



870/ ANNA II

To All Evangelical Christians.

# THE SUPPRESSED TRACT!

AND

## The Rejected Tract!

Given Word for Word as submitted to the Publishing Committee of the Am. Tract Society.

READ AND JUDGE.

**Shall the Society or the Committee RULE?**

*☛ The Annual Meeting of the Tract Society will be held in New-York, on Wednesday, May 12th, at 9 A.M. Come and Vote!*

New-York:

JOHN A. GRAY, PRINTER AND STEREOTYPED, 16 & 18 JACOB ST.

1858.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

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At the annual meeting of the American Tract Society, in May, 1856, a Committee of fifteen gentlemen was appointed to review the policy of the Executive Committee, with special reference to the subject of Slavery. That Committee consisted of Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, Thomas De Witt, D.D., Hon. William Jessup, Rev. Albert Barnes, Francis Wayland, D.D., Rev. M. B. Anderson, LL D., Gregory T. Bedell, D.D., John S. Stone, D.D., John N. McLeod, D.D., James Donaldson, Esq., George H. Stuart, Esq., Joel Hawes, D.D., Mark Hopkins, D.D., Ray Palmer, D.D., S. S. Schmucker, D.D.,

At the next annual meeting, in May, 1857, this Committee reported a resolution, that "those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote, and which are condemned in Scripture, and so much deplored by Evangelical Christians, *undoubtedly* do fall within the province of this Society, and *can and ought to be discussed* in a fraternal and Christian spirit."

The Society, in one of the largest meetings ever convened, *unanimously* adopted this resolution. The Rev. Dr. Knox, then chairman of the Executive Committee, proposed that a prayer of thanksgiving should be offered because of this harmonious result.

At that time the following tract on "the Duties of Masters," was printed and stitched, ready for binding, at the Tract House. It had been seen by the members of the Special Committee, and was approved by them individually, as an exponent of their own report. They looked for its immediate publication. But this tract, all ready to be issued, was *suppressed* soon after the anniversary, because certain persons at the South objected to the publication of *any thing* relating to the subject of slavery, by the American Tract Society.

The tract is given *verbatim*, as it was prepared by the Publishing Committee of the Tract Society. With one exception, the matter it contains is from the pen of *Southern* ministers, honored for their piety

and wisdom. The whole tract was formally approved by an eminent Southern divine, Rev. Dr. Smyth, of Charleston. Read it, and judge whether there is any thing in it not "*calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians.*"

The history of the second tract is as follows. In their annual report of May, 1856, the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society volunteered the following statement: "*It seems to have been understood by the whole community that the subject of slavery, in its aspects of political, national, and sectional strife, could not be discussed by this Society. Yet there are other aspects of the subject and of duties and evils connected with it, in which it might be hoped that Evangelical Christians, North and South, would agree; and so far as this is the fact, and tracts of this character, breathing the love of Christ, and promising usefulness, shall be presented, the Committee know no reason why they should not be approved and published.*"

Accepting this declaration in good faith, an early friend of the Society, residing in Scotland, offered a premium of \$200 for the best tract on "*the Family Relation as affected by Slavery;*" the committee of award to consist of Rev. F. Wayland, D.D., and Rt. Rev. T. M. Clark, D.D., of R. I., C. Stoddard, Esq., of Boston, and Rev. David Brown, D.D., of Glasgow, Scotland.

The second tract published herewith, was unanimously approved by that committee; but on being presented to the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society, it was rejected by them without even the courtesy of a *reason!*

Since the anniversary in May last, the American Tract Society has issued a tract called *Sambo and Toney*, in which this counsel is given to slaves. "*Learn to make home the most agreeable place to you, and then you will not want to ramble from one plantation to another, and so will be kept from many temptations and hurtful snares. Be attentive to your master's business, and OBEY HIM IN ALL THINGS!*" This is a perversion of Col. 3 : 22.

Thus the Committee publish instructions to slaves which place the will of the master above the will of God, but withhold and suppress whatever might teach the master his duty to his slaves. In view of these facts, will you be present at the annual meeting, May 12th, when important questions will arise? The life-members elect the President, Secretaries, and Directors. The Directors elect the Executive Committee, and every *life-director* has a vote in the Board.

[The following is the original title-page.]

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SCRIPTURAL  
DUTIES OF MASTERS.

COMPRISING

A PASTORAL ADDRESS

OF THE RT. REV. WILLIAM MEADE, D.D.,

OF VIRGINIA :

A SERMON

OF THE REV. JOHN C. YOUNG, D.D.,

OF KENTUCKY :

AND

BRIEF SELECTIONS FROM PUBLICATIONS

OF

THE REV. DRS. JOHN B. ADGER, C. C. JONES, JAMES W.  
ALEXANDER, AND REV. A. T. HOLMES, AND A  
NOTICE FROM REV. DR. THOMAS SMYTH.

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[The imprint of the American Tract Society was here  
stamped upon the title-page.]

[A fac-simile of the second title-page.]

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# PASTORAL LETTER

OF THE

RIGHT REV. WILLIAM MEADE,

ASSISTANT BISHOP OF VIRGINIA,

TO

THE MINISTERS, MEMBERS, AND FRIENDS,

OF THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

IN THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA.

ON THE

DUTY OF AFFORDING RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION  
TO THOSE IN BONDAGE.

DELIVERED IN THE YEAR 1834.

REPRINTED BY THE CONVOCATION OF CENTRAL VIRGINIA IN 1853.

# PASTORAL LETTER

OF THE

RIGHT REV. WILLIAM MEADE.

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DEAR BRETHREN AND FRIENDS—When, at the late convention of our church in the city of Richmond, I was led to discourse on the great efficacy of God's word as preached by his ministers, and a desire was manifested that the remarks then made should be published and more generally diffused, it will be remembered by many of you that I discouraged the proposal; and I did it, as was then stated, from a conviction that there was nothing in the general tenor of the discourse, either new or striking, to render it worthy of publication.

There was, however, a subsequent resolution and request of the convention which I dared not then discourage, and must not now neglect.

I am thereby called upon to address a pastoral letter to the churches on one important and interesting topic, which was briefly, though earnestly pressed in the discourse referred to: I mean the application of the blessed word of God to a large and destitute portion of our fellow-creatures—those who are in bondage to us. Surely it was the good Spirit of Him who has told us to “give unto our servants that which is just and equal, knowing that we also have a Master in heaven,” which put it into my heart to propose this subject; and which opened the hearts of those who heard it to desire that, for their benefit, and the benefit of others, I should discourse further about it.

It is the same spirit which is everywhere leading the humane and pious to consider what can be done for the real benefit of this class of our fellow-beings. May it be with me while I write, and with you while you read these lines, and then constrain us all to go and do to others as we would they should do unto us in like circumstances.

In making the spiritual necessities of a class of our fellow-immortals, which is very peculiarly situated, the subject of a special appeal, I hope it is unnecessary for one who has been born among them, and who has for more than twenty years been giving no slight consideration to their case, to say that he is well aware of the caution and prudence with which every thing relating to the improvement of their condition should be approached and handled.

In pleading for the religious rights and privileges of an unfortunate portion of our fellow-creatures, let none of my readers for a moment suppose that I am laboring under any diseased sensibility, or hurried away by any romantic or over-righteous feeling, which sometimes magnifies, and thereby injures the cause which it espouses. I desire on this and every other subject, to think and speak soberly, as God's word directs. It is quite easy on this, as on some other subjects, to inflame our minds even to madness, and almost to forget that there are any others upon earth who have wrongs to redress and sufferings to relieve. In this world, which is under the frowns of an offended God, there ever has been much poverty, ignorance, suffering, and sin. What its millennial state may be, or how soon it may arrive, I undertake not to say, for I am not skilled to interpret unfulfilled prophecy. But I expect not in our day and generation to see all men free and equal, or every barren wilderness turned into a blooming Eden. Nevertheless, I acknowledge the duty which rests upon all to hope great things and attempt great things, and look with holy anxiety at the signs of the times.

We shall better promote our object by taking the word and providence of God for our guide, and seeking to turn existing evils into the means of future good, than by magnifying our calamities, and thinking that nothing is done



unless all is done. Let us, in relation to the subject before us, form our opinion and regulate our conduct, not by the reasonings and theories of men, but by the will of God, as made known to us through the many intimations contained in his word. If we will take heed to that word, we shall find it the most effectual remedy for all the unhappy disorders of our fallen race. By examining what is the will of God concerning the master and the servant, as set forth in those scriptures which so frequently recognize the relation, and enjoin the appropriate dispositions and duties, we shall best learn what our duty is towards these very dependent objects of our care. We cordially sympathize with those who are endeavoring to convert one of the heaviest calamities into a means of great good, by cherishing the American Colonization Society; but we fear there are those who, in their zeal for this philanthropic and magnificent scheme, forget that there are other and most important duties required by Almighty God, and which must be performed at once, or else the opportunity is lost for ever. It is easy indeed to excuse ourselves from the performance of that which must be done at once, and which calls for the exercise of the best feelings of our nature in patient and persevering effort, by the substitution of a mere verbal approbation of some generous proposal to do some mighty good. But will it avail before God, that we highly approve some noble scheme, which, if successful, may transport, from time to time, many thousands of this race to the land of their forefathers, while we are permitting other thousands to perish eternally, through ignorance and vice, without an effort to prevent it?

I fear there are too many among us who are prone to indulge in fruitless lamentations over the condition of these our unfortunate fellow-beings, and in heavy condemnations of our forefathers' folly in bringing this evil upon us, and in magnanimous wishes that all were free and happy in the land which heaven seems to have designed them, while they will not take the least trouble to prepare their never-dying souls for a better country than can be found on this earth. It is very easy to deceive ourselves into a belief that we are most generous in our feelings towards them,

and ready to make the greatest sacrifices for their welfare, while in reality we are guilty of the most criminal neglect, by withholding that spiritual instruction and discipline which would infinitely outweigh every temporal blessing that could be lavished upon them by the most indulgent of masters.

My object in the following address is, to urge upon all whom it may concern, whether masters or mistresses, ministers of religion, or private Christians, the duty of attending to the religious instruction of those who are held in bondage among us.

This I shall endeavor to do,

In the first place, by stating some of the considerations which urge to the duty.

In the second, by noticing some of the objections which are raised up against it.

In the third, I will inquire who are bound to do it.

In the fourth, how it may best be done.

In the fifth and last, shall encourage to the performance of it, by referring to what has been done and is doing elsewhere, and by some concluding exhortations.

I. In the first place, I have to present some of the many CONSIDERATIONS WHICH URGE TO THIS DUTY.

1. The first consideration is addressed to you, as to those who believe that there is a *wise and gracious Providence*, without whose permission nothing can happen, and who is ever directing all events, however calamitous, to the promotion of his glory and the welfare of our race. This same Providence certainly permitted a large portion of our fellow-creatures to be brought from a foreign land, to be sold into bondage to our fathers, and to increase and multiply among us, until they are now numbered by millions. This was accompanied at the time by cruelties the most horrible, and has ever since been attended by many evils to them, to us, and our country at large, with the fearful prospect of greater yet to come. Christians, philanthropists, and politicians all look forward with painful forebodings, not knowing what the end may be. But is there no hope? Is not God, who permitted it, able to bring some good out of all this evil, and make even the

crimes and misfortunes of men minister to his glory, and be the channels of his mercy? Can faith find no way of turning even this great calamity to good? Is it to be all evil, in the past, the present, the future, to themselves, to the land whence they came, and that unto which they have come? Were they only sent hither to labor and toil for us, to lay waste our lands, to provoke our passions, and yet to receive no good themselves, and send back no blessing to their injured country? Can we discover no token for good in this mysterious dispensation of Providence? When we remember how their captive fathers were brought from a land of Pagan darkness and cruelty to one of Christian light, and compare the religious advantages which their descendants may have, with the horrible superstitions which yet prevail in Africa, there is a pleasing consolation in the thought that, notwithstanding much of evil in their present condition, great spiritual good may result to their unhappy race through the knowledge of a Redeemer. But this must be done through the instrumentality of man; and it becomes us as Christians to inquire how far we are concurring with the designs of Providence and seeking to promote this most desirable object. We are either in a spirit of faith and holy love doing this, or we have inherited and are acting upon the sordid and covetous spirit of our forefathers, who sought only their own profit and pleasure in transporting their fellow-creatures to these shores. Except we are coöperating with heaven's gracious design, by giving them those religious advantages which they could not have in the land of their forefathers; if we are merely using them for our convenience and profit, as we do the inferior animals who are subject to us, we may indeed say, as did the Jews in the time of Christ, had we lived in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers with them in their evil deeds; but by our conduct we shall be witnesses against ourselves that we are the children of these fathers, and have the same sordid spirit which was in them, which seeks only its own and not another's welfare. Surely I need not dwell on this point; the mere suggestion will lead the truly pious and benevolent into that train of

thought which must bring them to the desired conclusion.

2. In the second place, let me add to the foregoing plain indication of Providence, that *God hath expressed his will on the subject in his word*, at sundry times and in divers manners, so particularly and emphatically, that there can be no misunderstanding of it. That word is addressed to all men, but most emphatically to the poor. "To the poor the gospel is preached." It would have been strange indeed if He who foresees all things, and of course knows how large a portion of the human race would live in bondage, should not have said many things to them, applying his holy precepts and promises to their peculiar circumstances. Such a class there had been before the law which came by Moses was delivered from Mount Sinai, and it was twice recognized in that divine code. Abraham, the father of the faithful, was surrounded by hundreds, and God made manifest his will as to the duty of masters, by commanding him to circumcise his servants. As Abraham was the priest and patriarch in his family, he doubtless accompanied this ceremony with due instruction, and followed it with that holy discipline which belongs to the pious household. If we turn to the laws delivered by Moses, we find frequent references to this relation, and very many directions as to the right performance of the duties resulting therefrom. It is worthy of remark how, in the fourth article of that moral code which is the sum and substance of all God's commandments, parents and children, masters and servants, are identified together, and required to keep holy the Sabbath, in such a way as to show that God expects his faithful ones to command their households after them. If we open the New Testament, we shall find that, as there were throughout all the churches those in bondage who had been called to the glorious liberty of the sons of God, so did the Holy Spirit address many special directions and exhortations to them, and to their masters in their behalf. The chief of the apostles, who directs that we "mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate," sets us the example, by the frequent appeals which he makes to them and their masters, by writing one whole epistle concerning a servant

who had fled from his master, and by the particular charge which he gives to Titus, his own son in the faith, not to neglect this part of his duty.

Though a mere reference to these high authorities ought to be, and I trust will be, amply sufficient to place this duty beyond all question in your minds, I cannot forbear to direct your attention to a few passages in God's word, in order the more deeply to impress upon you a conviction of the claims which this portion of our fellow-beings has upon our active benevolence. St. Paul in his epistle to the Colossians, says, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven:" the plain meaning of which is, that in our behavior towards those who serve us, we are to imitate the conduct of our heavenly Master towards ourselves. Now, when we remember how that Master not only feeds and clothes our dying bodies, and provides for our comfort in this life, but nourishes and instructs our immortal souls, and makes rich provision for their future and eternal happiness, how can we suppose that we have done that which is just and equal and kind and generous, when we have done nothing for their never-dying souls? Can any indulgences, kindness, and generous provisions for their present comfort compensate for a neglect which may prove fatal to their everlasting peace? There is also a direction of our blessed Lord which should have the weight of ten thousand arguments: "Be ye merciful, even as your Father in heaven is merciful." God has been merciful to us in ten thousand ways, but in none so effectually as in enlightening us to know his will, and urging us to embrace the offered mercy of the gospel. So should we be merciful to those who look up to us, under God, for the instruction of their souls in heavenly wisdom. Be it ever remembered by us, that our Saviour most emphatically declared that his gospel was designed for the poor. We have the poor ever in our houses, on our farms, and in our service. Are we not bound to see that the gospel is preached unto them?

3. And this leads me to a third consideration. I mean that entire *dependence* upon us which forms the ground of

our fearful accountability, and their just and pathetic appeal to our compassion. Just in proportion as any of our fellow-creatures are dependent upon us, are we responsible for them. It is a most solemn consideration, that we are all so connected in this world as to exert a moral influence over each other, which extends into eternity. We may promote or hinder the salvation of each other's immortal souls. How fearfully true is this in relation to our slaves. How entirely are they at our disposal. What is there which they can call their own? Their time—that precious talent which is to purchase eternity—is all ours; ours the tender period of infancy; ours the interesting season of youth, either to improve or neglect; manhood and all its strength is ours; their days of labor and days of rest are ours: it is ours to say when and where, or whether they shall meet at all, for the worship of God: it is ours to legislate for their souls and bodies, and say whether they shall read the word of God for themselves or hear it from others. How fearful the trust reposed in us. Who does not tremble at the thought of the responsibility which must belong to it? If we must render an account for the right use of the silver and gold committed to us; if the rust thereof shall witness against us; if the hire of those who have reaped our fields, which has been unjustly withheld, shall cry out against us; Oh what will become of us when we shall stand charged with the guilt of neglecting the immortal souls of those who have been devoting their time and strength to our service? What must be our condition when we see them perishing through that ignorance which we sought not to remove? Does not every generous feeling of our nature call upon us to have compassion on those whose time is spent in toiling for us, while we, in the enjoyment of ample leisure, can read the holy volume and every religious publication of the day, and frequent every meeting of God's people, and abound in all religious privileges? When we sometimes hear those who are thus highly favored speak as though they could never have enough of such religious opportunities, and complain if they are not almost daily or nightly in the midst of the assemblies of God's people, as if their souls

could not live out of such a spiritual atmosphere, we have wished that they would but think for a moment of thousands among us who cannot read the word of God, and but seldom hear it, and whose instruction in the truth is so little the object of concern to their owners, to God's ministers, or any other persons whatsoever. It is deeply affecting to think how few of our servants attend any religious meetings whatever, but either spend their Sabbaths in idleness at home, or go abroad in pursuit of any thing rather than the salvation of their souls. It is mortifying to think how many of those who attend have no suitable place provided for them, and no wholesome instruction adapted to their capacity, and are therefore either asleep in some small gallery, or wandering around the house, as if uninterested in all that was passing within. It is dreadful to think that, while the little ones of a more favored color are the objects of such deep anxiety and laborious zeal throughout our country—while Sunday-schools are multiplying in every direction, and books and tracts are thickly scattered over the land for their benefit—no more effort is yet made for the moral benefit of hundreds of thousands of these poor little poor little creatures, who are growing up under every possible disadvantage, and exposed to the strongest temptations of every vice. Until more attention is paid to this duty, we cannot expect any material improvement in the moral and religious condition of our servants.

4. I come now to the last consideration by which I shall urge to this duty, which may be summed up in one word, *consistency*. The zeal of Christians in behalf of distant objects is frequently assailed and rebuked by those of a different spirit with the oft quoted saying, that "charity begins at home." Neither these words nor the sentiment intended to be conveyed by them are to be found among the inspired precepts of our religion; but we could wish indeed, that in their plain meaning they were applied to the duty we are now recommending. If he who, through indolence or vice, provideth not for his own family as to the needful comforts of this life, acts worse than many infidels who profess not to be governed by such high and

holy motives, how deeply guilty and strangely inconsistent must they be who, under pretence of other engagements, neglect to make provision for the immortal souls of their household. I need not say to those to whom these pages are addressed, that he who writes them is no enemy to the most enlarged schemes of benevolence. This is an age of mighty effort, generous zeal, and expansive beneficence. We rejoice that it is so. It is pleasing to witness the efforts which are making to impart the gospel to the poor Indians, whose goodly heritage we now possess; but is there no other unhappy race to which our countrymen are deeply indebted for wrongs in times past, and for present services? It is the will of God and the duty of Christians to see that the gospel be restored in its purity to ancient Greece, and be sent at any expense to Asia, Africa, and to the isles of the sea; but can it be right to pass by the cabin of the poor negro slave who lives at our door in ignorance and sin? By such neglect how do we expose ourselves and religion to the most injurious suspicions and disgraceful insinuations. Can we wonder that an enemy should say, Is this fair, lovely, and of good report, to take the proceeds of the toil of the slave to send the light of truth to the Hindoo, the Hottentot, or the South Sea Islander, and leave him in darkness? Or is it to provide for our own households, to go, as many pious Sunday-school teachers have done, many miles on a Sabbath morning to teach a few children, chiefly perhaps of wealthy and pious parents, leaving behind a far greater number of poor ignorant slaves of every age, who might be taught, if not to read, still to understand the blessed Bible as read and explained to them by one who is competent to the task. Would to God that these charges were not but too true.

II. Having presented some of the considerations which ought to stimulate our zeal and diligence in this cause of humanity and religion, I would, in the second place, notice the two principal OBJECTIONS which are usually brought forward in excuse for the neglect of which we complain.

1. The first of these objections is commonly expressed thus: there is something in the condition of a slave which makes it *unsafe* to show him much kindness, lest he be



lifted up and rendered dissatisfied with his state; and especially, that any attempt at enlightening his mind, serves only to show him more of his unhappiness, to excite his desires after higher things, and unfit him for the station in which Providence has placed him.

Now that this might be true of much which some misguided and generous persons would wish to have done for them—that it would be the result of any attempt, through false tenderness, at relaxing wholesome discipline, or of indulging them in idleness and improper liberties, or seeking to refine their taste by a literary education, or to enlarge their minds with political science, we undertake not to deny; but that it is true, or can possibly be true, of any judicious attempt to instruct them in the word of God, and to train them, from their infancy up, as we do our own children, “in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,” we can never believe, until all our views of the Christian religion are changed, or our faith in it is utterly taken away.

This religion is from the common Father of the whole human race, and designed for the common benefit of all. “Of one blood” did he make “all nations upon the earth.” He sent his Son to “taste death for every man.” So far from the poor being in the slightest degree neglected in the revelation of his grace to fallen man, it was adduced by the divine author of our religion, as a proof that it was the truth from heaven; that unlike other systems preached among men, this gospel was preached to the poor. How exactly was it suited to all their needs. To recommend it the more, and secure their reception of it, our glorious Emmanuel chose the form of a servant, became the servant of servants, illustrating its blessed doctrines by his own meek, patient, suffering life. How he adapted all his precepts and promises and doctrines to the poor, and those who were in bondage. Where will you find a word that proceeded from his lips, which could excite pride, discontent, or rebellion? On the contrary, does not the whole spirit of the gospel lead us to feel that the poorest and most oppressed condition upon earth is too good for such sinful beings as we all are? If there be any disposed to seek high things for themselves in this world, it is not the

gospel of Christ which encourages their ambitious desires. Let us suppose a servant who is inclined to pride, discontent, and rebellion, to be under the teaching of the word of God. He opens the sacred book, or it is opened to him; he reads, or he listens to another. He wishes to read or hear something which is written to him. He hears his name mentioned, he hearkens to the words which are spoken. What are they? Let us see if they are words exhorting to a spirit of rebellion.

Let us read the directions given by the great apostle to his two sons in the faith, whom he commissioned to preach the gospel, particularly instructing them how and to whom they should preach it. To Timothy he says, "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing." Thus does the word of God, and thus must the ministers of God speak to servants. And how admirably calculated to soothe a wounded spirit and reconcile to any hardships of their lot, are the words which soon follow: "But godliness, with contentment, is great gain; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out; and having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition." Who can, for a moment, suppose that such instructions, coming from God himself, can be otherwise than salutary to those who receive them?

Let us turn to St. Paul's direction to Titus, and we shall find him delivering the same charge: "Speak thou the things which become sound doctrine." "Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please

them well in all things ; not answering again ; not purloining, but showing all good fidelity ; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things."

Let us also see a specimen of St. Paul's own preaching to servants, taken from his epistle to the Ephesians : " 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." Can any one doubt the tendency of these precepts to render servants more honest, faithful, and obedient ? Once more, let us read the exhortation of St. Peter to the same class of persons. ' Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear ; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward : for this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently ? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God ; for even hereunto were ye called : because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps."

Who, after reading the above holy and comforting admonitions, can for a moment hesitate to acknowledge that this is the portion of spiritual food which God has designed for those who are in bondage, and that to withhold it, or not seek by all suitable means to supply it to them, is robbing them of their dearest right. Can any thing but good result from offering it to them, and pressing it upon them continually ? Can any thing but harm come from refusing it ?

The other objection which is urged against the duty for which I am pleading, is the *difficulty*, and, as some contend, the impossibility of performing it successfully. " We have tried it," say they, " and tried it in vain : though we invite them and urge them, they will not come to our houses or our churches, except we constrain them, and

this we fear to do: we are impressed with the importance of doing something for their immortal souls, but know not how to proceed." If this indeed be so, if all our efforts prove unavailing, if the Christian religion cannot by any means be brought to bear upon their minds, then indeed does it seem most strange that so much should have been said to them, and about them; that the apostles should have preached so much to them, and directed their successors to do the same; that it should be declared that God made of one blood all men on earth, and that the gospel was so emphatically designed for the poor. If they cannot be, by the use of proper means, induced to take their part and lot in this glorious inheritance, then should we be tempted to embrace the infidel hypothesis which stigmatizes them as a distinct and inferior race, incapable of being operated upon by the same moral principles which influence our own. But before we adopt such a supposition, or attempt to excuse ourselves from further effort by the alleged difficulties of the task, it would be well, in reference to the great day of account, to propose to ourselves a few solemn questions, such as the following:

Have we been truly and earnestly engaged in this duty, as its importance merited? Have we felt anxious for the salvation of their souls? Have we given time, attention, love, and labor to the duty? Have we been willing to make all reasonable sacrifices of their time and services, in order that they might have the needed instruction? Have we persevered in our efforts to instruct them, with any of that long-suffering patience which God exercises towards us, and which we exercise towards our children? Have we not merely given them permission to attend some of our family devotions, but have we taken care that they, as well as our children, should be present at the same? Have we adapted our instructions to their condition, and sought to interest them by suitable explanations? Have we begun with them betimes, and endeavored, as with our children, to train them up for heaven? Have we, from time to time, conversed affectionately with them about their souls, and convinced them that we are deeply interested for the same, far more than for the value of

their services to us? Have we done all these things in such a manner as shall give us quiet consciences in the hour of death, and enable us to meet our servants, without fear, before the bar of God? Have we done all this, and yet have we utterly failed? Have none been benefited by our instructions? Have none been thankful for our kind efforts in behalf of their souls? And have we after due trial, given up in despair?

Let us beware, while thus excusing ourselves, that we do not incur the condemnation of our own hearts, and the still heavier condemnation of Him who is greater than our hearts. Until we can be convinced that God gives a grievous command, or enjoins an unprofitable exercise, we must believe that much of the fault lies in ourselves, and that we are sadly wanting in the faithful and affectionate discharge of our duty towards the immortal souls of our servants. We might, and doubtless should, as is too often the case with our children on whom we bestow much anxious care, be frequently and grievously disappointed, seeing the loss of all our labor on some whose salvation we greatly desire; but if we be faithful and persevering, it will be with us as with pious parents and true ministers of God, we shall have some souls to present as our joy and rejoicing before the throne of God.

III. We come now to the third inquiry, ON WHOM does this duty of Christian charity devolve?

Concerning the answer to this question, there can be no hesitation. The word of God, and every principle of justice and humanity point to *those divinely commissioned men who are sent to preach the gospel to every creature*; and in conjunction with them, those fearfully responsible persons who are commanded to render "that which is just and equal" to their servants, remembering that they also have a Master in heaven.

Ministers of religion, who have to give an account for the souls of men, must ever be ready unto every good work, and gladly seize upon all opportunities of laboring for the salvation of souls. All souls should be equally precious in their view. They especially, should condescend to men of low estate, and delight to instruct the

ignorant. If their divine Master took special pains to preach the gospel to the poor; if the chief of his apostles was careful, in his inspired epistles, to write so many wholesome admonitions unto servants, and did so authoritatively and earnestly enjoin it upon Timothy and Titus to exhort servants to their appropriate duties, what minister of Christ can feel himself excused from taking part in the same, especially in a country like ours, where such multitudes present their daily and pressing claims to our charity, and when so few are found to have compassion upon them. When I think upon the extraordinary zeal of the present day, upon the mighty efforts made to carry the gospel, by the voice of the preacher, by tracts and books, to every human being—when I hear the solemn protestation of many, that the salvation of souls, and not the promotion of a sect, is their only object—when I see, indeed, that much is done for the poor white man as well as the rich—and then turn to millions of a neglected race in our land, and think how little is done for them, I am utterly amazed, and ask, Can the pure love of God and of the lost souls of men animate the Christian ministers in our land? Must not judgment begin at the house of God, even with his ministers for this neglect? When I know what honor and influence God hath given them with their people, what power to do good by their personal exertions and by their persuasions, what influence they might exert over masters and mistresses in behalf of their servants, I tremble for them and for myself. More especially, my beloved brethren and fellow-laborers in the diocese of Virginia, to whom I address this official letter, when I consider what a multitude of these precious immortal souls belong to the families under your spiritual care, live and labor and die around the churches in which you minister the word of life, swarm about the houses which you visit and where you offer up prayer to the God of all the families of the earth, I cannot but feel a deep solicitude on your account as well as theirs. I feel truly anxious that you should discharge your part and duty faithfully, and show that your desire is for the salvation of souls, by making a full trial of your ministry in their

behalf. It is in your power to contribute greatly to this good cause, and deep must be the guilt of neglecting it. It will not be a sufficient excuse for any of us to say that they belong not to our communion, and that all their partialities are to some other. If they are destitute, if their condition is deplorable, if we can gain access to them, if they belong to the households under our care, we are debtors to them, and bound to seek their spiritual welfare, and until we have faithfully tried it, we are inexcusable. Could we take this view of our pastoral relation, some of us who now seem to have small congregations, would perceive our field of duty greatly enlarged, and our responsibility greatly increased. Did we reckon all the servants connected with the families of our charge as proper objects of ministerial regard, what a great increase would at once take place. And are we sure that God will not thus reckon them, and hold us responsible on the great day of account? This is a point which we should most conscientiously examine, for our own sakes as well as theirs. If, according to Scripture, we may partake of a brother's guilt by not rebuking him; if there be any truth in the Jewish proverb, that "when the neighbor of a godly man sinneth, the godly man himself also sinneth," because, perchance, he did not do his utmost to prevent it; what then must be our guilt, if we permit these poor creatures to perish without an effort to prevent it? If we could but take this view of the pastoral relation, and if our parishioners would heartily concur in it, how much more interesting and extensive would our field of labor become. I cannot but hope that the time is not far distant when our ministers will be so multiplied, and the hearts of all so turned to this duty, that our smallest parishes will thus be increased manifold, when high and low, rich and poor, shall meet together before the Lord the Maker of them all, and be equally the object of ministerial solicitude. If I mistake not, there are many masters now ready and anxious to make liberal compensation to some faithful minister who will aid them in the discharge of this important task. I will only add, while on this point, that the duty of supplying to this portion of our population the best religious instructor

becomes more imperative, from the consideration that recent events have induced our legislative assembly to place additional restrictions on those social meetings among themselves, in which they endeavor, in their poor way, to encourage and instruct each other. May they not indeed regard it as a cruel hardship to be thus deprived of what they consider a help to their souls, when we will not furnish them with something better as a substitute?

Equally clear is it to my mind, that a most solemn obligation rests on the *owners* of slaves to instruct them, or cause them to be instructed. Many of those affecting reasons which influence parents to train up their children for the Lord, bind us to exercise a holy discipline over our servants. Are they not equally dependent upon us? Do they not grow up around us, and look up to us with reverence? Do they not come and go at our bidding? Are they not ours by night and by day, on days of labor and days of rest? Do we not command them to their daily task, at any time, at any place, and do they not obey? And shall we not, after the example of the holy men of old, command our households after us, in things of the deepest importance to their eternal welfare? Must we use our authority only for our own temporal emolument, and for the promotion of our ease and enjoyment, and not for the glory of God and the good of their souls? If the apostle's reasoning was just, that because the ministers of religion devoted themselves to the supply of spiritual things to the private members of the church, therefore they ought to supply carnal things, that is, a temporal support in return; then surely if our servants, by the employment of their time and strength, furnish us with all temporal comforts and enjoyments, it is but just and proper that we who are able to do it should afford them that instruction which they can not otherwise obtain, and which is so important to their immortal souls. Surely God could not have tolerated even for a moment this relation, except it might be thus made subservient to good. Could we think otherwise, and adopt the belief that to render them the service for which we plead is impracticable, then must we



also of necessity embrace the doctrine of the most extravagant abolitionist; and conclude that the relation of master and slave is, under all circumstances, and even for a moment, absolutely unlawful, and ought at all hazards to be immediately annihilated, because incompatible with God's first and dearest wish towards mankind, their instruction in heavenly wisdom.

IV. The fourth inquiry to be answered is, How SHALL THIS DUTY BE PERFORMED? As God hath made of one blood all men on earth, as face answereth to face in water, and the heart of man to man, so there is one religion for all, for rich and poor, bond and free, and one way of its operation on the heart. By the foolishness of preaching—as some deem it—God is pleased to save such as believe. It is therefore the duty of all the friends of the colored people, to adopt the most effectual method of bringing the word of God to bear upon their minds.

*Ministers* of religion should be ever ready to preach the word of God to them in season and out of season, in private and in public. They should endeavor to draw them to the house of God, and see that suitable seats be provided for their reception. They should try to arrest their attention while there by special applications of the word of God to them, showing how evidently the Scriptures were intended for them, and how admirably calculated to promote their happiness. When the churches are not convenient to them, or they cannot be induced to come, then let the gospel be carried to their very doors, into the cabins, and from house to house. Let the afternoons and evenings of the Sabbath be devoted to them, either in the churches or on the plantations. If a minister visits any family, whether on the evening of the Sabbath or on any other day, let it be regarded as the signal for collecting the servants, either in the mansion or in some of their own houses. Let this be regarded as the chief courtesy due to him, who should ever be ready to preach the gospel to the poor. The writer is acquainted with some families where he is always sure to have the parlors filled with the servants of the household; but he is also acquainted with too many where not even those who wait

on the persons and tables of their owner are invited to attend the devotions of the family. A few words from the minister would, however, generally insure this act of hospitality to a servant of God. Ministers should also remember this destitute class in all their associations, and set apart at least one occasion for a special and united address to them. And ought not the bishops of the church, in their visitations, to set a proper example by appropriating a portion of their time to this duty? Conscious of failing in this respect during the short period since I have been called to my present station, I desire to amend without delay, and now beg my brethren of the clergy and friends of the laity to consider me, in all future visitations, as a debtor to the servant as well as to the master, and to make such an arrangement of my time and services when I come among them, as shall best accomplish the important object for which I plead.

But in order to render effectual our preaching, which, after all, cannot to any particular household be very frequent, we must call to our aid other means which experience has proved to be highly beneficial. We must see that our families be supplied with catechisms, tracts, explanations of select scriptures, and sermons adapted to the condition and character of servants. These, with but few exceptions, are yet to be prepared, for it is lamentable to think how few out of the thousands of tracts and books which are published are suited to their need. We doubt not that when these shall be furnished in sufficient abundance, there are thousands of pious persons who will take pleasure in reading them to their servants, who now, for want of such helps, neglect this duty, though with uneasy consciences.

And now let me propose a few questions to the *masters and mistresses* of our state, with a view of suggesting to them the most effectual method of coöperating with God's ministers.

Cannot you, at whose command servants rise up early in the morning and repair to their several tasks, and during the day go and come at your bidding, and perform any duty, however laborious, without thinking of a refusal

—cannot you bid them repair to your parlors once each day, and there listen to the word of God, which they cannot read, but by the hearing of which they may believe and be saved?

If this be too much, cannot you once in each week assemble them and read something to them about the things of eternity? If you cannot do it yourself, then will you not encourage some one else to do it?

Can you not employ some pious person—if a minister cannot be procured—to come among them and read to them, and talk to them, and pray with them, and especially to endeavor to teach the children the first principles of religion?

Are there not some of your children able and willing to read to them out of God's word and good books? Can you not sanctify the Sabbath on your plantations, especially if there be no religious meeting near, by collecting your servants and officiating as priest among them? Can you not form a Sunday-school on your premises, where, if you do not think proper to teach them to read, you may, as is done in many places, deliver oral instruction to the young, and thus make them acquainted with the first principles of religion?

Can you not encourage your children to show their benevolence, and requite the labors of the servants, by instructing them in the word of God?

Can you not facilitate their access to religious meetings, and encourage ministers to come among them?

Can you not converse with them affectionately, and represent to them their duty and the evil of sin, out of God's word; and when you punish them, let them see that it is more for their sakes than yours—that you punish them chiefly on account of sin, and not because your worldly profit suffers by their misconduct?

Surely in these and other ways which the providence of God will point out to us, if our hearts were properly affected, we should be able to do something for the spiritual benefit of those whose time is spent, and strength worn out in our service.

I do most earnestly beseech my brethren of the clergy

and friends of the laity to ponder well what I have written, and think of it with reference to the great day, before they shall determine that nothing can be done.

V. Having thus examined the different questions which seem to belong to the general subject of this address, it only remains that I close by a few CONSIDERATIONS WHICH SHOULD ENCOURAGE US ALL TO ENTER ZEALOUSLY ON THIS LABOR OF LOVE.

And first let us be animated by the assurance that such an effort must be acceptable to the God and Father of us all, and must bring down his blessing. He has told us not to be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. The light and gracious smile of his countenance is upon us, while thus we are seeking to do justly and love mercy. To the merciful, God will show himself merciful. He that thus watereth others, shall be watered also himself. To teach others is the most effectual method of being confirmed ourselves in all knowledge, especially the knowledge of holiness. While endeavoring to exhort them to the practice of piety, how strong a necessity will rest upon us to be examples of piety. While laboring to explain to them the truth of God's word, what light will break in upon our own minds. And will not every effort to do them good in this way increase our affection for them, cause us to feel more deeply that they are our brethren, and thus render more easy and delightful the performance of every other duty? Surely none could thus affectionately seek the salvation of their souls, and at the same time be unjust, cruel, or severe in other respects. And must not such love on our part produce a corresponding feeling in their hearts towards us? Will they not regard with respectful affection those who are so evidently interested for their eternal welfare? Will not such a course of conduct greatly change and improve the whole relation of master and servant, and extract much of the bitterness of that evil which all deeply lament? Shall we not thus, in some good degree, substitute religious principle for that slavish fear which now is the chief motive of their conduct? Shall we not have among them some sincere

friends, who truly love us and desire our welfare? May there not be many Onesimuses, who from being unprofitable become profitable—from mere servants, rise above servants, and become brothers beloved in the Lord? May not the blessings of the Lord be poured upon our families and all we have, in answer to the prayers, and as a reward to the fidelity of righteous servants, who thus prove as Josephs to the households where they dwell? If such a Christian feeling influenced the hearts of masters and mistresses, if such pains were taken to do them the greatest good of which they are capable, and which of course would lead to all lesser acts of justice and kindness, need we stand in fearful apprehension of certain awful calamities supposed to overhang our own heads or those of our posterity? While seeking to render their situation as comfortable and beneficial as possible, might we not confidently look up to heaven, and pray that those calamities may be averted? But above all, what high and holy encouragement to effort have we in the thought that our sincere and prayerful endeavors may be the means of saving some of their immortal souls from everlasting perdition. Soon shall we and our servants stand together before the bar of our almighty Judge, and O, what rapture in the thought that some of them may rise up and call us blessed, because we are the instruments of their conversion and salvation. How can we otherwise than resolve to make an effort, at least, for such an honor and unspeakable felicity? There are those in our land who would gladly labor in this field of duty if it were permitted, and there are others who delight to cast reproaches upon us, and represent us as even more guilty than we really are: the former we cannot employ, because of their utter ignorance of our real condition, and because of certain prejudices of birth and education which unfit them for the task; the latter we can only silence by engaging heartily in the cause ourselves. When we undertake the work in good earnest ourselves, then can we with clean consciences bid those whom we call intruders from a distance, not to intermeddle with a duty delicate and difficult in the extreme, and which none

but ourselves are competent to perform. The truth of this consideration is beginning to be more and more deeply felt throughout all our Southern country, and in some parts of it the reformation has commenced.

And this leads me to mention another encouragement which calls us to this labor of love. I mean the successful example which has been set us in certain portions of our Southern country. In all things men are influenced by example. I trust that it may be so in the present instance. The beginning of this good work—so far, at least, as it has been carried on in our own church—is to be traced to the venerable Society for Propagating Christianity in Foreign Parts, which was formed in our mother country and mother church more than a century ago. Some of its teachers and missionaries were sent over to South Carolina and other colonies, to instruct the slaves in the Christian religion. Most faithfully indeed did they perform their duty, and the effects of it are still visible in some of the families whose ancestors were the favored objects of their religious care. The author of this Pastoral Letter was called by a kindred duty, to visit the city of Charleston about fifteen years since, and then was struck with the venerable appearance of some very aged servants, who with their children around them occupied certain seats in the aisles of the churches, and were humbly, yet audibly uniting with their masters and mistresses in the responses of the liturgy. On inquiry he was told that these were the remaining fruits of the labors of that Society before the separation of this from the mother country. On further inquiry he found, that as in no part of our Southern, or even Northern country, ministers of the gospel were more attentive to the religious instruction of the negroes, so perhaps in no place was there so much intelligence and apparent piety among them. It was gratifying to learn that this too was done with the willing concurrence of their owners, who interposed no obstacles to the benevolent efforts in their behalf. It is yet more gratifying to know that this zeal on the part of the clergy increases, and this silent permission of the owners has, in many instances, become a warm and active principle, and

that a goodly number of the best and wealthiest citizens of Carolina and Georgia are taking vigorous measures for the instruction of their servants. I will only add, that the journals of the Conventions of our church in those states, furnish evidence of much attention to this duty on the part of our Southern brethren. It is pleasing to perceive that, in the parochial reports, the number of baptisms, burials, confirmations, and additional communicants among the colored people, is as regularly returned as among the whites. In the last journal of the South Carolina Convention, the Rev. Dr. Gadsden reports, among the colored people, forty-four baptisms, twelve marriages, twenty-five funerals, one hundred and eighty communicants, seventeen confirmed, one hundred and seventy-four Sunday scholars. The Rev. Mr. Tschudy reports, from a country parish, twenty-two colored adults baptized, and thirty-five colored communicants. The Rev. Mr. Walker of Beaufort reports twenty-eight colored adults baptized, nineteen confirmed, and fifty-two communicants. I adduce these as encouraging instances of ministerial zeal and success, in order to stimulate myself, and you, my brethren, to greater diligence in this cause. I know not how it may be with you, but as to myself, though I have been for twenty-four years laboring a little in behalf of these our neglected fellow-beings, yet there is nothing which causes such a painful apprehension in my mind, when I think of rendering in the account of my stewardship to the great Master of us all, as the thought of them. May we all have grace so to labor in the future, as not to have such great cause for painful apprehension. Let us lay this matter continually before God, and beseech him to teach us our duty, and enable us to perform it. The example of others calls us to energetic action. If we do not follow, we shall in the future be more guilty. This subject is now brought by the Spirit and providence of God more clearly and impressively before our minds than at any former period, and it must be attended to. To use the language of an eloquent defender of the cause in the South:

“A *public sentiment* on this subject has now begun its

existence. It must become as universal as that on temperance, or any other work of philanthropy and Christian benevolence. It must live. It must be cherished. We hope that the attention of our countrymen will be turned to the moral and religious condition of negroes; and that, after a lapse of time, it will be unusual to find a plantation deprived of the means of grace. The work itself is great. It is difficult. There is much in it to damp our ardor, and induce discouragement. To preach the Gospel to any people, however improved, and however favorably situated, is discouraging; but to preach it to the most ignorant and degraded, laboring under every disadvantage, is discouraging in the extreme. But it is the work of God. He can cause mountains to become plains, and rough places to become smooth. In Him must be our trust. In Him there is a sufficiency of power and wisdom and grace. And there is a glory in the work which the Apostle to the Gentiles, were he alive, would covet. In imitation of his Master, he was forward to remember the poor. He strove to 'preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest he should build upon another man's foundation.' We tread an untrodden field of enterprise, and the subjects of our regard are the poorest of the poor. Finally, men and brethren, the cry of our perishing servants comes up to us from the sultry plains, as they bend at their toils. It comes up to us from the midst of their ignorance, and superstition, and adultery, and lewdness. Shall we disregard it? The cry is passing up to God, and *He* will hear it. In a little while our opportunity of doing good to our servants will be gone for ever. In a little while we shall have done with the artificial distinctions of this world. We shall sleep in the ground side by side with them, and return to dust as soon as they. In a little while we shall meet them before Christ the Judge, the great Master of all, with whom there is no respect of persons. He will say to us, 'These were your servants on earth. They labored for you ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty years. They wore out their lives to supply you with food and raiment, and the conveniences and luxuries of your mortal life. You had them wholly at



your disposal. You had my gospel in your hands. I made you the almoners of my grace to them. Did you remember their never-dying souls? While they communicated to you of temporal things, did you communicate to them of spiritual things? Did you urge and entreat them to come to me, who alone could give the weary and heavy-laden rest? Did you allow them time to seek my face? Or did you neglect their eternal interests? Did you treat them like the beasts that perish? Were they merely the instruments of your profit, or of your pleasures? Did you forget that they were your fellow-creatures? Did you forget the price that I paid for their redemption? Did you leave them to perish eternally?"

Every owner of slaves has an account to render to God for his treatment of them. Oh, how fearful will be his account who knowingly and wilfully will permit them to go down from his fields, and from his very dwelling, into the bottomless pit, without making a solitary effort to save them! "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

[A fac-simile of the third title-page.]

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THE  
DUTY OF MASTERS:

A SERMON

PREACHED IN DANVILLE, KENTUCKY, IN 1846,

AND THEN PUBLISHED AT THE UNANIMOUS REQUEST OF  
THE CHURCH AND CONGREGATION.

BY REV. JOHN C. YOUNG, D.D.,

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REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.

## THE DUTY OF MASTERS.

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“Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.”—COL. 4 : 1.

OF the ten commandments which God has given to us as comprising his moral law, *six* are intended to regulate our intercourse with our fellow-men; and with no portion of our fellow-beings, except our wives and children, have we so much to do as with our servants. Our duties to them must, then, be deeply important, embracing as they do so large a portion of the duties contained in the divine code. Our dealings with our servants comprehend a very large part of that conduct for which we are to be responsible at the bar of God; is it not, then, of the utmost consequence to ourselves that these dealings should be all regulated by the principles of religion? The Bible lays down precepts for the master and for the servant, because each has the happiness and well-being of the other greatly in his power. There is, however, more need of the authority of religion to enforce the duties of the master, especially the master who holds the servant in involuntary bondage; for while he has power to coerce the servant to yield him in some good degree what is his due, *the servant has no reciprocal power to coerce the master*; and the *natural motives* which can be applied to stimulate the servant's labors for his master, are much more efficacious with the mass of men than those which address themselves to the master in behalf of the servant's interests.

In examining our text, and *comparing it with the instruc-*

*tions given to servants in the previous verses*, we have been struck with the discriminating and beautiful adaptation of the several precepts and motives to the respective classes to whom they are addressed. The peculiar temptation of the servant is to indolence and remissness in his work, because he lacks that greatest natural stimulus to exertion, the knowledge that he will himself enjoy the fruit of his labors; for as our personal interest in the results of our efforts is diminished, the spirits of all men naturally flag, and their industry decreases. The main precept to the servant meets this evil by enjoining upon him *faithfulness and energy* in all that he does: "Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily." And mark the peculiarity of the motive by which this precept is enforced, and its *adaptation to counteract the force of their temptation*—"knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance." *Here* is what is needed by the servant—a reward held out to quicken his sluggish spirit. He is taught, that while he labors in his lowly avocations, he is working not merely for an earthly, but for a heavenly Master, and that, however little compensation he may receive from his earthly master, a heavenly inheritance shall reward his faithful exertions. The master, on the other hand, is tempted continually to the exercise of injustice and oppression. On him, therefore, is enjoined, "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal." And the injunction is enforced by reminding him of the fact, that there is One who holds dominion over *him*, and who will one day call him to an account for the exercise of his power. Thus the master is checked by the fear of retribution, while the servant is stimulated by the hope of reward.

The precept in our text is strikingly wise, too, in its comprehensiveness. To see this, reflect, for a moment, how long a list of directions must be given, in order to specify the particular and minute duties of any one master; reflect then upon the very varied circumstances of masters, which would more or less modify their duties; think of the very different kinds of servitude which have prevailed in different climes and ages, and the very dif-

ferent conditions of society in which masters and servants are found, all of which circumstances must produce variations in these duties. A *detailed statement* of a master's duty under all circumstances was then *impossible*. Nor was it necessary; for here, in a condensed form, is summed up the whole of their duties: "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal"—give them what conscience, if you consult its dictates, will teach you that justice and equity, in each particular set of circumstances, demand. But will not selfishness so blind us as to prevent our clearly discerning what is "just and equal?" This danger is removed, and the correct working of the rule secured, if we give due heed to the motive by which it is followed: "Knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." God calls our attention to the fact that he is *our Master*; as we treat our servants, we may expect that our Master will treat us: "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." Can we conceive of a more efficacious means of securing a correct judgment on the rights of our servants than is furnished by the thought thus presented before us? Suppose yourself placed in a condition of alternate authority and subjection—that each day of power was to be followed by a day of subjection; and suppose yourself to be aware of the fact, that on each alternate day which you spent as a servant, you were to be treated exactly as you had treated your servants on the day preceding; would it not make you impartial and just in your conduct towards them? Would you not *honestly seek to ascertain* your duties to your servants, and most *scrupulously fulfil* those duties? But *if this supposition were realized*, your motive to diligent inquiry and conscientious conduct on this subject would *not be as powerful as it is now*. It is not your condition on alternate days of your *earthly existence*, but your condition *throughout eternity*, which is to be affected by your conduct towards your servants. After a short mastership here on earth, you are to go up to your Master in heaven, and there *receive* according to what you have *given*: the principles on which you have acted here must there be applied to yourself; and how infinitely more

momentous in their consequences upon us, for welfare or for woe, will be the application of those principles there. When therefore we fail to render to our servants the full amount of what is "just and equal," it is evidently no gain to us, but a most serious loss. If we are wise, we will not, in deciding upon what is due to our servants, lean to what might be considered our own interest by men who look not beyond the grave in their calculations of profit and loss; nor will we be content with a slight and hasty consideration of the subject, knowing that mistakes arising from inattention or prejudice will not excuse our derelictions in duty, nor screen us from their punishment.

Let me entreat you, my beloved brethren, to make this motive practical; dwell upon it until its influence habitually affects your conduct. Realize to yourselves the solemn fact that each of us has a Master, and that *as we deal with our servants, so will he deal with us*. Do we wish him to do for us, his imperfect and unworthy servants, more than we feel that we deserve? And shall we not do for our servants as we beseech him to do for us? Can we expect him to forgive our debt of ten thousand talents, while we exact rigorously the hundred pence which are due from our poor fellow-being to ourselves? Let us remember that it is *our Master* who hath warned us, that "he shall have judgment without mercy who hath showed no mercy;" and let us determine so to treat our dependents as we ask him to treat us.

We will now endeavor to show, in some points, what this precept, "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal," would require under our peculiar circumstances. The duties enjoined by this general rule must vary, as we hinted above, with the peculiar nature of the servitude. The master who owns slaves owes them far more than is due from the master who hires free laborers to those employed to do his work; for our bondmen are in a great measure dependent upon us for their happiness in time and eternity. The obligations must correspond necessarily with the extent of their dependence and the absoluteness of our power.

1. It is the duty of every master *to form the habit of feeling that his servants are partakers of the same flesh and blood, and brethren of the same great family with himself, and the habit of speaking and acting towards them as this view of his connection with them would require.*

One of the natural and pernicious consequences of arbitrary power is, that it begets a feeling in its possessor towards his subjects such as could only *properly exist* if he and they belonged to different species. If we would discharge our duties to our servants, we must counteract this feeling: if we wish to act rightly, we must neither think a lie, nor even feel a lie. We must reflect upon the facts announced to us in the holy Scriptures, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and that we are all sprung from Adam as our common ancestor. We should observe that they possess all the feelings which prove a common nature with ourselves—the same susceptibilities of hatred and love, joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, the same capacities of memory and judgment, reason and conscience. Still more are we to impress upon ourselves the fact, that they are our brethren, when we remember that the same gracious God, whom we esteem it a privilege to call our Father, *acknowledges them equally with ourselves as his children, and exhibits for them the same affection*; that the same Saviour who has redeemed us by his precious blood, *recognizes them as a part of his purchased inheritance*; and that they are to enjoy throughout eternity, in full concert with ourselves, the thrones and the crowns and the harps and the mansions which God has promised to his redeemed people: "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither *bond* nor *free*, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

When, by such views, we free ourselves from that contemptuous feeling which their servile condition tends to generate, and form the fixed habit of regarding them as our brethren, our language in addressing them, and our conduct towards them, will naturally conform to our improved sentiments.

2. It is our duty *to suppress and eradicate another unwarranted and pernicious feeling that naturally springs up in us, the feeling that our servants were made for us.*

Our cattle, our houses, and *all* our property, we regard as designed for our use—the very end and aim of the existence of these objects is for our service—for this purpose God created them. Now, when we class a fellow-man as a part of our property, we are exceeding apt to regard *him* as we are in the habit of *correctly* regarding *all the other portions* of our property, and consequently we are apt to feel that the great end of his existence, and the main use for which he was designed, is to serve us. But whatever rights the laws of the land may give us over our servants, and however much they may foster this erroneous impression, we are to remember that our servant was created for a purpose as elevated, and a destiny as glorious as our own—he was formed to *serve God Almighty, and to inherit the glories of his eternal kingdom.* For this end he was endowed, equally with ourselves, with an immortal soul, and the revelation of God's will was directed to him as well as to us. We cannot degrade our servants into the mere instruments of our gratifications, we can not conceive of them as creatures merely existing for our interests, without miserably failing in our most important duties towards them. Our servants have higher relations than those which they sustain towards us; they have more important duties than those which they owe to us; they have more valuable interests than those which we can affect. Their first and main duty is, to serve that God who is *their Master and ours*—that God who has not given up his rights in them when he has placed them by his providence partially under our control and protection—that God who will hold them, as well as us, accountable for not yielding him the honor and obedience which he claims as his due. Since it is *their first and great duty* to serve their Lord, we are to remember that, so far as we have power over them, it is *our first duty to them* to induce them to engage in this work, and to aid them in its proper and full performance.

3. It is the duty of a master *to see to the religious im-*



*provement of his servants, not only by furnishing them with the means of instruction, but by using all diligence in inducing them to avail themselves of those means.* We are not to think that our work is done, on this point, when we merely permit our servants to enjoy the means of grace. The moralist and the Christian defend the practice of holding human beings in bondage, only on the ground that they are incompetent to govern themselves and manage their own interests successfully. If this principle warrants us in keeping them under control, it at the same time binds us to exercise our power to restrain them from evil, and lead them to happiness and heaven. If they need our guardianship, and we exercise authority over them, we are under an obligation of the same kind towards them which we recognize ourselves as placed under towards our children. Our children are subject to our control because their ignorance and immaturity of powers disqualify them for self-government. If a parent should regard his authority simply as a source of advantage to himself, and should not use it for promoting the best interests of his child, he would be reprobated by man, and condemned and punished by God. Guilt of the same kind, though somewhat less in degree, is incurred by the master who fails to use his power to promote the highest interests of his servants. If you use this power to secure their services to yourself, and do not use it to secure their services to God, you fail in your duty to God, who in his providence has placed these beings under your guardianship, that they might be trained up to glorify him. If an earthly parent had apprenticed his child to you, that he might be qualified for discharging hereafter the duties of life with ability and honor, would you not expect his displeasure, if he should discover that you had worked his son exclusively for your own benefit, while you had neglected to give him that instruction, and train him to those habits, which alone would fit him for the station which his father had designed him to occupy? Must we not then expect the displeasure of God, if we shall be found neglecting to impart, to his children, whom he has placed under our control, those benefits which he designed them to receive from their con-

nection with us? His design in their present condition is *not our gain merely, but their good, and God's glory*. If we are permitted by him to use their services, it is as a compensation for the pains and trouble which we endure in training them for glory, honor, and immortality. Thus in neglecting their religious improvement, we grievously violate our obligations towards the great Jehovah, who has placed a portion of his immortal children under our guardianship. We are guilty too towards these our brethren; for if the interests of their souls are a matter of indifference to us, or of but slight and transient concern, we fail to act towards them on the golden rule, that we should "do to others as we would that they should do unto us," and they must probably perish by our neglect.

The duty of attending to the religious improvement of our servants comprises among others two important particulars—*teaching and encouraging them to read God's word, and inducing them to attend his worship*. Some have assumed the position that we ought not to teach our servants to read the Bible. Our posterity will doubtless wonder how so strange a position could ever have been assumed in a Christian land, and how any sensible and good man could ever have deluded himself into the belief that such a notion was consistent with the first principles of that gospel which is sent to the bond as well as the free, and which requires all who receive it to impart a knowledge of it to the utmost of their ability to all who have it not.

To expose the falsity of this view and its pernicious consequences so fully and thoroughly as to insure its adequate condemnation, would perhaps require more time than the limits of our discourse will allow. But for its refutation in the eyes of all intelligent and reflecting men, nothing more, as we conceive, is needed, than that their attention should be directed to the two false assumptions on which the position rests. The first assumption is, that *our system of servitude is inconsistent with even such a degree of intelligence on the part of servants as will enable them to read the Bible*. Why are slaves to be prohibited from learning to read? The answer is, because such in-

struction will unfit them for remaining in bondage. Now if this assumption were true, it would be the most powerful argument that has ever been urged against the system; for what pious or even philanthropic heart could countenance, for a moment, the existence of a system, whose existence depended on excluding its subjects for ever from obeying the divine command to "search the Scriptures," in which alone we "have eternal life?" The second false assumption on which must be rested the exclusion of servants from learning to read is, that *for the sake of perpetuating a system which we imagine to be gainful, we have a right to keep a whole race of our fellow-men in such a state of degradation as to debar them from all direct access to God's holy word, and thus fearfully multiply the chances of their eternal perdition.* If we have no such right, they must be allowed to read. But can any Christian imagine that we have such a right? If so, he must believe that for an increase of gain we might rightfully increase still more their chances of perdition, and that to secure a very large amount we would be justified in *insuring* the destruction of their souls.

But it is not necessary to consume time in proving that all human beings ought to be *permitted* to read God's word. A prohibition of this privilege we should feel bound to regard just as far as we would a prohibition to feed the hungry or clothe the naked. Is there aught more valuable to any one of us as an immortal being, than to be able to read the divine oracles? Can you, then, think—I appeal to the conscience of every Christian—that you are obeying the precept of our text, that you are giving to your servants what is "just and equal," while you are taking no measures to enable them to share in a privilege of such priceless value? If the Christian of old, in the days of heathen persecution, would rather suffer martyrdom than deliver up his copy of the Bible, can we imagine that we possess the Christian spirit, when we are unwilling to make exertions that those under our care may have the fullest means of acquainting themselves with its life-giving truths? What would you think, and how would you feel, if you were yourself debarred from all personal

resort to that living fountain of truth which God has opened in the Bible for the healing and refreshment of the soul—if you were permitted to drink of the water of life only as others might find leisure and inclination to hand you an occasional sip? God's word is, next to God's Son, and God's Spirit, the most precious gift which divine mercy ever bestowed on man; and shall we not aid those whom God has placed under our care, and for whose salvation we are in a great measure responsible, to secure to themselves its invaluable influences? Shall we suffer those who dwell in our houses, and labor in our fields, to remain incapable of reading for themselves that truth by which the Saviour prayed that the Father would sanctify his people?

Again, *a master cannot discharge his duties to his servants unless he uses faithful and diligent efforts to secure their attendance upon the preaching of the gospel.* The preaching of the gospel is one of God's appointed means of grace, and a means of great value. Yet many Christian masters take no pains to induce their servants to attend regularly upon the house of God. Their own children are trained up to frequent the sanctuary, but the presence of their servants there they do not require. Is it not the duty of the bond as well as the free to attend the ordinances of God? And is it not the master's business to see that his domestics perform all their duties—not merely the duties which they owe to him, but those which they owe to God? We are not required to control the hearts of our servants, for this is beyond our power; but their attendance upon the means of grace, like the attendance of our children, can be procured by proper exertion, and we ought to secure it. Does it not look strangely inconsistent, that we can easily secure their attendance during six days of the week, on *our* work, but find it impossible to secure their attendance upon *God's* work on the seventh? They are certainly not more averse to hearing a sermon than to digging or ploughing; if, then, they perform the latter and neglect the former, is it not owing to the different estimate we teach them to place on these duties? *We manifest displeasure at their neglect of our interests—the neglect of God's service we wink at.*

Further; it is the duty of a master to *assemble his servants with the rest of the household for family worship*. Those servants who live apart from the master's household, should be encouraged to worship God daily in their own houses—the domestic servants ought to unite in the family devotions. Every man is constituted by God a prophet or teacher, as well as king or ruler, in his own household—is regarded as the superior in wisdom as well as authority; this position he holds that he may train his children and servants to fear and serve God. A man cannot expect the blessing of God upon his family, unless he endeavors to make it a family that calls daily upon God's name. It was the testimony which God gave to Abraham, when assigning the reason why he would bless him: "I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, and do justice and judgment." Here is an example held out by God for the imitation of all masters. Many persons justify slavery by pleading the example of Abraham; but they fail to remember that it was an inestimable privilege to belong to the family of Abraham. Do they imitate him in those points of conduct which *sanctified his mastership*, and which drew around him a body of faithful servants, whom he could arm to repel the assaults of an invading foe?

Our object, at present, is not to give minute directions to aid one who is disposed to discharge the religious duties of a master, but simply to show what those duties are. We cannot, then, turn aside to answer the question, "How shall we most surely and easily secure the attention of our servants to the Bible, and to the public and private exercises of divine worship?" One thing, however, is certain, that no man will succeed in any good work, who does not direct his mind diligently to the discovery of the means of success, and then use them with patience and perseverance.

4. Masters should *watch over the moral character of their servants, and restrain them from all conduct offensive to God*. Gross sins against God are tolerated in their servants by many masters, who will permit no practices hurt-

ful to their own self-interest. Yet it is clearly our duty to show disapprobation of conduct which we reprehend or punish *in proportion, not to its injurious effects upon our personal interests, but to its criminality or moral turpitude.* And we are certainly not discharging the obligations to our servants which our position and superior intelligence impose on us, when we teach them to regard trivial offences against ourselves as of greater magnitude, and deserving of severer reprobation, than gross violations of God's most important commandments. By acting thus we pervert their views of duty and responsibility, and give them, as far as lies in our power, a false standard of morality. We cannot expect them to be conscientious and upright, unless we train them to regard the divine law, and unless we show by our treatment of them that we expect and require them to respect its precepts.

To form and preserve correct moral feelings and conduct in them, it is not merely requisite that we should restrain them from vices, and encourage them to virtue by proper rewards and punishments, but we should as far as practicable keep them from corrupting associates, and set before them a godly example. In vain may we exhort them to do right, if they *see us* do wrong. If they see us honest, conscientious, kind, and forbearing, a strong influence will be exerted upon them to produce virtues resembling those which they see in us; if, on the other hand, the master is seen to be grasping and unscrupulous, the servant will imitate his selfish example, disregarding, as far as he can do so with impunity, his master's interest, and seeking only his own ease.

5. Masters are *bound to exercise patience towards the faults and infirmities of their servants.* Proper efforts will do much towards remedying the manifold imperfections of servants; but much will remain irremediable. Patience, then, becomes an important duty in our intercourse with them—a duty in which we often lamentably fail. Permit me to suggest a few considerations, which, duly weighed, would satisfy us all that we should exercise in our dealings with them, a degree of patience far beyond what we usually exhibit. 1. We are ourselves very far

from perfection ; and is it reasonable to expect our servants to be better than ourselves ? We need the forbearance and indulgence of our fellow-men towards our own weaknesses and frailties ; and should we not grant to others what we claim largely for ourselves ? And how poorly and despicably do we serve God, who has far stronger claims on our services than we have on those of our fellow-men. Ought we not to exercise towards our servants something like that patience which our heavenly Master is daily exercising towards us, who fail in our duty with so much stronger motives inducing us to fulfil it ?

2. The indulgence of impatience and ill-humor effect no useful purpose. All experience teaches that those who are fretful, dissatisfied, and fault-finding, are not as well served as those who are even-tempered, kind, and forbearing.

3. The indulgence of these feelings effectually destroys our own peace. Just so far as we permit ourselves to be irritated and vexed, we permit ourselves to be made wretched ; and surely it is most unwise to indulge in any disposition which will place our happiness completely at the mercy of our dependents. Many persons thus become the victims of the faults of their servants.

4. The comfort of all around us is impaired by our yielding to these feelings. Solomon strongly expresses the annoyance produced by an impatient and fault-finding temper, when he says, "It is better to dwell in the corner of a house-top, than with a brawling woman in a wide house." Females are more liable to this evil than men, not from any peculiar weakness of character or infirmity of mind, but from their more constant intercourse with their servants, and chiefly from the nature of the domestic employments which they superintend, involving as they do a great variety of minute and disconnected operations, some of which are almost certain to be overlooked or slightly performed by careless servants, while none of them can be neglected without detriment to the household, and consequent dissatisfaction to her who is responsible for its welfare.

5. Impatience and fretfulness defeat their own object. Frequent chidings not only wear away the sensibilities of a servant, and render him callous to all rebuke,

but they excite a spirit of defiance and a disposition to annoy. 6. The Scriptures expressly forbid the indulgence of impatient, harsh, and fretful feeling towards our servants: "And ye masters, do the same things unto them, *forbearing threatening*; knowing that your Master also is in heaven, and there is no respect of persons with him." Eph. 6 : 9. Here while masters are taught to do for their servants the "same things" which the servants had been in the preceding verses enjoined to do unto the masters—that is, to do them all the good they can, remembering the Lord regards it as done to Him—they are expressly prohibited from harsh, tyrannical, and irritating language. Solomon also advises us not to pry curiously into all the misdemeanors of which servants may be guilty, but sometimes wisely to pass as if unheeded what, if noticed, would require animadversion: "Take no heed unto all words that are spoken, lest thou hear thy servant curse thee," that is, speak ill of thee; "for oftentimes also thine own heart knoweth that thou thyself likewise hast cursed others." Ecclesiastes 7 : 21.

6. But it is not sufficient for us to bear patiently with the faults of servants, and refrain from habitual harshness; it is, further, *a master's duty to treat his servants with positive kindness*. Every servant is one of those "neighbors" whose proper treatment is exemplified by our Saviour's narrative of the conduct of the good Samaritan towards the wounded Jew—he is one of those "neighbors," our treatment of whom must be regulated by that comprehensive law of God which enjoins us to "love thy neighbor as thyself." He is, then, a being whose interests we are bound to regard, whose woes we must seek to alleviate, whose joys we must strive to increase. They constitute, too, that class of our neighbors who have the most strong claim upon our kindness, for *their lot is peculiarly hard*. How many are the privileges and enjoyments bestowed by God in his providence upon us, yet withheld from them. How many strong motives do we possess to incite us to good and withhold us from evil, which they do not enjoy; and how many and precious means of improvement and usefulness have been granted to us, and



denied to them. Ought not the consideration of the difference of our allotments to move our sympathies and draw forth our kindness? They are God's unfortunate children, whom he has placed under our special care, that by our kindness we might mitigate the severities of their lot and sweeten their existence. The chief motive which should influence us to deal kindly with them is, "for Christ's sake." Regard for duty, respect for God's command, gratitude to our Saviour, who interests himself for them as a part of his redeemed people, all these should combine to form the great principle which should govern our conduct towards them. But there is an inferior motive worth considering, which may also operate to induce us to treat them kindly—*it is to our own interest to do so.* Kindness draws forth such services as harshness can never exact. Servants are human beings just like ourselves, and we know that we serve those most faithfully and heartily who treat us best. Persons often complain of ingratitude; their kindnesses are not appreciated nor repaid, especially by servants. While there is some foundation for this complaint, still it is a general law of human nature, that kindness produces a return of affection and service, and a continued course of good treatment will work a beneficial effect upon almost every disposition. When servants feel that their master's conduct towards them is simply governed by self-interest, and that no real desire for their welfare animates him, they naturally feel that their interests are opposed to his, and seek their own at the expense of his. Even his favors they suspect of selfishness, and feel that no gratitude is due for them. But let them be satisfied, from his course, that he really desires their happiness, and the happy effect will soon be visible in their labors. On this important point we might enlarge, would time permit, and illustrate it by a mass of facts. But we can only notice a mistake which often prevents, in a great degree, the effect of a master's benevolent measures. There are some who propose all the favors which they intend to confer, as *compensations for services to be rendered.* If the servant perform this or that piece of work well, he is to receive such a reward. To

some extent, this plan is good ; it affords to the servant a stimulus, and secures the quick and faithful discharge of his duty. But favors thus received are often regarded as compensations bargained for, and fairly and fully earned. Servants do not feel that these are *gratuitous kindnesses* ; they feel that their master has been repaid. It is well, therefore, to bestow favors that are unpromised and unexpected ; they are thus felt to be gratuitous, and are consequently regarded as proofs of good will. Another happy effect of sometimes rewarding their services, when there has been no promise given, is, that they are thus made to feel that their conduct is not unnoticed or unappreciated, even when no peculiar motives are presented to stimulate their exertions.

If we would treat our servants aright, we must not only *act* kindly, but *speak* kindly. Some persons, most unfortunately, contract a tone and manner which prevent their real kindness from being seen and felt. We all recognize the power of an affectionate and pleasant voice. Our looks and tones are the great channels by which our feelings are conveyed to the minds of our fellow-men, servants as well as equals. Kind words are often a cheap means of winning services, which no money could buy. The silver tones of a kind voice seldom fail to reach the heart, and, if united with patience and perseverance, to secure cheerful and prompt obedience.

7. *It is a master's duty to give to his servants a reasonable and fair compensation for their labor.* "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal." It was a beautiful provision in the law of Moses, which forbade the Jew from muzzling his ox while it was trampling out the grain. Even the dumb beast was not to be tantalized with seeing the fruits of his labor appropriated and carried away by others, while he was hungering for his share. He was not to go unrewarded, while others were fattening on his toils. The man, then, who lives by the sweat of his fellow-creature's brow, ought not to grudge him a full share of the products of his own labor. And we are to remember, that what is "just and equal" to a brute, is not "just and equal" to a human being. If a master

furnishes provender, shelter, and litter sufficient for a beast, and does not overwork him, he performs all that duty and humanity require. But surely more than these are due to the human being who toils for us. He should share with us, not merely in the bare necessaries, but the comforts of life.

8. *The correction of servants, when they do amiss, is part of the duty of a master.* While the infliction of punishment is always more or less painful to every feeling mind, we are taught by divine authority, that it is a salutary, and often necessary, means of preventing evil deeds, as well as of counteracting the effects of such deeds after they have been perpetrated. The good effects of punishment are, however, often destroyed by an impropriety in the mode of its administration. It loses a great portion of its beneficial influence, unless it is accompanied with the impression on the mind of the sufferer, that it is inflicted from a sense of duty. Many persons will punish only when their anger has risen so high as to overcome their natural repugnance to inflicting pain upon a fellow-being; and then their conduct wears to the culprit the appearance, not of discharging a duty, but of merely gratifying a vindictive feeling. While correction of every kind ought to be attended with a clear exhibition of displeasure and moral abhorrence proportioned to the nature of the offence, it ought never to be administered in passion. Admonitions, rebukes, and personal chastisement produce a much better effect, both on children and servants, when inflicted with calmness. Persons often urge that they cannot punish coolly and calmly. This is a mistake; they *can* do it, and it is *their duty* to do it. It is as much the duty of the head of a family to administer justice in his household, according to the laws he has established, as it is the duty of a magistrate to execute the laws in a commonwealth. And would it not be considered as an unpardonable weakness in a magistrate, to plead an incapacity for punishing a criminal until he had become excited by passion? We should remember that no one can be successful in making others do *their* duty who does not first do *his own* duty; no one can hope to govern others who cannot govern himself. How

can we expect that God will sanction and bless correction, unless it is administered in a spirit that he approves? Our correction of every sort ought to be just, but not vindictive—effectual, but not cruel.

9. *Masters should enforce upon their servants the duty of respecting the rite of marriage.* Its neglect is followed by the most pernicious moral consequences. We should absolutely prohibit them from forming those irregular and temporary unions, which are alike opposed to the commandments of God and to the decency of civilized life. Even the lowest barbarian has some form or ceremony by which he gives a moral sanction to the union of the sexes; how then can we tolerate these unsanctioned, unconsecrated connections between persons living in Christian families, and under the control of Christian guardians? How can we inculcate integrity, faithfulness, and the various Christian virtues, upon those whom we permit to live in the open and shameless violation of one of the fundamental laws of Jehovah? And how can we expect to cultivate in them a regard for character, when we permit them to live in a condition which all decent society views with contempt and abhorrence? To convince you of the master's duty on this subject, it is surely not necessary that we should portray the brutalizing effects of a system of licentiousness, and prove the necessity of the marriage rite; it is enough for us to direct your attention to the fact, that if servants are not prohibited from trampling upon the rite which God has instituted as one of the great preservatives of human virtue, he will hold as responsible, not the ignorant servants merely, but the more intelligent masters, who might have controlled them. By what plea can men defend or justify their power over their fellow-men, unless they use it to restrain them from vice?

10. *The application of the principle, "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal," will teach every master his duty in relation to the sale of servants held in involuntary bondage.* The law of Mohammed, more just and humane, in this respect, than the codes of many of our states, punishes a crime committed by a slave with

half the penalty inflicted on a freeman for the same offence, because the slave's inferiority in knowledge and motives to restrain him from crime lessens his responsibility. But our laws often punish the crimes of slaves with a severity altogether *disproportionate to their enormity*, and our moral sense revolts at the idea of permitting their enforcement. In such a case, the sale of a slave with a view to his transportation from the state, that he may thus escape sentence of death, may be a duty of humanity, as he is thus saved from unjust suffering. There are other cases in which the perversity and misconduct of a servant defy our faithful efforts for his reformation, and make it evident that his continuance under our care will be deleterious in its influence upon his fellow-servants, detrimental to our own comfort, and productive of no good to himself. But it is clearly a violation of the principle which God lays down for the government of our conduct towards our servants, when we sell them for the purpose of gain, without regard to their welfare. Can we imagine that then we are "*giving them that which is just and equal*;" that we are *doing to them as we would that they should do unto us*? The criminality of this conduct rises to its highest pitch in those cases in which domestic ties are rent asunder by the ruthless hand of the master bent upon gain. A man may stop his ears to the agonizing cry of the wife, rudely forced away from her husband and separated for ever; he may refuse to hear the wailing of the mother for her children torn from her; but there is a voice to which he must one day listen, the voice of the Eternal pronouncing judgment upon him, for his trampling upon the rights of humanity, and treating his fellow-men as if they were beasts of the field.

Such is a delineation of a master's duty. The outline might be profitably filled up, did time permit, by many additional proofs, illustrations, and minute specifications; but every man, for a *full knowledge of his duty*, must depend in a great degree on the application, by his own understanding, aided by an honest conscience, of the great principles of rectitude to his own peculiar circumstances.

You can scarcely fail to arrive at truth, if, in points of inquiry as to duty not specifically covered by these directions, you shall honestly examine what the great rule of "just and equal" would require.

Many may now, perhaps, be disposed to say, "If the case of the master be so with his servants, it is not good to have servants." This is precisely similar to what the Jews said to our Saviour, when he explained to them the nature and duties of the marriage relation: "If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry." It would not then be surprising, if, when we represent fairly and correctly a master's duties, many should regard it as assigning to him a hard lot. The Jews had a mistaken view of the nature of marriage, just as many among us have a mistaken view of the nature of servitude. Marriage, according to their conception of it, was mainly designed for the convenience and comfort of the man alone; and the laws and duties of married life they deduced from this erroneous principle. So now, many among us think that God has sanctioned the relation of master and servant simply and mainly for the benefit of the master; and from this erroneous principle they deduce their ideas of a master's duties. But "God is no respecter of persons;" in his sight the servant is as precious as the master; and this relation can have God's sanction only so far as it is designed for the mutual good of master and servant. The master is as much bound to promote the happiness of the servant, as the servant is bound to promote that of the master. This is the true principle, and on this we should act, discharging to our servants all the duties which flow from it. It is a great mistake, too, to imagine that we would be gainers, even for this world, by disregarding this principle and neglecting our duties. We see how erroneous was the judgment of the Jews when they objected to the doctrine of the Saviour on marriage, that it rendered the condition of the man so intolerable that he had better not marry. *We recognize the Saviour's doctrine as true, and act upon it*—no longer granting to man the right to divorce his wife at pleasure, no longer regarding woman as the mere instrument of man's gratification

and the slave of his caprices—and *what has been the consequence?* *Is the husband's condition less happy* than it was among the Jews? So far is this from being true, that *our domestic comfort is greatly increased.* By regarding and treating woman as God intended that she should be regarded and treated, she has become a more refined, intelligent, and virtuous companion and helpmeet to man. And even so regarding and treating our servants as fellow-beings, whose interests we are bound to promote as our own, will make them more intelligent, more active, more capable, more cheerful, more faithful, more conscientious, and more devoted assistants to us in all the labors in which we employ them. Besides the reward of well-doing, which we shall receive in the pleasing consciousness that we are improving the condition and character of our rational and immortal fellow-beings, who are to stand with us before the same judgment-seat, we shall receive *an additional reward* in the increased satisfaction of our intercourse with them, and the increased value of their services.

It may again be objected, that if this representation of our duties is correct, then all of us have been, to some degree, deficient in their discharge. This objection, so far from disproving the correctness of our representation, serves rather to confirm it. If I so explained your duties either to God or your neighbor, that any one of you could say with truth, "All this I have done," I would be sure that I had taught you what was false. But our imperfections should neither hinder us from acknowledging our duty, nor operate as an excuse for neglecting it. While we honestly and conscientiously recognize all our duties to our servants, this recognition should humble us under a sense of our past deficiencies, and stimulate us to greater future diligence.

If you thus act, great will be your reward in heaven. Your servants will be something more to you than *a source of profit in this world*, they will become a source of *blessedness* to you in the *world to come*. You are God's trustees, to whom, in his providence, he commits these souls for their temporal and eternal good. Will you

exercise this *trusteeship* faithfully, and receive the promised gracious reward? Or, claiming them as *absolutely yours*, will you *usurp an authority never granted you by God*, and meet his dread pleasure? Remember, that *very soon* you must depart from earth, and stand before that awful tribunal, where the slave is equal with his master, and where both alike must receive their doom from a righteous Judge. "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven."



FROM A SERMON  
ON  
THE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION  
OF  
THE COLORED POPULATION,  
BY REV. JOHN B. ADGER, D. D.

FORMERLY MISSIONARY TO THE ARMENIANS, AND NOW PROFESSOR IN  
THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, COLUMBIA, S. C.

PREACHED IN CHARLESTON, S. C., MAY 9, 1847.

THE POOR HAVE THE GOSPEL PREACHED UNTO THEM. MATT. 11 : 15.

“THE grandest and most distinctive peculiarity of the gospel dispensation is its adaptedness to the state of the most miserable, and the attention it pays to them in particular. Not those that are whole, but the sick ; not the righteous, but sinners ; not many wise, or mighty, or noble, but the foolish, the weak, the base, the despised, hath God chosen, that no flesh should glory in his presence. The gospel is for those who have nothing and deserve nothing. It is for *the poor* in every sense of the term. But alas, those who need do not always desire. ‘The blessings dispensed by the gospel possess no charm for men morally and spiritually dead.’ They will not come to the gospel ; it therefore, goes to them. To the poor the *gospel is preached*. As the great peculiarity of the gospel is its *adaptedness* to the poor, so the great duty of its friends and receivers is *to carry it* to the poor. Where the greatest destitution of the gospel is, thither its lovers most earnestly seek to send it. The Christian delights in hearing the blessed sound himself, but he is no Christian

if he will not sacrifice its music for his own ear to that mercy which it may and can convey to the ear of the poor and guilty and wretched around him. No Christian man, therefore, and no Christian church acts up to the spirit of the Christian dispensation, if he or they will not sacrifice time, toil, ease, money, every worldly good, nay, even their own religious privileges and enjoyments, in order to extend the word of life to perishing souls—in order that *the poor may have the gospel preached to them.*

“My Christian brethren, I appear before you this morning as one of yourselves, asking your fraternal counsel and assistance. More than twelve years ago you sent me forth as a missionary to the Armenians. I thank God for much happiness and for some success in that interesting field. But, brethren, my mind had previously been strongly drawn to another missionary field, lying nearer at home, and into that field nothing then prevented me from entering but the want of an ‘open door.’ Providence has brought me back, and the claims of this field have pressed again—nay, they have, during the whole twelve years of my absence, been pressing strongly upon my mind.”

“The poor of this city are a class separated from ourselves by their color, their position in society, their relation to our families, their national origin, and their moral, intellectual, and physical condition. Nowhere are the poor more distinctly marked out than our poor; and yet, strange to say, nowhere are the poor so closely and intimately connected with the higher classes as are our poor with us. They are divided out among us and mingled up with us, and we with them, in a thousand ways. They live with us—eating from the same storehouses, drinking from the same fountains, dwelling in the same inclosures, forming parts of the same families. Our mothers confide us, when infants, to their arms, and sometimes to the very milk of their breasts. Their children are, to some extent, unavoidably the playmates of our childhood—grow up with us, under the same roof—sometimes pass through all the changes of life with us, and then, either they stand weeping by our bedside, or else we drop a tributary tear by theirs when death comes to close the long connection, and to separate the good master and his good servant.

"Such, my friends, are those whom we consider the poor of this city. There they are—behold them! See them all around you, in all these streets, in all these dwellings—a race distinct from us, yet closely united to us; brought, in God's mysterious providence, from a foreign land, and placed under our care and made members of our households. They fill the humblest places of our state of society; they serve us; they give us their strength; yet they are not more truly ours than we are truly theirs. They are *our poor*—our poor brethren; children of our God and Father; dear to our Saviour; to the like of whom he preached, for the like of whom he died, and to the least of whom every act of Christian compassion and kindness which we show, he will consider as shown also to himself."

"Let me tell you what is necessary, in order that we may be able to say that to our poor the gospel is preached. Give them suitable church room and a suitable ministry devoted to their good. Let them be induced, by such allurements as these, to crowd the place of worship; yet be careful how they are suffered to crowd into the spiritual church. Invite them all to hear the gospel, but receive them only after careful and thorough examination into the membership. Let those who are admitted be built up in the faith, not only by suitable preaching, but by the laborious and persevering catechetical teaching of them in private. Indoctrinate thoroughly their class leaders, that they may communicate sound doctrine to the others. Pay great attention to the youth; and with reference to the whole congregation, aim not so much to *excite* them, as to *instruct* them. Thoroughly imbue their minds with the principles and precepts of the Bible, and store them with the facts and narratives of its history. At the same time, watch over them, as far as possible, both directly and by means of their leaders, as a faithful shepherd watches over his sheep.

"*God has committed the gospel to us, as Christians, for this very purpose, among others, of our seeing that it is preached to the poor.* Our business in this world, our very object in living, and God's purpose in keeping us alive, is

partly that we may promote this end. If it were not for this purpose of God's, my brethren, you would not be alive this day. If it were not to aid in this and other similar works of benevolence, the property you now hold would have been placed in other hands. By being faithful to this duty, and not otherwise, our own Christian graces will flourish. Christ was a friend of sinners, the associate of publicans, the benefactor of the poor. If we do not seek the benefit of our poor, how can we be like Christ? An interest, a deep and lively interest in the spiritual well-being of this population, would be of incalculable spiritual advantage to ourselves. The missionary spirit is an element of the utmost life and potency in the moral constitution of any church. But a spirit of concern for the salvation of these our poor would be the missionary spirit. What Dr. Chalmers says to his friends in Edinburgh, I may say, with far greater propriety and emphasis, to you : 'Do not think that it is necessary that you should travel thousands of miles, or that you have immense oceans to traverse, before you can engage in a missionary work. There are wretched creatures in many parts of this town who are at as great a moral distance from the gospel, and from all its lessons, as if they had been born and lived all their days in the wilds of Tartary.'

"Oh, my Christian brethren, would not the salvation of our poor be a glorious trophy of our gospel? As ransomed souls, as justified and perfected spirits in heaven, would they not be bright stars in our crown of rejoicing, and also in our blessed Saviour's diadem of glory—stars all the brighter for the thick gloom of that night in which they were wandering before?

*"Is it not a most attractive and inviting circumstance, that these poor are in themselves of such inestimable value as immortal beings? To preach the gospel successfully to our poor, is to save so many souls from death. 'Honor all men,' says the apostle. Why honor all? Because God made all—because all have one common origin, nature, and destiny—because all have capabilities for endless and unmeasurable improvement—because, for the redemption of all, God made his Son a sacrifice—and because*

the common nature of all God's Son united with his own, and now every one of them, even the poorest, has an elder brother seated on heaven's throne. For these reasons we must not neglect to have the gospel preached to our poor.

*"The faithful preaching of the gospel to these poor will be followed by great advantages to our own children.* These people are in our very families, and their ignorance and their irreligion must inevitably affect the morals of our own offspring.

*"Great advantages to the church and the community will also accrue from the diligent preaching of the gospel to our poor.* 'The assiduities of Christian principle,' in this work, will bring their own blessing with them. Here is a wide field for church extension in the south. Here is a missionary field which is competent to rouse the enthusiasm of many a pious youth who does not feel pressed into the ordinary service of the ministry, because the call to that work is not loud enough. Here is the work, my brethren, which will raise up a SOUTHERN MINISTRY. This business of preaching the gospel to our poor is what will fill your recently endowed seminary with students. Providence has been preparing our way. Brighter days will surely dawn on you, if you will but see that the gospel is preached to your poor.

*"Finally, the great reason for rousing ourselves to this work is, that this is our bounden duty.* To our poor the gospel ought to be preached. Christ's command has been given. We must answer to God if we neglect it. There is no possible excuse. All things are ready, if your hearts are ready. You have a duty to do as a church. Good and wise men in the city unanimously approve. For the performance of this work on your behalf, I offer you my services, if thought equal to their price. That price is nothing more than a place in which to operate, and a very few helpers in the work. This work is for the benefit of your poor. Yes, they are yours—they are ours. They claim us, therefore, as theirs; and God knows the justice of the claim; and if we despise it, God will judge us. The blood of these souls will be on us, if we neglect it. We put the invincible might of Christianity against us and our

institutions, if we refuse. God's curse will come not causeless. Blight on our country, blight on our church, and blight on our own souls and those of our children, will be the inevitable and direful consequence.

"My brethren, I urge on you to meet the pressing demands of this subject, for the sake of a whole continent lying in pagan darkness and wretchedness. Ethiopia stretches forth her hands unto God and unto you. Give to her children here the gospel, and let some of them arise to carry it over to her.

"I urge you to meet the subject, for the sake of the ignorant and perishing at your own door. Providence gives you a foreign missionary work in your own families. Can you turn your back on a subject which appeals to you on behalf of your own servants? Figure to your minds your dying servant, in humble but affecting tones accusing you of having neglected to have the gospel properly preached to him! Figure to your mind the meeting you will have with them all, before the bar of their Master and of yours!"

## MEANS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

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THE REV. CHARLES COLCOCK JONES, D. D., in his "Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the Southern States," issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia, says of the obligations and efforts of masters :

"He who is, in the providence of God, called to be a 'master in the flesh,' should acquaint himself with his duties and responsibilities, taking the word of God as his infallible guide to truth in his peculiar relation. One of his first duties is to remember that his servants are immortal beings, and to the best of his ability and opportunity he should provide for their religious instruction.

"This he may do by employing alone, or jointly with his neighbors, or by the aid of some society or board of domestic missions, *a missionary for their benefit*. And when the missionary is employed, his efforts are not at an end. He should treat the missionary with the respect due to a minister of the gospel, and to a man who is contributing to the best good of his plantation; and if he visits his plantation on the Sabbath, he should see that the Negroes are assembled generally, and at the hour for service; and were he occasionally to attend meetings with the missionary, and say kind words of encouragement, and give him his decided countenance and support, his people would be more favorably impressed, and the prospect of success would be greater.

"If a missionary cannot be had, the owner might be able to engage *his minister* to visit his plantation at stated intervals, and have both a preaching and a catechetical

service. Happy would it be for the servants, if such calls were more frequently made upon ministers.

“He should also endeavor to *instruct his people himself, and to promote their moral and religious improvement in every possible way* :

“By granting his people liberty to hold evening prayers, and providing a suitable place of meeting for them. On all plantations where religion has obtained a foothold, it is a general custom for the people to assemble for social worship in the evening, after the labors of the day are over. These are the family prayers of the plantation, or “plantation prayers,” as they are called. The watchman or class-leader, or some prominent member, leads in the exercises. If he is able to read, he reads the Scriptures, and a psalm or hymn. They sing. A brief exhortation is given, or not, as the case may be, prayer is offered, and they are dismissed. Such meetings, properly conducted, exert a happy influence upon the order and morality of a plantation. They are, on some plantations, held but twice or three times during the week; and there are instances of the prayers being held not in the evening, but in the morning, before the people go out to work. Not only should the owner grant liberty for the holding of these meetings—a refusal to do so, without reasons obviously just and necessary, we conceive to be an abuse of power amounting to downright oppression, and great sin before God—but he should provide a *suitable house or room* wherein the people may assemble, furnished with ample and comfortable seats, with good lights, a stand or desk, and a Bible and hymn-book for constant use. It argues great indifference to religion itself, and to the spiritual interests of his household, for the owner to provide every other building for the comfort, convenience, and even elegance of the plantation, and not even a room for the worship of the Lord God and our Redeemer.

“By instructing his servants himself. At these evening meetings it would be desirable for the master to act as the head of his household, and give his servants instruction. If he cannot meet with them every evening, he might attend on *one or two particular evenings*, which, in most



cases, will be the better plan ; and on these regular evenings of meeting, let him require all the people to be present. It is the right and duty of the master to 'command' his household in this matter, and if he is a kind, a decided, just, and pious man, no evil will result, but on the contrary, good ; for his people know that it is their duty to worship God, and that it is his duty to aid them in that worship ; their consciences are all on his side. The point to be gained is, to be regular, and to establish the rule and custom, and the difficulty will in a great measure be overcome. They will need to be stirred up from time to time, and kept up to their duty ; but the same is true of every other people whom you are striving to benefit by any course of systematic efforts.

"The master will be much assisted by pursuing some *particular course* of instruction : for example, let him read the gospels and Acts, Genesis and Exodus, and all the more interesting portions of the historical books of the Old Testament ; let him give a connected view of the life of our Lord, from his birth to his ascension ; go through his parables, miracles, and discourses. Or let him take up some suitable catechism section by section, and explain and apply it. *Preparation* for these evening services is not as laborious as is supposed by many who are deterred from effort by that impression. If the owner will prayerfully and attentively read the portion of Scripture for the evening service, with Henry's or Scott's Commentary and Practical Observations—books which are to be found in almost in every Christian family—he will, with no further help, be able to bring forth things new and old to the edification of the people, and, I may add, to his own individual improvement.

"He should also instruct his people, and promote their spiritual improvement, *by establishing a plantation school for the children and youth.* This school may be conducted by the owner himself, or by his wife, or his son or daughter, or by any competent and willing person in the family ; and called together, if not every day in the week, then as frequently as may be convenient ; and if at no other time, then on the Sabbath-day. The children should

come with clean clothes, with clean faces and hands, and be kept together from fifteen to forty-five minutes; and in addition to such religious instruction as is communicated in common Sabbath-schools, they may be taught other things of value, at the discretion of the teacher. If an owner looked no further than his own comfort and interest as an owner, he would establish a school for the children and youth on his plantation. Such a school assists the discipline of a plantation in a wonderful manner. May God impress more deeply upon Christian owners the duty of bringing up their young servants in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

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The Rev. JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D. D., in his "Thoughts on Family Worship," published by the same Board, says:

"To reside, even as a servant, in a family where the worship of God is duly observed, is an unspeakable privilege. This is one of the collateral methods of diffusing Christianity, which is silent, but operative. If our whole duty were performed in this respect, no domestic would ever leave our dwelling without some benefit derived from the daily service of God.

"In a large portion of America, a portion also over which our church is widely extended, all labor is performed by bondmen. This opens to us an aspect of the subject too important to be overlooked; indeed, by far the most important in this chapter. Having been born among these institutions, having lived among them, and having spent a portion of life in laboring among slaves, we feel impelled to utter our thoughts on the subject—thoughts which, we are assured, will meet with a response in the hearts of brethren at the South. For however the ignorant and unjust clamors of some may reiterate the contrary, we speak what we do know, and testify what we have seen, in asserting that pious householders at the South are accustomed to exert a direct religious influence on their servants. The master of numerous slaves has

an access to them, and an influence over them, in regard to divine truth, such as no other man on earth has over an equal number of persons. That this influence is always exerted to the extent of the obligation, we no more assert, than we assert the same of teachers, ship-masters, and owners of factories, in New England, or in Europe. But that the way is open to an extraordinary extent, and that the effort is conscientiously made in a large number of blessed instances, we not only believe, but do testify.

“In no instance have we ever been so much impressed with the value of family worship to the servant, as when we have seen a large household of negro slaves, sometimes filling rooms and passages, gathered for this service, and filling the air with their peculiar melody. On one of these occasions, being struck with the intelligence, gravity, and decorum of the servants thus assembled, we learned on inquiry, that no less than *fifty*, of that plantation alone, were communicants in the Presbyterian church.

“No enlargement is necessary, in order to show the immense value of such oral services to those who cannot read. Hearing, as many of them do, but small portions of the Scripture on the Sabbath, they are the more dependent upon what they receive in the house. It merits the consideration of all benevolent householders in the South, whether this is not of itself a strong argument for the necessity of family worship. Pious masters might well take counsel as to the best method and order of reading, and even explaining the Scriptures to their servants.

“The fondness of the black race for music is proverbial. It is rare to meet with a negro who does not sing; and there are many whose organ is susceptible of extraordinary training. It is not uncommon to hear the negro, on some nightly walk through the forest, waking the echoes with a sacred song, and perhaps, odd as it may seem, giving out the lines to himself. We have listened to a great variety of sacred music, vocal and instrumental, Popish and Protestant, in choirs and congregations, in concerts and oratorios; but if we were summoned to

declare which of all seemed most like the praise of God, we should reply, the united voices of a thousand slaves ascending to heaven in a volume of harmony.

“For this reason, divine praise should, if possible, always form a part of domestic worship, where black servants are present. No better vehicle of truth to these minds could be sought than an appropriate hymn, well suited to a pleasing tune.”

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The Rev. A. T. HOLMES, in a premium essay issued by the Baptist Board of Publication at Charleston, S. C., says, in conclusion :

“The master should be the *friend* of his servant, and the servant should know it. Friendship implies good will, kindness, a desire for the welfare of him for whom it is entertained. Thus should the master feel towards his servant, and in the cultivation of this spirit and its decided manifestation, there need be no compromise of authority, no undue familiarity. The servant, under such a master, knows his condition, and understands that, while he is restricted to certain privileges and required to perform certain duties, he is not held in subjection by an unfeeling tyrant, nor driven to his work by a heartless oppressor. A kind word, a pleasant look, a little arrangement for his comfort, assures him that there is one who cares for him.

“The master should be the *protector* of his servant. The servant should feel that the superior wisdom, experience, power, and authority of his master, constitute his abiding security. He should be encouraged to rely upon their certain and constant exercise, so that in regard to necessity, comfort, personal difficulty or danger, he may confidently look to his master for that protection which his particular case may demand. It is the master's duty that such an understanding be established between himself and his servant. In view of the servant's condition, it is both *just and equal*, and will contribute much towards securing that peace and mutual confidence

which every good man loves to contemplate as the striking characteristic of his own family and household. Moreover, it will advance the master's interest; for, while no right is yielded, and no improper indulgence granted—while no authority is compromised, and no undue liberty allowed, at the same time the servant learns to value his protection, loves his master, is attached to his home, and therefore less inclined to rove, dreads no separation from his family if he has one, and attends to his daily work comparatively free from care and anxiety, and rejoicing in the assurance that in his master, he has a kind, watchful, and considerate protector.

“The master should be the *guide* of his servant. There is no relation perhaps, unless it is that between father and son, in which a more decided influence is exerted, than that which exists between the master and his servant. Ordinary conduct and conversation are observed, manner is marked, habits are noticed, and according as the master regulates his life by principles of right, his servant is influenced for good or for evil. The master may be a profane man, or a Sabbath-breaker, or a drinker of ardent spirits—a licentious man in some positive sense—and almost invariably will his licentious course be acted out by those who are controlled as well by his influence and example, as by his authority. That master speaks and acts thus, is not only a sufficient warrant with many servants, but actually a reason why they should speak and act thus themselves.

And are we accountable for the influence which we exert upon others? Will our common Master in heaven hold us responsible, not only for the evil which we commit ourselves, but for that which we induce others to commit? Is there danger that I shall be confounded in the presence of the great Judge of all, and *doubly confounded*, because daring myself to profane the name of God, my servant feels at liberty to do the same? Masters, Christian masters, what manner of persons ought ye to be! Twenty, fifty, perhaps a hundred immortal, accountable beings look up to you respectively; they watch your movements, they note your example, and they,

almost literally, follow your guidance, as the traveller follow his guide through some unknown region. Whither does your influence lead them? In following your example, what prospect have they for peace with God beyond the grave? To what extent are they encouraged to pursue the right and avoid the wrong by their regard for your good opinion, and their conviction that it can only be obtained by a correct and upright course of conduct? How pleasant must be the consciousness of that master who, contemplating his relation to his servants, feels, that while they labor for his benefit, submit to his authority, and conform to his regulations, they also regard him as their friend, appeal to him as their protector, and trust to his superior intelligence for direction; and that while they follow his example, and live under his influence, they are preparing for the joys and employments of that better world, where master and servant will find that with God there is no respect of persons, and that he only distinguishes between 'him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not.'

"The master should be the *teacher* of his servants. Sooner or later they must die, and be judged with righteous judgment. In that judgment will the master have no interest? Will he be allowed to witness it, and feel that its retributions in no manner concern him? Will his servants be destroyed for 'lack of knowledge,' and conscience not remind him that he had neglected to teach them the way of truth? Will he not quail before the glance of that eye which, in the ignorance of the servant, detects the indifference and unfaithfulness of the master? Alas, in that awful, fearful hour, no longer affected by the false sanctions of worldly policy, common usages, and popular prejudice, and no longer influenced by the false suggestions of worldly interest, how will some masters speak aloud their self-condemnation when they remember how little they did, if they did any thing at all, that their servants might receive that instruction which would make them wise unto eternal life.

"Teach your servant that he is a *sinner*, and that the Lord Jesus Christ is the sinner's friend. Teach him the

absolute necessity of repentance towards God, and faith in the crucified Redeemer. Teach him that he must deny himself all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly and righteously and godly, in this present world. Let the light of your superior knowledge shine upon the darkness of his ignorance, and let his credulity and superstition yield to that simplicity and godly sincerity which the holy religion of the Son of God secures to all, masters and servants, who are brought to feel its sanctifying and saving power. Christian master, enter the dark cabin of thy servant, and with the lamp of truth in thy hand, light up his yet darker soul with the knowledge of Him, whom to know is life eternal.

“And now, Christian masters, lift your eyes to the judgment-seat of Christ, remember your stewardship, consider the eternal welfare of your servants, and determine for yourselves, whether it is the part of wisdom to neglect this duty, or to make the proper effort, in order that it may be properly discharged. Anticipate that trying hour when the smile or the frown of your Maker and your Judge will depend upon the developments of that ‘Book of Remembrance,’ wherein is registered your faithfulness or your neglect. Stand with your servants before his righteous throne, and let the convictions of that honest hour fix your purpose to meet the claims which your relation as masters imposes upon you. ‘Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest.’” Eccl. 9 : 10.

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The Rev. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D., of Charleston, South Carolina, says of this volume :

“The subject is one of primary and universal interest to all evangelical Christians of every denomination, and in all parts of our country, north, south, east, and west.

“The principles involved are those in which all evangelical Christians agree, and are essentially applicable to masters in whatever circumstances they hold that relation to those dependent upon them.

"The American Tract Society is as much a southern as a northern association, and as much eastern and western as southern. It knows in fact no geographical or political distinction, nor does it publish or promulgate works on any subject geographically or politically considered. It was originated, and has ever been sustained, by evangelical Christians for evangelical purposes, irrespective of country, government, or denomination.

"The subject of this little volume is one in which Christians at the south are deeply interested and vitally concerned. The treatises comprised in it are the productions of prominent divines in their different denominations, and in accordance with many similar expositions of the duty of masters published in various quarters in the south and south-west; and it is hoped it may be blessed in combining the sentiment and influence of southern Christians, and furthering among them the interests of pure and undefiled religion."



# THE FAMILY RELATION, AS AFFECTED BY S L A V E R Y.

• BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.\*

“First Pure, then Peaceable,”

OPPRESSION has existed in every age of the world. Even now, eighteen hundred years since the religion of Jesus was first published to mankind, its beautiful representation that the strong were made strong precisely that they might serve and help the weak, is little understood, and less acted upon.

The particular form of oppression known as American Slavery, was commenced in what all admit to have been an unjustifiable manner. The original seizure of men, women and children, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of bringing them to this country and selling them as slaves, was a system of brutal violence, authorized by no law, and condemned alike by justice and humanity. Those who committed this wickedness are dead, and gone to their account. For their acts, no man now living is responsible.

After this system had been some time in operation as a matter of fact, it began to be recognized and regulated by law; and, in whatever lawless violence slavery first commenced, it now exists, and is carried on, under the control of an accurately defined system of laws. To write intelligently, therefore, about slavery as it now is, we must inquire how the existing laws constitute and define it.

Twenty-nine years ago, there was published in Philadelphia, *“A Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the*

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\* PREMIUM TRACT, to which \$200 was awarded by a Committee consisting of Rev. F. Wayland, D. D., Rt. Rev. T. M. Clark, D. D., of R. I., C. Stoddard, Esq., Mass., and Rev. D. Brown, D. D., of Scotland.

*several States of the United States of America ; by George M. Stroud.*" This volume has been ever since regarded as the best authority upon the subject of which it treats, and its accuracy and impartiality, so far as we know, have never been questioned. But in the lapse of so many years, changes and additions have been made to these laws ; and to meet the want thence arising, Judge Stroud has published a second edition of his "*Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery,*"—"with some alterations and considerable additions," in the autumn of the present year, 1856. This book therefore will show us, precisely and accurately, what Slavery is, as now established by law, and what authority every slaveholder is legally authorized to exercise. Such differences as exist between the statutes of the different States are carefully specified in the book ; but a substantial resemblance exists between all the slave codes, sufficient fully to authorize the following general statement of

#### WHAT AMERICAN SLAVERY IS AS ESTABLISHED BY LAW.

I. The master may determine the kind, and degree, and time of labor to which the slave shall be subjected.

II. The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quantity and quality, as he may think proper or find convenient.

III. The master may, at his discretion, inflict any punishment upon the person of his slave.

IV. All the power of the master over his slave, may be exercised not by himself only in person, but by any one whom he may depute as his agent.

V. Slaves have no legal rights of property in things, real or personal, but whatever they may acquire, belongs *in point of law*, to their masters.

VI. The slave, being a *personal chattel*, is at all times liable to be sold absolutely, or mortgaged, or leased, at the will of his master.

VII. He may also be sold by process of law for the satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts and bequests of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or legatees.

VIII. A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal in any species of action against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him.

IX. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, nor obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such change necessary for their personal safety.

X. Slaves being objects of *property*, if injured by third persons, their owners may bring suit, and recover damages to themselves for the injury done to their slaves.

XI. Slaves can make no contract, not even matrimony.

XII. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual.

XIII. A slave cannot be a witness against a white person, either in a civil or criminal cause.

XIV. A slave cannot be a party to a civil suit.

XV. The benefits of education are withheld from the slave.

XVI. The means for moral and religious education are not granted to the slave; on the contrary, the efforts of the humane and charitable to supply these wants, are discountenanced by law.

XVII. Submission is required of the slave, not to the will of his master only, but to that of all other white persons.

XVIII. The penal codes of the slaveholding States bear much more severely upon slaves than upon white persons for the same offence.

XIX. Trial of slaves upon criminal accusations is, in most of the slave States, different from that which is observed in respect to free white persons, and the difference is injurious to the slave, and inconsistent with the rights of humanity.

Such are the powers of the master and the disabilities of the slave, as *established by law* throughout the slave region generally.

We know, however, that severe and inequitable laws sometimes stand, a dead letter, on the statute book, long after they have ceased to be put in force. To be assured,

therefore, respecting the actually existing character of slavery, we need to make the further inquiry,

ARE SUCH SLAVE CASES AS HAPPEN TO COME BEFORE THE COURTS OF THE SLAVE STATES DECIDED WITH A RIGOR CORRESPONDING TO THE SEVERITY OF THE CODE ABOVE QUOTED?

As a reply to this inquiry, we quote the ruling of various Southern judges, in cases actually tried by them.

“*Souther vs. the Commonwealth of Virginia*,” 7 Grattan, 673, 1851. In delivering the opinion of the court, Judge Field said:

“It has been decided by this court in *Turner’s case*, 5 Rand., that the owner of a slave, for the malicious, cruel, and excessive beating of his own slave, can not be indicted. It is the policy of the law, in respect to the relation of master and slave, and for the sake of securing proper subordination and obedience on the part of the slave, to protect the master from prosecution in all such cases, [of punishment not resulting in death,] even if the whipping and punishment be malicious, cruel, and excessive.”

In another case of cruel and unreasonable punishment not resulting in death, “*State vs. Mann*,” Decem. term, 1829, 2 *Devereaux’s North Carolina Rep.* 263, the opinion of the court, delivered by Judge Ruffin, afterward Chief Justice of the State of North Carolina, contained the following statements:

“The end [of slavery] is the profit of the master, his security, and the public safety; the subject, one doomed, in his own person and his posterity, to live without knowledge and without the capacity to make any thing his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits. What moral considerations shall be addressed to such a being, to convince him what it is impossible but that the most stupid must feel and know can never be true—that he is thus to labor upon a principle of natural duty, or for the sake of his own personal happiness? Such services can only be expected from one who has no will of his own; who

surrenders his will in implicit obedience to that of another. Such obedience is the consequence only of uncontrolled authority over the body. There is nothing else which can operate to produce this effect. THE POWER OF THE MASTER MUST BE ABSOLUTE TO RENDER THE SUBMISSION OF THE SLAVE PERFECT. I most freely confess my sense of the harshness of this proposition. I feel it as deeply as any man can. AND, AS A PRINCIPLE OF MORAL RIGHT, EVERY PERSON IN HIS RETIREMENT MUST REPUDIATE IT. But, in the actual condition of things, it must be so. There is no remedy. This discipline is INHERENT IN THE RELATION OF MASTER AND SLAVE. Judgment entered for the defendant."

In "State of South Carolina vs. Mauer," 2 Hill's Rep., 453, Judge O'Neal says :

"The criminal offence of assault and battery can not, at common law, be committed upon the person of a slave. For notwithstanding (for some purposes) a slave is regarded by law as a person, yet generally he is a mere chattel personal, and his right of personal protection belongs to his master, who can maintain an action of trespass for the battery of his slave. There can be, therefore, no offence against the State for a *mere beating of a slave unaccompanied with any circumstances of cruelty*, or an attempt to kill and murder. The peace of the State is not thereby broken; for a slave is not generally regarded as legally capable of being within the peace of the State. He is not a citizen, and is not in that character entitled to her protection."

We have abstained from describing the cruelties inflicted in the cases above cited, because we wish to appeal to reason without painful excitement of feeling. Those cases are fair specimens of their class, and they show that the judicial decisions of slave cases *do* correspond in rigor to the laws. If then we remember that the slave can not bring any action whatever on his own account, and that he is likely to find no friend who will do this for him in opposition to his master, and that both the laws and the ordinary course of their

administration, discourage any appeal to them in behalf of a slave, it will be sufficiently obvious that only a very small proportion of the cases of cruelty inflicted upon a slave, will come before the law at all for redress.

Before being competent to judge, therefore, of the actual condition of the slave, under the rigorous laws, and the rigorous administration above cited, we must consider another question, namely—

DO SLAVEHOLDERS ACTUALLY PRACTICE THE INJUSTICE WHICH THEIR LAWS ALLOW?

There is in every community a class of men better than the law; of men who, from natural nobleness of character, or high moral training, will scorn to use such opportunities of doing wrong with impunity as the imperfection of human laws may present to them. And especially must such a law exist where the law is so unjust as systematically to favor the strong at the expense of the weak—the rich, at the expense of the poor—the intelligent, at the expense of the ignorant; and where the very judge who pronounces sentence according to law feels constrained to declare from the bench his sense of the injustice of the law, while he confesses that no system of rules less unjust, and no administration of them less rigorous, would effectually establish the dominion of the master over the slave. In such a community, there will certainly be some men and women *better than the law*.

On the other hand, in such a community, as in every other, there will be a class of persons *no better than the law*; of persons who will be prevented by no scruple of honor, or justice, or humanity, or morality, or religion, from using, against those who are so unfortunate as to be within their power, every advantage which the law allows them. And this class will necessarily be larger than the former, since the uncultivated in manners and morals are more numerous than the cultivated in every community, especially where, as in the slave States, there are few free schools.

It is owing to the interposition of members of the class first mentioned, that *any* cases, like those, the judicial decisions of which we have quoted as given in favor of

the master, come before the courts. Well known as the rigor of the law is in that region, upon that subject, *some one* must have thought, in presenting each of those cases for trial, that the frightful excess of cruelty displayed in it, gave *some chance* of a decision favorable to the abused slave. If in so many *such* cases those compassionate hopes were disappointed, how numerous must be the cases where an amount of cruelty somewhat less passes as an ordinary transaction, unknown even to the few persons who would attempt to call the perpetrator to account.

We will assume, however, that the great majority in a slaveholding community, (as certainly in every other community,) consists of persons intermediate between the two classes already described; persons who will ordinarily treat their slaves with a certain amount of indulgence, and who will use the extreme rigor permitted by the laws only under circumstances of peculiar temptation. We need only look at the many kinds, and the constantly recurring occasions, of special temptation to the *absolute master* of fifty men, boys, women, and girls, to see that the actual cases of abuse of power must be very frequent.

To notice, for instance, only three of the many forms of special and powerful temptation, how numerous must be the cases of abuse of absolute and irresponsible power, occurring within the license of the law, under each of them.

*The temptation of sudden anger.* Think, for a moment, how frequently *we* should commit injustice, if, with our amount of moral training and self-control, the law of the land authorized us to inflict, on the spot, just what kind and just what amount of punishment we pleased, upon a stupid, or careless, or wasteful, or impudent, or lying, or cheating servant. But, from the very nature of slavery, from its necessary operation upon both blacks and whites, the servants under that system must be more faulty in all these respects, and the masters less accustomed to self-control, than under freedom. And anger not proceeding to the destruction of life, can always be gratified by the master or mistress, upon the slave, with absolute impunity.

*The temptation of lust.* How shall a few feeble words

tell the fearful amount, and the weighty significance of the truth upon this great subject? Think what is the too well known extent of licentiousness at the North—in city and country, among old and young; think of the difficulties encountered, and the expense lavished, the risks run, the laws violated, and the disgrace hazarded in the pursuit of illicit indulgence there; then think what it *must be* in the South, where *all* these obstacles are removed; where the temptation is always at hand—the legal authority absolute—the actual power complete—the vice a profitable one, in a country where men can and do sell their own children in the market, and get the highest price for the lightest color—and the custom so universal as to bring with it no disgrace; and, lastly, see the statistics of actual vice in the 800,000 mulattoes of the South, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of them a child of mere brutal lust—a disgrace to the father and a misfortune to the mother.

*The temptation of pecuniary gain.* We must look at the force of this temptation, not only as it exists in the worst class of men, not only where it is unchecked by any wish or attempt to do right, but where circumstances of necessity, more or less urgent, co-operating with the laws and customs of the country, persuade a man or a woman to do something that they have long avoided and shrunk from, because they felt it to be unjust and cruel. Their poverty, but not their will, consents; and, without doubt, the slaveholder who carries off a man or a woman, a boy or a girl, where they will never more see father, mother, brother, or sister, very often pays the poverty rather than the will of the seller. But the sales are constantly made, notwithstanding.

Many a man who, on being offered eighteen hundred dollars for the body and soul of a girl whose market value as a *servant* is only eight hundred, would indignantly say, Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing? will do it a year afterwards, when the urgent necessity for money comes. He will blush, he will feel disgraced in his own eyes, he will avoid looking in the face, or hearing the entreaties of his victim, but he will do it. Is it not time to make some change, when the



very laws of a country are temptations, instead of obstructions, to sin?

We have now considered what slavery is *by law*, what it is *in judicial administration*, and what it is *by the practice of slaveholders generally*. The answer to one more question will complete the very brief statement we can here make of slavery *as it is*; and prepare us to inquire how it affects the family relation.

DOES THE CHURCH SET ITSELF AGAINST THAT SYSTEM OF INJUSTICE WHICH WE HAVE SEEN TO BE SUPPORTED BY THE LAWS AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE SOUTH? DO THE SOUTHERN CLERGY PREACH AGAINST IT, THE SOUTHERN CHURCHES FORBID IT, THE SOUTHERN CHURCH MEMBERS ABSTAIN FROM IT?

Alas! all these practice slaveholding, and defend it. More than 600,000 slaves are held in bondage at the South, by men professing to be Christians. Not only is a man's reputation in the church absolutely unaffected by the holding, and buying and selling of slaves, but, if he chooses to take the trouble, he can find elaborate arguments in favor of slavery, written and printed by clergymen, in every slaveholding State; and in many of the States, decisions of ecclesiastical bodies, in favor, not only of slavery as a whole, but of some of its worst constituent parts. Here are a few of these cases.

The Shiloh Baptist Association, which met at Gourdvine, Va., Sept., 1846, after the discussion of the question, Is a servant, whose husband or wife has been sold by his or her master into a distant country, to be permitted to marry again? voted, "That in view of the circumstances in which servants in this country are placed, it is better to permit servants thus circumstanced to take another husband or wife."

The Savannah River Association, after discussing the same question, voted the same answer, and gave this reason for it: "The slaves are not free agents, and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent and beyond their control than by such separation." Here the right of a church member to sell husbands and wives apart *without their consent*, is taken for granted without discussion.

The Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1840, on motion of Rev. Dr. Few, of Georgia, "Resolved, That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons, in any State where they are denied that privilege by law." By this rule, which is now a part of the discipline of the church, more than 80,000 of its colored members are denied the right to testify against a white member *in any case whatsoever*.

The Georgia Methodist Annual Conference declares that "slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil."

The Charleston Union Presbytery, of South Carolina, voted that "the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his holy Word."

The Society for the advancement of Christianity in South Carolina published, as a religious tract, for gratuitous distribution, two sermons entitled "Rights and Duties of Slaveholders," in which occur the following sentences.

"No man or set of men in our day, unless they can produce a new revelation from heaven, are entitled to pronounce slavery wrong." \* \* "Slavery, as it exists at the present day, is agreeable to the order of Divine Providence." These sermons were written by Rev. George W. Freeman, preached in Raleigh, North Carolina, and specially requested for publication by L. S. Ives, bishop of that diocese.

The Charleston Baptist Association "does not consider that the Holy Scriptures have made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all."

Rev. James Smylie, of Mississippi, says, "The 25th chapter of Leviticus clearly and unequivocally establishes the fact that slavery was sanctioned by God himself, and that buying, selling, holding, and bequeathing slaves, as property, are regulations established by himself."

This same statement was also voted by the Mississippi Presbytery, and also by the Amity Presbytery, of La.

We may judge of the prevalence of slaveholding among Southern church members in all the principal sects, by

the following statement of the same Rev. James Smylie, in answer to a remonstrance against slavery :

"If the buying, selling, and holding of a slave, *for the sake of gain*, is, as you say, a heinous sin and scandal, then verily three-fourths of all Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in the eleven [slaveholding] States of the Union are of the devil."

The same clergyman declares, in the same pamphlet, that the laws of Mississippi and Louisiana, which prohibit, under heavy penalties, the teaching of slaves to read, "meet the approbation of the religious part of the reflecting community."

Rev. Dr. Fuller, Baptist, says, "I find my Bible condemning the abuses of slavery, but permitting the system itself."

Rev. Thomas S. Witherspoon, Presbyterian, says, "I draw my warrant from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, to hold the slave in bondage."

Here, as in other departments of this great subject, for want of room, we can give only the briefest specimens of an immense mass of evidence. But enough has been given to show that the Southern Church supports slavery as thoroughly as the State.

Having now established, by documentary evidence, the following points about slavery, namely,

That it consists in the holding and using, buying and selling of men, women and children *as property* :

That this claim of property in human beings supersedes and nullifies all right of husband to wife, and of wife to husband, and of both to their children, and of all to the means of education, free locomotion, and property in the avails of their labor: and

That this enormous injustice is supported by the laws of the State, the customs of the people, the teaching of the clergy, and the laws and customs of the church :

We have now to consider, **HOW DOES THIS INSTITUTION AFFECT THE FAMILY RELATION?**

Does not the question answer itself? Does not such a system necessarily annihilate, to the slave, that beautiful, blessed relation, which *we* understand by "the family," and immensely deteriorate it to the master?

Let us look at it more closely. The primary constituent relations of the Family are those of husband and wife, parent and child.

#### HUSBAND AND WIFE.

We will take it for granted that the principles properly

regulating this relation are found in the following precepts of Scripture :

“It is not good that man should be alone.”

“Let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.”

“What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.”

It is obvious that the slave knows nothing of the relation which the Bible thus recognizes, defines, and enjoins. The laws and the customs, of both Church and State, debar him alike from its beauty, its sacredness, and its advantage.

The slave laws decide that “A slave can make no contract, not even matrimony.”

Hence the slave can have no wife. He is allowed to cohabit with a slave woman, because the master's interest is doubly favored by it; in the production of children, which are money in his pocket, and in the formation of a new tie to keep the slave submissive, and prevent his running away. The slave woman has, and can have, no husband. The whole policy of the slave system is to induce her to bear children, the more the better. But the law is absolutely indifferent as to who is the father of a slave woman's child. It follows the condition of the mother, and is money in her master's pocket. But this mother can not have a husband, sharing with her the delightful right and privilege to dwell together “until death them do part.” As soon as it becomes the master's pecuniary interest to part them, the laws and customs, of both State and Church, allow him to do so, and actually interfere no more in the question by what male partner the separated slave woman shall bear another child, than in the case of a cow or a mare owned by the same master.

Do you know, Christian reader, that no slave was ever prosecuted for bigamy, or for fornication, or for adultery? And do you know the reason, namely, that the law does not recognize them as capable of committing these crimes? The law no more attempts to regulate the increase, by generation, of slave property, than of horse and cattle property. As far as the law is concerned, the master regulates both precisely as he chooses. If he chooses himself to be the father of every slave child born

on his estate, he thereby commits no offence against the law; and, amazing as it may seem, the Church, by an express rule, refuses to receive the testimony of a slave woman wronged in this way, against her master or any other white man. The master, and the master's sons, and the overseer, and the driver, have the female slaves of the estate always in their power, and subject to the influence either of bribes, or threats, or actual violence. And, more than this, if *any* white man, failing to obtain her consent, ravishes a female slave, the law forbids her to lift her hand against him in self-defence, and provides no means whatever, either for her defence or his punishment; and if she turns to the Church for protection, even if the ravisher as well as herself be a member of it, the Church refuses to take her testimony against him. She must have white witnesses. And how is she to have them in such a case?

That element of marriage by which the bodies of husband and wife are mutually pledged, (and as far as law can do it, secured,) to each other and to no one else, has no existence to the slave; and it is nullified by the act of the Church equally with that of the State. Both these unite in putting asunder those whom God hath joined together.

But again. Marriage is a union for mutual help as well as mutual love. It implies a community of interest not less than of affection. If a man is to forsake even his father and mother that he may cleave unto his wife, how much more are all *other* relations to be ranked as subordinate to this? It is the obvious duty as well as the right of a husband to provide for the defence, and security, and comfort, and happiness of his wife, before those of any other human being. But slavery not only disregards this duty and this right, but undertakes to reverse them. Instead of allowing the natural rights and duties of this relation to the slave man and woman who wish to live together in mutual love and help, the master claims the whole time and the whole labor of both as his right, as well as their bodies as his property. If, as very frequently happens, he allows them a small piece of ground, and a certain portion of time to cultivate it, he calls this an indulgence. It is entirely within his power to give or not to give it. Just as he may or may not, as he

pleases, claim the body of the slave woman for the gratification of his lust, just so he may, if he pleases, expend the whole time and strength of both man and woman in promoting his pecuniary interest. The civil law expressly authorizes both these acts of enormous injustice, and the Church so nicely conforms her rules to the slaveholder's convenience, that if he chooses to commit either, or both of these sins, he can do it with absolute impunity. Neither slave man nor slave woman is allowed to testify against him.

But, it is said, the Gospel is preached to the slaves, and certainly the Gospel has much to say of the mutual duties of husbands and wives. Do the masters prevent their slaves from fulfilling the very duties which the Scriptures enjoin? Alas! read the following testimony, consider the trustworthiness and the competence of him who gives it, and then say—*Is the Gospel preached to the slaves?*

Dr. Nelson, author of the well-known work on Infidelity, published by the American Tract Society, after a residence of more than forty years in North Carolina, and an intimate acquaintance with slavery, says:

"I say what I know when I speak in relation to this matter. I have been intimately acquainted with the religious opportunities of the slaves—in the constant habit of hearing the sermons which are preached to them. And I solemnly affirm that, during the forty years of my residence and observation in this line, I never heard a single one of these sermons but what was taken up with the obligations and duties of slaves to their masters. Indeed, I never heard a sermon to slaves but what made obedience to masters by the slaves the fundamental and supreme law of religion. Any candid and intelligent man can decide whether such preaching is not, as to religious purposes, *worse than none at all.*"

Is it strange then that the slaves are degraded? The Synod of South Carolina and Georgia only declared a natural and necessary result of the slave system, when they said that the slaves were "in the condition of heathen—and in some respects, in a worse condition. Their moral and religious condition is such, that *they may justly be considered the heathen of this Christian country.*" And yet every member of this Synod continues to uphold the laws above described, in Church and State, by which this heathenism is perpetuated.

**HOW DOES SLAVERY AFFECT THE MARRIAGE RELATION IN THE CASE OF THE SLAVEHOLDER?**

1. Slavery discourages marriage among young men, by

first keeping them familiar, from childhood, with impure ideas, sights, language, and habits, and then providing, for the persons thus corrupted, a free indulgence of the sexual appetite without marriage.

A singularly calm and moderate writer, whose accuracy is entirely unquestioned, gives the following testimony in a book just published:\*

"A gentleman in an inland Southern town said to me: 'I have now but one servant. If I should marry, I should be obliged to buy three more, and that alone would withdraw from my capital at least 3,000 dollars.'"—p. 600.

"A planter told me that the practice [of licentious connection with slave women] was not occasional or general, it was *universal*. There is not, he said, a likely looking black girl in this State, that is not the paramour of a white man. There is not an old plantation, in which the grandchildren of the owner are not whipped in the field by his overseer."—p. 602.

Dr. Parsons, of Windham, Maine, another competent and reliable witness, testifies: †

"The female slave cannot be otherwise than degraded. Subjected at all times to the passions of the whites, chastity and refinement are out of the question. They are stripped entirely naked to be punished, not only on the plantations, but by the city marshals in the cities, to whom the masters send them for this purpose. And often they are exposed in public for sale in the same condition."—p. 295.

Upon this last point we have the testimony of Rev. T. W. Higginson, a well-known clergyman of Worcester, Mass., who, in a letter to the New York Tribune, July 2d, 1856, tells what he saw and heard in Mr. Corbin Thompson's negro-yard in St. Louis. A gentleman of that city had just concluded a bargain for a colored girl.

"'Girl is sound, I suppose?' carelessly inquired the purchaser.

"'Wind and limb,' responded the trader. '*But strip her naked and examine every inch of her if you wish,*' he quickly added; '*I never have any disguises with my customers.*'"

The last evidence to be presented upon this point is the testimony of a Northern lady of high intelligence and excellence, well known to the writer of these pages, who found, in the course of her residence in various slave

\* "A journey in the sea-board slave States: by Frederick Law Olmstead, author of Walks and Talks of an American farmer in England."

† "Inside View of Slavery, or a Tour among the Planters. By C. G. Parsons, M. D. With an Introductory Note by Mrs. H. B. Stowe."

States, not only such amazing depravity in their social system, but such an amazing acquiescence in it on the part of women as well as men, that, after returning to the North, she wrote a tract, entitled "Influence of Slavery upon the White population." She says, page 7th,

"But why should we expect purity, when every restraint is removed which helps to subdue the clamors of the animal nature, while every possible opportunity is offered for its indulgence.

"There is no fear of public opinion, for there is no danger of detection, since the slave is bound to submit in silence.

"There is no loss of social position consequent upon the grossest licentiousness.

"The most honorable social and political distinctions are awarded without reference to the private character of the individual.

"The libertine maintains a high and honored standing in the church.

"The law decrees that every child born of a slave shall follow the condition of its mother, and thus not only extends no protection to virtue, but offers a premium to vice.

"Nor is one class of society more base than another in this respect. The highest social life is often the most vile in its secret history. A young man at the age of twenty-one takes possession of his portion of the paternal estate, and erects a house upon it, where he retires and establishes a household for himself. He secures what means of gratification his taste can select, and thus lives sometimes ten or fifteen years, if no heiress or beauty cross his path, of sufficient attractions to induce him to add her as an ornamental appendage to his establishment. Meanwhile his human "property" steadily increases, both in numbers and value; for the lighter the mulatto the more desirable among the fastidious; and rare beauty is often the result of a *second* intermingling of the same aristocratic blood with the offspring of a former passion. From time to time, friends come to visit this bachelor hall, and in due season the master is repaid for his hospitality to them by a valuable addition to his stock of human chattels.

"If in due time a wife be wooed and won, what is she? Nothing but "the fairest among his concubines." She is not his *wife*; and if she deserve the name of *woman*, her fate is a living death."

This brings us to the topic next in order, namely;

2. Slavery destroys both the peace and the purity which properly belong to marriage, by complicating it with innumerable adulteries.

Read upon this point the unimpeachable testimony of a Southern lady,\* Mrs. Margaret Douglas of Virginia.

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\* The Personal Narrative of Mrs. Margaret Douglas, a Southern woman, who was imprisoned for one month in the common jail of Norfolk, under the laws of Virginia, for the crime of teaching free colored children to read: pp. 65.



"I now approach a subject vitally connected with the interests of the South and the welfare of humanity. In doing so, I tell my Southern sisters a truth which, however they may have learned it by sad experience, has probably never been thus presented to them before. *In this truth is to be found the grand secret of the opposition to the instruction of the colored race.* In this truth also lies the grand secret of the discontent and rebellion among the slaves. Knowing this, it is easy to perceive why such strenuous efforts are made to keep the colored population in darkness and ignorance. \* \* This subject demands the attention, not only of the religious population, but of law-makers and statesmen. It is the one great evil hanging over the Southern slave States, destroying domestic happiness and the peace of thousands. It is summed up in the single word, *amalgamation.* This, and this only, causes the vast extent of ignorance, degradation and crime, that lies like a black cloud over the whole South. And the practice is more general than even Southerners are willing to allow. It pervades the entire society. Its followers are to be found among all ranks, and occupations, and professions. The white mothers and daughters of the South have suffered under it for years—have seen their dearest affections trampled upon, their hopes of domestic happiness destroyed, and their future lives embittered even to agony, by those who should be all in all to them, as husbands, sons, and brothers. I cannot use too strong language in relation to this subject, for I know that it will meet with a heartfelt response from every Southern woman. I would deal delicately with them if I could, but they know the fact, and their hearts bleed under its knowledge, however they may have attempted to conceal their discoveries. Southern wives know that their husbands come to them \* \* \* from the arms of their tawny mistresses. Father and son seek the same sources of excitement, scarcely blushing when detected, and recklessly defying every command of God, and every tie of morality and human affection."

Can the white men of the South be *expected* to be pure, growing up in the midst of temptations such as we have described? Can the marriages of slaveholders *ever* be what they should be, while the laws, both of Church and State, so expressly secure indulgence to the lust of the eye and the lust of the flesh? Is it not yet time to direct our thoughts and efforts to the entire overthrow of slavery?

We have seen that the establishment, by law, of absolute, irresponsible power on one side, and entire subjection on the other, annihilates, to the slave, the relation of husband and wife, and poisons it to the slaveholding family by infidelity, suspicion, contention, and the intensest bitterness of feeling. We have now to inquire, how does slavery affect the relation of

## PARENT AND CHILD.

We will take it for granted, that the principles properly regulating this relation, are found in the following precepts of Scripture.

“Train up a child in the way he should go.”

“Children, obey your parents in the Lord.”

Let us first look at this relation as it exists in the slave family.

The proper training up of a child requires, on the part of the parent, intelligence, a moral and religious character, a recognized authority, and a power to seclude the child from external vicious or otherwise injurious influences.

The very mention of these constituent parts of the parental relation, shows how impossible it is for the slave father or mother to exercise them.

The means of knowledge are forbidden by law to both parent and child. In respect to morality and religion, we have seen the testimony of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, (and pages more such might be quoted, had we space,) that the slaves “may justly be considered heathen,” and the testimony of Rev. Dr. Nelson, that the sermons generally preached to the slaves are, “as to religious purposes, worse than none at all.” The authority of a slave father or mother over their child is not recognized by the slaveholder in the slightest degree. They all, father, mother, and child, are the *property* of the slaveholder. The assumption, for a moment, of a right on the part of the slave parent to give, or of the child to obey, a direction contrary to the will of him who claims to *own* them both, would be treated as rebellion and insufferable insolence combined. Shall *property* say unto the owner who holds, directs, and controls it, Why dost thou direct me thus? And as to the power of withdrawing a child from unhealthy employment or vicious influences, or profligate companions, the son of the slaveholder may be the very worst associate for the daughter of the slave; but how is the slave to help either himself or his daughter? Both of them are utterly helpless, clay in the hands of the potter, even when they know that he is determined to mold them both into “vessels unto dishonor.” To slaves, the parental relation, like the matrimonial one, is *annihilated*.

### HOW DOES SLAVERY AFFECT THE PARENTAL RELATION IN THE CASE OF THE SLAVEHOLDER ?

The slaveholder has, undoubtedly, a recognized authority to control his children. Let us suppose that he has also intelligence, such average development of the moral and religious character as is customary in a slaveholding community, and a disposition to withdraw his children from vicious influences. The question is, *Can he do this ? Can he keep them pure and virtuous without sending them permanently away from home ?* Testimony must answer this question. We want the evidence of intelligent and reliable persons. But this exists in such abundance, that our only difficulty is to find space in this tract for a tenth part of it.

Said Jefferson, as long ago as 1782, speaking of the natural and inevitable tendency of slavery,

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it. 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 the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated and exercised in tyranny, can not but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities."

The following scene was witnessed and described by Mr. Olmsted. Sea-board Slave States, p. 402 :

"A party of fashionably dressed people took the train to Charleston; two families, apparently, returning from a visit to their plantations. They came to the station in handsome coaches. Some minutes before the rest, there entered the car, in which I was alone, and reclining on a bench in the corner, an old nurse, with a baby, and two young negro women, having care of half a dozen children, mostly girls, from three to fifteen years of age. As they closed the door, the negro girls seemed to resume a conversation, or quarrel. Their language was loud and obscene, such as I never heard before from any but the most depraved and beastly women of the streets. Upon observing me they dropped their voices, but not with any appearance of shame, and continued their altercation until their mistresses entered. The white children, in the mean time, had listened without any appearance of wonder or annoyance. The moment the ladies opened the door they became silent."

Further on, Mr. Olmsted says :

"A large planter told me the reason he sent his boys to the North to be educated, was, that there was no possibility of their being brought up in decency at home. Another planter told me that he was intending to move to a free country on this account,

He said that the practice [of illicit connection with slave-girls] was not occasional, or general, it was *universal*." P. 602.

The tract above referred to, "Influence of Slavery upon the White population," an authority of the very highest class, gives us a full statement of the truth upon this most important subject, as follows :

"The life of mental and physical inactivity that Southern women lead, renders them incapable of a judicious training of their children, and, in general, they seem entirely ignorant of the responsibilities involved in the relation of a mother. They are too essentially indolent to undertake the arduous duty of 'managing' any thing or any body; and thus the precious years of infancy are committed to the most ignorant or malicious hands.

"As soon as the little one is old enough to seek playmates, his foster brother and the little negroes near his age are his constant companions. They become next the instructors of his youth, and their language, habits, and manners form the strongest associations of his childhood.

"Meanwhile, 'human nature' begins to show itself with considerable vigor. The little master gets angry with his playmates; he fights and beats them, while they are *never* to strike back. His little foster brother, who is generally presented to him for a body-servant, becomes his favored victim. He beats him the most because he is his constant companion, and oftenest offends him; and the enslaved brother is taught that he must bear more because he especially belongs to his young master.

"Occasionally a mother corrects her son, and begs him not to strike, because it is not 'pretty.' But, as a general rule, as soon as the child learns the use of his little fist, he finds it most effectual for his purposes, and in the exercise of ungoverned passion and imperious self-will, the years of childhood prepare the way for the deeper sins of manhood.

"And now I approach a part of my subject from which I would gladly draw back, were I not riveted to the point by my desire to be faithful to my purpose of setting forth the effects of slavery upon the master. It is a painful and delicate office to do justice to this matter; but I speak to the pure in heart, who seek to know and defend eternal truths.

"By a strange misnomer, slavery has been called a 'domestic' institution; but before its presence, all that is properly implied in that word *domestic* vanishes like an exorcised spirit. The desolation wrought among the colored victims of slavery is terrible, and mighty indeed is their demand for redress; but they have their revenge in the wreck of the domestic happiness of their oppressors.

"I have said that the white child is committed entirely to the care of the colored nurse, and thus the process of contamination begins in infancy. Young children are familiarized to sights and associations which destroy the instinctive modesty of youth. They are also placed in such relations to the colored children, through

the ignorance or malice of the nurse, as to stimulate the passions into premature activity. Some nurses believe that personal intimacies between the young master and his young female companions cultivate a closer affection, and insure the latter from the chances of being sold. Others, of a fiercer temper, seek their revenge for outrages committed on themselves in order to exult over the wreck of early manhood always resulting from self-indulgence. By whichever process the result is attained, it is a well-known fact that purity among Southern men is almost an unknown virtue."

We inquire in the next place—

*How does slavery affect the RELIGIOUS character of a community, both in general, and in regard to the specific relation of MASTER AND SERVANT?*

Dr. Parsons, author of the "Inside View of Slavery," who traveled and resided at the South for the express purpose of personally acquainting himself with the character and influence of that institution, gives full and important testimony on this point, a small portion of which we will quote :

"One of the strangest sights to a New England man, on visiting the Southern States, is the desecration of the Sabbath. In some of the cities, especially if a good number of the business men are from the North, the churches are tolerably well attended—there being but one service for the day. But even here the afternoon and evening are much devoted to amusements. And, in fact, throughout the entire South, with not very numerous exceptions, the Sabbath, instead of being a day of rest, or of worship, is a holiday—occupied mainly in pleasures and sport." P. 254.

"A colporteur of the American Tract Society, writing to the *Maine Christian Mirror*, under date of May 9th, 1854, says: 'In Mississippi, where I am laboring, drinking, gaming, and horse-racing are common on the Sabbath—and the Sabbath is distinguished from other days by the firing of guns.'

"A large majority of the slaves labor on the Sabbath—not usually at the daily task—but they wash and iron, make and mend their garments, cut wood, and work in their gardens.

"But the slaves do not labor for themselves alone. In the planting districts, especially during the busy season of the year, the slaves are not permitted to make the Sabbath even a holiday. Instances are by no means rare, even among masters professing to be Christians, in which the slaves are compelled to labor on the Sabbath as on other days.

"Rev. H. B. Abbott, pastor of the M. E. Church at Augusta, Me., was formerly a counsellor at law in Mississippi. In a letter to me, dated April 10th, 1854, he says: 'I am acquainted with a Baptist preacher in Mississippi who compelled his slaves to labor on the Sabbath, and justified himself under the plea that, if they were not at work, they would be sporting, and roving about the fields

and woods, thereby desecrating the Sabbath more than by laboring under an overseer.

"I was spending a Sabbath in the city of A. Early in the day I noticed the planters from the surrounding country coming in to attend the morning service. Many of them were members of the city churches. They remained in the city after the meetings were closed, and about noon, or a little later, their slaves began to arrive, with mule-teams, loaded with cotton and other kinds of produce. In the afternoon the stores were opened, and these Christian slaveholders exchanged their produce for groceries, and other commodities, with which they sent their slaves home, while they remained, drinking whisky and cracking jokes, until the cool of the evening." Pp. 225-7.

We will close with two extreme but most thoroughly authenticated instances of the depraving influence of that power which the law gives to every slaveholder, to control and nullify the slave's conscience.

The first is vouched for by a lady extensively and most favorably known, daughter of the late Judge Grimke, of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, and sister of the late Thomas S. Grimke, Esq.:

"A beloved friend in South Carolina, the wife of a slaveholder, with whom I often mingled my tears, when, helpless and hopeless, we deplored together the horrors of slavery, related to me, some time since, the following circumstance:

"On the plantation adjoining her husband's, there was a slave of pre-eminent piety. His master was not a professor of religion, but the superior excellence of this disciple of Christ was not unmarked by him, and I believe he was so sensible of the good influence of his piety that he did not deprive him of the few religious privileges within his reach. A planter was one day dining with the owner of this slave, and in the course of conversation observed that all profession of religion among slaves was mere hypocrisy. The other asserted a contrary opinion, adding, 'I have a slave who, I believe, would rather die than deny his Savior.' This was ridiculed, and the master urged to prove the assertion. He accordingly sent for this man of God, and peremptorily ordered him to deny his belief in the Lord Jesus Christ. The slave pleaded to be excused, constantly affirming that he would rather die than deny the Redeemer, whose blood was shed for him. His master, after vainly trying to induce obedience by threats, had him terribly whipped. The fortitude of the sufferer was not to be shaken. He nobly rejected the offer of exemption from further chastisement at the expense of destroying his soul, and this blessed martyr *died in consequence of this severe infliction.*"

SARAH M. GRIMKE."

"A few days since," says a late writer in the *Boston Congregationalist*, "a most affecting fact was stated to us by the Rev. Mr. Alvord. During a residence of several months in Florida, for his health, he was often wont to take exercise by working with the

slaves on the plantation where he was. And having gained their confidence thus, they freely opened their hearts to him as a friend; a thing which slaves do not do to every man, and especially to chance visitors, whom they judge to be in the interest of their masters.

"In one case he called to see a slave who was in confinement for endeavoring to follow his conscience in keeping holy the Sabbath day in the worship of God. By working nights, he actually performed the labor assigned for seven days, and then spent the Sabbath in worship. His master discouraged it, and imprisoned him, and cut and mangled his body with scourges to subdue his will, and compel him to work on the Sabbath. After the wounds began to heal, he would cut them open from time to time, by repeated scourgings. Mr. Alvord saw his wounds, and gazed with painful sympathy upon his honest face, wet with tears, as he told the severity of his trial. At last, after repeated scourgings, his spirit failed, and he submitted to his master's impious will."

The details of evidence which we have given in the preceding pages are important, because *every one* recognizes the value of documentary evidence, and the testimony of reliable eye and ear witnesses; and we all believe, on such authority, statements respecting the customs of a community, the language of ministers, the rules of Churches, and the conduct of Church members, which vary materially from all our own experience. But the *thinking* man sees that all that we have said, and more, flows necessarily and *inevitably* from such an institution as slavery. No human being is fit to be trusted with absolute, irresponsible power; such power as we have seen to be delegated to every master of every slave, by Judge Stroud's abstract of the slave laws. If the best portion of our own community were selected to hold and use such authority, they would very soon become corrupted. What, then, must be the result where all classes in a large community, good, bad, and indifferent, have held and exercised this power for a hundred years; where the laws of the State, the customs of the Church, and the habits of the people have all along been shaping themselves to sustain it; where some ministers, from the pulpit and the press, boldly declare that it is right; where the remainder carefully avoid stigmatizing it as wrong; where the judge on the bench rules that, though clearly unjust, it must be supported while it is law; and where the mass of the people practice it as an admitted custom, little solicitous about either the law or the right; what *then* must slavery be? No less foul, no less wicked, no less destructive to peace, purity, and welfare, in the Family, the Church, and the State, than we have seen it in these pages.

Finally, we have to consider

#### THE BEARINGS OF SLAVERY ON SOCIETY AT LARGE.

But is not this question already answered? We have seen the effect of slavery upon the family; and society at large is but an

aggregate of families. Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter? The corruption wrought upon the slaveholder in his home can not be laid aside when he goes forth to act in the various relations of social and public life. If the influences which essentially belong to slaveholding relation have made him (as we have seen) a worse husband, a worse father, a worse master, and a worse Church member, they have made him a worse man, and deteriorated his action and his influence in society at large, and in every special relation of it. And the reason is plain. Apart from all the features of slavery that are commonly called its *abuses*—as if the whole of it were not an abuse—its radical, central idea is, both theoretically and practically, *in direct antagonism to Christianity*. By undertaking to make the master's will the *supreme law* to the slave, and by denying to the slave the right to refuse obedience in matters morally wrong, slavery erects itself against God, denies His supremacy, sets up *his* will in opposition to His, and by accustoming the slaveholder to the practical exercise of his own will as *supreme in power*, and to the recognition of that will (not only by the ignorant slaves, but by the law of the land,) as *supreme in right*, it *inevitably* saps the foundations of morality and religion in his character. Making him a worse man, it *of course* makes him a worse citizen.

If we cannot touch pitch without defilement, how much less can we live, and work, and have our daily occupation in it without this result. It is as true of the Family, the Church, and the Community, as of the individual, that whoever would secure peace, internal prosperity and true welfare, must be *first PURE*. But slavery of necessity undermines and destroys purity, even in its inmost citadel, the institution earliest established by the Divine love for the promotion of human happiness and welfare, The Family Relation.

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CINCINNATI, *January, 1858.*

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