830s he would burn out and go into semi-retirement. “It sounds as though he may well have helped ignite a grassroots movement rather than promote the ends, directly, of the “Society for Promoting...” (L.F. Anderson, “The Manual Labor School Movement,” Educational Review XLVI, pages 369-386).



Donald G. Tewksbury's *THE FOUNDING OF AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR* (Teachers College, Columbia U, 1932; 1965 facsimile reprint, pages 28-54) lists colleges founded before the Civil War. It lists Wabash Manual Labor College, Indiana Baptist Manual Labor Institute (later Franklin College), and Knox Manual Labor College (later Knox college).

 In Utica, New York, Charles Stuart, who had been serving as the principal of a boys' school while spending his spare time wandering from place to place distributing Bibles and religious tracts and preaching temperance, began a very intimate friendship with [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), helping him to accomplish his dedication to the antislavery struggle. The following is from Benjamin Thomas's *THEODORE WELD*:


Weld called him “a perfect being”—but he was so eccentric that some people thought him crazy. Winter and summer he wore a Scotch plaid frock, with a cape reaching nearly to his elbows ... so strongly attracted to children that he often stopped to romp and play with them. Like Weld, he had come under Finney's influence and enlisted in his “Holy Band.”... His advice to Weld was in the style of love letters, and their relationship was almost rapturous.

Stuart proclaimed himself to be grateful that God had not yet treated the white race according to its deserts. God must be exercising great self-restraint in not “breaking up the earth beneath our feet, and dashing us all into sudden hell” on account of the persecution of people of color.

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1831

 July: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont toured upstate New York, Albany, and the penitentiary at Auburn.

The Tappan brothers organized a “Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions” and made [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) its primary promoter.

1832

 June 1, Friday: William Lloyd Garrison attacked the proslavery duplicity of the American Colonization Society in his self-published 236-page THOUGHTS ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION: OR AN IMPARTIAL EXHIBITION OF THE DOCTRINES, PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, TOGETHER WITH THE RESOLUTIONS, ADDRESSES AND REMONSTRANCES OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR. These folks were, he amply demonstrated on the basis of their own writings, a group of people who rather than desiring the wellbeing of abused Americans of color, desired merely to eliminate the danger posed to slavery by the local presence of free persons of color by getting rid of these free persons of color, an agenda which was entirely due to cupidity and to “an antipathy to blacks.” 2,275 copies were produced and placed on sale at \$0.⁶² each, one of them winding up in the hands of a student in the Lane Seminary of [Cincinnati](#), [Theodore Dwight Weld](#).



In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 1st of 6th M 1832 / Today an Indian Man by the name of



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Wamsley was hung for Murder, about two miles South of the Road to Pawtucket - I happened in town as he was going to the Gallows & saw him at a distance - it was a most affecting scene to see so many thousands flocking after the Miserable man. - such executions are in my opinion not calculated to effect any moral & certainly no religious good - for among the crowd were many who were drunk, some staggering & others laying. - my heart was deeply affected with the scene & I could but deplore the fate of the poor object, & intercede that we might all be preserved from crime. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1833




There were a number of antislavery movements, which at times made for strange bedfellows. There was a racist anti-black anti-slavery movement, made up primarily of white persons, which sought to do away with slavery in order to benefit the soul of the white owner, and also in order to destroy the economic basis of the black life of the time, and basically these people believed that black people should not exist, or at least, should not exist here where we white people exist, and that white slaveholders should not exist, or at least, should not be a part of the society which we decent white folks inhabit. In distinct opposition to these folks, there was an anti-slavery movement, made up primarily of persons of color, which sought improved conditions of life for persons of color, ameliorations both material and spiritual. To cut across the division created by two such contrasting motivational patterns, there was an anti-slavery movement made up of persons who sought gradual, step-by-step, piecemeal practical improvements, new good amelioration following new good amelioration, a building process, and there was an anti-slavery movement made up of persons like William Lloyd Garrison, [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), Arthur Tappan, and Lewis Tappan who demanded immediate utter freedom and emancipation regardless of the personal or social cost, a tear-it-all-down-and-start-over project, and who were willing to see great harm done to real people if only the result would be some change in the wording of a law, written on paper somewhere. There was an Old Abolitionism which was racist, and an Old Abolitionism which was paternalist. There was a New Abolitionism which was Evangelical and millennialist and sought utter total top-down changes in society, and there was a New Abolitionism which was immanentist and which demanded utter total bottom-up personal transformation, within each individual soul. In Ohio, Shiperd Stewart and Philo Penfield Stewart (a student minister) established Oberlin College (more properly, the Oberlin Collegiate Institute), creating a town of Oberlin, Ohio (one of the last settlements to be created in Lorain County), as our nation's 1st coeducational institution of higher learning (Oberlin College would be in fact the 1st in the US of A to admit either girls or persons of color on an equal basis with the white boys). The first home of the town was a log cabin put up by Peter Pindar Pease just north of the historic elm. The Pease family became the first Oberlin colonists. The first business, a sawmill, was established at what is now the southeast corner of Vine and Main Streets. It would be owned and operated by the college, at first, to forestall any type of greed or cheating that might derive from the profit motive, the college would be owning and operating all local businesses. (However, this sawmill would become such a financial burden to the college that eventually it would be sold to a private individual, thus setting a precedent for more private ownership of businesses in the town.) The first college building was constructed: "Oberlin Hall," a boarding house for 40 students, was located approximately where the Ben Franklin store now stands. This building included classrooms for study — and would function as a church on Sundays. Its basement quarters were reserved for the college's professors. (Oberlin Hall would be used by the college until 1854, when it would be sold to be turned into a retail outlet. It would burn down in 1886.)

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1834

 The English reformer George Thompson was lecturing across the USA at the invitation of William Lloyd



Garrison. His tour of the northern states would be said to have led to the formation of more than 150 anti-slavery societies. [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), while a ministerial student at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, helped the young men there create one such abolitionist group, and also he had begun working with black leaders to start a practical night school for black grownups. These “Lane Rebels” would relocate themselves from Cincinnati’s seminary to Oberlin College, bringing new students, faculty and the first college president, Asa Mahan (1835-1850), but Weld himself would withdraw to become an agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society.

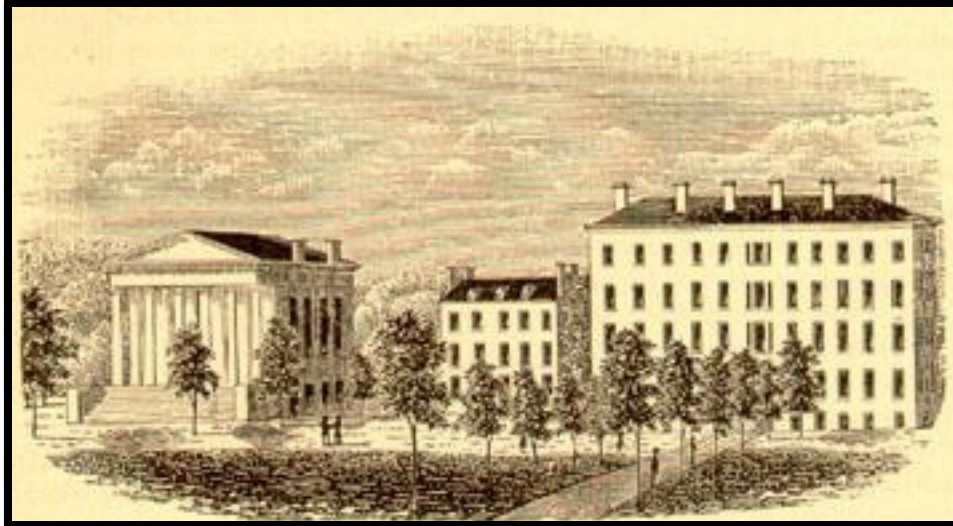


I don’t have an illustration of what Lane Theological Seminary looked like before this concerned group’s departure, but this is what it would like in 1846, quite a while after the impact of the exodus had been absorbed

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and theology-as-usual had been reestablished:



Oberlin, Ohio's population grew to include 200 colonists and 100 students. For the education of children, an Oberlin School District was organized.



1835



Boundary disputes between Michigan and [Ohio](#) brought about a “Toledo War.”

The Reverend Lyman Beecher had returned from his rabble-rousing and convent-burning in Boston to the directorship of the Lane Theological Seminary near Cincinnati, [Ohio](#). His rabble-rousing and convent-burning [Know-Nothing](#) sermon was being published by Truman & Smith in Cincinnati and by Leavitt, Lord & Company in New-York as PLEA FOR THE WEST. There was a student revolt against his religious institution. The consequences of this revolt would be the relocation of the majority of the students to Oberlin College's Theological Seminary, where they could continue their abolitionist activism. The leader of this revolt was [Theodore Dwight Weld](#).



SURVEY OF AMERICAN ANTI-CATHOLICISM

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1836



There were race riots in Cincinnati, Ohio,² and the abolitionist press of James Gillespie Birney, The Philanthropist, was damaged.



(Birney would never be a NonResistant, but rather would be an opponent of that movement — his consideration would ever be that non-resistance, “under the sanction of religion,” threatened to create “anarchy and license that have generally heretofore been the offspring of the rankest infidelity and irreligion.”) To confront the mob, her brother the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher took up firearms, and Harriet Beecher Stowe’s brother the Reverend George Beecher was converted to abolitionism by [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), and some scholars presume that at this point both Harriet and Henry also became radical abolitionists although for a period of time they did their work in secrecy.



2. The rioters were, it goes without saying, white.

1837

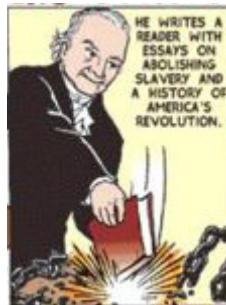


The American Anti-Slavery Society put out the 4th issue of its abolitionist “omnibus” entitled The Anti-Slavery Examiner, containing an anonymous “The Bible Against Slavery. An Inquiry Into the Patriarchal and Mosaic Systems on the Subject of Human Rights.” (This was by [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) and would be followed by “The Bible ... Human Rights. Third Edition – Revised.” and by “The Bible ... Human Rights. Fourth Edition – Enlarged.”)

TEXT
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The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)’s THE TOUCHSTONE. The Reverend came out publicly as, shudder, an abolitionist. Although this announcement produced turmoil at his Mendon church, the pastor’s supporters would there prevail. He would be less successful in introducing such a reform at this year’s meeting of the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists, his proposal there only producing a rift in fellowship between a group of social reformers and the conservative divines (under the guidance of the Reverend Paul Dean).

[Noah Webster, Jr.](#) instructed a daughter who was being unduly influenced by the abolitionist cause that “*slavery is a great sin and a general calamity – but it is not our sin, though it may prove to be a terrible calamity to us in the north. But we cannot legally interfere with the South on this subject. ... To come north to preach and thus disturb our peace, when we can legally do nothing to effect this object, is, in my view, highly criminal and the preachers of abolitionism deserve the penitentiary.*” Wow, we ought to lock up the Frederick Douglass who followed the North Star to disturb Noah’s daughter’s peace? –With friends like this the American antislavery crusade certainly didn’t need any enemies!



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 August 1, Wednesday: In [New Bedford](#), on this anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, a newspaper article called for the formation of an anti-slavery organization. Here is the hymn written by Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) for the celebration at the Broadway Tabernacle in New-York of the 3rd anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies:

<p>O Holy Father! just and true Are all Thy works and words and ways, And unto Thee alone is due Thanksgiving and eternal praise!</p> <p>As children of Thy gracious care, We veil the eye, we bend the knee, With broken words of praise and prayer, Father and God, we come to Thee.</p> <p>For Thou has heard, O God of Right, The sighing of the island slave; And stretched for him the arm of might, Not shortened that is could not save.</p> <p>The laborer sits beneath his vine. The shackled soul and hand are free; Thanksgiving! for the work is Thine! Praise! for the blessing is of Thee!</p>	<p>And oh, we feel Thy presence here, Thy awful arm of judgment bare! Thine eye hath seen the bondman's tear; Thine ear hath heard the bondman's prayer!</p> <p>Praise! for the pride of man is low, The counsels of the wise are naught, The fountains of repentance flow; What hath our God in mercy wrought?</p> <p>Speed on Thy work, Lord God of Hosts! And when the bondman's chain is riven, And swells from all our guilty coasts The anthem of the free to Heaven,</p> <p>Oh, not to those whom Thou hast led, As with Thy cloud and fire before, But unto Thee, in fear and dread, Be praise and glory evermore.</p>
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In 1837 I was in New York, in conjunction with Henry B. Stanton and Theodore D. Weld, in the office of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

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ABOLITIONISM

 September: [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#), [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), and a number of others having come to regard him as nothing more than a self-promoting troublemaker, the Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#) was formally notified by the American Anti-Slavery Society that they would no longer be using him as an agent.



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November 7, Tuesday: In a speech, [Waldo Emerson](#) demonstrated that he was not yet ready for the slavery issue.³

Horace Mann, Sr. accepted the offer of the hospitality of the Emerson family to reside with them while in Concord to attend a school convention.

The abolitionist publisher Reverend [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#) was killed in Alton, Illinois with a gun in his hand,

3. Gougeon, Len. "Abolition, The Emersons, and 1837." [New England Quarterly](#) 54 (1981): 345-64

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

Gougeon details [Emerson's](#) involvement (or lack thereof) with the abolition movement in the years preceding his first antislavery speech delivered in November 1837. Gougeon initially focuses on the interest of Emerson's own family in promoting freedom for the blacks: Emerson's sister Mary and his stepfather the honored Reverend Ezra Ripley were actively "involved in the antislavery agitation of the 1830s and 1840s," the latter consistently supporting the movement until his death in 1841. But the strongest proponent in Emerson's family was his younger brother Charles, with whom Emerson maintained a close relationship. As early as April 1835 Charles publicly declared his opposition to slavery, delivering in Concord a speech, "Lecture on Slavery." It was Emerson's wife, however, who exerted the greatest influence on her husband, for she was "one of [the] most active members from the outset" of the Women's Anti-Slavery Society.

Secondly, in contrast to Boston, "[t]he environment of Concord in the 1830s ... was quite favorable to the abolition cause," acting as a "depot of the underground railroad" and a junction for well-known abolitionists. These frequent antislavery lecturers stirred the community with their ideas, and the many newspaper articles and library acquisitions opposing slavery provided the community with current information.

Although his family and his neighbors participated actively in the abolitionist cause, Emerson remained "largely disengaged from the antislavery agitation" being aware of the issue but unwilling to take a public stand. His reluctance to join the cause was due in part to his adherence to the commonly held belief that the blacks were inferior by nature to the Caucasians and thus, that they would always be subservient. The other factor that confused the issue for Emerson was his emphasis on "individuality, especially individual moral responsibility": Emerson felt that both the "slaves and slave owners are responsible for the unpardonable outrage of slavery, and only they themselves, as individuals, can correct the situation." Reform must come from within – not forcefully from without. Even the gradual abolitionist involvement of his highly respected teacher and friend, the Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#), did not spur Emerson to make a public statement.

But Emerson finally felt compelled to speak out when, on November 7, 1837, an angry mob brutally murdered an abolitionist publisher in Alton, [Illinois](#). In the resultant speech, however, Emerson placed more emphasis on "the need to allow and encourage a free discussion of the question than upon the problem of slavery itself." Instead of taking a strong stand with the abolitionists, he stressed the importance of "individual moral judgment regarding the question of slavery," individual expression of ideas, and an individual need for reform. Hence, neither the abolitionists, his friends, nor Emerson himself was pleased with the speech that was "[t]epid and philosophical to a fault." Emerson, restricted by his own views, was not yet ready to take a strong public stance on an issue he clearly opposed. [Janet B. Ergino (Sommers), May 1989]

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attempting to defend his final printing press from a white mob.⁴



During a memorial prayer meeting in Hudson, Ohio, John Brown would stand in the back and suddenly at the age of 37 publicly consecrate his life to the destruction of human enslavement, by any means necessary (he raised his right hand as if taking a vow and spoke a single sentence: “Here before God, in the presence of these witnesses, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery”). According to a historian, [Waldo Emerson](#) was also much impressed, although of course Waldo would not offer to do anything more dangerous than talk

4. [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#) was no amateur at this. He had had four prior presses destroyed by white mobs.

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up the idea that other people might feel compelled to do something!

In the midst of a placid lecture on heroism, he suddenly burst out before a Bostonian assembly:

Lovejoy has given his breast to the bullet for his part and had died when it was better not to live. He is absolved [...] I sternly rejoice that one was found to die for humanity and the rights of free speech and opinion.

It is said that a shudder ran through his cultured audience.



[Abby Kelley](#), however, would have held Mr. Lovejoy to a somewhat higher standard:

He had better have died as did our Savior, saying "Father forgive them, they know not what they do."



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As would the Reverend Samuel Joseph May:

Although May incorrectly assumed that the convention shared his views, he had placed his finger upon the central dilemma of the antislavery movement: the problem of violent means. May failed to gain general acceptance of his opinions, but he proved the more consistent thinker. Without a complete rejection of force, abolitionists had left the door open to acceptance of violence. Self-defense in war naturally paralleled self-defence against the slave owner. The controversy over violent means, which divided the American Peace Society in 1838 and contributed to the demise of the AASS in 1840, began when an angry Alton, [Illinois](#), mob murdered the abolitionist [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#)....



Except for May, few abolitionists rejected Lovejoy's course. Henry I. Bowditch, a nonresistance advocate, believed that Lovejoy was "the last being on earth an abolitionist ought to think of, if he would be true to the cause he espouses." Both Grimké sisters disapproved of Lovejoy's methods. "There is no such thing as trusting in God and pistols at the same time," Angelina Grimké maintained. May was the only abolitionist to publicly condemn the "martyrdom" of Lovejoy and charge the AASS with duplicity.

William Lloyd Garrison had declared early on that his quest was for martyrdom:

My trust is in God, my aim is to walk in the footsteps of his son, my rejoicing to be crucified to the world, and the world to me.

Nevertheless, martyrdom was a boon which this benefactor never would be granted:

William Lloyd Garrison, along with Wendell Phillips, [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), Frederick Douglass, and many other prominent leaders of the Anti-Slavery Society never really experienced "the altar." Despite their willingness to be sacrificed to the cause, most of the well-known leaders of the movement did not meet a tragic death. They continued to live valuable and meaningful lives long after slavery had been abolished and they died from natural causes in their seventies and eighties. Other abolitionists, less familiar to the general public, suffered attacks, injuries, and even persecution in their struggle against slavery. These persecuted members were necessary to the antislavery movement, since they provided the connection of blood that bound all committed abolitionists in sacrificial ties. Yet most of these persecuted abolitionists did not reach national prominence. The first and only effective martyr to the abolition movement was [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#)....

. He was killed by a mob in Dalton, [Illinois](#), on November 17, 1837, and his personal destruction came to be regarded as a forecast of the fate that all human liberty must suffer if slavery were perpetuated. He won the martyr's crown because he died and lost, not because he triumphed. His death also affected for a short time members outside of the abolitionists' ranks. For a decade after Lovejoy's death, lust for martyrdom permeated abolitionism, and many individuals demonstrated in life what he had demonstrated in death. But without the death ritual their suffering had only a

Here is the matter as it was reported in the Alton [Observer](#):

Night had come to the town of Alton, [Illinois](#) and a crowd began to gather in the darkness.



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Some of the men stooped to gather stones. Others fingered the triggers of the guns they carried as they made their way to a warehouse on the banks of the Mississippi River.

As they approached, they eyed the windows of the three-story building, searching for some sign of movement from inside. Suddenly, William S. Gilman, one of the owners of the building, appeared in an upper window.

"What do you want here?" he asked the crowd.

"The press!" came the shouted reply.

Inside the warehouse was [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#)..., a Presbyterian minister and editor of the Alton Observer. He and 20 of his supporters were standing guard over a newly arrived printing press from the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society.

This was the fourth press that Lovejoy had received for his paper. Three others already had been destroyed by people who opposed the antislavery views he expressed in the Observer. But Lovejoy would not give up.

This time, in an attempt to hide the arrival of the new press, secret arrangements were made. A steamboat delivered the press at 3 o'clock in the morning on November 7, 1837, and some of Lovejoy's friends were there to meet it.

Moving quickly, they carried the press to the third floor of Gilman's warehouse, but not before they were spotted by members of the mob.

Word of the arrival of the press spread throughout the town all that day. As nightfall approached, mob leaders were joined by men from the taverns, and now the crowd stood below, demanding this fourth press.

Gilman called out: "We have no ill feelings toward, any of you and should much regret to do any injury; but we are authorized by the Mayor to. defend our property and shall do so with our lives." The mob began to throw stones, breaking out all the windows in the warehouse.

Shots were fired by members of the mob, and rifle balls whizzed through the windows of the warehouse, narrowly missing the defenders inside. Lovejoy and his men, returned the fire. Several people in the crowd were hit, and one was killed.

"Burn them out!", someone shouted.

Leaders of the mob called for a ladder, which was put up on the side of the building. A boy with a torch was sent up to set fire to the wooden roof. Lovejoy and one of his supporters, Royal Weller, volunteered to stop the boy. The two men crept out- side, hiding in the shadows of the building. Surprising the mob, they rushed to the ladder, pushed it over and quickly retreated inside.

Once again a ladder was put in place. As Lovejoy and Weller made another brave attempt to overturn the ladder, they were spotted. Lovejoy was shot five times, and Weller was also wounded. Lovejoy staggered inside the warehouse, making his way to the second floor before he finally fell.

"My God. I an shot," he cried. He died almost immediately. By this time the warehouse roof had begun to burn. The men remaining inside knew they had no choice but to surrender the press.

The mob rushed into the vacant building.

The press Lovejoy died defending was carried to a window and thrown out onto the river bank. It was broken into pieces that

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were scattered in the Mississippi River. Fearing more violence, Lovejoy's friends, did not remove his body from the building until the next morning. Members of the crowd from the night before, feeling no shame at what they had done, laughed and jeered as the funeral wagon moved slowly down the street toward Lovejoy's home. Lovejoy was buried on November 9, 1837, his 35th birthday.

1838

May 14, Monday: Friend [Abby Kelley](#) and four other delegates from the Lynn Female Society had come to Philadelphia to attend the 2nd Women's meeting, along with William Lloyd Garrison, Henry B. Stanton, [Henry C. Wright](#), and women from the Boston and New-York female societies. It would be at this meeting that Abby would address her first promiscuous audience, amid the shouts and stones shattering the glass windows from the pro-slavery mobs. On that basis Theodore Weld would decide to invite Abby to join the speaking circuit.

Although some had expected her to marry "a great strapping nigger" if she married at all, [Friend Angelina Emily Grimké](#) married [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), an emphatic white abolitionist unsympathetic to the "non-resistance" cause, on the evening before the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women was to meet at the grand new Pennsylvania Hall.⁵



One of Angelina's woman friends had said to her face that "no man would wish to have such a wife." (Surely, with friends like that, these people didn't need their enemies.) [Friend](#) Angelina omitted "obey" from her vow! For marrying a man who was not a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), she was of course disowned by her worship group. [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and other Quakers decided not to be present at this wedding because had they been in attendance they likely would also have been disowned. Whittier solved the problem by waiting outside the door until the official part of the event was complete, so he could truthfully say he was not present for such a wedding ceremony. [Friend Abby](#), however, as always afraid of nothing, defied the discipline of her worship group, openly attending the entire ceremony, and in fact made herself the 1st woman to sign the traditional parchment certificate.

Though the Grimké sisters at first felt they had found their home in Quakerism, they later found there was "no openness among Friends" on the issue of working against enslavement. Biographer Gerda Lerner says that their "blind loyalty to the Quakers had turned into bitter disappointment." Their reception at meetings was increasingly "chilly" and they were no longer welcome in the homes of Quaker Friends. At the yearly meeting in 1836, presiding elder Jonathan Edwards stopped Sarah as she rose to speak. Sarah elected to use the incident as a "means of releasing" her "from those bonds which almost destroyed my

5. This expensive new building dedicated to the right of freedom of speech had a pillared marble entry facing 6th Street, and provided offices and a "free produce" store from which vegetables grown by slave labor were excluded, in addition to its "great saloon" containing blue plush seating for 3,000 people and a platform with a blue damask sofa. The auditorium and offices and store were brilliantly lit with gas, a new innovation.



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mind.” As the sisters expected, Angelina Grimké’s 1838 marriage to Theodore Weld provided the pretext for disowning her, and her sister’s membership was revoked for attending the ceremony.⁶

Friend John Greenleaf Whittier presented a “humorous” poem in which he protested that his buddy Theodore was abandoning him “alone at the desolate shrine,” for he and Weld had once, apparently in bachelor playfulness, taken a joint solemn vow that they would never marry. It would certainly be unsubstantiated, however, and would probably be incorrect, that they had had a homosexual relationship. What is very much more probable is that Whittier, like Henry Thoreau, never experienced sexual congress, even with members of the opposite sex. Thoreau was, we must admit, both small and unhandsome, and, although he confessed to abundant libido, may never really have had significant opportunity. Whittier, on the other hand, although he was tall and slender and striking and attracted many friends both male and female, in his private correspondence gives no particular indication of libido: “my heart is untouched — cold and motionless as a Jutland lake lighted up by the moonlight. I know that they are beautiful — very, but they are nothing to me.”

Soon after the marriage Weld would withdraw to private life on a farm in Belleville, New Jersey. The couple would spend the remainder of their lives directing schools and teaching in New Jersey and Massachusetts.

July: Their monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends disowned Friends Angelina Emily Grimké Weld and Sarah Moore Grimké. The reason given for their disownment of Friend Angelina was that she had married a non-Quaker. The reason given for their disownment of Friend Emily was that she had attended her sister’s illicit wedding to a non-Quaker. The sisters and Theodore Dwight Weld removed to Fort Lee, New Jersey, where the sisters would work in local petition campaigns.

November: Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Emily Grimké Weld, and Sarah Moore Grimké began work on AMERICAN SLAVERY AS IT IS. They were residing in a cottage in Fort Lee, New Jersey, and the sisters were laboring in this cottage to cull articles and advertisements from some 20,000 southern newspapers while the husband was commuting by ferry across the Hudson to an office on Manhattan Island to assemble this documentary study.⁷ Note that Theodore Weld was a leader in the opposition to the “non-resistance” movement within abolitionism, and was derogating this attitude –based on the Sermon on the Mount’s injunction “resist not evil”– as:

the will a wisp delusions of non-resistance.

NON-RESISTANCE

1839

Theodore Dwight Weld, evangelist-abolitionist, published AMERICAN SLAVERY AS IT IS.

6. Page 91 in Donna McDaniel’s and Vanessa Julye’s FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

7. Charles Dickens, who visited the US in 1842, would base the antislavery chapter of his AMERICAN NOTES largely on the material in this study.

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"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

Calvin Colton declared, in *ABOLITION A SEDITION. BY A NORTHERN MAN*, that the sort of immediatist abolitionism represented by the New England non-resistance Society amounted to a turn toward anarchism.



One logical outcome of such immediatism and perfectionism was a disregard of all civil government. In placing such stress upon the prospect of individual freedom from sin, he offered, these people had come to disregard the prior necessity for social order. There were some antislavery activists who would profoundly agree with Colton, people such as William Goodell, Orange Scott, and Theodore Dwight Weld, and who therefore would be seeking to pin the "anarchist" tail on the NENRS donkey: "no-governmentism," they would term it.



The term antinomian may be more useful than the term anarchist.... As their resentment at being called no-governmentalists suggests, the Garrisonian nonresistants opposed anarchy and yearned for government. If there is a paradox here, it is at the heart of their faith. They were anarchists –or, more properly, we would call them anarchists– because they detested anarchy. In their categories, human government was synonymous with anarchy and antithetical to the rule of Christ and moral principle. Slavery, government, and violence were considered identical in principle...all tried to set one man between another man and his rightful ruler...to end all coercion was to...secure peace and order on earth.... All that was needed to usher in peace was to expel the intermediaries who pretended to keep the peace.

February 9, Saturday: The American Anti-Slavery Society put out the 10th issue of its "omnibus" entitled The Anti-Slavery Examiner, containing "Speech of Hon. Thomas Morris, of Ohio, in Reply to the Speech of the Hon. Henry Clay"; containing, also, "American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses;" containing, also, the Reverend Beriah Green's CHATTEL PRINCIPLE / THE ABHORRENCE OF JESUS CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES; OR NO REFUGE FOR AMERICAN SLAVERY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

TEXT
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CHATTEL PRINCIPLE
THE ABHORRENCE OF JESUS CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES; OR, NO
REFUGE FOR AMERICAN SLAVERY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.
BY BERIAH GREEN.
NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, NO. 143 NASSAU



ANGELINA GRIMKÉ WELD

THEODORE DWIGHT WELD

**STREET
1839**

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THE NEW TESTAMENT AGAINST SLAVERY.

"THE SON OF MAN IS COME TO SEEK AND TO SAVE THAT WHICH WAS LOST."

Is Jesus Christ in favor of American slavery? In 1776 THOMAS JEFFERSON, supported by a noble band of patriots and surrounded by the American people, opened his lips in the authoritative declaration: "We hold these truths to be SELF-EVIDENT, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness." And from the inmost heart of the multitudes around, and in a strong and clear voice, broke forth the unanimous and decisive answer: Amen—such truths we do indeed hold to be self-evident. And animated and sustained by a declaration, so inspiring and sublime, they rushed to arms, and as the result of agonizing efforts and dreadful sufferings, achieved under God the independence of their country. The great truth, whence they derived light and strength to assert and defend their rights, they made the foundation of their republic. And in the midst of this republic, must we prove, that He, who was the Truth, did not contradict "the truths" which He Himself; as their Creator, had made self-evident to mankind?

Is Jesus Christ in favor of American slavery? What, according to those laws which make it what it is, is American slavery? In the Statute-book of South Carolina thus it is written:⁸ "Slaves shall be deemed, held, taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, construction and purposes whatever." The very root of American slavery consists in the assumption, that law has reduced men to chattels. But this assumption is, and must be, a gross falsehood. Men and cattle are separated from each other by the Creator, immutably, eternally, and by an impassable gulf. To confound or identify men and cattle must be to lie most wantonly, impudently, and maliciously. And must we prove, that Jesus Christ is not in favor of palpable, monstrous falsehood?

Is Jesus Christ in favor of American slavery? How can a system, built upon a stout and impudent denial of self-evident truth—a system of treating men like cattle—operate? Thomas Jefferson shall answer. Hear him. "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot

8. Stroud's SLAVE LAWS, page 23.



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but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy, who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances."⁹ Such is the practical operation of a system, which puts men and cattle into the same family and treats them alike. And must we prove, that Jesus Christ is not in favor of a school where the worst vices in their most hateful forms are systematically and efficiently taught and practiced? Is Jesus Christ in favor of American slavery? What, in 1818, did the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church affirm respecting its nature and operation? "Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system—it exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings, in such circumstances as scarcely to leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependent on the will of others, whether they shall receive religious instruction; whether they shall know and worship the true God; whether they shall enjoy the ordinances of the gospel; whether they shall perform the duties and cherish the endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors and friends; whether they shall preserve their chastity and purity, or regard the dictates of justice and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery; consequences not imaginary, but which connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is *always* exposed, *often take place* in their very worst degree and form; and where all of them do not take place, still the slave is deprived of his natural rights, degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of passing into the hands of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardship and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest."¹⁰ Must we prove, that Jesus Christ is not in favor of such things?

Is Jesus Christ in favor of American slavery? It is already widely felt and openly acknowledged at the South, that they cannot support slavery without sustaining the opposition of universal Christendom. And Thomas Jefferson declared, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice can not sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become practicable by supernatural influences! The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest."¹¹ And must we prove, that Jesus Christ is not in favor of what universal Christendom is impelled to abhor, denounce, and oppose; is not in favor of what every attribute of Almighty God is armed against?

"YE HAVE DESPISED THE POOR."

It is no man of straw, with whom, in making out such proof, we are called to contend. Would to God we had no other antagonist! Would to God that our labor of love could be regarded as a work of supererogation! But we may well be ashamed and grieved to find it necessary to "stop the mouths" of grave and learned ecclesiastics, who from the heights of Zion have undertaken to defend the institution of slavery. We speak not now of those, who amidst the monuments of oppression are engaged in the sacred

9. NOTES ON VIRGINIA, Boston Ed. 1832, pp. 169, 170.

10. Minutes of the General assembly for 1818, page 29.

11. NOTES ON VIRGINIA, Boston Ed. 1832, pp. 170, 171.



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vocation; who, as ministers of the Gospel, can "prophecy smooth things" to such as pollute the altar of Jehovah with human sacrifices; nay, who themselves bind the victim and kindle the sacrifice. That they should put their Savior to the torture, to wring from his lips something in favor of slavery, is not to be wondered at. They consent to the murder of the children; can they respect the rights of the Father? But what shall we say of distinguished theologians of the north—professors of sacred literature at our oldest divinity schools—who stand up to defend, both by argument and authority, southern slavery! And from the Bible! Who, Balaam-like, try a thousand expedients to force from the mouth of Jehovah a sentence which they know the heart of Jehovah abhors! Surely we have here something more mischievous and formidable than a man of straw. More than two years ago, and just before the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, appeared an article in the Biblical Repertory,¹² understood to be from the pen of the Professor of Sacred Literature at Princeton, in which an effort is made to show, that slavery, whatever may be said of any abuses of it, is not a violation of the precepts of the Gospel. This article, we are informed, was industriously and extensively distributed among the members of the General Assembly—a body of men, who by a frightful majority seemed already too much disposed to wink at the horrors of slavery. The effect of the Princeton Apology on the southern mind, we have high authority for saying, has been most decisive and injurious. It has contributed greatly to turn the public eye off from the sin—from the inherent and necessary evils of slavery to incidental evils, which the abuse of it might be expected to occasion. And how few can be brought to admit, that whatever abuses may prevail nobody knows where or how, any such thing is chargeable upon them! Thus our Princeton prophet has done what he could to lay the southern conscience asleep upon ingenious perversions of the sacred volume!

About a year after this, an effort in the same direction was jointly made by Dr. Fisk and Professor Stuart. In a letter to a Methodist clergyman, Mr. Merrit, published in Zion's Herald, Dr. Fisk gives utterance to such things as the following:—

"But that you and the public may see and feel, that you have the ablest and those who are among the honestest men of this age, arrayed against you, be pleased to notice the following letter from Prof. Stuart. I wrote to him, knowing as I did his integrity of purpose, his unflinching regard for truth, as well as his deserved reputation as a scholar and biblical critic, proposing the following questions:—

1. Does the New Testament directly or indirectly teach, that slavery existed in the primitive church?
2. In 1 Tim. vi. 2, And they that have believing masters, &c., what is the relation expressed or implied between "they" (servants) and "believing masters?" And what are your reasons for the construction of the passage?

12. For April, 1836. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church met in the following May, at Pittsburgh, where, in pamphlet form, this article was distributed. The following appeared upon the title page:

PITTSBURGH: 1836. *For gratuitous distribution.*



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3. What was the character of ancient and eastern slavery?—Especially what (legal) power did this relation give the master over the slave?"

PROFESSOR STUART'S REPLY.
ANDOVER, 10th Apr., 1837

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Yours is before me. A sickness of three month's standing (typhus fever) in which I have just escaped death, and which still confines me to my house, renders it impossible for me to answer your letter at large.

1. The precepts of the New Testament respecting the demeanor of slaves and of their masters, beyond all question, recognize the existence of slavery. The masters are in part "believing masters," so that a precept to them, how they are to behave as masters, recognizes that the relation may still exist, *salva fide et salva ecclesia*, ("without violating the Christian faith or the church.") Otherwise, Paul had nothing to do but to cut the band asunder at once. He could not lawfully and properly temporize with a *malum in se*, ("that which is in itself sin.")

If any one doubts, let him take the case of Paul's sending Onesimus back to Philemon, with an apology for his running away, and sending him back to be his servant for life. The relation did exist, may exist. The *abuse* of it is the essential and fundamental wrong. Not that the theory of slavery is in itself right. No; "Love thy neighbor as thyself," "Do unto others that which ye would that others should do unto you," decide against this. But the relation once constituted and continued, is not such a *malum in se* as calls for immediate and violent disruption at all hazards. So Paul did not counsel.

2. 1 Tim. vi. 2, expresses the sentiment, that slaves, who are Christians and have Christian masters, are not, on that account, and because *as Christians they are brethren*, to forego the reverence due to them as masters. That is, the relation of master and slave is not, as a matter of course, abrogated between all Christians. Nay, servants should in such a case, *a fortiori*, do their duty cheerfully. This sentiment lies on the very face of the case. What the master's duty in such a case may be in respect to *liberation*, is another question, and one which the apostle does not here treat of.

3. Every one knows, who is acquainted with Greek or Latin antiquities, that slavery among heathen nations has ever been more unqualified and at looser ends than among Christian nations. Slaves were *property* in Greece and Rome. That decides all questions about their *relation*. Their treatment depended, as it does now, on the temper of their masters. The power of the master over the slave was, for a long time, that of *life and death*. Horrible cruelties at length mitigated it. In the apostle's day, it was at least as great as among us.

After all the spouting and vehemence on this subject, which have been exhibited, the *good old Book* remains the same. Paul's conduct and advice are still safe guides. Paul knew well that Christianity would ultimately destroy slavery, as it certainly will. He knew, too, that it would destroy monarchy and



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aristocracy from the earth: for it is fundamentally a doctrine of *true liberty and equality*. Yet Paul did not expect slavery or anarchy to be ousted in a day; and gave precepts to Christians respecting their demeanor *ad interim*.

With sincere and paternal regard,

Your friend and brother,

M. STUART.

—This, sir, is doctrine that will stand, because it is *Bible doctrine*. The abolitionists, then, are on a wrong course. They have traveled out of the record; and if they would succeed, they must take a different position, and approach the subject in a different manner.

Respectfully yours,

W. FISK

"SO THEY WRAP [SNARL] IT UP."

What are we taught here? That in the ecclesiastical organizations which grew up under the hands of the apostles, slavery was admitted as a relation that did not violate the Christian faith; that the relation may now in like manner exist; that "the abuse of it is the essential and fundamental wrong;" and of course, that American Christians may hold their own brethren in slavery without incurring guilt or inflicting injury. Thus, according to Prof. Stuart, Jesus Christ has not a word to say against "the peculiar institutions" of the South. If our brethren there do not "abuse" the privilege of enacting unpaid labor, they may multiply their slaves to their hearts' content, without exposing themselves to the frown of the Savior or laying their Christian character open to the least suspicion. Could any trafficker in human flesh ask for greater latitude! And to such doctrines, Dr. Fisk eagerly and earnestly subscribes. He goes further. He urges it on the attention of his brethren, as containing important truth, which they ought to embrace. According to him, it is "*Bible doctrine*," showing, that "the abolitionists are on a wrong course," and must, "if they would succeed, take a different position."

We now refer to such distinguished names, to show, that in attempting to prove that Jesus Christ is not in favor of American slavery, we contend with something else than a man of straw. The ungrateful task, which a particular examination of Professor Stuart's letter lays upon us, we hope fairly to dispose of in due season. Enough has now been said to make it clear and certain, that American slavery has its apologists and advocates in the northern pulpit; advocates and apologists, who fall behind few if any of their brethren in the reputation they have acquired, the stations they occupy, and the general influence they are supposed to exert.

Is it so? Did slavery exist in Judea, and among the Jews, in its worst form, during the Savior's incarnation? If the Jews held slaves, they must have done in open and flagrant violation of the letter and the spirit of the Mosaic Dispensation. Whoever has any doubts of this may well resolve his doubts in the light



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of the Argument entitled "The Bible against Slavery." If, after a careful and thorough examination of that article, he can believe that slaveholding prevailed during the ministry of Jesus Christ among the Jews and in accordance with the authority of Moses, he would do the reading public an important service to record the grounds of his belief—especially in a fair and full refutation of that Argument. Till that is done, we hold ourselves excused from attempting to prove what we now repeat, that if the Jews during our Savior's incarnation held slaves, they must have done so in open and flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Mosaic Dispensation. Could Christ and the Apostles every where among their countrymen come in contact with slaveholding, being as it was a gross violation of that law which their office and their profession required them to honor and enforce, without exposing and condemning it?

In its worst forms, we are told, slavery prevailed over the whole world, not excepting Judea. As, according to such ecclesiastics as Stuart, Hodge and Fisk, slavery in itself is not bad at all, the term "worst" could be applied only to "*abuses*" of this innocent relation. Slavery accordingly existed among the Jews, disfigured and disgraced by the "worst abuses" to which it is liable. These abuses in the ancient world, Professor Stuart describes as "horrible cruelties." And in our own country, such abuses have grown so rank, as to lead a distinguished eye-witness—no less a philosopher and statesman than Thomas Jefferson—to say, that they had armed against us every attribute of the Almighty. With these things the Savior every where came in contact, among the people to whose improvement and salvation he devoted his living powers, and yet not a word, not a syllable, in exposure and condemnation of such "horrible cruelties" escaped his lips! He saw—among the "covenant people" of Jehovah he saw, the babe plucked from the bosom of its mother; the wife torn from the embrace of her husband; the daughter driven to the market by the scourge of her own father;—he saw the word of God sealed up from those who, of all men, were especially entitled to its enlightening, quickening influence;—nay, he saw men beaten for kneeling before the throne of heavenly mercy;—such things he saw without a word of admonition or reproof! No sympathy with them who suffered wrong—no indignation at them who inflicted wrong, moved his heart!

From the alleged silence of the Savior, when in contact with slavery among the Jews, our divines infer, that it is quite consistent with Christianity. And they affirm, that he saw it in its worst forms; that is, he witnessed what Professor Stuart ventures to call "horrible cruelties." But what right have these interpreters of the sacred volume to regard any form of slavery which the Savior found, as "worst," or even bad? According to their inference—which they would thrust gag-wise into the mouths of abolitionists—his silence should seal up their lips. They ought to hold their tongues. They have no right to call any form of slavery bad—an abuse; much less, horribly cruel! Their inference is broad enough to protect the most brutal driver amidst his deadliest inflictions!

"THINK NOT THAT I AM COME TO DESTROY THE LAW OR THE PROPHETS; I



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AM NOT COME TO DESTROY, BUT TO FULFIL."

And did the Head of the new dispensation, then, fall so far behind the prophets of the old in a hearty and effective regard for suffering humanity? The forms of oppression which they witnessed, excited their compassion and aroused their indignation. In terms the most pointed and powerful, they exposed, denounced, threatened. They could not endure the creatures, "who used their neighbors' service without wages, and gave him not for his work;"¹³ who imposed "heavy burdens"¹⁴ upon their fellows, and loaded them with "the bands of wickedness;" who, "hiding themselves from their own flesh," disowned their own mothers' children. Professions of piety joined with the oppression of the poor, they held up to universal scorn and execration, as the dregs of hypocrisy. They warned the creature of such professions, that he could escape the wrath of Jehovah only by heart-felt repentance. And yet, according to the ecclesiastics with whom we have to do, the Lord of these prophets passed by in silence just such enormities as he commanded them to expose and denounce! Every where, he came in contact with slavery in its worst forms— "horrible cruelties" forced themselves upon his notice; but not a word of rebuke or warning did he utter. He saw "a boy given for a harlot, and a girl sold for wine, that they might drink,"¹⁵ without the slightest feeling of displeasure, or any mark of disapprobation! To such disgusting and horrible conclusions, do the arguings which, from the haunts of sacred literature, are inflicted on our churches, lead us! According to them, Jesus Christ, instead of shining as the light of the world, extinguished the torches which his own prophets had kindled, and plunged mankind into the palpable darkness of a starless midnight! O savior, in pity to thy suffering people, let thy temple be no longer used as a "den of thieves!"

"THOU THOUGHTTEST THAT I WAS ALTOGETHER SUCH AN ONE AS THYSELF."

In passing by the worst forms of slavery, with which he every where came in contact among the Jews, the Savior must have been inconsistent with himself. He was commissioned to preach glad tidings to the poor; to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives; to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the year of Jubilee. In accordance with this commission, he bound himself, from the earliest date of his incarnation, to the poor, by the strongest ties; himself "had not where to lay his head;" he exposed himself to misrepresentation and abuse for his affectionate intercourse with the outcasts of society; he stood up as the advocate of the widow, denouncing and dooming the heartless ecclesiastics, who had made her bereavement a source of gain; and in describing the scenes of the final judgment, he selected the very personification of poverty, disease and oppression, as the test by which our regard for him should be determined. To the poor and wretched; to the degraded and despised, his arms were ever open. They had his tenderest sympathies. They had his warmest love. His heart's blood he poured out upon the ground for the

13. JEREMIAH xxii. 13.

14. ISAIAH lviii. 6, 7.

15. JOEL iii. 3.



human family, reduced to the deepest degradation, and exposed to the heaviest inflictions, as the slaves of the grand usurper. And yet, according to our ecclesiastics, that class of sufferers who had been reduced immeasurably below every other shape and form of degradation and distress; who had been most rudely thrust out of the family of Adam, and forced to herd with swine; who, without the slightest offence, had been made the footstool of the worst criminals; whose "tears were their meat night and day," while, under nameless insults and killing injuries they were continually crying, O Lord, O Lord:—this class of sufferers, and this alone, our biblical expositors, occupying the high places of sacred literature, would make us believe the compassionate Savior coldly overlooked. Not an emotion of pity; not a look of sympathy; not a word of consolation, did his gracious heart prompt him to bestow upon them! He denounces damnation upon the devourer of the widow's house. But the monster, whose trade it is to make widows and devour them and their babes, he can calmly endure! O Savior, when wilt thou stop the mouths of such blasphemers!

"IT IS THE SPIRIT THAT QUICKENETH."

It seems that though, according to our Princeton professor, "the subject" of slavery "is hardly alluded to by Christ in any of his personal instructions,"¹⁶ he had a way of "treating it." What was that? Why, "he taught the true nature, DIGNITY, EQUALITY, and destiny of men," and "inculcated the principles of justice and love."¹⁷ And according to Professor Stuart, the maxims which our Savior furnished, "decide against" "the theory of slavery." All, then, that these ecclesiastical apologists for slavery can make of the Savior's alleged silence is, that he did not, in his personal instructions, "*apply his own principles to this particular form of wickedness.*" For wicked that must be, which the maxims of the Savior decide against, and which our Princeton professor assures us the principles of the gospel, duly acted on, would speedily extinguish.¹⁸ How remarkable it is, that a teacher should "hardly allude to a subject in any of his personal instructions," and yet inculcate principles which have a direct and vital bearing upon it!—should so conduct, as to justify the inference, that "slaveholding is not a crime,"¹⁹ and at the same time lend its authority for its "speedy extinction!"

Higher authority than sustains *self-evident truths* there cannot be. As forms of reason, they are rays from the face of Jehovah. Not only are their presence and power self-manifested, but they also shed a strong and clear light around them. In their light, other truths are visible. Luminaries themselves, it is their office to enlighten. To their authority, in every department of thought, the same mind bows promptly, gratefully, fully. And by their authority, he explains, proves, and disposes of whatever engages his attention and engrosses his powers as a reasonable and reasoning creature. For what, when thus employed and when most successful, is the utmost he can accomplish? Why, to make the conclusions which he would establish and commend, *clear in*

16. Pittsburg pamphlet, (already alluded to,) page 9.

17. Pittsburg pamphlet, page 9.

18. The same, page 34.

19. The same, page 13.



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the light of reason;—in other words, to evince that they are reasonable. He expects that those with whom he has to do will acknowledge the authority of principle—will see whatever is exhibited in the light of reason. If they require him to go further, and, in order to convince them, to do something more than show that the doctrines he maintains, and the methods he proposes, are accordant with reason—are illustrated and supported with “self-evident truths”—they are plainly “beside themselves.” They have lost the use of reason. They are not to be argued with. They belong to the mad-house.

“COME NOW, LET US REASON TOGETHER, SAITH THE LORD.”

Are we to honor the Bible, which Professor Stuart quaintly calls “the good old book,” by turning away from “self-evident truths” to receive its instructions? Can these truths be contradicted or denied there? Do we search for something there to obscure their clearness, or break their force, or reduce their authority? Do we long to find something there, in the form of premises or conclusions, of arguing or of inference, in broad statement or blind hints, creed-wise or fact-wise, which may set us free from the light and power of first principles? And what if we were to discover what we were thus in search of?—something directly or indirectly, expressly or impliedly prejudicial to the principles, which reason, placing us under the authority of, makes self-evident? In what estimation, in that case, should we be constrained to hold the Bible? Could we longer honor it as the book of God? *The book of God opposed to the authority of REASON!* Why, before what tribunal do we dispose of the claims of the sacred volume to divine authority? The tribunal of reason. *This every one acknowledges the moment he begins to reason on the subject.* And what must reason do with a book, which reduces the authority of its own principles—breaks the force of self-evident truths? Is he not, by way of eminence, the apostle of infidelity, who, as a minister of the gospel or a professor of sacred literature, exerts himself, with whatever arts of ingenuity or show of piety, to exalt the Bible at the expense of reason? Let such arts succeed and such piety prevail, and Jesus Christ is “crucified afresh and put to an open shame.”

What saith the Princeton professor? Why, in spite of “general principles,” and “clear as we may think the arguments against DESPOTISM, there have been thousands of ENLIGHTENED and good men, who *honestly* believe it to be of all forms of government the best and most acceptable to God.”²⁰ Now these “good men” must have been thus warmly in favor of despotism, in consequence of, or in opposition to, their being “enlightened.” In other words, the light, which in such abundance they enjoyed, conducted them to the position in favor of despotism, where the Princeton professor so heartily shook hands with them, or they must have forced their way there in despite of its hallowed influence. Either in accordance with, or in resistance to the light, they became what he found them—the advocates of despotism. If in resistance to the light—and he says they were “enlightened men”—what, so far as the subject with which alone he and we are now

20. Pittsburg pamphlet, page 12.



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concerned, becomes of their "honesty" and "goodness?" Good and honest resisters of the light, which was freely poured around them! Of such, what says Professor Stuart's "good old Book?" Their authority, where "general principles" command the least respect, must be small indeed. But if in accordance with the light, they have become the advocates of despotism, then is despotism "the best form of government and most acceptable to God." It is sustained by the authority of reason, by the word of Jehovah, by the will of Heaven! If this be the doctrine which prevails at certain theological seminaries, it must be easy to account for the spirit which they breathe, and the general influence which they exert. Why did not the Princeton professor place this "general principle" as a shield, heaven-wrought and reason approved, over that cherished form of despotism which prevails among the churches of the South, and leave the "peculiar institutions" he is so forward to defend, under its protection?

What is the "general principle" to which, whatever may become of despotism, with its "honest" admirers and "enlightened" supporters, human governments should be universally and carefully adjusted? Clearly this—*that as capable of, man is entitled to, self government*. And this is a specific form of a still more general principle, which may well be pronounced self-evident—*that every thing should be treated according to its nature*. The mind that can doubt this, must be incapable of rational conviction. Man, then,—it is the dictate of reason, it is the voice of Jehovah—must be treated as a *man*. What is he? What are his distinctive attributes? The Creator impressed his own image on him. In this were found the grand peculiarities of his character. Here shone his glory. Here REASON manifests its laws. Here the WILL puts forth its volitions. Here is the crown of IMMORTALITY. Why such endowments? Thus furnished—the image of Jehovah—is he not capable of self-government? And is he not to be so treated? *Within the sphere where the laws of reason place him*, may he not act according to his choice—carry out his own volitions?—may he not enjoy life, exult in freedom, and pursue as he will the path of blessedness? If not, why was he so created and endowed? Why the mysterious, awful attribute of will? To be a source, profound as the depths of hell, of exquisite misery, of keen anguish, of insufferable torment! Was man, formed "according to the image of Jehovah," to be crossed, thwarted, counteracted; to be forced in upon himself; to be the sport of endless contradictions; to be driven back and forth forever between mutually repellant forces; and all, all "at the discretion of another!"²¹ How can man be treated according to his nature, as endowed with reason or will, if excluded from the powers and privileges of self-government?—if "despotism" be let loose upon him, to "deprive him of personal liberty, oblige him to serve at the discretion of another" and with the power of "transferring" such "authority" over him and such claim upon him, to "another master?" If "thousands of enlightened and good men" can so easily be found, who are forward to support "despotism" as "of all governments the best and most acceptable to God," we need not wonder at the testimony of universal

21. Pittsburg pamphlet, page 12.



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history, that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." Groans and travail pangs must continue to be the order of the day throughout "the whole creation," till the rod of despotism be broken, and man be treated as man—as capable of, and entitled to, self-government.

But what is the despotism whose horrid features our smooth professor tries to hide beneath an array of cunningly selected words and nicely-adjusted sentences? It is the despotism of American slavery—which crushes the very life of humanity out of its victims, and transforms them to cattle! At its touch, they sink from men to things! "Slaves," saith Professor Stuart, "were *property* in Greece and Rome. That decides all questions about their *relation*." Yes, truly. And slaves in republican America are *property*; and as that easily, clearly, and definitely settles "all questions about their *relation*," why should the Princeton professor have put himself to the trouble of weaving a definition equally ingenious and inadequate—at once subtle and deceitful. Ah, why? Was he willing thus to conceal the wrongs of his mother's children even from himself? If among the figments of his brain, he could fashion slaves, and make them something else than property, he knew full well that a very different pattern was in use among the southern patriarchs. Why did he not, in plain words and sober earnest, and good faith, describe the thing as it was, instead of employing honied words and courtly phrases, to set forth with all becoming vagueness and ambiguity, what might possibly be supposed to exist in the regions of fancy.

"FOR RULERS ARE NOT A TERROR TO GOOD WORKS, BUT TO THE EVIL."

But are we, in maintaining the principle of self-government, to overlook the unripe, or neglected, or broken powers of any of our fellow-men with whom we may be connected?—or the strong passions, vicious propensities, or criminal pursuits of others? Certainly not. But in providing for their welfare, we are to exert influences and impose restraints suited to their character. In wielding those prerogatives which the social of our nature authorizes us to employ for their benefit, we are to regard them as they are in truth, not things, not cattle, not articles of merchandize, but men, our fellow-men—reflecting, from however battered and broken a surface, reflecting with us the image of a common Father. And the great principle of self-government is to be the basis, to which the whole structure of discipline under which they may be placed, should be adapted. From the nursery and village school on to the work-house and state-prison, this principle is ever and in all things to be before the eyes, present in the thoughts, warm on the heart. Otherwise, God is insulted, while his image is despised and abused. Yes, indeed; we remember, that in carrying out the principle of self-government, multiplied embarrassments and obstructions grow out of wickedness on the one hand and passion on the other. Such difficulties and obstacles we are far enough from overlooking. But where are they to be found? Are imbecility and wickedness, bad hearts and bad heads, confined to the bottom of society? Alas, the weakest of the weak, and the desperately wicked, often occupy the high places of the earth, reducing



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every thing within their reach to subserviency to the foulest purposes. Nay, the very power they have usurped, has often been the chief instrument of turning their heads, inflaming their passions, corrupting their hearts. All the world knows, that the possession of arbitrary power has a strong tendency to make men shamelessly wicked and insufferably mischievous. And this, whether the vassals over whom they domineer, be few or many. If you cannot trust man with himself, will you put his fellows under his control?—and flee from the inconveniences incident to self-government, to the horrors of despotism?

"THOU THAT PREACHEST A MAN SHOULD NOT STEAL, DOST THOU STEAL."

Is the slaveholder, the most absolute and shameless of all despots, to be entrusted with the discipline of the injured men who he himself has reduced to cattle?—with the discipline with which they are to be prepared to wield the powers and enjoy the privileges of freemen? Alas, of such discipline as he can furnish, in the relation of owner to property, they have had enough. From this sprang the very ignorance and vice, which in the view of many, lie in the way of their immediate enfranchisement. He it is, who has darkened their eyes and crippled their powers. And are they to look to him for illumination and renewed vigor!—and expect "grapes from thorns and figs from thistles!" Heaven forbid! When, according to arrangements which had usurped the sacred name of law, he consented to receive and use them as property, he forfeited all claims to the esteem and confidence, not only of the helpless sufferers themselves, but also of every philanthropist. In becoming a slaveholder, he became the enemy of mankind. The very act was a declaration of war upon human nature. What less can be made of the process of turning men to cattle? It is rank absurdity—it is the height of madness, to propose to employ *him* to train, for the places of freemen, those whom he has wantonly robbed of every right—whom he has stolen from themselves. Sooner place Burke, who used to murder for the sake of selling bodies to the dissector, at the head of a hospital. Why, what have our slaveholders been about these two hundred years? Have they not been constantly and earnestly engaged in the work of education?—training up their human cattle? And how? Thomas Jefferson shall answer. "The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other." Is this the way to fit the unprepared for the duties and privileges of American citizens? Will the evils of the dreadful process be diminished by adding to its length? What, in 1818, was the unanimous testimony of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church? Why, after describing a variety of influences growing out of slavery, most fatal to mental and moral improvement, the General Assembly assure us, that such "consequences are not imaginary, but connect themselves WITH THE VERY EXISTENCE²² of slavery. The evils to which the slave is *always* exposed, *often* take place in fact, and IN THEIR VERY WORST DEGREE AND FORM; and where all of them do not take place," "still the slave is deprived of his natural right, degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of

22. The words here marked as emphatic, were so distinguished by ourselves.



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passing into the hands of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardships and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest." Is this the condition in which our ecclesiastics would keep the slave, at least a little longer, to fit him to be restored to himself?

"AND THEY STOPPED THEIR EARS."

The methods of discipline under which, as slaveholders; the Southrons now place their human cattle, they with one consent and in great wrath, forbid us to examine. The statesman and the priest unite in the assurance, that these methods are none of our business. Nay, they give us distinctly to understand, that if we come among them to take observations, and make inquiries, and discuss questions, they will dispose of us as outlaws. Nothing will avail to protect us from speedy and deadly violence! What inference does all this warrant? Surely, not that the methods which they employ are happy and worthy of universal application. If so, why do they not take the praise, and give us the benefit of their wisdom, enterprise, and success? Who, that has nothing to hide, practices concealment? "He that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be manifest, that they are wrought in God." Is this the way of slaveholders? Darkness they court—they will have darkness. Doubtless "because their deeds are evil." Can we confide in methods for the benefit of our enslaved brethren, which it is death for us to examine? What good ever came, what good can we expect, from deeds of darkness?

Did the influence of the masters contribute any thing in the West Indies to prepare the apprentices for enfranchisement? Nay, verily. All the world knows better. They did what in them lay, to turn back the tide of blessings, which, through emancipation, was pouring in upon the famishing around them. Are not the best minds and hearts in England now thoroughly convinced, that slavery, under no modification, can be a school for freedom?

We say such things to the many who allege, that slaves cannot at once be entrusted with the powers and privileges of self-government. However this may be, they cannot be better qualified under the *influence of slavery*. *That must be broken up* from which their ignorance, and viciousness, and wretchedness proceeded. That which can only do what it has always done, pollute and degrade, must not be employed to purify and elevate. *The lower their character and condition, the louder, clearer, sterner, the just demand for immediate emancipation*. The plague-smitten sufferer can derive no benefit from breathing a little longer an infected atmosphere.

In thus referring to elemental principles—in thus availing ourselves of the light of self-evident truths—we bow to the authority and tread in the foot-prints of the great Teacher. He chid those around him for refusing to make the same use of their reason in promoting their spiritual, as they made in promoting their temporal welfare. He gives them distinctly to understand, that they need not go out of themselves to form a just estimation of their position, duties, and prospects, as standing in the presence of the Messiah. "Why, EVEN OF YOURSELVES," he demands



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of them, "judge ye not what is *right*?"²³ How could they, unless they had a clear light, and an infallible standard within them, whereby, amidst the relations they sustained and the interests they had to provide for, they might discriminate between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, what they ought to attempt and what they ought to eschew? From this pointed, significant appeal of the Savior, it is clear and certain, that in human consciousness may be found self-evident truths, self-manifested principles; that every man, studying his own consciousness, is bound to recognize their presence and authority, and in sober earnest and good faith to apply them to the highest practical concerns of "life and godliness." It is in obedience to the Bible, that we apply self-evident truths, and walk in the light of general principles. When our fathers proclaimed these truths, and at the hazard of their property, reputation, and life, stood up in their defence, they did homage to the sacred Scriptures—they honored the Bible. In that volume, not a syllable can be found to justify that form of infidelity, which in the abused name of piety, reproaches us for practising the lessons which nature teacheth. These lessons, the Bible requires us²⁴ reverently to listen to, earnestly to appropriate, and most diligently and faithfully to act upon in every direction, and on all occasions.

Why, our Savior goes so far in doing honor to reason, as to encourage men universally to dispose of the characteristic peculiarities and distinctive features of the Gospel in the light of its principles. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself."²⁵ Natural religion—the principles which nature reveals, and the lessons which nature teaches—he thus makes a test of the truth and authority of revealed religion. So far was he, as a teacher, from shrinking from the clearest and most piercing rays of reason—from calling off the attention of those around him from the import, bearings, and practical application of general principles. And those who would have us escape from the pressure of self-evident truths, by betaking ourselves to the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, whatever airs of piety they may put on, do foul dishonor to the Savior of mankind.

And what shall we say of the Golden Rule, which, according to the Savior, comprehends all the precepts of the Bible? "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets."

According to this maxim, in human consciousness, universally, may be found,

1. The standard whereby, in all the relations and circumstances of life, we may determine what Heaven demands and expects of us.
2. The just application of this standard, is practicable for, and obligatory upon, every child of Adam.
3. The qualification requisite to a just application of this rule to all the cases in which we can be concerned, is simply

23. LUKE xii. 57.

24. CORINTHIANS xi. 14.

25. JOHN vii. 17.



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this—to regard all the members of the human family as our brethren, our equals.

In other words, the Savior here teaches us, that in the principles and laws of reason, we have an infallible guide in all the relations and circumstances of life; that nothing can hinder our following this guide, but the bias of *selfishness*; and that the moment, in deciding any moral question, we place *ourselves in the room of our brother*, before the bar of reason, we shall see what decision ought to be pronounced. Does this, in the Savior, look like fleeing self-evident truths!—like decrying the authority of general principles!—like exalting himself at the expense of reason!—like opening a refuge in the Gospel for those whose practice is at variance with the dictates of humanity!

What then is the just application of the Golden Rule—that fundamental maxim of the Gospel, giving character to, and shedding light upon, all its precepts and arrangements—to the subject of slavery?—*that we must "do to" slaves as we would be done by*, AS SLAVES, the RELATION itself being justified and continued? Surely not. A little reflection will enable us to see, that the Golden Rule reaches farther in its demands, and strikes deeper in its influences and operations. The *natural equality* of mankind lies at the very basis of this great precept. It obviously requires *every man to acknowledge another self in every other man*. With my powers and resources, and in my appropriate circumstances, I am to recognize in any child of Adam who may address me, another self in his appropriate circumstances and with his powers and resources. This is the natural equality of mankind; and this the Golden Rule requires us to admit, defend, and maintain.

"WHY DO YE NOT UNDERSTAND MY SPEECH; EVEN BECAUSE YE CANNOT HEAR MY WORD."

They strangely misunderstand and grossly misrepresent this doctrine, who charge upon it the absurdities and mischiefs which any "*levelling system*" cannot but produce. In all its bearings, tendencies, and effects, it is directly contrary and powerfully hostile to any such system. EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, the doctrine asserts; and this necessarily opens the way for *variety of condition*. In other words, every child of Adam has, from the Creator, the inalienable right of wielding, within reasonable limits, his own powers, and employing his own resources, according to his own choice;—the right, while he respects his social relations, to promote as he will his own welfare. But mark—HIS OWN powers and resources, and NOT ANOTHER'S, are thus inalienably put under his control. The Creator makes every man free, in whatever he may do, to exert HIMSELF, and not another. Here no man may lawfully cripple or embarrass another. The feeble may not hinder the strong, nor may the strong crush the feeble. Every man may make the most of himself, in his own proper sphere. Now, as in the constitutional endowments; and natural opportunities, and lawful acquisitions of mankind, infinite variety prevails, so in exerting each HIMSELF, in his own sphere, according to his own choice, the variety of human condition can be little less than infinite. Thus equality of



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rights opens the way for variety of condition.

But with all this variety of make, means, and condition, considered individually, the children of Adam are bound together by strong ties which can never be dissolved. They are mutually united by the social of their nature. Hence mutual dependence and mutual claims. While each is inalienably entitled to assert and enjoy his own personality as a man, each sustains to all and all to each, various relations. While each owns and honors the individual, all are to own and honor the social of their nature. Now, the Golden Rule distinctly recognizes, lays its requisitions upon, and extends its obligations to, the whole nature of man, in his individual capacities and social relations. What higher honor could it do to man, as an *individual*, than to constitute him the judge, by whose decision, when fairly rendered, all the claims of his fellows should be authoritatively and definitely disposed of? "Whatsoever YE WOULD" have done to you, so do ye to others. Every member of the family of Adam, placing himself in the position here pointed out, is competent and authorized to pass judgment on all the cases in social life in which he may be concerned. Could higher responsibilities or greater confidence be reposed in men individually? And then, how are their *claims upon each other* herein magnified! What inherent worth and solid dignity are ascribed to the social of their nature! In every man with whom I may have to do, I am to recognize the presence of *another self*, whose case I am to make *my own*. And thus I am to dispose of whatever claims he may urge upon me.

Thus, in accordance with the Golden Rule, mankind are naturally brought, in the voluntary use of their powers and resources, to promote each other's welfare. As his contribution to this great object, it is the inalienable birthright of every child of Adam, to consecrate whatever he may possess. With exalted powers and large resources, he has a natural claim to a correspondent field of effort. If his "abilities" are small, his task must be easy and his burden light. Thus the Golden Rule requires mankind mutually to serve each other. In this service, each is to exert *himself*—employ *his own* powers, lay out his own resources, improve his own opportunities. A division of labor is the natural result. One is remarkable for his intellectual endowments and acquisitions; another, for his wealth; and a third, for power and skill in using his muscles. Such attributes, endlessly varied and diversified, proceed from the basis of a *common character*, by virtue of which all men and each—one as truly as another—are entitled, as a birthright, to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Each and all, one as well as another, may choose his own modes of contributing his share to the general welfare, in which his own is involved and identified. Under one great law of mutual dependence and mutual responsibility, all are placed—the strong as well as the weak, the rich as much as the poor, the learned no less than the unlearned. All bring their wares, the products of their enterprise, skill and industry, to the same market, where mutual exchanges are freely effected. The fruits of muscular exertion procure the fruits of mental effort. John serves Thomas with his hands, and Thomas serves John with his money. Peter wields the



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axe for James, and James wields the pen for Peter. Moses, Joshua, and Caleb, employ their wisdom, courage, and experience, in the service of the community, and the community serve Moses, Joshua, and Caleb, in furnishing them with food and raiment, and making them partakers of the general prosperity. And all this by mutual understanding and voluntary arrangement. And all this according to the Golden Rule.

What then becomes of *slavery*—a system of arrangements in which one man treats his fellow, not as another self, but as a thing—a chattel—an article of merchandize, which is not to be consulted in any disposition which may be made of it;—a system which is built on the annihilation of the attributes of our common nature—in which man doth to others what he would sooner die than have done to himself? The Golden Rule and slavery are mutually subversive of each other. If one stands, the other must fall. The one strikes at the very root of the other. The Golden Rule aims at the abolition of THE RELATION ITSELF, in which slavery consists. It lays its demands upon every thing within the scope of *human action*. To “whatever MEN DO.” it extends its authority. And the relation itself, in which slavery consists, is the work of human hands. It is what men have done to each other—contrary to nature and most injurious to the general welfare. This RELATION, therefore, the Golden Rule condemns. Wherever its authority prevails, this relation must be annihilated. Mutual service and slavery—like light and darkness, life and death—are directly opposed to, and subversive of, each other. The one the Golden Rule cannot endure; the other it requires, honors, and blesses.

“LOVE WORKETH NO ILL TO HIS NEIGHBOR.”

Like unto the Golden Rule is the second great commandment— “*Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.*” “A certain lawyer,” who seems to have been fond of applying the doctrine of limitation of human obligations, once demanded of the Savior, within what limits the meaning of the word “neighbor” ought to be confined. “And who is my neighbor?” The parable of the good Samaritan set that matter in the clearest light, and made it manifest and certain, that every man whom we could reach with our sympathy and assistance, was our neighbor, entitled to the same regard which we cherished for ourselves. Consistently with such obligations, can *slavery*, as a RELATION, be maintained? Is it then a *labor of love*—such love as we cherish for ourselves—to strip a child of Adam of all the prerogatives and privileges which are his inalienable birthright? To obscure his reason, crush his will, and trample on his immortality?—To strike home to the inmost of his being, and break the heart of his heart?—To thrust him out of the human family, and dispose of him as a chattel—as a thing in the hands of an owner, a beast under the lash of a driver? All this, apart from every thing incidental and extraordinary, belongs to the RELATION, in which slavery, as such, consists. All this—well fed or ill fed, underwrought or overwrought, clothed or naked, caressed or kicked, whether idle songs break from his thoughtless tongue or “tears be his meat night and day,” fondly cherished or cruelly murdered;—*all this ENTERS VITALLY INTO THE RELATION ITSELF, by which every*



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slave, AS A SLAVE, is set apart from the rest of the human family. Is it an exercise of love, to place our "neighbor" under the crushing weight, the killing power, of such a relation?—to apply the murderous steel to the very vitals of his humanity?

"YE THEREFORE APPLAUD AND DELIGHT IN THE DEEDS OF YOUR FATHERS; FOR THEY KILLED THEM, AND YE BUILD THEIR SEPULCHRES."²⁶

The slaveholder may eagerly and loudly deny, that any such thing is chargeable upon him. He may confidently and earnestly allege, that he is not responsible for the state of society in which he is placed. Slavery was established before he began to breathe. It was his inheritance. His slaves are his property by birth or testament. But why will he thus deceive himself? Why will he permit the cunning and rapacious spiders, which in the very sanctuary of ethics and religion are laboriously weaving webs from their own bowels, to catch him with their wretched sophistries?—and devour him, body, soul, and substance? Let him know, as he must one day with shame and terror own, that whoever holds slaves is himself responsible for *the relation*, into which, whether reluctantly or willingly, he thus enters. *The relation cannot be forced upon him.* What though Elizabeth countenanced John Hawkins in stealing the natives of Africa?—what though James, and Charles, and George, opened a market for them in the English colonies?—what though modern Dracos have "framed mischief by law," in legalizing man-stealing and slaveholding?—what though your ancestors, in preparing to go "to their own place," constituted you the owner of the "neighbors" whom they had used as cattle?—what of all this, and as much more like this, as can be drawn from the history of that dreadful process by which men are "deemed, held, taken, reputed, and adjudged in law to be *chattels personal*?" Can all this force you to put the cap upon the climax—to clinch the nail by doing that, without which nothing in the work of slave-making would be attempted? *The slaveholder is the soul of the whole system.* Without him, the chattel principle is a lifeless abstraction. Without him, charters, and markets, and laws, and testaments, are empty names. And does *he* think to escape responsibility? Why, kidnappers, and soul-drivers, and law-makers, are nothing but his *agents*. He is the guilty *principal*. Let him look to it.

But what can he do? Do? Keep his hands off his "neighbor's" throat. Let him refuse to finish and ratify the process by which the chattel principle is carried into effect. Let him refuse, in the face of derision, and reproach, and opposition. Though poverty should fasten its bony hand upon him, and persecution shoot forth its forked tongue; whatever may betide him—scorn, flight, flames—let him promptly and steadfastly refuse. Better the spite and hate of men than the wrath of Heaven! "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee, that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

Professor Stewart admits, that the Golden Rule and the second great commandment "decide against the theory of slavery, as being in itself right." What, then, is their relation to the particular precepts, institutions, and usages, which are

26. You join with them in their bloody work. They murder, and you bury the victims.



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authorized and enjoined in the New Testament? Of all these, they are the summary expression—the comprehensive description. No precept in the Bible, enforcing our mutual obligations, can be more or less than *the application of these injunctions to specific relations or particular occasions and conditions*. Neither in the Old Testament nor the New, do prophets teach or laws enjoin, any thing which the Golden Rule and the second great command do not contain. Whatever they forbid, no other precept can require; and whatever they require, no other precept can forbid. What, then, does he attempt, who turns over the sacred pages to find something in the way of permission or command, which may set him free from the obligations of the Golden Rule? What must his objects, methods, spirit be, to force him to enter upon such inquiries?—to compel him to search the Bible for such a purpose? Can he have good intentions, or be well employed? Is his frame of mind adapted to the study of the Bible?—to make its meaning plain and welcome? What must he think of God, to search his word in quest of gross inconsistencies, and grave contradictions! Inconsistent legislation in Jehovah! Contradictory commands! Permissions at war with prohibitions! General requirements at variance with particular arrangements!

What must be the moral character of any institution which the Golden Rule decides against?—which the second great command condemns? *It cannot but be wicked*, whether newly established or long maintained. However it may be shaped, turned, colored—under every modification and at all times—*wickedness must be its proper character. It must be, IN ITSELF, apart from its circumstances, IN ITS ESSENCE, apart from its incidents, SINFUL.*

"THINK NOT TO SAY WITHIN YOURSELVES, WE HAVE ABRAHAM FOR OUR FATHER."

In disposing of those precepts and exhortations which have a specific bearing upon the subject of slavery, it is greatly important, nay, absolutely essential, that we look forth upon the objects around us from the right post of observation. Our stand we must take at some central point, amidst the general maxims and fundamental precepts, the known circumstances and characteristic arrangements, of primitive Christianity. Otherwise, wrong views and false conclusions will be the result of our studies. We cannot, therefore, be too earnest in trying to catch the general features and prevalent spirit of the New Testament institutions and arrangements. For to what conclusions must we come, if we unwittingly pursue our inquiries under the bias of the prejudice, that the general maxims of social life which now prevail in this country, were current, on the authority of the Savior, among the primitive Christians! That, for instance, wealth, station, talents, are the standard by which our claims upon, and our regard for, others, should be modified?—That those who are pinched by poverty, worn by disease, tasked in menial labors, or marked by features offensive to the taste of the artificial and capricious, are to be excluded from those refreshing and elevating influences which intelligence and refinement may be expected to exert; that thus they are to constitute a class by themselves, and to be made to know and keep their place at the very bottom of society? Or,



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what if we should think and speak of the primitive Christians, as if they had the same pecuniary resources as Heaven has lavished upon the American churches?—as if they were as remarkable for affluence, elegance, and splendor? Or, as if they had as high a position and as extensive an influence in politics and literature?—having directly or indirectly, the control over the high places of learning and of power?

If we should pursue our studies and arrange our arguments—if we should explain words and interpret language—under such a bias, what must inevitably be the results? What would be the worth of our conclusions? What confidence could be reposed in any instruction we might undertake to furnish? And is not this the way in which the advocates and apologists of slavery dispose of the bearing which primitive Christianity has upon it? They first ascribe, unwittingly, perhaps, to the primitive churches; the character, relations, and condition of American Christianity, and amidst the deep darkness and strange confusion thus produced, set about interpreting the language and explaining the usages of the New Testament!

“SO THAT YE ARE WITHOUT EXCUSE.”

Among the lessons of instruction which our Savior imparted, having a general bearing on the subject of slavery, that in which he sets up the *true standard of greatness*, deserves particular attention. In repressing the ambition of his disciples, he held up before them the methods by which alone healthful aspirations for eminence could be gratified, and thus set the elements of true greatness in the clearest light. “Ye know, that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles, exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them. But so shall it not be among you; but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister; and *whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all.*” In other words, through the selfishness and pride of mankind, the maxim widely prevails in the world, that it is the privilege, prerogative, and mark of greatness, TO EXACT SERVICE; that our superiority to others, while it authorizes us to relax the exertion of our own powers, gives us a fair title to the use of theirs; that “might,” while it exempts us from serving, “gives the right” to be served. The instructions of the Savior open the way to greatness for us in the opposite direction. Superiority to others, in whatever it may consist, gives us a claim to a wider field of exertion, and demands of us a larger amount of service. We can be great only as we are *useful*. And “might gives right” to bless our fellow men, by improving every opportunity and employing every faculty, affectionately, earnestly, and unweariedly, in their service. Thus the greater the man, the more active, faithful, and useful the servant.

The Savior has himself taught us how this doctrine must be applied. He bids us improve every opportunity and employ every power, even through the most menial services, in blessing the human family. And to make this lesson shine upon our understandings and move our hearts, he embodied in it a most instructive and attractive example. On a memorable occasion, and just before his crucifixion, he discharged for his disciples the



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most menial of all offices—taking, *in washing their feet*, the place of the lowest servant. He took great pains to make them understand, that only by imitating this example could they honor their relations to him as their Master; that thus only would they find themselves blessed. By what possibility could slavery exist under the influence of such a lesson, set home by such an example? *Was it while washing the disciples' feet, that our Savior authorized one man to make a chattel of another?*

To refuse to provide for ourselves by useful labor, the apostle Paul teaches us to regard as a grave offence. After reminding the Thessalonian Christians, that in addition to all his official exertions he had with his own muscles earned his own bread, he calls their attention to an arrangement which was supported by apostolical authority, "that if any would not work, neither should he eat." In the most earnest and solemn manner, and as a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, he commanded and exhorted those who neglected useful labor, "*with quietness to work and eat their own bread.*" What must be the bearing of all this upon slavery? Could slavery be maintained where every man eat the bread which himself had earned?—where idleness was esteemed so great a crime, as to be reckoned worthy of starvation as a punishment? How could unrequited labor be exacted, or used, or needed? Must not every one in such a community contribute his share to the general welfare?—and mutual service and mutual support be the natural result?

The same apostle, in writing to another church, describes the true source whence the means of liberality ought to be derived. "Let him that stole steal no more; but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth." Let this lesson, as from the lips of Jehovah, be proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of South Carolina. Let it be universally welcomed and reduced to practice. Let thieves give up what they had stolen to the lawful proprietors, cease stealing, and begin at once to "labor, working with their hands," for necessary and charitable purposes. Could slavery, in such a case, continue to exist? Surely not! Instead of exacting unpaid services from others, every man would be busy, exerting himself not only to provide for his own wants, but also to accumulate funds, "that he might have to give to" the needy. Slavery must disappear, root and branch, at once and forever.

In describing the source whence his ministers should expect their support, the Savior furnished a general principle, which has an obvious and powerful bearing on the subject of slavery. He would have them remember, while exerting themselves for the benefit of their fellow men, that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." He has thus united wages with work. Whoever renders the one is entitled to the other. And this manifestly according to a mutual understanding and a voluntary arrangement. For the doctrine that I may force you to work for me for whatever consideration I may please to fix upon, fairly opens the way for the doctrine, that you, in turn, may force me to render you whatever wages you may choose to exact for any services you may see fit to render. Thus slavery, even as involuntary servitude,



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is cut up by the root. Even the Princeton professor seems to regard it as a violation of the principle which unites work with wages.

The apostle James applies this principle to the claims of manual laborers—of those who hold the plough and thrust in the sickle. He calls the rich lordlings who exacted sweat and withheld wages, to “weeping and howling,” assuring them that the complaints of the injured laborer had entered into the ear of the Lord of Hosts, and that, as a result of their oppression, their riches were corrupted, and their garments moth-eaten; their gold and silver were cankered; that the rust of them should be a witness against them, and should eat their flesh as it were fire; that, in one word, they had heaped treasures together for the last days, when “miseries were coming upon them,” the prospect of which might well drench them in tears and fill them with terror. If these admonitions and warnings were heeded there, would not “the South” break forth into “weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth?” What else are its rich men about, but withholding by a system of fraud, his wages from the laborer, who is wearing himself out under the impulse of fear, in cultivating their fields and producing their luxuries! Encouragement and support do they derive from James, in maintaining the “peculiar institution” which they call patriarchal, and boast of as the “corner-stone” of the republic?

In the New Testament, we have, moreover, the general injunction, “*Honor all men.*” Under this broad precept, every form of humanity may justly claim protection and respect. The invasion of any human right must do dishonor to humanity, and be a transgression of this command. How then, in the light of such obligations, must slavery be regarded? Are those men honored, who are rudely excluded from a place in the human family, and shut up to the deep degradation and nameless horrors of chattelship? *Can they be held as slaves, and at the same time be honored as men?*

How far, in obeying this command, we are to go, we may infer from the admonitions and instructions which James applies to the arrangements and usages of religious assemblies. Into these he can not allow “respect of persons” to enter. “My brethren,” he exclaims, “have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons. For if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel; and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool; are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?” *If ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors.* On this general principle, then, religious assemblies ought to be regulated—that every man is to be estimated, not according to his *circumstances*—not according to anything incidental to his *condition*; but according to his *moral worth*—according to the essential features and vital elements of his *character*. Gold rings and gay clothing, as they qualify no man for, can entitle no man to, a “good place” in the church.



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Nor can the "vile raiment of the poor man," fairly exclude him from any sphere, however exalted, which his heart and head may fit him to fill. To deny this, in theory or practice, is to degrade a man below a thing; for what are gold rings, or gay clothing, or vile raiment, but things, "which perish with the using?" And this must be "to commit sin, and be convinced of the law as transgressor."

In slavery, we have "respect of persons," strongly marked, and reduced to system. Here men are despised not merely for "the vile raiment," which may cover their scarred bodies. This is bad enough. But the deepest contempt of humanity here grows out of birth or complexion. Vile raiment may be, often is, the result of indolence, or improvidence, or extravagance. It may be, often is, an index of character. But how can I be responsible for the incidents of my birth?—how for my complexion? To despise or honor me for these, is to be guilty of "respect of persons" in its grossest form, and with its worst effects. It is to reward or punish me for what I had nothing to do with; for which, therefore, I cannot, without the greatest injustice, be held responsible. It is to poison the very fountains of justice, by confounding all moral distinctions. What, then, so far as the authority of the New Testament is concerned, becomes of slavery, which cannot be maintained under any form nor for a single moment, without "respect of persons" the most aggravated and unendurable? And what would become of that most pitiful, silly, and wicked arrangement in so many of our churches, in which worshippers of a dark complexion are to be sent up to the negro pew?²⁷

Nor are we permitted to confine this principle to religious assemblies. It is to pervade social life everywhere. Even where plenty, intelligence and refinement, diffuse their brightest rays, the poor are to be welcomed with especial favor. "Then said he to him that bade him, when thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbors, lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor and the maimed, the lame and the blind, and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee, but thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just."

In the high places of social life then—in the parlor, the drawing-room, the saloon—special reference should be had, in every arrangement, to the comfort and improvement of those who are least able to provide for the cheapest rites of hospitality. For these, ample accommodations must be made, whatever may become of our kinsmen and rich neighbors. And for this good reason, that while such occasions signify little to the latter, to the former they are pregnant with good—raising their drooping spirits, cheering their desponding hearts, inspiring them with life, and hope, and joy. The rich and the poor thus meeting joyfully together, cannot but mutually contribute to each other's benefit; the rich will be led to moderation, sobriety,

27. In Carlyle's REVIEW OF THE MEMOIRS OF MIRABEAU, we have the following anecdote illustrative of the character of a "grandmother" of the Count. "Fancy the dame Mirabeau sailing stately towards the church font; another dame striking in to take precedence of her; the dame Mirabeau despatching this latter with a box on the ear, and these words, '*Here, as in the army, THE BAGGAGE goes last!*'" Let those who justify the negro-pew arrangement, throw a stone at this proud woman—if they dare.



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and circumspection, and the poor to industry, providence, and contentment. The recompense must be great and sure.

A most beautiful and instructive commentary on the text in which these things are taught, the Savior furnished in his own conduct. He freely mingled with those who were reduced to the very bottom of society. At the tables of the outcasts of society he did not hesitate to be a cheerful guest, surrounded by publicans and sinners. And when flouted and reproached by smooth and lofty ecclesiastics, as an ultraist and leveler, he explained and justified himself by observing, that he had only done what his office demanded. It was his to seek the lost, to heal the sick, to pity the wretched;—in a word, to bestow just such benefits as the various necessities of mankind made appropriate and welcome. In his great heart, there was room enough for those who had been excluded from the sympathy of little souls. In its spirit and design, the gospel overlooked none—least of all, the outcasts of a selfish world.

Can slavery, however modified, be consistent with such a gospel?—a gospel which requires us, even amidst the highest forms of social life, to exert ourselves to raise the depressed by giving our warmest sympathies to those who have the smallest share in the favor of the world?

Those who are in “bonds” are set before us as deserving an especial remembrance. Their claims upon us are described as a modification of the Golden Rule—as one of the many forms to which its obligations are reducible. To them we are to extend the same affectionate regard as we would covet for ourselves, if the chains upon their limbs were fastened upon ours. To the benefits of this precept, the enslaved have a natural claim of the greatest strength. The wrongs they suffer spring from a persecution which can hardly be surpassed in malignancy. Their birth and complexion are the occasion of the insults and injuries which they can neither endure nor escape. It is for *the work of God*, and not their own deserts, that they are loaded with chains. *This is persecution.*

Can I regard the slave as another self—can I put myself in his place—and be indifferent to his wrongs? Especially, can I, thus affected, take sides with the oppressor? Could I, in such a state of mind as the gospel requires me to cherish, reduce him to slavery or keep him in bonds? Is not the precept under hand naturally subversive of every system and every form of slavery?

The general descriptions of the church, which are found here and there in the New Testament, are highly instructive in their bearing on the subject of slavery. In one connection, the following words meet the eye: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.”²⁸ Here we have—

1. A clear and strong description of the doctrine of *human equality*. “Ye are all ONE;”—so much alike, so truly placed on common ground, all wielding each his own powers with such freedom, *that one is the same as another.*

2. This doctrine, self-evident in the light of reason, is

28. GALATIANS iii. 28.



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affirmed on divine authority. "IN CHRIST JESUS, ye are all one." The natural equality of the human family is a part of the gospel. For—

3. All the human family are included in this description. Whether men or women, whether bond or free, whether Jews or Gentiles, all are alike entitled to the benefit of this doctrine. Whether Christianity prevails, the *artificial* distinctions which grow out of birth, condition, sex, are done away. *Natural* distinctions are not destroyed. They are recognized, hallowed, confirmed. The gospel does not abolish the sexes, forbid a division of labor, or extinguish patriotism. It takes woman from beneath the feet, and places her by the side of man; delivers the manual laborer from "the yoke," and gives him wages for his work; and brings the Jew and the Gentile to embrace each other with fraternal love and confidence. Thus it raises all to a common level, gives to each the free use of his own powers and resources, binds all together in one dear and loving brotherhood. Such, according to the description of the apostle, was the influence, and such the effect of primitive Christianity. "Behold the picture!" Is it like American slavery, which, in all its tendencies and effects, is destructive of all oneness among brethren?

"Where the spirit of the Lord is," exclaims the same apostle, with his eye upon the condition and relations of the church, "*where the spirit of the Lord is, THERE IS LIBERTY.*" Where, then, may we reverently recognize the presence, and bow before the manifested power, of this spirit? *There*, where the laborer may not choose how he shall be employed!—in what way his wants shall be supplied!—with whom he shall associate!—who shall have the fruit of his exertions! *There*, where he is not free to enjoy his wife and children! *There*, where his body and his soul, his very "destiny,"²⁹ are placed altogether beyond his control! *There*, where every power is crippled, every energy blasted, every hope crushed! *There*, where in all the relations and concerns of life, he is legally treated as if he had nothing to do with the laws of reason, the light of immortality, or the exercise of will! Is the spirit of the Lord *there*, where liberty is decried and denounced, mocked at and spit upon, betrayed and crucified! In the midst of a church which justified slavery, which derived its support from slavery, which carried on its enterprises by means of slavery, would the apostle have found the fruits of the Spirit of the Lord! Let that Spirit exert his influences, and assert his authority, and wield his power, and slavery must vanish at once and for ever.

In more than one connection, the apostle James describes Christianity as "*the law of liberty.*" It is, in other words, the law under which liberty cannot but live and flourish—the law in which liberty is clearly defined, strongly asserted, and well protected. As the law of liberty, how can it be consistent with the law of slavery? The presence and the power of this law are felt wherever the light of reason shines. They are felt in the uneasiness and conscious degradation of the slave, and in the

29. "The legislature (of South Carolina) from time to time, has passed many restricted and penal acts, with a view to bring under direct control and subjection the DESTINY of the black population." See the REMONSTRANCE of James S. Pope and 352 others against home missionary efforts for the benefit of the enslaved—a most instructive paper.



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shame and remorse which the master betrays in his reluctant and desperate efforts to defend himself. This law it is which has armed human nature against the oppressor. Wherever it is obeyed, "every yoke is broken."

In these references to the New Testament we have a *general description* of the primitive church, and the *principles* on which it was founded and fashioned. These principles bear the same relation to Christian *history* as to Christian *character*, since the former is occupied with the development of the latter. What then is Christian character but Christian principle *realized*, acted out, bodied forth, and animated? Christian principle is the soul, of which Christian character is the expression—the manifestation. It comprehends in itself, as a living seed, such Christian character, under every form, modification, and complexion. The former is, therefore, the test and interpreter of the latter. In the light of Christian principle, and in that light only we can judge of and explain Christian character. Christian history is occupied with the forms, modifications, and various aspects of Christian character. The facts which are there recorded serve to show, how Christian principle has fared in this world—how it has appeared, what it has done, how it has been treated. In these facts we have the various institutions, usages, designs, doings, and sufferings of the church of Christ. And all these have of necessity, the closest relation to Christian principle. They are the production of its power. Through them, it is revealed and manifested. In its light, they are to be studied, explained, and understood. Without it they must be as unintelligible and insignificant as the letters of a book scattered on the wind.

In the principles of Christianity, then, we have a comprehensive and faithful account of its objects, institutions, and usages—of how it must behave, and act, and suffer, in a world of sin and misery. For between the principles which God reveals, on the one hand, and the precepts he enjoins, the institutions he establishes, and the usages he approves, on the other, there must be consistency and harmony. Otherwise we impute to God what we must abhor in man—practice at war with principle. Does the Savior, then, lay down the *principle* that our standing in the church must depend upon the habits formed within us, of readily and heartily subserving the welfare of others; and permit us *in practice* to invade the rights and trample on the happiness of our fellows, by reducing them to slavery. Does he, *in principle* and by example, require us to go all lengths in rendering mutual service, or comprehending offices that most menial, as well as the most honorable; and permit us *in practice* to EXACT service of our brethren, as if they were nothing better than "articles of merchandize!" Does he require us *in principle* "to work with quietness and eat our own bread;" and permit us *in practice* to wrest from our brethren the fruits of their unrequited toil? Does he *in principle* require us, abstaining from every form of theft, to employ our powers in useful labor, not only to provide for ourselves but also to relieve the indigence of others; and permit us *in practice*, abstaining from every form of labor, to enrich and aggrandize ourselves with the fruits of man-stealing? Does he require us *in principle* to regard "the laborer as worthy



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of his hire"; and permit us *in practice* to defraud him of his wages? Does he require us *in principle* to honor ALL men; and permit us *in practice* to treat multitudes like cattle? Does he *in principle* prohibit "respect of persons;" and permit us *in practice* to place the feet of the rich upon the necks of the poor? Does he *in principle* require us to sympathize with the bondman as another self; and permit us *in practice* to leave him unpitied and unhelpt in the hands of the oppressor? *In principle*, "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty;" *in practice*, is slavery the fruit of the Spirit? *In principle*, Christianity is the law of liberty; *in practice*, it is the law of slavery? Bring practice in these various respects into harmony with principle, and what becomes of slavery? And if, where the divine government is concerned, practice is the expression of principle, and principle the standard and interpreter of practice, such harmony cannot but be maintained and must be asserted. In studying, therefore, fragments of history and sketches of biography—in disposing of references to institutions, usages, and facts in the New Testament, this necessary harmony between principle and practice in the government of God, should be continually present to the thoughts of the interpreter. Principles assert what practice must be. Whatever principle condemns, God condemns. It belongs to those weeds of the dung-hill which, planted by "an enemy," his hand will assuredly "root up." It is most certain then, that if slavery prevailed in the first ages of Christianity, it could nowhere have prevailed under its influence and with its sanction.

* * * * *

The condition in which in its efforts to bless mankind, the primitive church was placed, must have greatly assisted the early Christians in understanding and applying the principles of the gospel. Their *Master* was born in great obscurity, lived in the deepest poverty, and died the most ignominious death. The place of his residence, his familiarity with the outcasts of society, his welcoming assistance and support from female hands, his casting his beloved mother, when he hung upon the cross, upon the charity of a disciple—such things evince the depth of his poverty, and show to what derision and contempt he must have been exposed. Could such an one, "despised and rejected of men—a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," play the oppressor, or smile on those who made merchandize of the poor!

And what was the history of the *apostles*, but an illustration of the doctrine, that "it is enough for the disciple, that he be as his Master?" Were they lordly ecclesiastics, abounding with wealth, shining with splendor, bloated with luxury! Were they ambitious of distinction, fleecing, and trampling, and devouring "the flocks," that they themselves might "have the pre-eminence!" Were they slaveholding bishops! Or did they derive their support from the wages of iniquity and the price of blood! Can such inferences be drawn from the account of their condition, which the most gifted and enterprising of their number has put upon record? "Even unto this present hour, we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and



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have no certain dwelling place, and labor working with our own hands. Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat; we are made as *the filth of the world*, and are THE OFFSCOURING OF ALL THINGS unto this day."³⁰ Are these the men who practised or countenanced slavery? *With such a temper, they WOULD NOT; in such circumstances, they COULD NOT.* Exposed to "tribulation, distress, and persecution;" subject to famine and nakedness, to peril and the sword; "killed all the day long; accounted as sheep for the slaughter,"³¹ they would have made but a sorry figure at the *great-house* or slave-market.

Nor was the condition of the brethren, generally, better than that of the apostles. The position of the apostles doubtless entitled them to the strongest opposition, the heaviest reproaches, the fiercest persecution. But derision and contempt must have been the lot of Christians generally. Surely we cannot think so ill of primitive Christianity as to suppose that believers, generally, refused to share in the trials and sufferings of their leaders; as to suppose that while the leaders submitted to manual labor, to buffeting, to be reckoned the filth of the world, to be accounted as sheep for the slaughter, his brethren lived in affluence, ease, and honor! despising manual labor and living upon the sweat of unrequited toil! But on this point we are not left to mere inference and conjecture. The apostle Paul in the plainest language explains the ordination of Heaven. "But *God hath CHOSEN* the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath CHOSEN the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised hath God CHOSEN, yea, and THINGS WHICH ARE NOT, to bring to nought things that are."³² Here we may well notice,

1. That it was not by *accident*, that the primitive churches were made up of such elements, but the result of the DIVINE CHOICE—an arrangement of His wise and gracious Providence. The inference is natural, that this ordination was co-extensive with the triumphs of Christianity. It was nothing new or strange, that Jehovah had concealed his glory "from the wise and prudent, and had revealed it unto babes," or that "the common people heard him gladly," while "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, had been called."

2. The description of character, which the apostle records, could be adapted only to what are reckoned the *very dregs of humanity*. The foolish and the weak, the base and the contemptible, in the estimation of worldly pride and wisdom—these were they whose broken hearts were reached, and moulded, and refreshed by the gospel; these were they whom the apostle took to his bosom as his own brethren.

That *slaves* abounded at Corinth, may easily be admitted. *They* have a place in the enumeration of elements of which, according to the apostle, the church there was composed. The most remarkable class found there, consisted of "THINGS WHICH ARE NOT"—mere nobodies, not admitted to the privileges of men, but

30. 1 CORINTHIANS iv. 11-13.

31. ROMANS viii. 35, 36.

32. 1 CORINTHIANS i. 27, 28.



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degraded to a level with "goods and chattels;" of whom *no account* was made in such arrangements of society as subverted the improvement, and dignity, and happiness of MANKIND. How accurately the description applies to those who are crushed under the chattel principle!

The reference which the apostle makes to the "deep poverty of the churches of Macedonia,"³³ and this to stir up the sluggish liberality of his Corinthian brethren, naturally leaves the impression, that the latter were by no means inferior to the former in the gifts of Providence. But, pressed with want and pinched by poverty as were the believers in "Macedonia and Achaia, it pleased them to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which were at Jerusalem."³⁴ Thus it appears, that Christians everywhere were familiar with contempt and indigence, so much so, that the apostle would dissuade such as had no families from assuming the responsibilities of the conjugal relation!³⁵

Now, how did these good people treat each other? Did the few among them, who were esteemed wise, mighty, or noble, exert their influence and employ their power in oppressing the weak, in disposing of the "things that are not," as marketable commodities!—kneeling with them in prayer in the evening, and putting them up at auction the next morning! Did the church sell any of the members to swell the "certain contribution for the poor saints at Jerusalem!" Far other wise—as far as possible! In those Christian communities where the influence of the apostles was most powerful, and where the arrangements drew forth their highest commendations, believers treated each other as *brethren*, in the strongest sense of that sweet word. So warm was their mutual love, so strong the public spirit, so open-handed and abundant the general liberality, that they are set forth as "*having all things common*."³⁶ Slaves and their holders here? Neither the one nor the other could, in that relation to each other, have breathed such an atmosphere. The appeal of the kneeling bondman, "Am I not a man and a brother," must here have met with a prompt and powerful response.

The *tests* by which our Savior tries the character of his professed disciples, shed a strong light upon the genius of the gospel. In one connection,³⁷ an inquirer demands of the Savior, "What good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?" After being reminded of the obligations which his social nature imposed upon him, he ventured, while claiming to be free from guilt in his relations to mankind, to demand, "what lack I yet?" The radical deficiency under which his character labored, the Savior was not long or obscure in pointing out. "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me." On this passage it is natural to suggest—

1. That we have here a *test of universal application*. The

33. 2 CORINTHIANS viii. 2.

34. ROMANS xviii. 18-25.

35. CORINTHIANS vii. 26, 27.

36. ACTS iv. 32.

37. LUKE xviii. 18-25.



rectitude and benevolence of our Savior's character forbid us to suppose, that he would subject this inquirer, especially as he was highly amiable, to a trial, where eternal life was at stake, *peculiarly* severe. Indeed, the test seems to have been only a fair exposition of the second great command, and of course it must be applicable to all who are placed under the obligations of that precept. Those who cannot stand this test, as their character is radically imperfect and unsound, must, with the inquirer to whom our Lord applied it, be pronounced unfit for the kingdom of heaven.

2. The least that our Savior can in that passage be understood to demand is, that we disinterestedly and heartily devote ourselves to the welfare of mankind, "the poor" especially. We are to put ourselves on a level with *them*, as we must do "in selling that we have" for their benefit—in other words, in employing our powers and resources to elevate their character, condition, and prospects. This our Savior did; and if we refuse to enter into sympathy and co-operation with him, how can we be his *followers*? Apply this test to the slaveholder. Instead of "selling that he hath" for the benefit of the poor, he BUYS THE POOR, and exacts their sweat with stripes, to enable him to "clothe himself in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day;" or, HE SELLS THE POOR to support the gospel and convert the heathen!

What, in describing the scenes of the final judgment, does our Savior teach us? *By what standard* must our character be estimated, and the retributions of eternity be awarded? A standard, which both the righteous and the wicked will be surprised to see erected. From the "offscouring of all things," the meanest specimen of humanity will be selected—a "stranger" in the hands of the oppressor, naked, hungry, sickly; and this stranger, placed in the midst of the assembled universe, by the side of the sovereign Judge, will be openly acknowledged as his representative. "Glory, honor, and immortality," will be the reward of those who had recognized and cheered their Lord through his outraged poor. And tribulation, anguish, and despair, will seize on "every soul of man" who had neglected or despised them. But whom, within the limits of our country, are we to regard especially as the representatives of our final Judge? Every feature of the Savior's picture finds its appropriate original in our enslaved countrymen.

1. They are the LEAST of his brethren.
2. They are subject to thirst and hunger, unable to command a cup of water or a crumb of bread.
3. They are exposed to wasting sickness, without the ability to procure a nurse or employ a physician.
4. They are emphatically "in prison," restrained by chains, goaded with whips, tasked, and under keepers. Not a wretch groans in any cell of the prisons of our country, who is exposed to a confinement so vigorous and heartbreaking as the law allows theirs to be continually and permanently.
5. And then they are emphatically, and peculiarly, and



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exclusively, STRANGERS—*strangers* in the land which gave them birth. Whom else do we constrain to remain aliens in the midst of our free institutions? The Welch, the Swiss, the Irish? The Jews even? Alas, it is the *negro* only, who may not strike his roots into our soil. Every where we have conspired to treat him as a stranger—every where he is forced to feel himself a stranger. In the stage and steamboat, in the parlor and at our tables, in the scenes of business and in the scenes of amusement—even in the church of God and at the communion table, he is regarded as a stranger. The intelligent and religious are generally disgusted and horror-struck at the thought of his becoming identified with the citizens of our republic—so much so, that thousands of them have entered into a conspiracy to send him off “out of sight,” to find a home on a foreign shore!—and justify themselves by openly alleging, that a “single drop” of his blood, in the veins of any human creature, must make him hateful to his fellow citizens!—That nothing but banishment from “our coasts,” can redeem him from the scorn and contempt to which his “stranger” blood has reduced him among his own mother’s children!

Who, then, in this land “of milk and honey,” is “hungry and athirst,” but the man from whom the law takes away the last crumb of bread and the smallest drop of water?

Who “naked,” but the man whom the law strips of the last rag of clothing?

Who “sick,” but the man whom the law deprives of the power of procuring medicine or sending for a physician?

Who “in prison,” but the man who, all his life, is under the control of merciless masters and cruel keepers!

Who a “stranger,” but the man who is scornfully denied the cheapest courtesies of life—who is treated as an alien in his native country?

There is one point in this awful description which deserves particular attention. Those who are doomed to the left hand of the Judge, are not charged with inflicting *positive* injuries on their helpless, needy, and oppressed brother. Theirs was what is often called *negative* character. What they *had done* is not described in the indictment. Their *neglect* of duty, what they *had NOT done*, was the ground of their “everlasting punishment.” The representative of their Judge, they had seen a hungered and they gave him no meat, thirsty and they gave him no drink, a stranger and they took him not in, naked and they clothed him not, sick and in prison and they visited him not. In as much as they did NOT yield to the claims of suffering humanity—did NOT exert themselves to bless the meanest of the human family, they were driven away in their wickedness. But what if the indictment had run thus: I was a hungered and ye snatched away the crust which might have saved me from starvation; I was thirsty and ye dashed to the ground the “cup of cold water,” which might have moistened my parched lips; I was a stranger and ye drove me from the hovel which might have sheltered me from the piercing wind; I was sick and ye scourged me to my task; in prison and you sold me for my jail-fees—to what depths of hell must not those who



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were convicted under such charges be consigned! And what is the history of American slavery but one long indictment, describing under ever-varying forms and hues just such injuries!

Nor should it be forgotten, that those who incurred the displeasure of their Judge, took far other views than he, of their own past history. The charges which he brought against them, they heard with great surprise. They were sure that they had never thus turned away from his necessities. Indeed, when had they seen him thus subject to poverty, insult, and oppression? Never. And as to that poor friendless creature, whom they left unpitied and unhelpt in the hands of the oppressor, and whom their Judge now presented as his own representative, they never once supposed, that he had any claims on their compassion and assistance. Had they known, that he was destined to so prominent a place at the final judgment, they would have treated him as a human being, in despite of any social, pecuniary, or political considerations. But neither their *negative virtue* nor their *voluntary ignorance* could shield them from the penal fire which their selfishness had kindled.

Now amidst the general maxims, the leading principles, the "great commandments" of the gospel; amidst its comprehensive descriptions and authorized tests of Christian character, we should take our position in disposing of any particular allusions to such forms and usages of the primitive churches as are supported by divine authority. The latter must be interpreted and understood in the light of the former. But how do the apologists and defenders of slavery proceed? Placing themselves amidst the arrangements and usages which grew out of the *corruptions* of Christianity, they make these the standard by which the gospel is to be explained and understood! Some Recorder or Justice. without the light of inquiry or the aid of a jury, consigns the negro whom the kidnapper has dragged into his presence to the horrors of slavery. As the poor wretch shrieks and faints, Humanity shudders and demands why such atrocities are endured. Some "priest" or "Levite," "passing by on the other side," quite self-possessed and all complacent, reads in reply from his broad phylactery, *Paul sent back Onesimus to Philemon!* Yes, echoes the negro-hating mob, made up of "gentlemen of property and standing" together with equally gentle-men reeking from the gutter; *Yes—Paul sent back Onesimus to Philemon!* And Humanity, brow-beaten, stunned with noise and tumult, is pushed aside by the crowd! A fair specimen this of the manner in which modern usages are made to interpret the sacred Scriptures?

Of the particular passages in the New Testament on which the apologists for slavery especially rely, the epistle to Philemon first demands our attention.

1. This letter was written by the apostle Paul while a "prisoner of Jesus Christ" at Rome.

2. Philemon was a benevolent and trustworthy member of the church at Colosse, at whose house the disciples of Christ held their assemblies, and who owed his conversion, under God, directly or indirectly to the ministry of Paul.



3. Onesimus was the servant of Philemon; under a relation which it is difficult with accuracy and certainty to define. His condition, though servile, could not have been like that of an American slave; as, in that case, however he might have "wronged" Philemon, he could not also have "owed him ought."³⁸ The American slave is, according to law, as much the property of his master as any other chattel; and can no more "owe" his master than can a sheep or a horse. The basis of all pecuniary obligations lies in some "value received." How can "an article of merchandise" stand on this basis and sustain commercial relations to its owner? There is no *person* to offer or promise. *Personality is swallowed up in American slavery!*

4. How Onesimus found his way to Rome it is not easy to determine. He and Philemon appear to have parted from each other on ill terms. The general character of Onesimus, certainly, in his relation to Philemon, had been far from attractive, and he seems to have left him without repairing the wrongs he had done him or paying the debts which he owed him. At Rome, by the blessing of God upon the exertions of the apostle, he was brought to reflection and repentance.

5. In reviewing his history in the light of Christian truth, he became painfully aware of the injuries he had inflicted on Philemon. He longed for an opportunity for frank confession and full restitution. Having, however, parted with Philemon on ill terms, he knew not how to appear in his presence. Under such embarrassments, he naturally sought sympathy and advice of Paul. *His* influence upon Philemon, Onesimus knew must be powerful, especially as an apostle.

6. A letter in behalf of Onesimus was therefore written by the apostle to Philemon. After such salutations, benedictions, and thanksgiving as the good character and useful life of Philemon naturally drew from the heart of Paul, he proceeds to the object of the letter. He admits that Onesimus had behaved ill in the service of Philemon; not in running away, for how they had parted with each other is not explained; but in being unprofitable and in refusing to pay the debts³⁹ which he had contracted. But his character had undergone a radical change. Thenceforward fidelity and usefulness would be his aim and mark his course. And as to any pecuniary obligations which he had violated, the apostle authorized Philemon to put them on his account.⁴⁰ Thus a way was fairly opened to the heart of Philemon. And now what does the apostles ask?

7. He asks that Philemon would receive Onesimus, How? "Not as a *servant*, but above a *servant*."⁴¹ How much above? Philemon was to receive him as "a son" of the apostle— "as a brother beloved"— nay, if he counted Paul a partner, an equal, he was to receive Onesimus as he would receive *the apostle himself*.⁴² *So much* above a servant was he to receive him!

8. But was not this request to be so interpreted and complied

38. PHILEMON, 18.

39. Verse 18.

40. Verse 16.

41. Verse 10, 16, 17.

42. Verse 11, 18.



with as to put Onesimus in the hands of Philemon as "an article of merchandise," CARNALLY, while it raised him to the dignity of a "brother beloved," SPIRITUALLY? In other words, might not Philemon consistently with the request of Paul have reduced Onesimus to a chattel, as A MAN, while he admitted him fraternally to his bosom, as a CHRISTIAN? Such gibberish in an apostolic epistle! Never. As if, however to guard against such folly, the natural product of mist and moonshine, the apostle would have Onesimus raised above a servant to the dignity of a brother beloved, "BOTH IN THE FLESH AND IN THE LORD;"⁴³ as a man and Christian, in all the relations, circumstances, and responsibilities of life.

It is easy now with definiteness and certainty to determine in what sense the apostle in such connections uses the word "*brother*". It describes a relation inconsistent with and opposite to the *servile*. It is "NOT" the relation of a "SERVANT." It elevates its subject "above" the servile condition. It raises him to full equality with the master, to the same equality, on which Paul and Philemon stood side by side as brothers; and this, not in some vague, undefined, spiritual sense, affecting the soul and leaving the body in bonds, but in every way, "both in the FLESH and in the Lord." This matter deserves particular and earnest attention. It sheds a strong light on other lessons of apostolic instruction.

9. It is greatly to our purpose, moreover, to observe that the apostle clearly defines the *moral character* of his request. It was fit, proper, right, suited to the nature and relation of things—a thing which *ought* to be done.⁴⁴ On this account, he might have urged it upon Philemon in the form of an *injunction*, on apostolic authority and with great boldness.⁴⁵ *The very nature* of the request made it obligatory on Philemon. He was sacredly bound, out of regard to the fitness of things, to admit Onesimus to full equality with himself—to treat him as a brother both in the Lord and as having flesh—as a fellow man. Thus were the inalienable rights and birthright privileges of Onesimus, as a member of the human family, defined and protected by apostolic authority.

10. The apostle preferred a request instead of imposing a command, on the ground of CHARITY.⁴⁶ He would give Philemon an opportunity of discharging his obligations under the impulse of love. To this impulse, he was confident Philemon would promptly and fully yield. How could he do otherwise? The thing itself was right. The request respecting it came from a benefactor, to whom, under God, he was under the highest obligations.⁴⁷ That benefactor, now an old man, and in the hands of persecutors, manifested a deep and tender interest in the matter and had the strongest persuasion that Philemon was more ready to grant than himself to entreat. The result, as he was soon to visit Collosse, and had commissioned Philemon to prepare a lodging for him, must

43. Verse 16.

44. Verse 8. To [Greek: *anaekon*]. See Robinson's NEW TESTAMENT LEXICON; "*it is fit, proper, becoming, it ought.*" In what sense King James' translators used the word "convenient" any one may see who will read ROMANS i. 28 and EPHESIANS v. 3, 4.

45. Verse 8.

46. Verse 9—[Greek: *dia taen agapaen*]

47. Verse 19.



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come under the eye of the apostle. The request was so manifestly reasonable and obligatory, that the apostle, after all, described a compliance with it, by the strong word "*obedience*."⁴⁸

Now, how must all this have been understood by the church at Colosse?—a church, doubtless, made up of such materials as the church at Corinth, that is, of members chiefly from the humblest walks of life. Many of them had probably felt the degradation and tasted the bitterness of the servile condition. Would they have been likely to interpret the apostle's letter under the bias of feelings friendly to slavery!—And put the slaveholder's construction on its contents! Would their past experience or present sufferings—for doubtless some of them were still "under the yoke"—have suggested to their thoughts such glosses as some of our theological professors venture to put upon the words of the apostle! Far otherwise. The Spirit of the Lord was there, and the epistle was read in the light of "*liberty*." It contained the principles of holy freedom, faithfully and affectionately applied. This must have made it precious in the eyes of such men "of low degree" as were most of the believers, and welcome to a place in the sacred canon. There let it remain as a luminous and powerful defence of the cause of emancipation!

But what saith Professor Stuart? "If any one doubts, let him take the case of Paul's sending Onesimus back to Philemon, with an apology for his running away, and sending him back to be his servant for life."⁴⁹

"Paul sent back Onesimus to Philemon." By what process? Did the apostle, a prisoner at Rome, seize upon the fugitive, and drag him before some heartless and perfidious "Judge," for authority to send him back to Colosse? Did he hurry his victim away from the presence of the fat and supple magistrate, to be driven under chains and the lash to the field of unrequited toil, whence he had escaped? Had the apostle been like some teachers in the American churches, he might, as a professor of sacred literature in one of our seminaries, or a preacher of the gospel to the rich in some of our cities, have consented thus to subserve the "peculiar" interests of a dear slaveholding brother. But the venerable champion of truth and freedom was himself under bonds in the imperial city, waiting for the crown of martyrdom. He wrote a letter to the church at Colosse, which was accustomed to meet at the house of Philemon, and another letter to that magnanimous disciple, and sent them by the hand of Onesimus. So much for *the way* in which Onesimus was sent back to his master.

A slave escapes from a patriarch in Georgia, and seeks a refuge in the parish of the Connecticut doctor of Divinity, who once gave public notice that he saw no reason for caring for the servitude of his fellow men.⁵⁰ Under his influence, Caesar becomes a Christian convert. Burning with love for the son whom he hath begotten in the gospel, our doctor resolves to send him back to his master. Accordingly, he writes a letter, gives it to Caesar, and bids him return, staff in hand, to the "corner-stone of our republican institutions." Now, what would my Caesar

48. Verse 21.

49. See his letter to Dr. Fisk, *supra* pp. 7, 8.

50. "Why should I care?"



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do, who had ever felt a link of slavery's chain? As he left his *spiritual father*, should we be surprised to hear him say to himself, What, return of my own accord to the man who, with the hand of a robber, plucked me from my mother's bosom!—for whom I have been so often drenched in the sweat of unrequited toil!—whose violence so often cut my flesh and scarred my limbs!—who shut out every ray of light from my mind!—who laid claim to those honors to which my Creator and Redeemer only are entitled! And for what am I to return? To be cursed, and smitten, and sold! To be tempted, and torn, and destroyed! I cannot thus throw myself away—thus rush upon my own destruction.

Who ever heard of the voluntary return of a fugitive from American oppression? Do you think that the doctor and his friends could persuade one to carry a letter to the patriarch from whom he had escaped? And must we believe this of Onesimus?

"Paul sent back Onesimus to Philemon." On what occasion?— "If," writes the apostle, "he hath wronged thee, or oweth the aught, put that on my account." Alive to the claims of duty, Onesimus would "restore" whatever he "had taken away." He would honestly pay his debts. This resolution the apostle warmly approved. He was ready, at whatever expense, to help his young disciple in carrying it into full effect. Of this he assured Philemon, in language the most explicit and emphatic. Here we find one reason for the conduct of Paul in sending Onesimus to Philemon.

If a fugitive slave of the Rev. Dr. Smylie, of Mississippi, should return to him with a letter from a doctor of divinity in New York, containing such an assurance, how would the reverend slaveholder dispose of it? What, he exclaims, have we here? "If Cato has not been upright in his pecuniary intercourse with you—if he owes you any thing—put that on my account." What ignorance of southern institutions! What mockery, to talk of pecuniary intercourse between a slave and his master! *The slave himself, with all he is and has, is an article of merchandise.* What can he owe his master? A rustic may lay a wager with his mule, and give the creature the peck of oats which he has permitted it to win. But who, in sober earnest, would call this a pecuniary transaction?

"TO BE HIS SERVANT FOR LIFE!" From what part of the epistle could the expositor have evolved a thought so soothing to tyrants—so revolting to every man who loves his own nature? From this? "For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him for ever." Receive him how? *As a servant*, exclaims our commentator. But what wrote the apostle? "NOT *now as a servant, but above a servant*, a brother beloved, especially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord." Who authorized the professor to bereave the word "*not*" of its negative influence? According to Paul, Philemon was to receive Onesimus "*not as a servant;*"—according to Stuart, he was to receive him "*as a servant!*" If the professor will apply the same rules of exposition to the writings of the abolitionists, all difference between him and them must in his view presently vanish away. The harmonizing process would be equally simple and effectual. He has only to understand them as affirming what they deny, and as denying what they affirm.



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Suppose that Professor Stuart had a son residing, at the South. His slave, having stolen money of his master, effected his escape. He fled to Andover, to find a refuge among the "sons of the prophets." There he finds his way to Professor Stuart's house, and offers to render any service which the professor, dangerously ill "of a typhus fever," might require. He is soon found to be a most active, skilful, faithful nurse. He spares no pains, night and day, to make himself useful to the venerable sufferer. He anticipates every want. In the most delicate and tender manner, he tries to sooth every pain. He fastens himself strongly on the heart of the reverend object of his care. Touched with the heavenly spirit, the meek demeanor, the submissive frame, which the sick bed exhibits, Archy becomes a Christian. A new bond now ties him and his convalescent teacher together. As soon as he is able to write, the professor sends Archy with the following letter to the South, to Isaac Stuart, Esq.:-

"MY DEAR SON,-With a hand enfeebled by a distressing and dangerous illness, from which I am slowly recovering, I address you on a subject which lies very near my heart. I have a request to urge, which our mutual relation to each other, and your strong obligations to me, will, I cannot doubt, make you eager fully to grant. I say a request, though the thing I ask is, in its very nature and on the principles of the gospel, obligatory upon you. I might, therefore, boldly demand, what I earnestly entreat. But I know how generous, magnanimous, and Christ-like you are, and how readily you will 'do even more than I say'-I, your own father, an old man, almost exhausted with multiplied exertions for the benefit of my family and my country and now just rising, emaciated and broken, from the brink of the grave. I write in behalf of Archy, whom I regard with the affection of a father, and whom, indeed, 'I have forgotten in my sickness.' Gladly would I have retained him, to be an *Isaac* to me; for how often did not his soothing voice, and skilful hand, and unwearied attention to my wants remind me of you! But I chose to give you an opportunity of manifesting, voluntarily, the goodness of your heart; as, if I had retained him with me, you might seem to have been forced to grant what you will gratefully bestow. His temporary absence from you may have opened the way for his permanent continuance with you. Not now as a slave. Heaven forbid! But superior to a slave. Superior, did I say? Take him to your bosom, as a beloved brother; for I own him as a son, and regard him as such, in all the relations of life, both as a man and a Christian. 'Receive him as myself.' And that nothing may hinder you from complying with my request at once, I hereby promise, without adverting to your many and great obligations to me, to pay you every cent which he took from your drawer. Any preparation which my comfort with you may require, you will make without much delay, when you learn, that I intend, as soon as I shall be able 'to perform the journey,' to make you a visit."

And what if Dr. Baxter, in giving an account of this letter should publicly declare that Professor Stuart, of Andover regarded slaveholding as lawful; for that "he had sent Archy back to his son Isaac, with an apology for his running away" to be held in perpetual slavery? With what propriety might not the



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professor exclaim: False, every syllable false. I sent him back, NOT TO BE HELD AS A SLAVE, *but recognized as a dear brother, in all respects, under every relation, civil and ecclesiastical*. I bade my son receive Archy *as myself*. If this was not equivalent to a requisition to set him fully and most honorably free, and that, too, on the ground of natural obligation and Christian principle, then I know not how to frame such a requisition.

I am well aware that my supposition is by no means strong enough fully to illustrate the case to which it is applied. Professor Stuart lacks apostolical authority. Isaac Stuart is not a leading member of a church consisting, as the early churches chiefly consisted, of what the world regard as the dregs of society— “the offscouring of all things.” Nor was slavery at Colosse, it seems, supported by such barbarous usages, such horrid laws as disgrace the South.

But it is time to turn to another passage which, in its bearing on the subject in hand, is, in our view, as well as in the view of Dr. Fisk. and Prof. Stuart, in the highest degree authoritative and instructive. “Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrines be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit.”⁵¹

51. 1 TIM. vi. 1. 2. The following exposition of this passage is from the pen of ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR.:—

“This word [Greek: antilambanesthai] in our humble opinion, has been so unfairly used by the commentators, that we feel constrained to take its part. Our excellent translators, in rendering the clause ‘partakers of the benefit,’ evidently lost sight of the component preposition, which expresses the *opposition of reciprocity*, rather than the *connection of participation*. They have given it exactly the sense of [Greek: metalambanein], (2 Tim. ii. 6.) Had the apostle intended such a sense, he would have used the latter verb, or one of the more common words, [Greek: metochoi, koinonomtes, &c.] (See Heb. iii. 1, and 1 Tim. v. 22, where the latter word is used in the clause, ‘neither be partaker of other men’s sins.’ Had the verb in our text been used, it might have been rendered, ‘neither be the *part-taker* of other men’s sins.’) The primary sense of [Greek: antilambans] is *to take in return—to take instead of*, &c. Hence, in the middle with the genitive, it signifies *assist*, or *do one’s part towards* the person or thing expressed by that genitive. In this sense only is the word used in the New Testament,—(See Luke i. 54, and Acts, xx. 35.) If this be true, the word [Greek: emsgesai] cannot signify the benefit conferred by the gospel, as our common version would make it, but the *well doing* of the servants, who should continue to serve their believing masters, while they were no longer under the yoke of compulsion. This word is used elsewhere in the New Testament but once (Acts. iv. 3.) in relation to the ‘*good deed*’ done to the impotent man. The plain import of the clause, unmystified by the commentators, is, that believing masters would not fail to do their part towards, or encourage by suitable returns, the free service of those who had once been under the yoke.”



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1. The apostle addresses himself here to two classes of servants, with instructions to each respectively appropriate. Both the one class and the other, in Professor Stuart's eye, were slaves. This he assumes, and thus begs the very question in dispute. The term servant is generic, as used by the sacred writers. It comprehends all the various offices which men discharge for the benefit of each other, however honorable, or however menial; from that of an apostle⁵² opening the path to heaven, to that of washing "one another's feet."⁵³ A general term it is, comprehending every office which belongs to human relations and Christian character.⁵⁴

A leading signification gives us the manual laborer, to whom, in the division of labor, muscular exertion was allotted. As in his exertions the bodily powers are especially employed—such powers as belong to man in common with mere animals—his sphere has generally been considered low and humble. And as intellectual power is superior to bodily, the manual laborer has always been exposed in very numerous ways and in various degrees to oppression. Cunning, intrigue, the oily tongue, have, through extended and powerful conspiracies, brought the resources of society under the control of the few, who stood aloof from his homely toil. Hence his dependence upon them. Hence the multiplied injuries which have fallen so heavily upon him. Hence the reduction of his wages from one degree to another, till at length, in the case of millions, fraud and violence strip him of his all, blot his name from the record of *mankind*, and, putting a yoke upon his neck, drive him away to toil among the cattle. *Here you find the slave.* To reduce the servant to his condition, requires abuses altogether monstrous—injuries reaching the very vitals of man—stabs upon the very heart of humanity. Now, what right has Professor Stuart to make the word "*servants*," comprehending, even as manual laborers, so many and such various meanings, signify "*slaves*," especially where different classes are concerned? Such a right he could never have derived from humanity, or philosophy, or hermeneutics. It is his by sympathy with the oppressor?

Yes, different classes. This is implied in the term "as many,"⁵⁵ which sets apart the class now to be addressed. From these he proceeds to others, who are introduced by a particle,⁵⁶ whose natural meaning indicates the presence of another and a different subject.

2. The first class are described as "*under the yoke*"—a yoke from which they were, according to the apostle, to make their escape if possible.⁵⁷ If not, they must in every way regard the master with respect—bowing to his authority, working his will, subserving his interests so far as might be consistent with Christian character.⁵⁸ And this, to prevent blasphemy—to prevent the pagan master from heaping profane reproaches upon the name

52. MAT. xx, 26-28.

53. CORINTHIANS iv. 5.

54. JOHN xiii, 14.

55. [Greek: Ochli] See Passow's Schneider.

56. [Greek: Dd.] See Passow.

57. See 1 CORINTHIANS vii, 21—[Greek: All' ei kai dunasai eleuphoros genesthai].

58. See 1 CORINTHIANS vii, 23—[Greek: Mae ginesthe doulos anthroton].



of God and the doctrines of the gospel. They should beware of rousing his passions, which, as his helpless victims, they might be unable to allay or withstand.

But all the servants whom the apostle addressed were not "*under the yoke*"⁵⁹—an instrument appropriate to cattle and to slaves. These he distinguishes from another class, who instead of a "yoke"—the badge of a slave—had "*believing masters.*" *To have a "believing master," then, was equivalent to freedom from "the yoke."* These servants were exhorted not to *despise* their masters. What need of such an exhortation, if their masters had been slaveholders, holding them as property, wielding them as mere instruments, disposing of them as "articles of merchandise." But this was not consistent with believing. Faith, "breaking every yoke," united master and servants in the bonds of brotherhood. Brethren they were, joined in a relation which, excluding the yoke,⁶⁰ placed them side by side on the ground of equality, where, each in his appropriate sphere, they might exert themselves freely and usefully, to the mutual benefit of each other. Here, servants might need to be cautioned against getting above their appropriate business, putting on airs, despising their masters, and thus declining or neglecting their service.⁶¹ Instead of this, they should be, as emancipated slaves often have been,⁶² models of enterprise, fidelity, activity, and usefulness—especially as their masters were "worthy of their confidence and love," their helpers in this well-doing.

Such, then, is the relation between those who, in the view of Professor Stuart, were Christian masters and Christian slaves⁶³—the relation of "brethren," which, excluding "the yoke," and of course conferring freedom, placed them side by side on the common ground of mutual service, both retaining, for convenience sake, the one while giving and the other while receiving employment, the correlative name, *as is usual in such cases*, under which they had been known. Such was the instruction which Timothy was required, as a Christian minister, to give. Was it friendly to slaveholding?

And on what ground, according to the Princeton professor, did these masters and these servants stand in their relation to each other? On that of a "*perfect religious equality.*"⁶⁴ In all the relations, duties, and privileges—in all the objects, interests, and prospects, which belong to the province of Christianity, servants were as free as their master. The powers of the one, were allowed as wide a range and as free an exercise, with as warm encouragements, as active aids, and as high results, as the other. Here, the relation of a servant to his master imposed no restrictions, involved no embarrassments, occasioned no injury. All this, clearly and certainly, is implied in "*perfect religious equality,*" which the Princeton professor accords to servants in relation to their master. Might the *master*, then, in order more fully to attain the great ends for which he was

59. See LEV. xxvi. 13; ISA lviii. 6, 9.

60. Supra page 44.

61. See MAT. vi. 24.

62. Those, for instance, set free by that "believing master" James G. Birney.

63. Letter to Dr. Fisk, supra, page 7.

64. Pittsburg Pamphlet, page 9.



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created and redeemed, freely exert himself to increase his acquaintance with his own powers, and relations, and resources—with his prospects, opportunities, and advantages? So might his *servants*. Was *he* at liberty to “study to approve himself to God,” to submit to his will and bow to his authority, as the sole standard of affection and exertion? So were *they*. Was *he* at liberty to sanctify the Sabbath, and frequent the “solemn assembly?” So were *they*. Was *he* at liberty so to honor the filial, conjugal, and paternal relations, as to find in them that spring of activity and that source of enjoyment, which they are capable of yielding? So were *they*. In every department of interest and exertion, they might use their capacities, and wield their powers, and improve their opportunities, and employ their resources, as freely as he, in glorifying God, in blessing mankind, and in laying up imperishable treasures for themselves! Give perfect religious equality to the American slave, and the most eager abolitionist must be satisfied. Such equality would, like the breath of the Almighty, dissolve the last link of the chain of servitude. Dare those who, for the benefit of slavery, have given so wide and active a circulation to the Pittsburg pamphlet, make the experiment?

In the epistle to the Colossians, the following passage deserves earnest attention:— “Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God: and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing, that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done: and there is no respect of persons.—Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye have a Master in heaven.”⁶⁵

Here it is natural to remark—

1. That in maintaining the relation, which mutually united them, both masters and servants were to act in conformity with the principles of the divine government. Whatever *they* did, servants were to do in hearty obedience to the Lord, by whose authority they were to be controlled and by whose hand they were to be rewarded. To the same Lord, and according to the same law, was the *master* to hold himself responsible. *Both the one and the other were of course equally at liberty and alike required to study and apply the standard, by which they were to be governed and judged.*

2. The basis of the government under which they thus were placed, was *righteousness*—strict, stern, impartial. Nothing here of bias or antipathy. Birth, wealth, station,—the dust of the balance not so light! Both master and servants were hastening to a tribunal, where nothing of “respect of persons” could be feared or hoped for. There the wrong-doer, whoever he might be, and whether from the top or bottom of society, must be dealt with according to his deservings.

3. Under this government, servants were to be universally and heartily obedient; and both in the presence and absence of the

65. COL. iii. 22 to iv. 1.



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master, faithfully to discharge their obligations. The master on his part, in his relations to the servants, was to make JUSTICE AND EQUALITY the *standard of his conduct*. Under the authority of such instructions, slavery falls discountenanced, condemned, abhorred. It is flagrantly at war with the government of God, consists in "respect of persons" the most shameless and outrageous, treads justice and equality under foot, and in its natural tendency and practical effects is nothing else than a system of wrong-doing. What have *they* to do with the just and the equal who in their "respect of persons" proceed to such a pitch as to treat one brother as a thing because he is a servant, and place him, without the least regard to his welfare here, or his prospects hereafter, absolutely at the disposal of another brother, under the name of master, in the relation of owner to property? Justice and equality on the one hand, and the chattel principle on the other, are naturally subversive of each other—proof clear and decisive that the correlates, masters and servants, cannot here be rendered slaves and owners, without the grossest absurdity and the greatest violence.

"Servants, be obedient to them that are *your* masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men: knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether *he* be bond or free. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him."⁶⁶

Without repeating here what has already been offered in exposition of kindred passages, it may be sufficient to say:—

1. That the relation of the servants here addressed, to their master, was adapted to make him the object of their heart-felt attachment. Otherwise they could not have been required to render him an affectionate service.

2. This relation demanded a perfect reciprocity of benefits. It had its soul in *good-will*, mutually cherished and properly expressed. Hence "THE SAME THINGS," the same in principle, the same in substance, the same in their mutual bearing upon the welfare of the master and the servants, was to be rendered back and forth by the one and the other. It was clearly the relation of mutual service. Do we here find the chattel principle?

3. Of course, the servants might not be slack, time-serving, unfaithful. Of course, the master must "FORBEAR THREATENING." Slavery without threatening! Impossible. Wherever maintained, it is of necessity a *system of threatening*, injecting into the bosom of the slave such terrors, as never cease for a moment to haunt and torment him. Take from the chattel principle the support, which it derives from "threatening," and you annihilate it at once and forever.

4. This relation was to be maintained in accordance with the principles of the divine government, where "RESPECT OF PERSONS"

66. EPHESIANS vi. 5-9.



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could not be admitted. It was, therefore, totally inconsistent with, and submissive of, the chattel principle, which in American slavery is developed in a system of "respect of persons," equally gross and hurtful. No Abolitionist, however eager and determined in his opposition to slavery, could ask for more than these precepts, once obeyed, would be sure to confer.

"The relation of slavery," according to Professor Stuart, is recognized in "the precepts of the New Testament," as one which "may still exist without violating the Christian faith or the church."⁶⁷ Slavery and the chattel principle! So our professor thinks; otherwise his reference has nothing to do with the subject—with the slavery which the abolitionist, whom he derides, stands opposed to. How gross and hurtful is the mistake into which he allows himself to fall. The relation recognized in the precepts of the New Testament had its basis and support in "justice and equality;" the very opposite of the chattel principle; a relation which may exist as long as justice and equality remain, and thus escape the destruction to which, in the view of Professor Stuart, slavery is doomed. The description of Paul obliterates every feature of American slavery, raising the servant to equality with his master, and placing his rights under the protection of justice; yet the eye of Professor Stuart can see nothing in his master and servant but a slave and his owner. With this relation he is so thoroughly possessed, that, like an evil angel, it haunts him even when he enters the temple of justice!

"It is remarkable," saith the Princeton professor, "that there is not even an exhortation" in the writings of the apostles "to masters to liberate their slaves, much less is it urged as an imperative and immediate duty."⁶⁸ It would be remarkable, indeed, if they were chargeable with a defect so great and glaring. And so they have nothing to say upon the subject? *That* not even the Princeton professor has the assurance to affirm. He admits that KINDNESS, MERCY, AND JUSTICE, were enjoined with a *distinct reference to the government of God*.⁶⁹ "Without respect of persons," they were to be God-like in doing justice. They were to act the part of kind and merciful "brethren." And whither would this lead them? Could they stop short of restoring to every man his natural, inalienable rights?—of doing what they could to redress the wrongs, sooth the sorrows, improve the character, and raise the condition of the degraded and oppressed? Especially, if oppressed and degraded by any agency of theirs. Could it be kind, merciful, or just to keep the chains of slavery on their helpless, unoffending brother? Would this be to honor the Golden Rule, or obey the second great command of "their Master in Heaven?" Could the apostles have subserved the cause of freedom more directly, intelligibly, and effectually, than to *enjoin the principles, and sentiments, and habits, in which freedom consists—constituting its living root and fruitful germ!*

The Princeton professor himself, in the very paper which the South has so warmly welcomed and so loudly applauded as a scriptural defence of "the peculiar institution," maintains,

67. Letter to Dr. Fisk, *supra* page 7.

68. Pittsburg pamphlet, page 9.

69. The same, page 10.



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that the "GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE GOSPEL have DESTROYED SLAVERY *throughout the greater part of Christendom*"⁷⁰ – "THAT CHRISTIANITY HAS ABOLISHED BOTH POLITICAL AND DOMESTIC BONDAGE WHEREVER IT HAS HAD FREE SCOPE—that it ENJOINS a *fair compensation for labor; insists on the mental and intellectual improvement of ALL classes of men; condemns ALL infractions of marital or parental rights; requires, in short, not only that FREE SCOPE should be allowed to human improvement, but that ALL SUITABLE MEANS should be employed for the attainment of that end.*"⁷¹ It is indeed "remarkable," that while neither Christ nor his apostles ever gave "an exhortation to masters to liberate their slaves," they enjoined such "general principles as have destroyed domestic slavery throughout the greater part of Christendom;" that while Christianity forbears "to urge" emancipation "as an imperative and immediate duty," it throws a barrier, heaven high, around every domestic circle; protects all the rights of the husband and the father; gives every laborer a fair compensation; and makes the moral and intellectual improvement of all classes, with free scope and all suitable means, the object of its tender solicitude and high authority. This is not only "remarkable," but inexplicable. Yes and no—hot and cold, in one and the same breath! And yet these things stand prominent in what is reckoned an acute, ingenious, effective defence of slavery!

In his letter to the Corinthian church, the apostle Paul furnishes another lesson of instruction, expressive of his views and feelings on the subject of slavery. "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman: likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men."⁷²

In explaining and applying this passage, it is proper to suggest:

1. That it *could* not have been the object of the apostle to bind the Corinthian converts to the stations and employments in which the gospel found them. For he exhorts some of them to escape, if possible, from their present condition. In the servile state, "under the yoke," they ought not to remain unless impelled by stern necessity. "If thou canst be free, use it rather." If they ought to prefer freedom to bondage and to exert themselves to escape from the latter for the sake of the former, could their master consistently with the claims and spirit of the gospel have hindered or discouraged them in so doing? Their "brother" could he be, who kept "the yoke" upon their neck, which the apostle would have them shake off if possible? And had such masters been members of the Corinthian church, what inferences must they have drawn from this exhortation to their servants? That the apostle regarded slavery as a Christian institution?—or could look complacently on any efforts to introduce or maintain it in the church? Could they have expected less from

70. Pittsburg pamphlet, page 18, 19.

71. The same, page 31.

72. 1 CORINTHIANS vii. 20-23.



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him than a stern rebuke, if they refused to exert themselves in the cause of freedom?

2. But while they were to use their freedom, if they could obtain it, they should not, even on such a subject, give themselves up to ceaseless anxiety. "The Lord was no respecter of persons." They need not fear, that the "low estate," to which they had been wickedly reduced, would prevent them from enjoying the gifts of his hand or the light of his countenance. *He* would respect their rights, sooth their sorrows, and pour upon their hearts, and cherish there, the spirit of liberty. "For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman." In *him*, therefore, should they cheerfully confide.

3. The apostle, however, forbids them so to acquiesce in the servile relation, as to act inconsistently with their Christian obligations. To their Savior they belonged. By his blood they had been purchased. It should be their great object, therefore, to render *Him* a hearty and effective service. They should permit no man, whoever he might be, to thrust in himself between them and their Redeemer. "Ye are bought with a price; BE NOT YE THE SERVANTS OF MEN."

With his eye upon the passage just quoted and explained, the Princeton professor asserts that "Paul represents this relation"—the relation of slavery—"as of comparatively little account."⁷³ And this he applies—otherwise it is nothing to his purpose—to *American* slavery. Does he then regard it as a small matter, a mere trifle, to be thrown under the slave-laws of this republic, grimly and fiercely excluding their victim from almost every means of improvement, and field of usefulness, and source of comfort; and making him, body and substance, with his wife and babes, "the servant of men?" Could such a relation be acquiesced in consistently with the instructions of the apostle?

To the Princeton professor we commend a practical trial of the bearing of the passage in hand upon American slavery. His regard for the unity and prosperity of the ecclesiastical organizations, which in various forms and under different names, unite the southern with the northern churches, will make the experiment grateful to his feelings. Let him, then, as soon as his convenience will permit, proceed to Georgia. No religious teacher⁷⁴ from any free State, can be likely to receive so general and so warm a welcome there. To allay the heat, which the doctrines and movements of the abolitionists have occasioned in the southern mind, let him with as much despatch as possible, collect, as he goes from place to place, masters and their slaves. Now let all men, whom it may concern, see and own that slavery is a Christian institution! With his Bible in his hand and his eye upon the passage in question, he addresses himself to the task of instructing the slaves around him. Let not your hearts, my brethren, be overcharged with sorrow, or eaten up with anxiety. Your servile condition cannot deprive you of the

73. Pittsburg pamphlet, page 10.

74. Rev. Mr. Savage, of Utica, New York, had, not very long ago, a free conversation with a gentleman of high standing in the literary and religious world from a slaveholding State, where the "peculiar institution" is cherished with great warmth and maintained with iron rigor. By him, Mr. Savage was assured, that the Princeton professor had, through the Pittsburg pamphlet, contributed most powerfully and effectually to bring the "whole South" under the persuasion, *that slaveholding is in itself right—a system to which the Bible gives countenance and support.*



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fatherly regards of Him "who is no respecter of persons." Freedom you ought, indeed, to prefer. If you can escape from "the yoke," throw it off. In the mean time rejoice that "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty;" that the gospel places slaves "on a perfect religious equality" with their master; so that every Christian is "the Lord's freeman." And, for your encouragement, remember that "Christianity has abolished both political and domestic servitude wherever it has had free scope. It enjoins a fair compensation for labor; it insists on the moral and intellectual improvement of all classes of men; it condemns all infractions of marital or parental rights; in short it requires not only that free scope be allowed to human improvement, but that all suitable means should be employed for the attainment of that end."⁷⁵ Let your lives, then, be honorable to your relations to your Savior. He bought you with his own blood; and is entitled to your warmest love and most effective service. "Be not ye the servants of men." Let no human arrangements prevent you, as citizens of the kingdom of heaven, from making the most of your powers and opportunities. Would such an effort, generally and heartily made, allay excitement at the South, and quench the flames of discord, every day rising higher and waxing hotter, in almost every part of the republic, and cement "the Union?"

In an extract from an article in the Southern Christian Sentinel, a new Presbyterian paper established in Charleston, South Carolina, and inserted in the Christian Journal for March 21, 1839, we find the following paragraphs from the pen of Rev. C.W. Howard, and, according to Mr. Chester, ably and freely endorsed by the editor. "There is scarcely any diversity of sentiment at the North upon this subject. The great mass of the people, believing slavery to be sinful, are clearly of the opinion that, as a system, it should be abolished throughout this land and throughout the world. They differ as to the time and mode of abolition. The abolitionists consistently argue, that whatever is sinful should be instantly abandoned. The others, *by a strange sort of reasoning for Christian men*, contend that though slavery is sinful, yet it may be allowed to exist until it shall be expedient to abolish it; or, if, in many cases, this reasoning might be translated into plain English, the sense would be, both in Church and State, *slavery, though sinful, may be allowed to exist until our interest will suffer us to say that it must be abolished*. This is not slander; it is simply a plain way of stating a plain truth. It does seem the evident duty of every man to become an abolitionist, who believes slavery to be sinful, for the Bible allows no tampering with sin.

"To these remarks, there are some noble exceptions, to be found in both parties in the church. *The South owes a debt of gratitude to the Biblical Repertory, for the fearless argument in behalf of the position, that slavery is not forbidden by the Bible*. The writer of that article is said, without contradiction, to be *Professor Hodge, of Princeton*—HIS NAME OUGHT TO BE KNOWN AND REVERED AMONG YOU, my brethren, for in a land of anti-slavery men, he is the ONLY ONE who has dared to vindicate your character

75. Pittsburg pamphlet, page 31.



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from the serious charge of living in the habitual transgression of God's holy law."]

"It is," affirms the Princeton professor, "on all hands acknowledged, that, at the time of the advent of Jesus Christ, slavery in its worst forms prevailed over the whole world. *The Savior found it around him IN JUDEA.*"⁷⁶ To say that he found it *in Judea*, is to speak ambiguously. Many things were to be found *"in Judea,"* which neither belonged to, nor were characteristic of *the Jews*. It is not denied that *the Gentiles*, who resided among them, might have had slaves; *but of the Jews this is denied*. How could the professor take that as granted, the proof of which entered vitally into the argument and was essential to the soundness of the conclusions to which he would conduct us? How could he take advantage of an ambiguous expression to conduct his confiding readers on to a position which, if his own eyes were open, he must have known they could not hold in the light of open day!

We do not charge the Savior with any want of wisdom, goodness, or courage,⁷⁷ for refusing to "break down the wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles" "before the time appointed." While this barrier stood, he could not, consistently with the plan of redemption, impart instruction freely to the Gentiles. To some extent, and on extraordinary occasions, he might have done so. But his business then was with "the lost sheep of the house of Israel."⁷⁸ The propriety of this arrangement is not the matter of dispute between the Princeton professor and ourselves.

In disposing of the question whether the Jews held slaves during our Savior's incarnation among them, the following points deserve earnest attention:—

1. Slaveholding is inconsistent with the Mosaic economy. For the proof of this, we would refer our readers, among other arguments more or less appropriate and powerful, to the tract already alluded to.⁷⁹ In all the external relations and visible arrangements of life, the Jews, during our Savior's ministry among them, seem to have been scrupulously observant of the institutions and usages of the "Old Dispensation." They stood far aloof from whatever was characteristic of Samaritans and Gentiles. From idolatry and slaveholding—those twin-vices which had always so greatly prevailed among the heathen—they seem at length, as the result of a most painful discipline, to have been effectually divorced.

2. While, therefore, John the Baptist; with marked fidelity and great power, acted among the Jews the part of a *reprover*, he found no occasion to repeat and apply the language of his predecessors,⁸⁰ in exposing and rebuking idolatry and slaveholding. Could he, the greatest of the prophets, have been less effectually aroused by the presence of "the yoke," than was Isaiah?—or less intrepid and decisive in exposing and denouncing the sin of oppression under its most hateful and injurious

76. The same, page 9.

77. Pittsburg pamphlet, page 10.

78. MATT. xv. 24.

79. "The Bible against Slavery."

80. PSALM lxxxii; ISA. lviii. 1-12 JER. xxii. 13-16.



forms?

3. The Savior was not backward in applying his own principles plainly and pointedly to such forms of oppression as appeared among the Jews. These principles, whenever they have been freely acted on, the Princeton professor admits, have abolished domestic bondage. Had this prevailed within the sphere of our Savior's ministry, he could not, consistently with his general character, have failed to expose and condemn it. The oppression of the people by lordly ecclesiastics, of parents by their selfish children, of widows by their ghostly counsellors, drew from his lips scorching rebukes and terrible denunciations.⁸¹ How, then, must he have felt and spoke in the presence of such tyranny, if *such tyranny had been within his official sphere*, as should have made widows, by driving their husbands to some flesh-market, and their children not orphans, *but cattle*?

4. Domestic slavery was manifestly inconsistent with the *industry, which, in the form of manual labor*, so generally prevailed among the Jews. In one connection, in the Acts of the Apostles, we are informed, that, coming from Athens to Corinth, Paul "found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla; (because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome;) and came unto them. And because he was of the same craft, he abode with them and wrought: (for by their occupation they were tent-makers.)"⁸² This passage has opened the way for different commentators to refer us to the public sentiment and general practice of the Jews respecting useful industry and manual labor. According to *Lightfoot*, "it was their custom to bring up their children to some trade, yea, though they gave them learning or estates." According to Rabbi Judah, "He that teaches not his son a trade, is as if he taught him to be a thief."⁸³ It was, *Kuinoel* affirms, customary even for Jewish teachers to unite labor (*opificium*) with the study of the law. This he confirms by the highest Rabbinical authority.⁸⁴ *Heinrichs* quotes a Rabbi as teaching, that no man should by any means neglect to train his son to honest industry.⁸⁵ Accordingly, the apostle Paul, though brought up at the "feet of Gamaliel," the distinguished disciple of a most illustrious teacher, practised the art of tent-making. His own hands ministered to his necessities; and his example is so doing, he commends to his Gentile brethren for their imitation.⁸⁶ That Zebedee, the father of John the Evangelist, had wealth, various hints in the New Testament render probable.⁸⁷ Yet how do we find him and his sons, while prosecuting their appropriate business? In the midst of the hired servants, "in the ship mending their nets."⁸⁸

Slavery among a people who, from the highest to the lowest, were used to manual labor! What occasion for slavery there? And how

81. MATT. xxiii; MARK vii. 1-13.

82. ACTS xviii. 1-3.

83. Henry on ACTS xviii. 1-3.

84. Kuinoel on ACTS.

85. Heinrichs on ACTS.

86. ACTS xx. 34, 35; 1 THESS. iv. 11.

87. See Kuinoel's PROLEGOM. TO THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

88. MARK i. 19, 20.



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could it be maintained? No place can be found for slavery among a people generally inured to useful industry. With such, especially if men of learning, wealth, and station, "labor, working with their hands," such labor must be honorable. On this subject, let Jewish maxims and Jewish habits be adopted at the South, and the "peculiar institution" would vanish like a ghost at daybreak.

5. Another hint, here deserving particular attention, is furnished in the allusions of the New Testament to the lowest casts and most servile employments among the Jews. With profligates, *publicans* were joined as depraved and contemptible. The outcasts of society were described, not as fit to herd with slaves, but as deserving a place among Samaritans and publicans. They were "*hired servants*," whom Zebedee employed. In the parable of the prodigal son we have a wealthy Jewish family. Here servants seem to have abounded. The prodigal, bitterly bewailing his wretchedness and folly, described their condition as greatly superior to his own. How happy the change which should place him by their side? His remorse, and shame, and penitence made him willing to embrace the lot of the lowest of them all. But these—what was their condition? They were HIRED SERVANTS. "Make me as one of thy hired servants." Such he refers to as the lowest menials known in Jewish life.

Lay such hints as have now been suggested together; let it be remembered, that slavery was inconsistent with the Mosaic economy; that John the Baptist in preparing the way for the Messiah makes no reference "to the yoke" which, had it been before him, he would, like Isaiah, have condemned; that the Savior, while he took the part of the poor and sympathized with the oppressed, was evidently spared the pain of witnessing within the sphere of his ministry, the presence, of the chattel principle, that it was the habit of the Jews, whoever they might be, high or low, rich or poor, learned or rude, "to labor, working with their hands;" and that where reference was had to the most menial employments, in families, they were described as carried on by hired servants; and the question of slavery "in Judea," so far as the seed of Abraham were concerned, is very easily disposed of. With every phase and form of society among them slavery was inconsistent.

The position which, in the article so often referred to in this paper, the Princeton professor takes, is sufficiently remarkable. Northern abolitionists he saw in an earnest struggle with southern slaveholders. The present welfare and future happiness of myriads of the human family were at stake in this contest. In the heat of the battle, he throws himself between the belligerent powers. He gives the abolitionists to understand, that they are quite mistaken in the character of the objections they have set themselves so openly and sternly against. Slaveholding is not, as they suppose, contrary to the law of God. It was witnessed by the Savior "in its worst forms"⁸⁹ without extorting from his lips a syllable of rebuke. "The sacred writers did not condemn it."⁹⁰ And why should they? By a

89. Pittsburg pamphlet, page 9.

90. The same, page 13.

definition⁹¹ sufficiently ambiguous and slippery, he undertakes to set forth a form of slavery which he looks upon as consistent with the law of Righteousness. From this definition he infers that the abolitionists are greatly to blame for maintaining that American slavery is inherently and essentially sinful, and for insisting that it ought at once to be abolished. For this labor of love the slaveholding South is warmly grateful and applauds its reverend ally, as if a very Daniel had come as their advocate to judgment.⁹²

A few questions, briefly put, may not here be inappropriate.

1. Was the form of slavery which our professor pronounces innocent *the form* witnessed by our Savior "in Judea?" That, *he* will by no means admit. The slavery there was, he affirms, of the "worst" kind. *How then does he account for the alleged silence of the Savior?—a silence covering the essence and the form—the institution and its "worst" abuses?*

2. Is the slaveholding, which, according to the Princeton professor, Christianity justifies, the same as that which the abolitionists so earnestly wish to see abolished? Let us see.

*Christianity in supporting
Slavery, according to Professor
Hodge,*

"Enjoins a fair compensation
for labor"

"It insists on the moral and
intellectual improvement of all
classes of men"

"It condemns all infractions of
marital or parental rights."

"It requires that free scope
should be allowed to human
improvement."

"It requires that all suitable
means should be employed to
improve mankind"

"Wherever it has had free scope,
it has abolished domestic scope,
bondage."

*The American system
for supporting Slavery,*

Makes compensation
impossible by reducing
the laborer to a chattel.

It sternly forbids its
victim to learn to read
even the name of his
Creator and Redeemer.

It outlaws the conjugal
and parental relations.

It forbids any effort, on
on the part of myriads of
the human family, to
improve their character,
condition, and prospects.

It inflicts heavy
penalties for teaching
letters to the poorest
of the poor.

Wherever it has free
it perpetuates
domestic bondage.

Now it is slavery according to the American system that the abolitionists are set against. Of the existence of any such form of slavery as is consistent with Professor Hodge's account of the requisitions of Christianity, they know nothing. It has never met their notice, and of course, has never roused their feelings or called forth their exertions. What, then, have they

91. The same, page 12.

92. Supra, page 58.



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to do with the censures and reproaches which the Princeton professor deals around? Let those who have leisure and good nature protect the man of *straw* he is so hot against. The abolitionists have other business. It is not the figment of some sickly brain; but that system of oppression which in theory is corrupting, and in practice destroying both Church and State;— it is this that they feel pledged to do battle upon, till by the just judgment of Almighty God it is thrown, dead and damned, into the bottomless abyss.

3. *How can the South feel itself protected by any shield which may be thrown over SUCH SLAVERY, as may be consistent with what the Princeton professor describes as the requisitions of Christianity? Is this THE slavery which their laws describe, and their hands maintain? "Fair compensation for labor"— "marital and parental rights"— "free scope" and "all suitable means" for the "improvement, moral and intellectual, of all classes of men;"—are these, according to the statutes of the South, among the objects of slaveholding legislation? Every body knows that any such requisitions and American slavery are flatly opposed to and directly subversive of each other. What service, then, has the Princeton professor, with all his ingenuity and all his zeal, rendered the "peculiar institution?" Their gratitude must be of a stamp and complexion quite peculiar, if they can thank him for throwing their "domestic system" under the weight of such Christian requisitions as must at once crush its snaky head "and grind it to powder."*

And what, moreover, is the bearing of the Christian requisitions, which Professor Hodge quotes, upon the definition of slavery which he has elaborated? "All the ideas which necessarily enter into the definition of slavery are, deprivation of personal liberty, obligation of service at the discretion of another, and the transferable character of the authority and claim of service of the master."⁹³

According to Professor Hodge's account of the requisitions of Christianity,

The spring of effort in the laborer is a fair compensation.

Free scope must be given for his moral and intellectual improvement.

His rights as a husband and a father are to be protected.

According to Professor Hodge's definition of Slavery,

The laborer must serve at the discretion of another.

He is deprived of personal liberty—the necessary condition, and living soul of improvement, without which he has no control of either intellect or morals.

The authority and claims of the master may throw an ocean between him and his family, and separate them from each other's presence at any moment and forever.

Christianity, then, requires such slavery as Professor Hodge so
93. Pittsburg pamphlet page 12.



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cunningly defines, to be abolished. It was well provided for the peace of the respective parties, that he placed *his definition* so far from *the requisitions of Christianity*. Had he brought them into each other's presence, their natural and invincible antipathy to each other would have broken out into open and exterminating warfare. But why should we delay longer upon an argument which is based on gross and monstrous sophistry? It can mislead only such as *wish* to be misled. The lovers of sunlight are in little danger of rushing into the professor's dungeon. Those who, having something to conceal, covet darkness, can find it there, to their heart's content. The hour cannot be far away, when upright and reflective minds at the South will be astonished at the blindness which could welcome such protection as the Princeton argument offers to the slaveholder.

But *Professor Stuart* must not be forgotten. In his celebrated letter to Dr. Fisk, he affirms that "*Paul did not expect slavery to be ousted in a day.*"⁹⁴ Did not EXPECT! What then! Are the *requisitions* of Christianity adapted to any EXPECTATIONS which in any quarter and on any ground might have risen to human consciousness? And are we to interpret the *precepts* of the gospel by the expectations of Paul? The Savior commanded all men every where to repent, and this, though "Paul did not expect" that human wickedness, in its ten thousand forms would in any community "be ousted in a day." Expectations are one thing; requisitions quite another.

In the mean time, while expectation waited, Paul, the professor adds, "gave precepts to Christians respecting their demeanor." That he did. Of what character were these precepts? Must they not have been in harmony with the Golden Rule? But this, according to Professor Stuart, "decides against the righteousness of slavery" even as a "theory." Accordingly, Christians were required, *without respect of persons*, to do each other justice—to maintain equality as common ground for all to stand upon—to cherish and express in all their intercourse that tender love and disinterested charity which one *brother* naturally feels for another. These were the "ad interim precepts."⁹⁵ which cannot fail, if obeyed, to cut up slavery, "root and branch," at once and forever.

Professor Stuart comforts us with the assurance that "*Christianity will ultimately certainly destroy slavery.*" Of this we have not the feeblest doubt. But how could he admit a persuasion and utter a prediction so much at war with the doctrine he maintains, that "*slavery may exist without VIOLATING THE CHRISTIAN FAITH OR THE CHURCH?*"⁹⁶ What, Christianity bent on the destruction of an ancient and cherished institution which hurts neither her character nor condition?⁹⁷ Why not correct its abuses and purify its spirit; and shedding upon it her own beauty, preserve it, as a living trophy of her reformatory power? Whence the discovery that, in her onward progress, she would trample down and destroy what was no way hurtful to her? This is to be *aggressive* with a witness. Far be it from the Judge

94. Supra, page 7.

95. Letter to Dr. Fisk, page 7.

96. Letter to Dr. Fisk, page 7.

97. Professor Stuart applies here the words, *salva fide et salva ecclesia*.



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of all the earth to overwhelm the innocent and guilty in the same destruction! In aid of Professor Stuart, in the rude and scarcely covert attack which he makes upon himself, we maintain that Christianity will certainly destroy slavery on account of its inherent wickedness—its malignant temper—its deadly effects—its constitutional, insolent, and unmitigable opposition to the authority of God and the welfare of man.

"Christianity will *ultimately* destroy slavery." "ULTIMATELY!" What meaneth that portentous word? To what limit of remotest time, concealed in the darkness of futurity, may it look? Tell us, O watchman, on the hill of Andover. Almost nineteen centuries have rolled over this world of wrong and outrage—and yet we tremble in the presence of a form of slavery whose breath is poison, whose fang is death! If any one of the incidents of slavery should fall, but for a single day, upon the head of the prophet, who dipped his pen in such cold blood, to write that word "ultimately," how, under the sufferings of the first tedious hour, would he break out in the lamentable cry, "How long, O Lord, HOW LONG!" In the agony of beholding a wife or daughter upon the table of the auctioneer, while every bid fell upon his heart like the groan of despair, small comfort would he find in the dull assurance of some heartless prophet, quite at "ease in Zion," that "ULTIMATELY Christianity would destroy slavery." As the hammer falls, and the beloved of his soul, all helpless and most wretched, is borne away to the haunts of legalized debauchery, his hearts turns to stone, while the cry dies upon his lips, "How LONG, O Lord, HOW LONG!"

"*Ultimately!*" In *what circumstances* does Professor Stuart assure himself that Christianity will destroy slavery? Are we, as American citizens, under the sceptre of a Nero? When, as integral parts of this republic—as living members of this community, did we forfeit the prerogatives of *freemen*? Have we not the right to speak and act as wielding the powers which the privileges of self-government has put in our possession? And without asking leave of priest or statesman of the North or the South, may we not make the most of the freedom which we enjoy under the guaranty of the ordinances of Heaven and the Constitution of our country! Can we expect to see Christianity on higher vantage-ground than in this country she stands upon? In the midst of a republic based on the principle of the equality of mankind, where every Christian, as vitally connected with the state, freely wields the highest political rights and enjoys the richest political privileges; where the unanimous demand of one-half of the members of the churches would be promptly met in the abolition of slavery, what "*ultimately*" must Christianity here wait for before she crushes the chattel principle beneath her heel? Her triumph over slavery is retarded by nothing but the corruption and defection so widely spread through the "sacramental host" beneath her banners! Let her voice be heard and her energies exerted, and the *ultimately* of the "dark spirit of slavery" would at once give place to the *immediately* of the Avenger of the Poor.

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March: [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) became pregnant.

December 14, Saturday: [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) gave birth to Charles Stuart Faucheraud Weld.⁹⁸

THEODORE DWIGHT WELD

Edward “Ned” William Hooper was born in Boston to Dr. Robert William Hooper and [Mrs. Ellen Sturgis Hooper](#).⁹⁹

1841

[Theodore Dwight Weld](#) returned to public life when he went to Washington DC, to head an antislavery reference bureau for the group of insurgents in Congress who broke with the Whigs on the slavery issue and were seeking the repeal of the “gag rule” restricting the consideration of antislavery petitions in Congress.



98. It would appear, from materials on the Internet, that this Weld/Grimké union would also produce a daughter who would marry with a man who was the product of a white man and a black woman slave and their union would in 1880 create a great-niece biracial child [Angelina Weld Grimké](#) who would spend her life as an English teacher and writer: At the age of 16 she would write to another girl that if she weren’t too young, she would ask that girl to be her wife: “How my brain whirls, how my pulse leaps with joy and madness when I think of those two words, ‘my wife’.” She is perhaps best known for apparent lesbianism and for her play “Rachel” about an African-American woman who rejects marriage and motherhood and refuses to produce children for white society to torment.

99. Ned would get married with Fanny Hudson Chapin and become a professor and treasurer of Harvard University.

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December: During this month [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) was lobbying against the gag rule in Washington DC.



1842

April: [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) and [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) had abandoned their anti-slavery crusade in the form in which they had been conducting it, and had retreated to a farm near Bellesville, New Jersey. The excuse Weld was giving was that he had damaged his vocal chords, but in fact there was an intellectual and emotional and spiritual basis for this abandonment. The two of them had become more and more skeptical of that sort of evangelism, and had begun to fear even that it would prove to be a preamble for disillusion, then bitterness, then retribution. The sponsor Lewis Tappan had been appealing to the foot soldiers to “wage war with sin & Satan,” but one visitor brought away from this farm the news that these foot soldiers felt as if they had been “laboring to destroy evil” in the same spirit as that in which the perpetrators of the evil of slavery had been enacting and perpetuating it. They said had come to recognize that “fighting was not the best way to annihilate error.”

1843



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Having demonstrated the value of an antislavery lobby in Washington, [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) returned to private life.



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1847

April: Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) inquired of Lewis Tappan where his friend [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) had vanished to. He was no longer to be located among the foot soldiers of the anti-slavery crusade.



Tappan response indicated bitterness at his betrayal by someone among his foot soldiers who had come to believe that the spirit in which the struggle was being waged against slavery by the white abolitionists was the same spirit which was causing white slaveholders to cling so tenaciously to the institution of slavery:

*"Where is Weld?" He is in a ditch opposite his house, doing the work any Irishman could do for 75 cents a day. His wife is "suckling fools and chronicling small beer." **The quakers did it**, they say.*

Well, bully for them Quakers!

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1850

August 21, Thursday/22, Friday: A Fugitive Slave Law Convention was held in the orchard of Grace Wilson's School, on Sullivan Street in Cazenovia, New York. Attending were Mary Edmondson and Emily Edmondson, who had been among 14 siblings born into slavery in Washington DC because their mother (not their father) was enslaved. In 1848 they, with their brothers Samuel Edmondson and Richard Edmondson and 73 others, had attempted to flee aboard the schooner *Pearl*. When that ship was intercepted, the girls had been carried by a slavetrader to New Orleans to serve as "fancy girls," but their father Paul Edmondson had however gone to New-York to petition the New York Anti-Slavery Society, and the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher and the congregation of his Plymouth Church had raised a sum of money to purchase his daughters. Harriet Beecher Stowe having undertaken responsibility for their education, Emily Edmondson and Mary Edmondson would in 1852 enroll in Oberlin's Preparatory Department with the intention of becoming missionaries to American blacks who were escaping to Canada. Mary Edmondson was, however, suffering from *phthisis*, and would

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become progressively weaker throughout her first year at Oberlin College and die on May 18, 1853. Emily Edmundson would, until her marriage, assist at Myrtilla Miner's school for black girls in the District of Columbia. She would, with the sponsorship of [Frederick Douglass](#), armed with her [manumission](#) papers, go to the deep South and buy one of her brothers out of slavery. On this Daguerreotype plate exposed by local photographer Ezra Greenleaf Weld, Mary Edmondson is wearing a shawl, at the elbow of Frederick Douglass. Gerrit Smith, whose home was in nearby Peterboro, is gesturing behind Douglass, and the figure at center is presumably [Abby Kelley Foster](#), with Emily Edmundson behind her in a bonnet. The Reverend Samuel Joseph May is standing behind the man who is taking notes. [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), recognizable by his miss-shapen skull, is in front of Douglass. We suspect therefore that the diminutive figure between Emily Edmundson and the Reverend May would be [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#).



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1853

George Draper came to [Hopedale](#). There were at this period 229 residents in the community (76 members, 22 probationers, 79 family dependents, and 52 others).



Two members of the community were discovered to be committing adultery, and fled, finding their refuge at the free-loving Modern Times community on Long Island which at the time housed fifty to a hundred swingers. Another member of the [Hopedale](#) community, under attack for not having exposed this pair of adulterers, fled to the [North American Phalanx](#), an intentional community on the shore of Raritan Bay in New Jersey across from New-York.

In a dispute over the women's rights and abolitionist movements and in regard to a controversial plan to add a religious affiliation to the community, a portion of the membership of this North American Phalanx seceded to form the [Raritan Bay Union](#). Friend [Rebecca Buffum Spring](#) and Friend [Marcus Spring](#) joined with this group on a large plot of land overlooking the ocean along the northern shore of Raritan Bay. Inspired by the French socialist Charles Fourier, this Union would seek to correct social inequalities and to conserve both labor and money through collective work. Members might choose to live communally or in private residences, but all would share as much in the work of the community as in its social events. The Union would establish a boarding school that would be a pioneer in co-education. Girl students would be encouraged to speak in public, engage in sports, and act in plays, all activities that were in other schools restricted to the boys. Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and her little sister [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) would teach in the school, which would be headmastered by [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), Angelina's husband. Several other noted reformers would teach and lecture at the school. The school would operate until about 1861, but we simply don't know how long the Union itself endured. We do have an engraving dating to 1858 that shows the large stone phalanstery which

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WHAT?

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by that time had come to house the school, and the living quarters for students and for community members, and feature a common dining room in the middle section of the building as well as work rooms, shops, a laundry, and of course the communal kitchen. (At the left of the picture is the private home of Rebecca and Marcus Spring, who chose not to reside in this phalanstery.)



However, at this early point the site consisted of merely two existing farmhouses. Members of the community were referred to as associates, and all members were able to vote on the membership status of others. For most of the history of this social experiment it would amount to a population of 120-150. Prospective members resided in the community for 30 days before being offered a one-year provisional membership. At the completion of the year of provisional membership, upon the approval of the community, they would become full members.

COMMUNITARIANISM



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1854

Since her relationship with her 49-year-old little sister [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) was not improving, big sister [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) move out of the household at Belleville, New Jersey. Then, however, [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) and Angelina and Sarah –all three– decided to join the Raritan Bay Union of Perth Amboy, New Jersey and start an “Eagleswood School” there with Weld as headmaster. (When the Union would fail in 1856, the School would continue with Angelina and Sarah still as teachers. Eventually, during the Civil War, it would forsake its Quaker roots and be transformed into a military academy.)

1856

Early September: [Bronson Alcott](#) set [Henry Thoreau](#) up for a large surveying job with Friend [Marcus Spring](#) of a colony for [Hicksite Quakers](#) expelled by their meetings, near Perth Amboy, New Jersey across the water from Staten Island.

View [Henry Thoreau](#)’s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/116.htm

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This was the colony in which [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) and his wife [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) and her sister



[Sarah Moore Grimké](#) had started their [Eagleswood](#) School, financed in part by the Mott family, and this was the school in which Ellen Wright, a niece of Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) who later married a son of William Lloyd Garrison, was educated, as well as other Wright children.

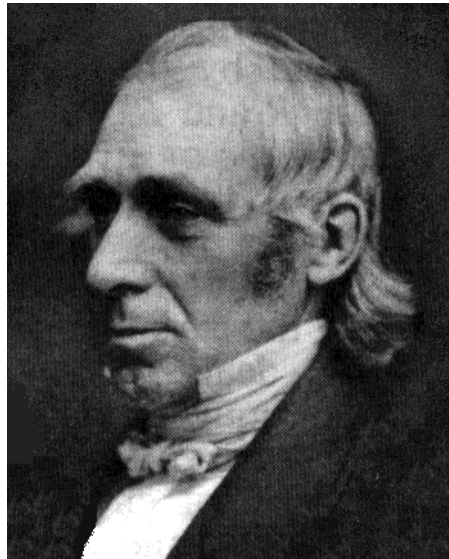


ANGELINA EMILY GRIMKÉ	SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ
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[Thoreau](#) took the train to Fitchburg and from there walked to Westminster; took the train to Brattleboro VT; explored the Connecticut River and Mount Wantastiquet and investigated plants and animals in Vermont; took the train to Bellows Falls; climbed Fall Mountain; took a wagon to Walpole, New Hampshire to visit [the Alcott family](#).



Here is a recollection by Mary Brown Dunton as reported in Elizabeth B. Davenport's "Thoreau in Vermont in 1856," [Vermont Botanical Club Bulletin](#) III (April 1908), page 37:

He struck me as being very odd, very wise and exceedingly observing. He roamed about the country at his own sweet will, and I was fortunate enough to be his companion on a walk up Wantastiquet Mt. I was well acquainted with the flora and could meet him understandingly there, but was somewhat abashed by the numerous questions he asked about all sorts of things, to which I could only reply "I do not know." It appealed to my sense of humor that a person with such a fund of knowledge should seek information from a young girl like myself, but I could not see that he had any fun in him. The only question I can now recall is this. As we stood on the summit of Wantastiquet, he fixed his earnest gaze on a distant point in the landscape, which he designated, asking "How far is it in a bee line to that spot?"

Before dawn on his 1st morning in Brattleboro VT, on his way to visit the Alcotts in New Hampshire, Thoreau reviewed a [botanical](#) catalog of Vermont plants. Then, as daylight appeared, he sauntered south along the railroad tracks and back along the banks of the Connecticut River, inspecting plants along the way. He climbed down the embankment to "the cold water path" of Whetstone Brook along neighboring Canal Street and Flat Street. Swamp maples along the Whetstone were beginning to turn color. Deep, dark columns of flowers rose like thick red ropes from the pale green leaves of sumac. He spent the afternoon inspecting plants, testing the murky water, and noting the wildlife. He made a note that Brattleboro appealed to him "for the nearness of primitive woods and mountain." He stopped to munch on raspberries and made a note of their "quite agreeable taste." Later that morning he tasted some grapes that were "pleasantly acidic."

On his 2nd morning in the town, Thoreau wandered far north along the Connecticut River, noting the level of the river, the shape of the gravel on its banks, and the explosion of late summer flowers that bloomed everywhere. "Will not the prime of the goldenrods and asters be just before the first severe frost?"



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On his 3rd day in the town, Thoreau again went “a-botanizing” up Whetstone Brook. The witch-hazel was out, hemlock lined the stream and asters bloomed everywhere. That night he created a two-page list of each plant. He described the Indian rope plant, named for its use as twine: “How often in the woods and fields we want a string or a rope and cannot find one.... This is the plant which Nature made for that purpose.” He noted that farmers in Vermont used the dried bark to tie up their fences, and wondered if it should be cultivated for that purpose.

While in Brattleboro a man who had recently killed a catamount showed Thoreau its skin and skull. By 1856, the mountain lion had become quite rare in southern Vermont. The skin measured nine feet, including its long tail, and the animal had weighed 108 pounds. Thoreau noted that the man had gotten a \$20 bounty for his kill.

On the morning of his last day in the Vermont town, Thoreau climbed Wantastiquet Mountain, the hill that rises out of the Connecticut River, towering above the downtown buildings. From the top he could see as far as Mount Ascutney, but he was more attentive to the horses and people he could see below him. “Above all this everlasting mountain is forever lowering over the village, shortening the day and wearing a misty cap each morning.” His considered opinion was that “this town will be convicted of folly if they ever permit this mountain to be laid bare.”



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THOREAU IN VERMONT:

WALKING WITH HENRY DAVID

BY ALAN BOYE

The glorious late-summer sunlight shone golden on the hills above downtown Brattleboro. Ignored by the people passing by, a man stood at the edge of Main Street and tightened the laces of his boots. He checked to see that his pencil and paper were in his backpack, and then climbed down the embankment to the babbling waters of Whetstone Brook.

The swamp maples that grew like weeds along the Whetstone were already showing the first hint of autumnal glory on their leaves. Deep, dark columns of flowers rose like thick red ropes from the pale green leaves of sumac. In the last of summer's brilliant air, insects flickered and then vanished like sparks of memory.

The man paused a moment and then set out on "the cold water path" of Whetstone Brook. He spent the beautiful afternoon inspecting its plants, testing the murky water, and noting the wildlife that scurried along its banks. All the while, the busy residents of the town hurried by on neighboring Canal and Flat streets, unaware of the strange creature below them.

The man was America's greatest naturalist, Henry David Thoreau. It was early September 1856. Thoreau was on his way to visit a friend in New Hampshire and stopped to spend four days walking around Brattleboro. It would be the only time in his life that he would explore Vermont on foot. He wrote in his journal that Brattleboro appealed to him "for the nearness of primitive woods and mountain."

A truck blasts past me and, in a low whine of gears, begins to climb Canal St. from downtown Brattleboro. Behind me, the Whetstone squeezes between a canyon of brick buildings. The water tumbles over massive rocks and then, just as suddenly, surrenders to the placid calm of the wide Connecticut. Cars clanging over the long bridge into New Hampshire nearly drown the sound of the rapids.

I head straight for the Whetstone past the somber, concrete-gray walls behind a bagel shop. A motion distracts me from the ordinary. Something mysterious watches me from the shadowed banks of the brook.

In the weedy edge of the stream stands a creature; the sharply angled body looks more like Egyptian hieroglyph than bird. A green heron walks away cautiously. The spear point of its stout head stabs at the sky with each of its jerking, upstream steps. I move to the bank and follow him, each of my unsure steps an attempt to catch a glimpse of the ghost of Thoreau.

In 1856, Thoreau was at the peak of his literary talents. Walden had been published only two years earlier. He was gaining a



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reputation as a profound lecturer. On podiums across New England, he read aloud the essays that would make him famous for centuries to come.

In any era, Thoreau would not have fit well into polite society. First of all, an eagle-sized beak of a nose hung down over a bow-tie mouth; ever a practical man, he had grown a weird, neck-only beard in order to see if it might keep him from getting colds. His hair was almost always unkempt, and his active life gave him the broad, hard look of an athlete.

Thoreau had begun to turn away from the broad, philosophical contemplations that made Walden a masterpiece and towards writing focused on the natural world. Ever a keen observer of the world around him, he had turned more and more of his attention to a close study of the plants and animals. He believed that by paying strict attention to the details of the natural world, humankind would finally come to understand and appreciate the essence of life. "In wilderness," he wrote at about this time, "is the preservation of the world."

Before dawn on his first morning in Brattleboro, Thoreau was studying a catalog of Vermont plants. At daylight he sauntered south along the railroad tracks and then back along the banks of the Connecticut, inspecting every plant along his way. His journal describes with the exactness of a trained botanist each plant he encountered. He stopped to munch on raspberries; he scribbled a note about their "quite agreeable taste." Later that morning, he found some grapes that tasted "pleasantly acidic." On his second morning in Brattleboro, Thoreau wandered far north along the Connecticut, noting the level of the river, the shape of the gravel on its banks, and the explosion of late summer flowers that bloomed everywhere.

"Will not the prime of the goldenrods and asters be just before the first severe frost?" he wrote.

Just twenty yards past the bagel shop, I seem to be in the deepest Vermont wilderness. I have been fighting my way through thick underbrush and stepping from one side of the brook to the other, trying to work my way along the steep banks that tower above me. I stop to inspect an unfamiliar leaf. I spend a good ten minutes with a tree-identification book, only to find the golden treasure I hold is simply the leaf of an ordinary yellow birch.

On the third day in Brattleboro, Thoreau was elated because he could "go a-botanizing" up the Whetstone. The witch-hazel was out, hemlock lined the stream and asters bloomed everywhere. Late that night in his sometimes-erratic handwriting, he meticulously scrawled a list of every plant he had found along the Whetstone. The journal entry fills nearly two pages, but he saves the most extensive entry for the Indian rope plant, named for its use as twine. "How often in the woods and fields we want a string or a rope and cannot find one," he wrote. "This is the plant which Nature made for that purpose."

He noted that farmers in Vermont used the dried bark to tie up their fences, and - ever practical - decided it would be a good idea if they were to cultivate it for just that purpose.

The stream is littered with good-sized, practical rocks. I lift a smaller one from the mud of the bank. It is cool in my hand. A thin sheen of moss hugs the rough surface of the stone. It's



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easy to see why early settlers used these for grinding and sharpening tools. Where could a fella get a good sharpener? Why over to the Whetstone Brook, of course.

I set the stone back in its place in the mud. We don't have much need of whetstones anymore or, for that matter, of Indian rope plant. Neither do we have any pressing need for Thoreau's detailed record of Vermont's plants. The days of hook-nosed Transcendental philosophers carefully noting every one of nature's wonders have passed. Perhaps my search for some remnant of Thoreau is as quaint and as useless as sharpening a horse-drawn ploughshare on a pale white whetstone drawn from a mossy brook. Two cold and electronic chirps from my watch mark the passing of another hour. I turn around and start back down the stream.

While in Brattleboro Thoreau saw something that he would spend pages of his journal trying to describe. The man who had recently killed it showed Thoreau the skin and the skull of a catamount. Even in 1856, the mountain lion was a rare creature in southern Vermont. It would be the only catamount, living or dead, that Thoreau would ever see in his lifetime. The beast measured nine feet, including its long tail, and had weighed 108 pounds. Thoreau tried to capture every detail of the beast that he could in his journal. He noted without comment that the man had gotten a \$20 bounty for the kill.

I spy a ragged and worn house cat, long since having known the comforts of a human home, slinking through the thin underbrush across the brook from where I walk. A series of rusted steel bars poke up through the thin water of the brook.

On the morning of his last day in Brattleboro Thoreau climbed Wantastiquet Mountain, the high hill that jumps straight out of the Connecticut River and towers above downtown Brattleboro. Although from the top he could see as far as Mount Ascutney, he was most fascinated by watching horses and people far below. He marveled at how close nature came to the bustling village. "Above all this everlasting mountain is forever lowering over the village, shortening the day and wearing a misty cap each morning." He cautioned that "this town will be convicted of folly if they ever permit this mountain to be laid bare."

I am nearly back to the bagel shop. Through the trees I see the dark massive shape of Wantastiquet Mountain. Near the top, still covered in thick forest, is the spot where nearly 150 years ago a great man stood and contemplated how the ways of humankind are made small by the glory and grandeur of the remarkable ways of nature.

I look away from the mountain, distracted by a sound. Something stirs near the base of a yellow birch tree. The green heron steps into a clearing and stands at the edge of the water. It stares at me through a black, wild eye. In the brook a few small fish weave threads of pure light through quick, silvery curtains of shadow and water.

1858



July 2, 1858: A.M.—Start for White Mountains in a private carriage with Edward Hoar. Notice in a shallow pool on a rock on a hilltop, in road in North Chelmsford, a rather peculiar-looking *Alima Plantago*, with long reddish petioles, just budded. Spent the noon close by the old Dunstable graveyard, by a small stream north of it. Red lilies were abundantly in bloom in the burying-ground and by the river. Mr. Weld's monument is a large, thick, naturally flat rock, lying flat over the grave. Noticed the monument of Josiah Willard, Esq., "Captain of Fort Dummer." Died 1750, aged 58. ...

1862

Frederick Douglass commented that Martin Robison Delany "has gone about the same length in favor of black, as the whites have in favor of the doctrine of white superiority." Underlying this may have been an attempt by Delany to privilege himself in the identity politics of the era as an all-black man capable of speaking on behalf of the race, in contradistinction to that Douglass fellow who was only part black and was therefore not entirely to be trusted, not entirely to be considered representative, matched by an attempt by Douglass to privilege himself in those identity politics by instancing that he had had experience of slavery, of which Delany had had none. Who then would be the more representative leader for American blacks, the man who had had experience of slavery or the man who was entirely black? The sovereignty of Liberia, which had become an independent nation as of 1847 with the cutting of the American purse-strings, was belatedly recognized by the US government. But President Abraham Lincoln was considering closer ports, such as some in South America, to which American free blacks might be exiled at a somewhat lower transport expense. At this point Delany's African colonization plans collapsed and he switched over to recruiting black men for service with the Union Army.



The last class was graduated from [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#)'s [Eagleswood](#) School of Perth Amboy, New Jersey. This school had since 1854 been open to the children of white townspeople as well as to the children of members of the Union. Whether one could at any time have termed it a "Quaker" school is problematic. What is not problematic is that it had taken physical education for girls seriously, something of an innovation for the time. (Although Marcus Spring, the founder of the Raritan Bay



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Union, had married Friend Rebecca Buffum, daughter of the very prominent [Rhode Island](#) Quaker Arnold Buffum, the extent to which he ever embraced the culture of the Friends is not clear. Almost immediately Spring would re-purpose the physical plant of this school as an all-male as well as all-white “Eagleswood Military Academy, with both a literary and military faculty.” Spring’s academy would close after the civil war was over, around 1867, after which the facilities in question would no longer function as a school of any sort.)

Many white Americans were ambivalent about this recruitment of black Americans to fight. Such racist ambivalence is well reflected in a work by W.E. Woodward entitled *MEET GENERAL GRANT*, published in a much later timeframe (NY: H. Liveright, 1928), which would attempt to deny that such events ever in fact had occurred:

The American negroes are the only people in the history of the world ... that ever became free without any effort of their own.... [The civil war] was not their business.... They twanged banjos around the railroad stations, sang melodious spirituals and believed that some Yankee would soon come along and give each of them forty acres of land and a mule.¹⁰⁰

1864

June 3, Friday: [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#), and [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) sent their regrets to Charles Wesley Slack from Fairmount, Massachusetts, at being unable to attend a Social Festival.

1865

The founding of the Freedmen’s Bureau: [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#), and [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) would be working on behalf of the freedmen. The Freedman’s Savings and Trust Company was established through a congressional charter, to help former slaves with their new financial responsibilities. With 37 branch offices in 17 states (Huntsville and Mobile; Little Rock; Washington DC; Tallahassee; Atlanta, Augusta and Savannah; Lexington and Louisville; New Orleans and Shreveport; Natchez, Baltimore, Columbus, and Vicksburg; St. Louis; New-York; Raleigh, New Bern, and Wilmington; Philadelphia; Beaufort and Charleston; Memphis and Nashville; Lynchburg, Norfolk and Richmond; etc.), the bank would be controlling deposits totaling more than \$57,000,000.00 at the time of its collapse due to mismanagement and fraud in 1874, with Douglass as its president. Of the about 61,000 account holders eligible for reimbursement, fewer than 30,000 would manage to complete the required procedure to recover anything, and typically, the successful ones would receive only 62 cents on their dollar.

100. In point of fact, a promise would be made by our federal government, that each former slave, in partial compensation for his or her unreimbursed labors while in the condition of enslavement, would receive starting-out help in the form of 40 acres and a mule. –In point of fact, however, our federal government does not ever honor such commitments to minority populations as from time to time it sees fit to dissemble that it is making.



THEODORE DWIGHT WELD

ANGELINA GRIMKÉ WELD

1868

[Theodore Dwight Weld](#), [Sarah Moore Grimké](#), and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) were officers of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. Angelina and Sarah circulated petitions on behalf of this association. The New England Woman's Club was formed with [Julia Ward Howe](#) as one of its first vice presidents. She would also become the president of the New England Woman Suffrage Association and, the following year, make herself one of the leaders of the American Woman Suffrage Association.

1895

February 3, Tuesday: [Theodore Dwight Weld](#) died.



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

– Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: October 30, 2013

ANGELINA GRIMKÉ WELD

THEODORE DWIGHT WELD

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a button.



THEODORE DWIGHT WELD

ANGELINA GRIMKÉ WELD

Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place your requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>.
Arrgh.