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Practical considerations founded  
on the Scriptures relative to the  
slave population of South  
Carolina. Charleston, 1823.

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**PRACTICAL**

**CONSIDERATIONS**

FOUNDED ON THE SCRIPTURES,

RELATIVE TO THE

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**SLAVE POPULATION**

27.5  
**OF SOUTH-CAROLINA.**

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO "THE SOUTH-CAROLINA ASSOCIATION"

BY A SOUTH-CAROLINIAN.

CHARLESTON:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY A. E. MILLER,  
No. 4, Broad-street.

1823.

ALBANY 5445  
1875

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## PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS.



IN preparing these “Considerations” for the press, I am not unaware of the difficulty and delicacy of the subject, in which I have engaged. But as a religious man, I feel myself constrained by a sense of duty, to invite the attention of Slave-holders, to; what I conceive to be, an important and interesting subject. It is my design to show, from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, that Slavery is not forbidden by the Divine Law, and, at the same time, to prove, the necessity of giving religious instruction to our Negroes.

I profess myself to be a decided advocate for the religious instruction of our slaves. Jesus Christ commanded his Apostles, to “preach the Gospel to every creature.”—*Mark*, xvi, 15. And again, “That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.—*Luke* xxiv, 47. Can I, then, withhold my prayer to heaven, that the whole human race, without distinction of colour, or nation, may be brought to a knowledge of God their Redeemer, and be sav-

ed? I know from the Scriptures, that “ God would have *all men* to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus.—1 *Tim.* ii. 4.—*Eph.* iv. 21. God, then, requires it. The everlasting happiness of these people requires it: and, I think, our own comfort, as well as theirs, require it.

I am well aware, however, that the state of society in slave-holding countries, is of a peculiar character. I know from the experience of nearly my whole life, the difficulty of becoming acquainted with the real character of Negroes, with their principles, and their capacity for attaining moral and religious instruction. And I am likewise aware, of the measure of prudence which is necessary, to improve their moral and spiritual condition, without deranging the existing order of society. Possessed of this knowledge, I am decidedly of the opinion, and so, I believe, is every well-informed man in the State, that persons born and educated in all the prejudices of non-slave-holding countries, and mere itinerants here for a few winter months, are unfit for the instruction of these people. If they who are born and brought up in the midst of tens of thousands of Negroes; if they who have so much at stake upon the issue; if they are greatly at a loss as to the proper means of instructing them, how is it possible, that strangers to their character, their habits of thinking, their principles and propensities, and who have nothing at stake upon the issue, can form a correct opinion upon this delicate, and important subject? It requires not the

wisdom of a Solomon to discern the truth of this remark. These persons come here, we must believe, with the best intentions, and full of missionary zeal ; but they come full-fraught with speculative notions of personal liberty, and would change “ times and laws” to promote, what *they* conceive to be a correct, and religious, view of the subject. But they either forget, or they do not know, that there is a civil, as well as a religious view of this subject. There are rights guaranteed by law, which are not to be trampled upon. There is a chain which binds together the various orders of *our* community, which must not be broken. Some of its links may require to be polished ; but this must only be attempted by a master workman, who perfectly understands of what materials the chain is composed. Now, I think it will be admitted, that, in South-Carolina, there are many, very many, patriotic, enlightened, judicious and pious men, who are as able to form correct opinions, on the existing order of things in their own State, as they who know nothing more of our society, than what they have learned within the walls of their college. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that we claim the right of managing our own affairs, according to our own discretion.

Our Planters have had just cause of complaint on this subject. It is known to many, that field Negroes have been collected and addressed, without the knowledge or consent of their masters. The Planters, however, are now alive to their duty and their inter-

ests : and, it is not probable, that such highly censurable conduct will ever be repeated. We are ready to confess that, the present state of things, is not in accordance with all our feelings. We deprecate the evil which attends it. It has descended to us ; we have not produced it. We would most willingly apply the remedy, if we knew what it was. If the non-slave-holding States will purchase our plantations and slaves, and send the latter to Africa under the patronage of the Colonization Society, or dispose of them in any manner, which the general government may think proper to direct, I do not in my conscience believe, there would be many Planters in South-Carolina, who would hesitate one moment, to get rid of both, even at something below their value. As to parting with them without an equivalent, is out of the question ; for *our servants are our money ; Exod. xxi. 20, 21.* and we shall never choose beggary for ourselves and our families, when it is left to our choice. Our lands might as well be asked of us as our Negroes, because they once belonged to the Indians. Manumission would produce nothing but evil. Not one of these people in an hundred would maintain himself by labour. Ignorant and indolent by nature, improvident and depraved by habit, and destitute of the moral principle, as they generally appear to be, ages and generations must pass away, before they could be made virtuous, honest, and useful members of the body politic.

Whatever evil may attend their condition, the fact will not be questioned, that the slaves in South-Carolina, are treated with more humanity and kindness, than millions of white people in other parts of the world. They are but lightly worked : their pregnant women are treated with indulgence and care : they are well clothed, well fed, and well nursed when they are sick : and such as require it, have the ablest physician in the neighbourhood. Their numerical increase, is an evidence of the good treatment they receive. Between the years 1810 and 1820, when the importation of slaves was prohibited, there was a natural increase in the United States of 62,347. One of the most impartial, and popular religious works published in England, says on this subject : " While in the United States of America, the slaves increase rapidly, there is, even now, in the British colonies, no increase, but, on the contrary, a diminution of their numbers."—*Christian Observer*, May 1823, p. 325 *Amer. Ed.* This is no mean compliment to the humanity of American Slaveholders.

In South-Carolina, a large portion of our lower country could not be cultivated by white people. Our swamps would send thousands of them to their graves, in the first summer. The constitutions of the Negroes appear to be perfectly adapted to the climate ; and they thrive and increase, under our burning sun and humid atmosphere. Our rice fields, without Negroes, must be abandoned. The richest.

and most productive lands in the State, must be forever left waste, and the planters either abandon the sea-coast for the upper country, or emigrate to other climes. Can we reasonably be expected to submit to this state of things? Certainly not by reasonable men. Whatever arrangements may hereafter be devised by our citizens on this subject, there is no doubt as to this fact; that they will never be effected by physical force at home, nor extorted by the abuse of non-slave-holding States abroad.

All this, however, will avail but little with the advocates of manumission. They insist upon it, that we have no right to hold these people in slavery, because, by nature, they are as free as ourselves. What they were intended to be by nature, we can know nothing, but from what the Bible has revealed. We know from that source, that man was created immortal; but we likewise learn from the same source, that he forfeited his privilege by disobedience and sin. And, perhaps, we shall find that the negroes, the descendants of Ham, lost their freedom through the abominable wickedness of their progenitor.

It was not my original intention to have gone into a minute detail of the origin of slavery; but as I think the *Exposition* published by the Baptists,\* places it upon insufficient ground, I shall briefly state,

\* The Rev. Dr. Richard Furman's *Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, relative to the coloured population of the United States.* Charleston, 1823.

what appears to me to be scriptural authority on the subject.

We find it recorded in the 9th chap. of *Genesis*, that “Noah began to be an husbandman; and that he planted a vineyard: And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father’s nakedness. And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of Shem; and *Canaan shall be his servant.* God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and *Canaan shall be his servant.*—Ver. 20–28.\*

This is according to our common authorized version; but a more correct version is supposed to be furnished by the Arabic, than by the Hebrew, because the insertion of the name of Ham, accords better with the context.

\* The drunkenness of Noah is thus explained. The vine, it is supposed, had not before been cultivated, and Noah was ignorant of the strength of the expressed juice. It is probable, from the severity of the malediction, that Ham and Canaan spoke of their father’s situation, with ridicule and contempt, rather than reverence and regret; while Shem and Japheth, showed their modesty and filial respect, by covering him from shame.

I. Cursed be *Ham*, the father of *Canaan* ;  
 A *servant of servants* shall he be to his brethren.

II. Blessed be the LORD, the God of *Shem* ;  
 And *Ham*, the father of *Canaan*, shall be his *servant* ;

III. God shall enlarge *Japheth* ;  
 He shall even dwell in the tents of *Shem* ;  
 And *Ham*, the father of *Canaan*, shall be his *servant*.

It matters but little which version we receive, as the meaning is nearly the same. Blessings are promised to the posterity of Shem and Japheth, and the curse of slavery to those of Ham, through his son Canaan. It must be evident to every reader of the Bible, that the afflatus of Noah was divine. The future condition of his idolatrous and wicked posterity, could not otherwise have been known to him; and time and events have verified his predictions. The prophecy of Noah, like that of the Angel concerning Ishmael, and those concerning Esau, and the twelve Patriarchs, was to be fulfilled, not in the individuals named, but nationally in their descendants. Canaan's whole race were under the malediction. These people were peculiarly wicked, and obnoxious to the wrath of God. Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities of the plain, were destroyed for their abominations.—*Gen.* xviii. xix. And the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Girgashites, were destroyed or expelled by the Israelites, by the command of God.—*Gen.* xv. 16.—*Deut.* ix. 4. xii, 31.—*Lev.* xviii.—*Josh.* iii. 9. 10.

That the denunciation was national, and not personal, we have the evidence in the fact, that Mel-

chizedech, the " Priest of the Most High God," and Abimelech, the king of Gerar, to whom God appeared in a dream, were Canaanites. As many of the nations descended from Canaan, were not destroyed by the Israelites, the curse of *servitude* must necessarily be fulfilled in their posterity. These became "*servants of servants*," *i. e.* the lowest state of servitude, *slaves* " to their brethren," the Shemites and Japhethites, the Jews and the Christians of the present day. The curse did not extend to the soul and eternity, but merely to their bodies and the present life. No individual, therefore, was deprived of the possibility of salvation.

The descendants of the three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth, settled different parts of the world, and peopled the earth after the flood. *Shem*, which means *renown*, was an ancestor of the Jews; but his principal honor was derived from being the lineal ancestor of the Saviour of the world. His descendants settled the upper and middle Asia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Persia, &c. *Japheth*, means *enlargement*. His descendants settled the greater part of the western world, and they still exist in the multitude of Christians. They settled a part of Asia, whence, probably, some got over to America. They likewise spread over Europe, and peopled the isles. *Ham*, means *black*, or *burnt*. He was the father of Canaan. His descendants settled the hot regions of Asia, on the Persian Gulph, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Africa.

The following curious and valuable commentary, on the tenth chapter of *Genesis*, says Dr. Hale, which records the primitive settlements of the three families, is furnished by Abulfaragi, in his *History of the Dynasties*, p. 11 :—

“ In the 140th year of Phaleg, [B. C. 2614] the earth was divided, by a second division, among the sons of Noah.

“ To the sons of Shem was allotted the middle of the earth, namely, Palestine, Syria, Assyria, Samarra, Babel, Persia, and Hegiaz, [or Arabia Petrœa.]

“ To the sons of Ham, Teiman, [or Idumœa.—*Jer.* xlix. 7.] *Africa*, Nigritia, Egypt, Nubia, Æthiopia, Scindia, and India, [or Western and Eastern India, on both sides of the Indus.]

“ To the sons of Japheth also, Garbia, (the North) Spain, France, the countries of the Greeks, Sclavonians, Bulgarians, Turks, and Armenians.”

If this division be accurate, continues Dr. Hale, Armenia, the cradle of the postdiluvian race of mankind, was allotted to Japheth, by right of primogeniture : and the sons of Canaan usurped Palestine, as well as the sons of Cush, under Nimrod, the land of Shinaar, or Babel ; both being allotted to the Shemites by the Divine decree. And this furnishes an additional proof of the justice of the expulsion of the Canaanites by the Israelites, the rightful possessors of the land of Palestine, under Moses, Joshua, and

their successors; when the original grant was renewed to Abraham.—*Gen. xv. 13 to end.*\*

According to Procopius, a celebrated writer of the sixth century, says Jamieson, many of the Girsahites, Jebusites, and other Canaanitish nations, settled at Tingis, now Tangier, in Africa. “There,” he says, “nigh a large fountain, appear two pillars of white stone, having this inscription engraved on them in Phenician characters: *We are those who fled from the face of Joshua, the son of Nun, the robber.*” Whatever may be thought of this inscription, his testimony with respect to Canaanites settling in that part of the country, is confirmed by different writers. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in Africa, testifies, that “if any of the boors in the neighbourhood of Hippo or Carthage was asked who he was, or of what country, he answered that he was a Canaanite.” Eusebius also asserts that the Canaanites, who were routed by Joshua, led colonies into Africa, and settled at Tripoli. Even Mela the geographer, who flourished in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, and who had been born in the neighbourhood of Tingis, admits that the Tingitanians were Phenicians. This, I need scarcely say, was the name by which the inhabitants of Palestine were generally known among other nations. The Greek poet Nonnus, from some authors whose works are now lost, assures us that

\* Hale’s *Analysis of Chronology, &c.* I. pp. 351, 358.—London, 1809.

Cadmus, the Phenician, made a very successful expedition into these parts of Africa. “ Philistus of Syraense, a writer of good authority, who lived above three hundred and fifty years before Christ, relates, that the first traces of Carthage, were owing to Zorus and Charchedon, two Tyrians or Phenicians, thirty years before the destruction of Troy, according to Eusebius.”\*

But the curse of Noah, says Bishop Newton, particularly implies *servitude* and *subjection*. *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren*. It is very well known, that the word *brethren* in Hebrew comprehends more distant relations. The descendants, therefore, of Canaan, were to be subject to the descendants of both Shem and Japheth: and the natural consequence of vice, in communities as well as in single persons, is slavery. The same thing is repeated again and again in the two following verses: *and Canaan shall be servant to them, or their servant*: so that this is the burden of the prophecy. Some critics take the phrase of *servant of servants* strictly and literally, and say, that the prediction was exactly fulfilled, when the Canaanites became servants to the Israelites, who had been servants to the Egyptians. But this is refining too much; the phrase of *servant of servants* is of the same turn and cast as *holy of holies, king of kings, song of songs*, and the like expressions in Scripture;

\* Jamieson's Use of Sacred History, &c. II. p. 79.—Amer. Ed. 1810; who refers to his authorities.

and imports that they should be *the lowest and basest of servants*.—It was several centuries after the delivery of this prophecy, when the Israelites, who were descendants of Shem, under the command of Joshua, invaded the Canaanites, smote above thirty of their kings, took possession of their land, slew several of the inhabitants, made the Gibeonites and others servants and tributaries, and Solomon afterwards subdued the rest. *2 Chron.* viii. 7, 8, 9.—“As for all the people that were left of the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel; but of their children who were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel consumed not; them did Solomon make to pay tribute until this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work: but they were men of war, and chief of his captains, and captains of his chariots and horsemen.” The Greeks and Romans too, who were descendants of Japheth, not only subdued Syria and Palestine, but also pursued and conquered such of the Canaanites as were any where remaining, as for instance the Tyrians and Carthaginians, the former of whom were ruined by Alexander and the Grecians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans. “This fate,” says Mr. Mede, “was it that made Hannibal, a child of Canaan, cry out with the amazement of his soul, *Agnosco fortunam Carthaginiis—I acknowledge the fortune of Carthage.*” And ever since, the miserable remainder of this people have been *slaves*

to a foreign yoke ; first to the Saracens, who descended from Shem, and afterwards to the Turks, who descended from Japheth ; and they groan under their dominion at this day.

Hitherto, continues the Bishop, we have explained the prophecy according to the present copies of our Bible : but if we were to correct the text, as we should any ancient classic author in a like case, the whole, perhaps, might be made easier and plainer. *Ham the father of Canaan* is mentioned in the preceding part of the story ; and how then came the person of a sudden to be changed into *Canaan* ? The Arabic version in these three verses, hath *the father of Canaan*, instead of *Canaan*. Some copies of the Septuagint likewise have *Ham* instead of *Canaan*, as if *Canaan* was a corruption of the text. Vatablus and others, by *Canaan* understand *the father of Canaan*, which was expressed twice before.

Bishop Newton then quotes the Arabic version, which I have given above, and gives his reasons in favour of it. He then proceeds—"By this reading all the three sons of Noah are included in the prophecy, whereas otherwise, Ham, who was the offender, is excluded, or is only punished in one of his children. Ham is characterized as *the father of Canaan* particularly, for the greater encouragement of the Israelites, who were going to invade the land of Canaan : and when it is said *Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan ; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren* ; it is implied that his whole race was devoted to ser-

vitude, but particularly the Canaanites. Not that this was to take effect immediately, but was to be fulfilled in process of time, when they should forfeit their liberties by their wickedness. Ham, at first, subdued some of the posterity of Shem, as Canaan sometimes conquered Japheth; the Carthaginians, who were originally Canaanites, did particularly in Spain and Italy; but in time they were to be subdued and to become servants to Shem and Japheth; and the change of their fortune from good to bad would render the curse still more visible. Egypt was *the land of Ham*, as it is often called in Scripture; and for many years it was a great and flourishing kingdom: but it was subdued by the Persians, who descended from Shem, and afterwards by the Grecians, who descended from Japheth; and from that time to this it hath constantly been in subjection to some or other of the posterity of Shem or Japheth. The whole continent of Africa was peopled principally by the children of Ham; and for how many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, and then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks! *In what wickedness, ignorance, barbarity, slavery and misery, live most of the inhabitants! and of the Negroes, how many hundreds every year are sold and bought in the market, and are conveyed from one quarter of the world to another!* Nothing can be more complete than the ex-

ecution of the sentence upon *Ham*, as well as upon *Canaan*.”\*

The Negroes, says Bishop Wilson, the descendants of Ham and Canaan, according to one of the most ancient prophecies, (*Gen.* ix. 25.) are become slaves to christians, the descendants of Japheth.†

We find in the sacred record, at a subsequent period, that the Almighty permitted the Israelites to make slaves of the surrounding heathen, and to hold them in bondage *for ever* ; thus confirming the curse of Noah.

“ Thy bond-men, and thy *bond-maids*,” said the Almighty to the Israelites, “ which thou shalt have, *shall be of the heathen* that are round about you ; *of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids*. And ye shall take them *as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession ; they shall be your bond-men for ever*.”

Here is God’s express command to the Israelites, to hold slaves *for ever*, provided they were not of their brethren—“ but,” the command continues, “ over your own brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule over another with rigour.”—*Lev.* xxv. 44. 46. *These* were to be released in the Sabbatical year, or at the Jubilee, but the *others* were to remain *in bond-*

\* Bishop Newton’s Dissertations on the Prophecies, I. pp. 10. —24. Lond. 1786 ; where several authorities are quoted.

† Bishop Wilson’s Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians, &c.—Preface, p. 9. Lond. 1754.

age for ever.—*Exod.* xxi. 2.—7.—*Deut.* xv. 12. 16. 17.—*Lev.* xxv. the whole chapter.\*

It further appears from holy writ, that the Jews have been exterminated as a nation, and dispersed, over the face of the earth, according to prophecy; and that according to other prophecies, they are ultimately to be gathered together and restored.† But we find no prophecy which removes the curse of servitude from the descendants of Ham and Canaan. These appear to be left to the wisdom and discretion of those to whom they may belong, and to

\* It is a well known fact, that great numbers of the Negroes in Africa, are born in absolute and unconditional slavery. Adultery, and other crimes, are there punished with slavery. Muhammedan schoolmasters in the interior, receive a slave, or the price of a slave, for teaching a scholar the Koran. Should the parent fail to make payment, they retain the child in bondage, and dispose of him as they think fit. Debt, likewise, subjects the delinquent to slavery. And it has often occurred, from the natural indolence of the Negroes, that many have been in such extreme want, that they have gone to the Factors, and voluntarily placed themselves in bondage, to preserve their lives. War among the petty kings, supplies the greatest number of slaves; they who are taken in battle, may, according to their laws, be put to death. It may be said, that if there were no purchasers, these things would cease. Some of these evils doubtless would. Therefore, I am a friend to the total annihilation of the slave trade, and to judicious efforts for the civilization and religious instruction of the Africans.

It is here worthy of remark, that among the ancient Jews, some of the same causes of slavery existed, as we find them in Africa, at the present day: The fear of want.—*Lev.* xxv. 39. 40. Theft, if the party were unable to make restitution.—*Ex.* xxii. 3. Debt.—*2 Kings*, iv. 1.—*Matt.* xviii. 25. But these slaves, as remarked above, were released at a given time. And it was common to them, and other nations, to make slaves of their captives in war.—*2 Chron.* xxxvi. 20.—*Jer.* xliii. 1. 8. Profane history may be consulted on this subject.

† *Amos* viii. 11. to end of the next chapter.—*Mic.* ii. 12. 13.—*Zech.* viii. 2. to end.—*Luke* xxi. 20—25.

the general operation, and benign influence, of the Christian religion, on the human heart.

If we turn to the New Testament, we shall see that slavery is not incompatible with the principles and profession of Christianity. We have the most conclusive evidence to the contrary. But, at the same time, we have evidence equally as strong, that Christianity makes it our duty to give religious instruction to our servants. The following case will establish both these positions: Onesimus was the slave of Philemon, a distinguished man at Colosse, a city of considerable wealth and importance in Phrygia. He ran away from his master, and fled to Rome, where St. Paul, at the time, was a prisoner. Onesimus was a heathen; but the Apostle converted him to the Christian faith. Now, what was the consequence of this conversion? Did St. Paul tell him that Christianity made him free from his temporal servitude? No. Did he tell him that slavery was contrary to the law of God, and, therefore, that the laws of man could not make it legal? No. He sent him back to his master, whom he entreated to forgive him, and to receive him again into favour, not only as a servant, but as a brother in the Lord. *See St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon.\** All

\* That no doubt may exist in the mind of the reader, as to the absolute bondage of Onesimus, I request them to consult *Dr. Adam Clark, Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Scott, Dr. Whitby, Bishop Tomline, and Dr. Macknight*, on the place. The latter, in treating of the several uses of this Epistle, says: "that the precepts of the Gospel found in it, may be improved in various respects for regulating our conduct. For it is therein insinuated, 1st. That all

the sophistry in the world, cannot get rid of this decisive example. Christianity robs no man of his rights, and Onesimus was the property of his master, under the laws of his country, which must be obeyed, if not contrary to the laws of God.—*Acts* iv. 19. “Let every man,” says the same Apostle, “abide in the same calling wherein he was called.” *1 Cor.* vii. 20. If he is converted while he is a slave, a slave he must remain, according to the pleasure of his master. After Onesimus was converted, he expressed no fear of returning to the service of a Christian master; for, most probably, St. Paul had taught him to expect, that he would be received with Christian kindness, and enjoy all the privileges of the Christian faith and worship.

I cannot see any serious objection to the religious instruction of our servants. Let us inquire, what it is to make them Christians? Is it not to instruct them in the word of God, and to teach them their duty to God, and to man? Can a knowledge of Divine Revelation, which was specially given for our “instruction in righteousness,” injure the welfare of any human being? It is impossible. The perversion of Scripture will ruin the souls of black or white;

Christians are on a level. Onesimus, *the slave*, on becoming a Christian, is the Apostle’s son, and Philemon’s brother. 2d. That *Christianity makes no alteration in men’s political state. Onesimus the slave, did not become a freeman by embracing Christianity, but was still obliged to be Philemon’s SLAVE FOR EVER, unless his master gave him his freedom. That slaves should not be taken nor detained from their master, without their master’s consent,”* &c.—*Macknight on the Epistles*, iii. p. 322, Lond.—1816.

but the right understanding thereof, must make them “wise unto salvation;” and, if so, it must make them better servants to God, and to their masters. “Lay apart,” says *St. James*, the brother, *i. e.* the kinsman, of our Lord, “all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness, and receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save your souls.”—*James* i. 21. But the souls of the impenitent wicked are not saved; for the Psalmist says that “the wicked shall be turned into hell.”—*Ps.* ix. 17. Therefore it is by the conversion of the wicked, by making them moral and religious beings, that “the engrafted word,” will save their souls alive. It is by “laying apart all filthiness, and superfluity of naughtiness,” all disobedient, disorderly, unfaithful, immoral, and irreligious conduct, that the soul is prepared for salvation, by the engrafted word of God; and this word of God is revealed to us in the Bible. Can, then, a knowledge of the religion of the Bible, be useless to any person, or particularly improper for our servants? *St. Paul* asserts, that “the Holy Scriptures are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus; and that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.” *2 Tim.* iii. 15. 16. After this high commendation of the excellency, and general practical usefulness of the Bible, shall we, or can we with truth, say, that the word of God is not adapted to the various conditions of men? Shall

we pretend to a better knowledge of what is necessary for man, than the Holy Ghost, who edited these paragraphs? I trust not. But let us see what the Scriptures will teach our servants: As I presume that the Decalogue and the Lord's Prayer, will be acknowledged to be as fit for our *servant's* use, as our own, we shall turn to the directions given by the Apostles, for *their* government.

“ Let every man,” says St. Paul, “ abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called, *being a servant*? Care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather,” *i. e.* be not solicitous to be made free.” “ For he that is called in the Lord,” *i. e.* he who is a Christian, “ *being a servant*,” is the Lord's freeman.”— 1 Cor. vii. 20-23.

“ 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:” And as an encouragement to the good conduct of servants, the Apostle holds out to them the hope of reward. “ Whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.”—*Eph.* vi. 5-9. See the same words repeated to the christian slaves of Colosse, the very place of Onesimus's servitude.—*Col.* iii. 22. 23. 24. ✓

It must here be remarked, that the original word *Δουλος* rendered *servant*, means *a slave*.\*

The Apostle in his charge to Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus, expresses himself with great force on this subject: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, 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," &c.—1 *Tim.* vi. 1—9.

The same Apostle, in his charge to Titus, Bishop of Crete, says: "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."—*Tit.* ii. 9. 10.

And St. Peter, likewise, has left directions on the same subject: "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward."—1 *Pet.* ii. 18. The word

\* The treatment of slaves in the time of the Apostles was severe in the extreme, and bears no comparison with their condition at the present day. Their masters had the power of life and death in their own hands. And yet, it was of such slaves, that the Apostles spoke, and commanded their obedience and faithfulness to their masters.—Who then, can doubt, that Christianity is adapted to every condition of men, whether bond or free?

rendered servants, in the original is *οικισται* domestic slaves, or house-servants. This is a remarkable text, and must be particularly noticed. The Apostle requires from servants *obedience, submission, subjection*, to a *bad*, as well as to a *good* master. There is nothing in the law of God, which can, in the slightest manner, justify the disobedience and revolt of slaves. Faithfulness, obedience and integrity, are every where inculcated, and in every condition and circumstance of life, are universally required.

Is any person prepared to say that, notwithstanding these things “ were written by inspiration of God,” (2 *Tim.* iii. 16.) for the *use* and *benefit* of our *servants*, that we ought not to permit our servants even to hear them read ! That because they *are* ignorant, they must *remain* ignorant of what God in his wisdom, has been pleased to reveal for *them alone* ! This, I apprehend, is as bad logic, as it is unscriptural. Because I am poor, is that a reason why I should not honestly endeavour to become rich ? Was it not this which constituted one of St. Paul’s charges against the Jews, that *they forbid the Apostles to speak to the Gentiles, lest they might be saved* ?—1 *Thess.* ii. 16. Is not this what Gamaliel calls “ fighting against God ?”—*Acts* v. 39. If it be not, I know not what else to call it. What can be “ fighting against God,” if it be not opposing his revealed will, and intercepting, and withholding, the communications between God, and the people to whom they are graciously sent ? This is an awful thought ! *Who*

hath hardened himself against God, and hath prospered?—*Job* ix. 4. But let me ask, whether we can conceive advice more judicious, and better adapted to the condition of our slaves, than what we see has been given by the Apostles of our blessed Saviour? If our servants lived by these rules, would it not be better for all parties? Are not our servants capable of understanding these simple duties? Some indeed, may not comprehend the Christian spirit of the law, but all will understand the letter; and when they know that these duties are required of them by the word of God, they may be willing to discharge them. But the more ignorant the being, the greater is the necessity for his instruction. They may as often err through ignorance, as vice. Misunderstanding the duties of their condition, they may mean to do right, when they are actually committing evil. Religious instruction would set them right. Besides, ignorance renders them subject to deception. An intelligent knave might easily excite their fears, or their passions, and lead them into mischief. I grant, that knowledge is power. But Christian knowledge, is “peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance,” chastity, obedience.—*Gal.* v. 22. 23. Pure and undefiled religion will always produce these effects. Order, not disorder, is its natural consequence. Obedience, not rebellion, is the fruit of the Gospel. Christianity was founded by the Prince of Peace, and has for its object peace in this world, and in that which is beyond the grave.

It may be abused as well as any thing else ; but that must be owing to the wickedness of its enemies, or the injudicious conduct of its friends. Christianity breathes peace and good will to the whole human race ; and all who live by its precepts, must be better men, in every condition of life. Masters will become more kind, and slaves more obedient. Each will feel his responsibility increased, and each will rejoice before God, that he has been found faithful in the duties which his condition in life required. God is the moral Governor of the universe ; and the rulers of nations and communities, the fathers of families, and the owners of slaves, are, each in their respective spheres, the head of a moral government, in subjection to God, for the good of society, the happiness of the people, and the glory and honour of God's name. Being invested with this moral control, we shall be held accountable for its use, in the great day of retribution. And it appears to me, not to be the least important part of the business, to reflect on our relative situation at the judgement-seat of Christ ; when we shall be surrounded by the collected hosts of heaven and earth, and among them, the slaves we possessed in this world. Think, reader, what delight it must give to the pious heart in that awful day, to hear these people welcomed as disciples of our common Lord and Saviour ! Think of the joy we must feel to know, that it was through our instrumentality, and the grace of God, that they were brought to that happy state ! And should any be

finally lost, how consoling will be the reflection, that they are not lost through our negligence, or example.

We have an unquestionable right to expect, in return for the kindness we show to our slaves, obedient and orderly behaviour. But may it not be asked, without giving offence, whether, without rational instruction, we can reasonably expect it? Obedience may, it is true, be rendered through fear; but this will soon cease to operate, and will never be sincere. But when it is the result of a proper sense of moral obligation, it will always be faithful. Have these people ever received any moral or religious demonstrations of their duty? Have they, generally, been told, what God, in his word, requires of them? Or have they, generally, been left to shift for themselves; to brood over the ills of life; to live without hope; to cherish their vices; to indulge their passions, and to live according to their own view of things? I have said, *generally*, because there are many families, who feel it as much a religious duty, to instruct their servants in a knowledge of God their Saviour, as they do their children.

I will appeal to the bosom of every religious man, and ask him to declare, whether, from his own experience, he does not feel the restraining influence of his religion in every circumstance and condition of life; and whether, he does not rejoice "with joy unspeakable," when he contrasts his present obedience and faithfulness to God and to man, with his condition, while under the influence of his passions

and the fear of the scorner? And what was it that produced the change? Was it not the revealed word of God, brought home to his conscience and his heart, by Divine Grace? And can we *prove*, that this will not be the effect of God's word, and grace, upon the conscience and heart of a slave? If we can make but *one* slave a better man, we serve our country; if we can save but *one* soul from the wrath to come, we glorify God. And all that we can possibly do to accomplish this end, is like the "dust in the balance," when placed in opposition to such an object. And oh, Reader! Hearken to the declaration of God by the mouth of his holy servants: "He which converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save his soul from [eternal] death, and shall hide a multitude of sins"—*James* v. 20. "And they that be teachers shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."—*Dan.* xii. 3. *margin.* What an inducement for Christians to labour for the the conversion of the ignorant and the wicked!

I will again appeal to every Christian Master, and ask him, whether his mind would not be more at ease, and his heart more elated with religious joy, to know that he dwelt among real professors of Christianity, who daily offered up their prayers, for the prosperity and happiness of himself and his family, rather than among Muhammedans, whose religion encourages licentiousness, and teaches rapine and immorality? There can be no doubt of the answer.

Then, reader, recollect, that most of our imported Negroes are Muhammedans; and that they may teach what they know of the Koran to their children, unless Christians will take the trouble to instruct them in the religion of the Gospel. Some sort of religion they will have; but whether it shall be true or false, depends, in a great measure, upon us.

Truth, however, demands the acknowledgment, that the example of Christian morality, and the pious exertions of Christian benevolence, too often fail to influence their minds, or improve their hearts. Gratitude is not one of their virtues. They, generally, appear to be no otherwise affected by the treatment they receive from a good, or a bad master, than the amount of mere animal feeling. What they receive they consider as their due, and indulgence too often leads them to practice imposition. The severest, I mean not by this expression the most cruel, but the most rigid, master, will always have the most orderly slaves. From this well known fact, the duty of owners is made plain. Treat them with Christian kindness in every respect, and then make them perform their duty. If our children are to be corrected (*Prov.* xxii. 15. xxiii. 13. 14.) when they will not do what is right, how much more our servants when they purposely do wrong!

After all, every good man will have cause to lament, that our kindest and best intentions, will, in many instances, be of but little avail. Some good, however, can be done; and, I trust in God, that, much

has already been done. I believe that hundreds have been made pious Christians, and I trust, that by perseverance, and the Grace of God, many more will yet be brought to a saving knowledge of their Redeemer. They who have been born in the state, and more particularly those who are young, may, in time, and with the blessing of heaven upon our endeavours, be brought to a proper sense of their duty to God, and their Masters. At any rate, we shall have this consolation; that if our labour is lost in this world, we may hope to be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.

I do not believe that there are many well informed religious men, who seriously object to the rational instruction of Negroes, in the leading doctrines of the Gospel, by regular, and judicious Clergymen belonging to the state. The objection lies against their injudicious instruction. It will not be denied, that, in every denomination of Christians in Carolina, there are Clergymen who possess sufficient learning, piety, judgement, patriotism, discretion, and willingness of disposition, to enter seriously into this part of their duty. If the Masters of slaves will unite in the great Christian scheme of conversion, means may be devised for the purpose. I confess, however, that many difficulties and discouragements present themselves to my mind; but still, I trust, there are none that may not be overcome by prudence and perseverance, under the blessing of God. Plain and practical, and, at the same time, interesting, moral tracts

might be prepared for the Negroes who can read, and they who cannot, might listen to those who can. By this means, and I know of no other, injurious information either derived, or likely to be derived, from improper sources, might be corrected; their duties and obligations made plain to their comprehension, and enforced by instructive examples; a course of practical lessons might be *selected* from the Bible, particularly from the historical books, the Psalms and Proverbs, but principally from the New Testament, and proper prayers composed, adapted to their condition and necessities. It is ignorance, superstition, fanaticism, and a false representation of their condition and their duties, that will destroy them in this world, and in the next. And it therefore appears to me to be improper, to permit them to run after unknown itinerants. Let them attend the regularly settled places of public worship in their neighbourhood; and, I should think, those to which their masters belong, should have the preference. They must not be allowed to hold separate meetings of their own, under teachers of their own colour, as ignorant, and as superstitious as themselves; who will expound the Scriptures according to their own views, or excite the malignant passions of their deluded hearers, by, perhaps, an unintentional, if not a designed, misconstruction of the sacred page. Such parts of the Sacred Writings as more immediately concern their condition and duty, and the practical points of morality, such as, justice, sobriety,

chastity, fidelity, honesty, industry, obedience, &c. as well as the nature of faith, should be carefully explained to them. And so should those passages which they may, and actually have, *wrested to their own destruction* — 2 Pet. iii. 16. Upon a late afflicting occasion in Charleston, one of the convicts, the day before his execution, was overheard expounding to his wife, the beginning of the 14th chapter of St. John, and applying it to himself. It was necessary, he said, that he should go to prepare a place in heaven for his wife! Thus abusing the gracious words of our blessed Saviour to his immediate disciples.\*

This leads me to advert to a circumstance connected with the unhappy event which gave rise to these remarks. The circumstance is this: *None of the Negroes belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Church were concerned in the late conspiracy.* To what cause

\* While briefly suggesting what may be done in this matter, I will just hint at a subject, which some may think of importance. The celebration of the *Fourth of July*, belongs *exclusively* to the white population of the United States. The American Revolution was a *family quarrel among equals*. In this, the *Negroes* had no concern; their condition remained, and must remain, unchanged. They have no more to do with the celebration of that day, than with the landing of the Pilgrims on the rock at Plymouth. It therefore appears to me, to be improper to allow these people to be present on these occasions. In our speeches and orations, much, and sometimes more than is politically necessary, is said about personal liberty, which Negro auditors know not how to apply, except by running the parallel with their own condition. They, therefore, imbibe false notions of their personal rights, and give reality in their minds, to what has no real existence. The peculiar state of our community, must be steadily kept in view. This, I am gratified to learn, will, in some measure, be promoted by the institution of *The South-Carolina Association*.

is this to be attributed? Their condition is no better; they live under the same circumstances and treatment, and they have the same natural ignorance and superstition, as the rest of their race. And yet, in this instance, there was a marked difference. There must be, in the very nature of things, some reason for this. What this reason may be, is worthy of our inquiry. Is it because in the sober, rational, sublime and evangelical worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church, there is nothing to inflame the passions of the ignorant enthusiast; nothing left to the crude, undigested ideas of illiterate black class-leaders? Is it because the coloured leaders in that Church, were not permitted to expound the Scriptures, or to exhort, in words of their own; to use extemporary prayer, and to utter at such times, whatever nonsense and profanity might happen to come into their minds? Is it because the order and language of the worship of that Church, being precomposed and arranged, cannot be perverted or abused to party purposes? These questions deserve serious reflection.

When the coloured class-leaders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, were allowed to meet for religious exercises,\* they were accustomed to use *no other worship* than the regular course prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, for the day. Hymns or Psalms out of the same book were sung, and a print-

\* These meetings have been discontinued since the event alluded to.

ed sermon read. White persons were often present on these occasions. No extemporary address, exhortation, or prayer, was permitted, or used. Here was nothing to mislead the weak, excite the passions of the wicked, or impose upon the credulous. The exercises were rational and pious, and the audience decorous. Had Divine Service been held on the same evenings in the Church, the same exercises would have been performed, with the exception of the sermon. At the time alluded to, there were 316 black and coloured communicants in the Episcopal Churches in Charleston, and all of them were free from reproach; and there were, at the same time, about 200 black and coloured children in their Sunday Schools. The instruction in these schools, will be admitted to be judicious and useful. In the Third Annual Report of the *Charleston Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Society*, it is stated, p. 4, that "several classes of coloured children are instructed by some elderly coloured members, *under the inspection of the Ministers of the Church*. Their instruction consists in, a knowledge of the Church Catechism; some portions of the sacred writings, and the Psalms and Hymns. No secular instruction is given in this school." The children committed their exercises to memory.\*

\* I think there is sufficient evidence to establish the fact, that the general character for orderly conduct, in many of the Negroes and people of colour, belonging to the Protestant Episcopal Churches in Charleston, is, in a great measure, to be attributed to the excellent foundation which was laid, for their moral and religious instruction, in the School established before the Revolution, in

The event which gave rise to these "considerations." had its origin and seat, chiefly in the *African Church*, which was entirely composed of negroes, under preachers of their own colour; but it involved a few individuals belonging to other Churches.\* And I write it with feelings of the deepest regret, that some of the conspirators were preachers, class-leaders, and communicants; † thus verifying the

St. Philip's Church. There are several very orderly and decent negroes, and people of colour, now living, who were instructed in that School; and their general deportment has satisfied me, of the usefulness of these institutions, for meliorating the moral character of our black and coloured population. If we would reason from facts that are known, and not speculate upon opinions which are yet to be proved, perhaps, we should be more generally disposed to afford these people, the means of receiving moral and religious instruction. See *Hist. of Pro. Epis. Church in So. Ca. Bishop Porteus's Works*, vi. p. 165. Lond. 1812. *Archbishop Secker's Works*, v. *Serm.* cxxxi. p. 78. *Dub.* 1775.

\* "It is also a pleasing consideration," says Dr. Furman, "that in the late projected scheme for producing an insurrection among us, there were very few of those who were, as members, attached to regular Churches, (even within the sphere of its operations) who appear to have taken a part in the wicked plot, or indeed to whom it was made known; of some Churches it does not appear, that there were any. It is true, that a considerable number of those who were found guilty and executed, laid claim to a religious character; yet several of these were grossly immoral, and, in general, they were members of an irregular body, which called itself the *African Church*, and had intimate connection and intercourse with a similar body of men in a northern city, among whom the supposed right to emancipation is strenuously advocated." See the Rev. Dr. Furman's *Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, relative to the Coloured Population of the United States*, p p. 16. 17.

† See *An Account of the late intended Insurrection, &c. published by authority of the Corporation of Charleston*, p p. 26, 29 and 30.

truth of a remark which teachers have, too often occasion to make, that there is but little confidence to be placed in the religious profession of negroes. I speak generally. Much animal excitement may be, and oftentimes is, produced, where but little real devotion is felt in the heart. I sympathize, most sincerely, with the very respectable and pious Clergyman, whose heart must still bleed at the recollection, that his confidential class-leader, but a week or two before his just conviction, had received the Communion of the Lord's Supper, from his hand. This wretch had been brought up in his Pastor's family, and was treated with the same christian attention, as was shown to their own children!

To us, who are accustomed to the base, and proverbial ingratitude of these people, this ill return of kindness and confidence is not surprising; but they who are ignorant of their real character, will read and wonder.

In conclusion, I may remark, that as slavery is found not to be contrary to the laws of God, so it is left to our own judgement, whether to hold slaves, or not. But the same God who permits slavery, has required of us, in his holy word, their religious instruction. And it certainly appears to a religious man, to be inconsistent, to say the least of it, to claim the authority of God, in one case, and to reject it in another. If we are the owners of slaves, our duty to God, to our country, and to

ourselves, all urge the necessity of affording them instruction, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the souls of men.

A SOUTH-CAROLINIAN.















