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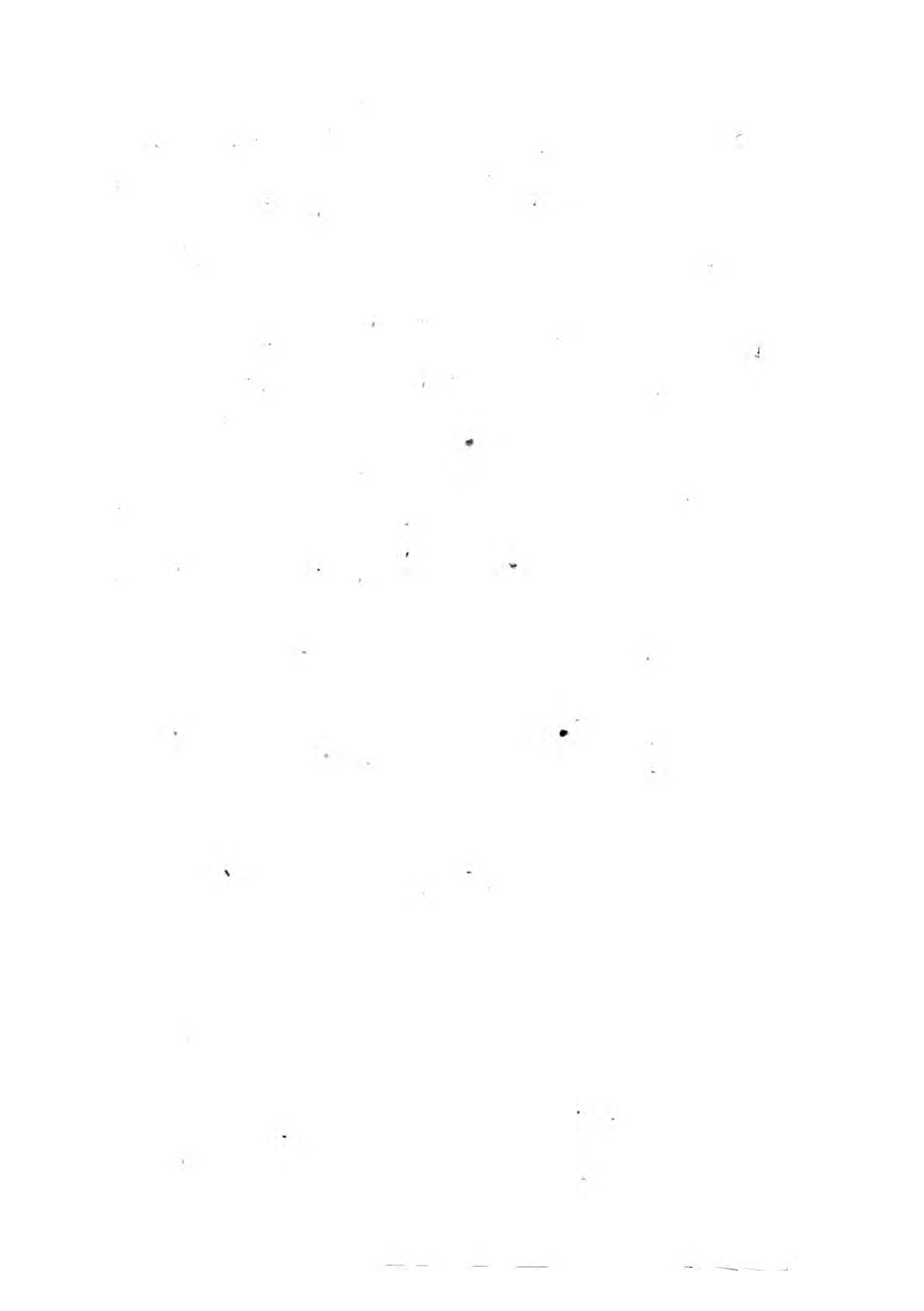
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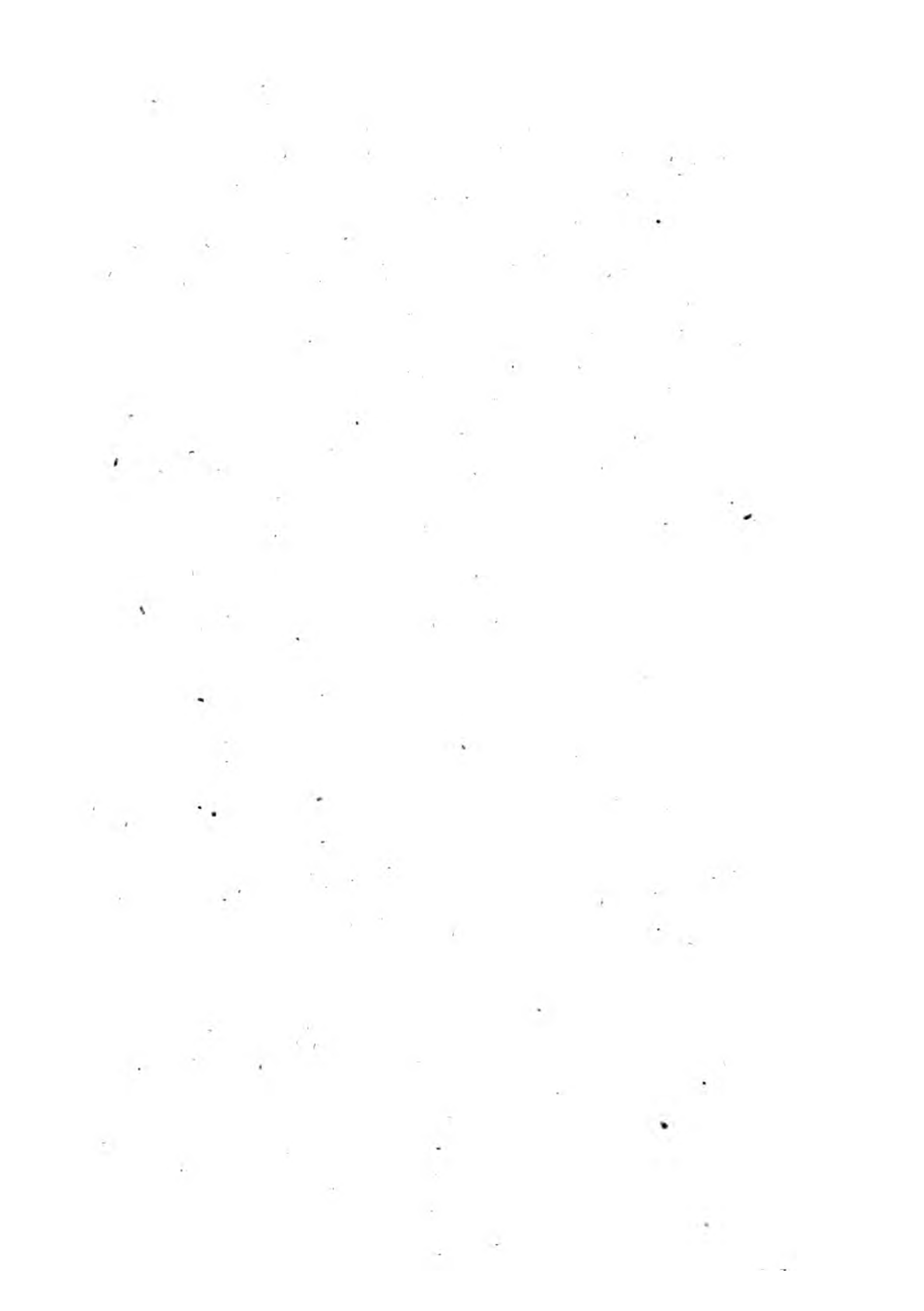


*from the Author*

S C R I P T U R E

T H E

F R I E N D O F F R E E D O M, &c.





S C R I P T U R E

T H E

F R I E N D O F F R E E D O M ;

E X E M P L I F I E D B Y A

R E F U T A T I O N

O F T H E

A R G U M E N T S O F F E R E D I N D E F E N C E O F S L A V E R Y ,

I N A T R A C T E N T I T L E D ,

S C R I P T U R A L R E S E A R C H E S O N T H E L I C I T N E S S

O F T H E

S L A V E T R A D E .

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Learn to do well ; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed. *Isaiah i. 17.*

Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil ; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness ;  
that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. *Isaiah v. 20.*

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M.DCC.LXXXIX.



## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE time elapsed since the first publication of Mr. HARRIS'S Scriptural Researches, and the several answers that have appeared thereto, may require some apology for this undertaking.

On the first perusal of Mr. H.'s Tract, the propriety of exposing its fallacy sufficiently appeared, but on considering the amazing art with which his reasonings were urged; and the triumph with which his conclusions were drawn, a close and particular reply to *every argument* seemed absolutely necessary.

Under this impression the Author drew up the following Remarks (before he had seen the other Refutations of Mr. H.'s doctrine,) and they were nearly prepared for the Press; when, on that Gentleman announcing his intentions of making a second Publication, the Printing of this was deferred for obvious reasons. This, however, now appears to have been unnecessary; for, on the investigation

investigation of Mr. H's second Edition and Defence, the Author finds no cause to alter the original disposition of the work, or retract any argument he had advanced; what appeared proper to be noticed, he has briefly considered in an Appendix.

With respect to the following work, he must advertise the candid reader not to look for elegance of style, or beauty of composition: not being an Englishman he has the same excuse to plead as Mr. H. and more occasion to urge it. His chief design is, to detect what he conceives to be misconstructions of Scriptural Passages, artfully fabricated for the purpose of giving sanction to a Trade, the pursuit of which must deeply wound the feelings of every true Christian.

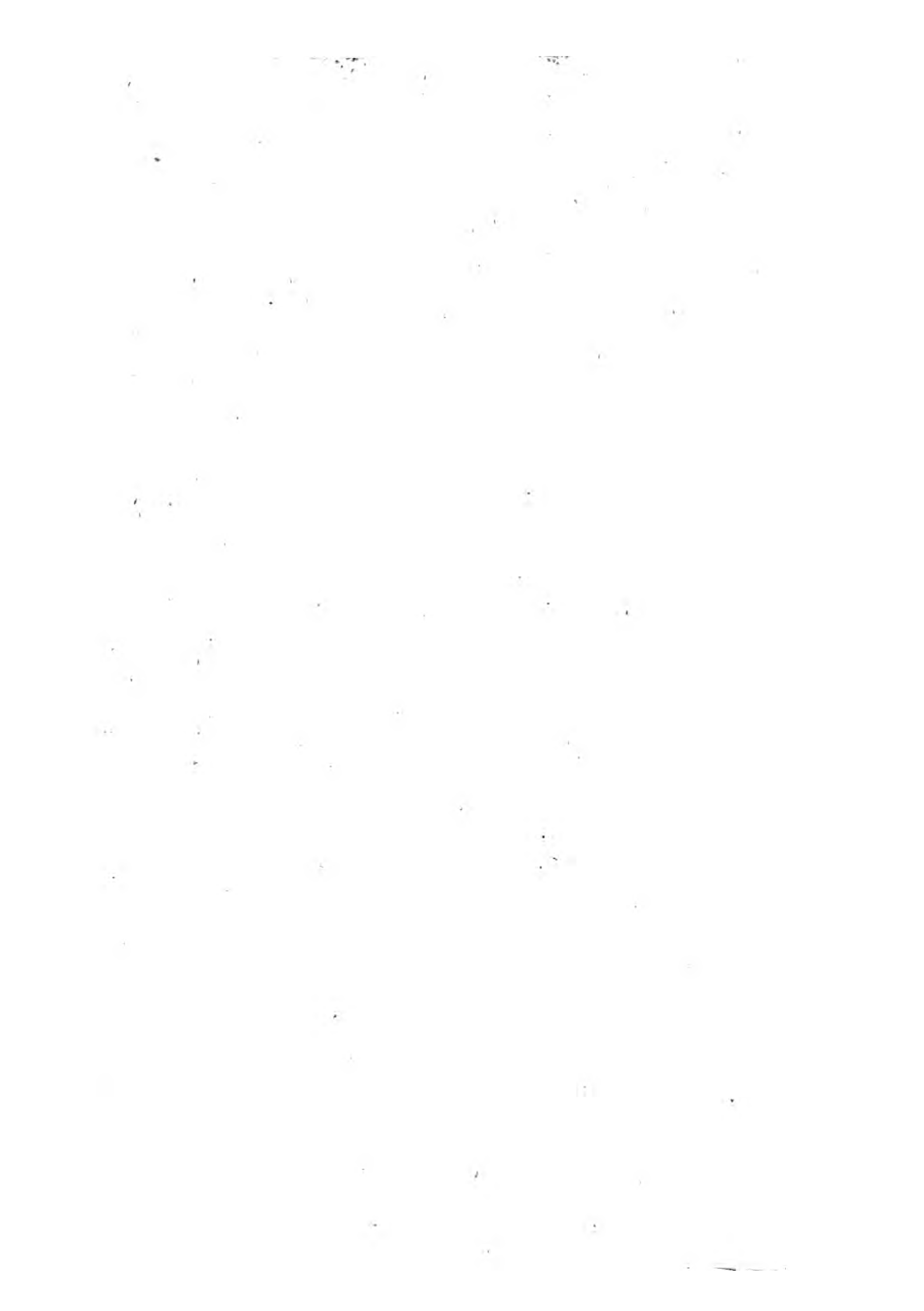
LONDON,  
MAY, 1789.

N. B. The References to Mr. Harris's words are to the first edition of the Scriptural Researches.

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### E R R A T A.

Page 11, last line, for *comfortable* read *conformable*.  
17, line 18, for *principle*      *principles*  
37,      18, for *reedemed*      *redeemed*  
42, note, line 1, for *versality*      *versatility*.



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# S C R I P T U R E

T H E

F R I E N D O F F R E E D O M, &c.

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**T**HE writer of the *Scriptural Researches*, conscious that an advocate for *Injustice* and *Oppression*, must incur the displeasure of every friend to humanity, justice, and religion, “hastens to inform his reader, that he is as much at enmity with both, as the most sanguine advocate for African Liberty may be”: but it requires far greater abilities than I am possessed of, to discover the truth of this assertion in any one page of his pamphlet. For Mr. HARRIS in stating that the buying and selling of men was not condemned in the sacred writings, and in producing texts of scripture which he seems to have adopted *before* examination, in support of his hypothesis, feels no hesitation to advance, that among those facts of which the word of God has decided their lawfulness, “the Slave Trade is undoubtedly one”; and, as if his bare assertion were a complete proof of its veracity, he closes the period

B

by

by dignifying the Slave Trade, with the appellation of a “ *most ancient commercial pursuit*”<sup>a</sup>.”

I am not envious of that ingenuity of argument, which Mr. H. has discovered in departing from the true meaning of scripture, nor did I content myself with viewing his labours, and comparing them by “ *the scanty light of mere human reason and sense*”<sup>b</sup>”. In meeting him therefore upon scriptural ground, I shall endeavour to shew, that Mr. H. has not produced *one proof* in his whole tract, “ that the Slave Trade is either consonant to the principles of the Law of Nature, of the Mosaic Dispensation, or of the Christian Law<sup>c</sup>”; and shall refer my readers to several texts of Scripture, which I trust will satisfactorily prove to all unprejudiced minds, that every dispensation given by a gracious God for our moral conduct and duty in life, is diametrically opposite to the Slave Trade; and that so far from sanctioning Slavery, the Scripture is avowedly the friend of Freedom.

Mr. H. choosing to treat his subject mathematically, has prefixed to the whole certain positions, or *Data*; upon some of which it may not be amiss to make a few observations, considering the conclusions which he so unwarrantably draws from them.

His third Position states, “ That as there can be no prescription against the authority of God, whatever is declared in any part of the Scriptural Records to be intrinsically good or bad, licit or illicit, must be essentially so in its own nature, however contrary any such declaration may be to the received opinions of men for any length of time<sup>d</sup>.”

On

<sup>a</sup> Preface page vi.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Page vii.

<sup>d</sup> Page ix.



On this Datum I would observe, that many things may be declared in the Scriptural Records as intrinsically good and lawful, when applied to particular actions, which are by no means to be urged as precedents in all similar cases; and yet this rule of precedent seems to be the sole doctrine which he would attempt to draw from it, for in the seventh Datum he says, " That if one or more decisions of the  
 " written Word of God give a positive sanction to  
 " the intrinsic licitness of any human pursuit (for  
 " instance the Slave Trade) whoever professes to  
 " believe the incontrovertible veracity of the writ-  
 " ten word of God, essentially incompatible with  
 " the least degree of injustice, must consequently  
 " believe the pursuit itself to be intrinsically just  
 " and lawful in the strictest sense of the word."

To meet him on his own ground as stated in these positions, I will point out *one fall*, by which I apprehend these fallacies may be discovered, and to avoid being tedious, I will mention but *one* in this place; namely, that which arises from the conduct of the Israelites towards the sabbath-breaker, as recorded in the Book of Numbers, in these words:

" And while the children of Israel were in the  
 " wilderness, they found a man that gathered sticks  
 " upon the sabbath day.

" And they that found him gathering sticks,  
 " brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto  
 " all the congregation.

" And they put him in ward, because it was not  
 " declared what should be done to him.

A 2 .

" And

“ And the Lord said unto Moses, the man shall  
 “ be surely put to death; all the congregation shall  
 “ stone him with stones without the camp.

“ And all the congregation brought him without  
 “ the camp, and stoned him with stones, and he  
 “ died; as the Lord commanded Moses. † ”

Here we have an *unerring decision* of the God of truth “ a decision incompatible with the least degree  
 “ of injustice,” and enforced by a positive command; and yet I will be bold to say, that few would think it just in us to state this as a precedent, for our conduct in similar cases. This, however, is one of the chief arguments advanced in support of Mr. H.’s inferences from the interpretations he has given of several texts of scripture; and thus, by sophistically arguing from *false premises* in defending the cause of slavery, he has exhibited the word of God, as inconsistent with itself, and represented the Almighty as an encourager of the most cruel oppression.

In proceeding on Mr. H.’s Scriptural Researches, his first section on the Law of Nature immediately occurs, from which I shall transcribe as few of his words as the nature of the subject will admit, that I may not extend this tract to too great a length.

His first case is that of the Patriarch Abraham,  
 “ who (he says) *constantly* obeyed the voice of God,  
 “ kept his charge, his commandments, his statutes,  
 “ and his laws ‡; *not excepting any one.* † ” If so,  
 how comes it that St. Paul should follow the Psalmist  
 in declaring, that when the Lord looked down from  
 Heaven †

† Num. xv. 32, &c.    ‡ Scrip. Res. p. 14.    † Ibid. p. 15.

Heaven upon the children of men, there was *none* that did good, *none* righteous, *no not one*<sup>1</sup>? From whence the Apostle accordingly asserts, that, “ all “ have sinned and come short of the glory of God<sup>2</sup>,” and that even Abraham, was not exempted from the number of those, who stood in need of the *perfect* and *constant* obedience of a sinless Saviour.<sup>1</sup> I mention this, not to detract in the least from the virtues of that exemplary Patriarch, who received the testimony of an all-seeing God, both as to the rectitude of his past obedience, and the tenour of his future conduct; although I must oppose that “ *Opprobrious Praise,*” which, I presume, Mr. H. would not so largely have given to Abraham, but that he meant to class him with his own friends, the *Dealers in human Flesh*.

In No. VI. Mr. H. refers to his margin for the first text which he brings as a negative proof, to shew that the least intimation was not given by any of the inspired writers of Abraham’s conduct being wrong, in making a purchase of men, or to use his own words, “ *dealing in human Flesh,*<sup>m</sup>” the text is, Gen. xvii. 23—27. but from no sentence of the whole passage does it appear that the inspired penman of the book of Genesis, had the least intention to prove, or even to hint at the lawfulness, or unlawfulness, of buying bond-men and bond-women; the whole records the unfeigned obedience of Abraham to the command of God, respecting the rite of circumcision; the institution of which is specified in  
the

<sup>1</sup> Psalm xiv. 2, 3. Rom. iii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Rom, iii. 23.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. iv. 1—3.

<sup>m</sup> P. 15.

the former part of the chapter\*. However Mr. H. not satisfied with asserting that Abraham constantly practised

\* One thing we may observe from the above chapter, that the bond-men bought with Abraham's money, were in a condition, which will by no means justify Mr. H.'s applying the epithet of the Slave-Trade to his conduct; for, Abraham's bond-men were brought into the same covenant as his servants born in his house, and in consequence were "not cut off from the people," whereas the African Slaves, generally speaking, are not thought to have any lawful right even to the ceremonies, much less to the privileges of christianity.—Hence the learned Bishop of London, in his sermon on Luke iv. 17—20. in application to the words of Christ, says—"For when he speaks of the *poor, the broken hearted, the blind, the captive, the bruised*, who can forbear thinking on that unhappy race of beings, the *African Slaves*, in our West India Colonies. If there are any human creatures in the world who concentrate in themselves every species of evil here enumerated, who are at once poor, and broken hearted, and blind, and captive, and bruised, our Negro Slaves are beyond comparison those creatures.

Even in a literal sense this description is in several circumstances a just picture of their situation; but in a figurative and spiritual meaning, it may, with the strictest truth, be applied to them. They are in general considered as mere machines and instruments to work with, as having neither understandings to be cultivated, nor souls to be saved. To the greater part, not so much as the mere ceremony of baptism is administered; and scarce any enjoy sufficient leisure or assistance for a proper degree of instruction in the doctrines and duties of religion, &c.—Thus it comes to pass that in the British Islands alone, there are upwards of four hundred thousand human beings, of whom much the greater part live most literally without God in the world, without any knowledge of a Creator or Redeemer; without any one principle either of natural or revealed religion, without the idea of one moral duty, except that of performing their daily task, and escaping the scourge that constantly hangs over them. The consequence is that they are heathens, not only in their hearts, but in their lives,

practised the Slave Trade †,—that scripture is silent on his conduct—and that even this silence is a proof that the Slave Trade “ was never accounted in the “ sight of God a violation of any of the laws of the “ religion of nature.” He ventures a step further in boldness; for in No. VIII. he declares that if his *negative* argument just stated, does not amount to a *positive*

“ lives, and, knowing no distinction between vice and virtue,  
 “ they give themselves up freely to the grossest immoralities,  
 “ without so much as being conscious that they are doing  
 “ wrong.”—See PORTEOUS'S Sermon. p. 387, 388. 5th ed.

The length of the above quotation can require no apology, and I subjoined it the rather, as the author of the Scriptural Researches, in almost every page, speaks of the bond servants mentioned in scripture, as if placed on a par with our West-India Slaves, between whom there is a wide difference of condition. Who is there that on reading the above description can help feeling those emotions which made an elegant writer express himself thus?

“ Image of the most Holy God vilely prophaned!  
 “ *Compendium of Creation*, weakened and mutilated. *Temple*  
 “ in which the Deity vouchsafed to reside and reveal himself  
 “ —by prodigies, by oracles; and, when the fulness of time  
 “ was come, by the *Son*, the *Brightness of Majesty* supreme,  
 “ the *only* and the *first born*, by *whom*, and *for whom* the world  
 “ was made! The Second Adam! Human Nature, what  
 “ *was* thy destination? and what art thou become?”

*Herder les plus anciens documens de l'humanité.—Par. I.*

† It would have become Mr. H. to bring one instance at least of Abraham selling a bond-man to excuse the above expression, for my part, I esteem those *purchased* by Abraham as experiencing an emancipation from slavery, considering the privileges they acquired thereby, however others may differ from me on this idea, yet I trust, they will grant that it is not fair reasoning for Mr. H. without so much as one instance of *Sale*, to represent Abraham as making a *Trade* of “ *dealing in human Flesh.*”



*positive* approbation of the Slave Trade, “ it is impossible to reconcile the justice of God with his own scriptural decisions.”

Having thus stated his *negative* proof, he then, with peculiar effrontery, at No. IX. calls it “ a sanction of *Divine Authority*” —but while he is shewing that his *negative* proof, is a *positive* proof, sanctioned by another which is immediately to be brought forward, Mr. H. wishes, “ the zealous advocate for African Liberty, to be divested of every prejudice, that the love of humanity may have created in his mind;” and I shall add, he must be divested also, of every principle of *christianity*, before he can receive that irresistible conviction, which Mr. H.’s inferences are supposed to have had on his own understanding.

We come next to Mr. H.’s positive proof, the case of Hagar, which he calls, “ a very decisive fact” on his side, recorded Gen. xvi. 1—11. and here, much ingenuity must be used to shew us that Hagar was a slave, or he was aware that this “ *decisive fact*” must clearly fall to the ground; and therefore in No. XI. as the word *handmaid* does not convey the idea of any very cruel hardships, Mr. H. has pointed out to us another text in which God calls her a *Bond-woman*; this expression however not fully meeting with *his* wishes, as not applying sufficiently to his cause, he dexterously throws in one of his unanswerable proofs, and boldly tells us she was *born in Africa*, “ she was an Egyptian by birth;” — Now let us observe his impartial inference as to what her condition was, by being an Egyptian by birth; she

she was not merely an African, but “ *consequently an African Slave* †.” No wonder, that when he had made a slave of Hagar, he should treat her as such, we must not even suppose that Hagar might be one of those who came in the retinue of Abraham out of Egypt, voluntarily and without compulsion.—This would not tally with the idea of a *Slave Trade*; we must therefore fancy her “ *transported*” (as he expresses, page 18.) by sea, as if in some ship of Tyre, the famous Liverpool of the Ancient World; or separated from every dear relation and friend, by some slave driver, and dragged through the barren wilderness to the land of Canaan.—In finishing the picture of Hagar’s hardships, he seems to give up the word *Hand-maid* with a kind of antipathy, and gratuitously concludes that she was “ *obliged to wait at hand, and work for the advantage of her masters.*”

Having thus brought Hagar “ *to wait at hand, and work for the advantage of her masters,*” and Sarai to wait upon herself, since we do not find that Mr. H. allows Hagar, ever after, to be Sarai’s handmaid; I shall now enquire into the treatment she met with, according to Mr. H.’s account, from her master and mistress; not indeed while she *waited at hand* upon her mistress Sarai, but while she worked *as a slave*:

† See p. 17, 18. Mr. H. has taken great pains throughout his tract, to class under the same idea, the scripture words bond-servant, &c. as the word slave. The former may be read in many places of scripture without the idea of any cruelty annexed—The latter invariably conveys ideas of oppression, and of the most abject, and greatest degradation of human nature.

And of this we have a singular relation in his next number, page 18, where, by his expression of Hagar's being so roughly handled by Sarai, it would strike a person at first view that Sarai herself was the inflictor of castigation, but as the writer tells us that the Hebrew word rendered *dealt hardly*, "has such an extent of signification, as may easily convey the idea of a very cruel and oppressive treatment;" perhaps he only insinuates and means to allude to what sometimes happens in our West India Islands, where the wife of an overseer considers herself as bound, to see correction properly applied in the absence of her husband, but always with his permission.

Granting for a moment, that his account of Sarai's cruelty, and the representation of Hagar's conduct as a trifling fault, were true, Mr. H. in No. XIII. has advanced an opinion, in which I agree, I mean respecting the verdict which would be given, if such a case as Hagar's were tried before a Jury, composed of some of the present advocates for African Liberty: But as to his No. XIV. page 19. I must beg leave to differ in every part; a person who had never paid attention to the history as related in the bible, would be led to suppose from Mr. H.'s words, that God had established an impartial tribunal in the land of Canaan, where he deputed an Angel, as his Minister, to represent his person, for the sole purpose of administering justice, and among other points in such cases particularly as occur between masters and slaves, and that Hagar, had gone to this court to make her complaint, and especially to enquire as to these particulars, whether Sarai had a right to treat her



her with cruelty, for “ *not being quite so respectful as Sarai might suppose she ought to be?*”—Whether her being Abram’s wife,—or the severity of Sarai’s treatment—or her actual state of pregnancy, did or did not emancipate her from her bondage?—And that this Minister of Justice had, not merely given Mr. H.’s emphatical negative to these enquiries; but had also condemned her for deserting her service to make these complaints, and *ordered* her to return, submitting herself under the hands of her mistress, however cruel she might still behave towards her; for though the Lord had *heard her affliction*, yet she was not to expect a release, as there was no blame either in Sarai or in Abram, whose lawful property she still was.—I refer to Mr. H.’s own words in No. XIV. and ask, whether the above are not the ideas which might strike a stranger to the records of scripture, on perusing his words? Nay, such a person might be led further to suppose, that this Minister of Justice had even explained to Hagar the lawfulness of “ *the original contract of her purchase, &c.*” for he adds, “ who by the very act of deputing an angel, on purpose to command the fugitive slave to return to her master’s house, and submit herself under the hands of her mistress, declared her to be her master’s indisputable property; and the original bargain, or contract, by which he had acquired that property to be just and lawful in its nature:” And then, as if his language thus far had been too delicate and feeble, he brings in a horrid innuendo by way of elucidation, saying “ that the Slave Trade, even when attended with circumstances not altogether <sup>conformable</sup> comfortable to the feelings of humanity,

“ *nity*, is essentially consistent with the sacred and unalienable rights of justice, and has the positive sanction of God in its support.” In the name of common decency, what credit can be given to a man, who shall daringly declare, that the Almighty deputed an angel on purpose to command a fugitive bond-woman to go home to work for her master § ? the shocking impiety of such a procedure, one would think, must alarm him on the slightest reflection, if he has not cast off the belief of that, which made even Felix tremble !—For on a candid examination of this passage we shall not discover one feature to sanction the Slave-Trade : the fact is this, when Hagar had left Abram’s dwelling, and had fled into the wilderness, destitute and distressed, the Almighty was pleased to send an Angel (not to upbraid her and secure Abram’s property, as Mr. H. insinuates, but) to comfort and advise her, the words of this celestial Messenger are, “ *Hagar, Sarai’s maid, whence camest thou? and whither wilt thou go?*” —She is not in the least terrified at the sight of this heavenly visitor, or conscious of having done any thing amiss, therefore instantly answers—“ *I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai.*” Did I consider the Angel as a Minister of Justice, I should retort upon Mr. H. and say, What reply did the angel make to Hagar? Did he *disapprove* of her conduct in flying from her husband’s habitation?—did he hint in the most distant manner that Abram and Sarai’s conduct

§ I cannot think Mr. H. really believes his own doctrine, unless he is in that dreadful state which St. Paul foretold some of the children of men would be, in consequence of their adherence to the *Man of Sin*. See 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.

conduct towards her were justifiable?—did he signify to her that she was a bond-woman, and must consider herself as part of Abram's property, who was at liberty to dispose of her person as he thought proper?—NO.—He does not even insinuate the least degree of blame in *Her*—If censure is implied in any part of his words, it is on Abram and Sarai, who were the *cause* of those afflictions, while his words to Hagar, are manifestly the advice of a comforter to an afflicted Woman, anxious and perplexed; counselling her to return, and submit for the present, even to the unkindness of her mistress, with the promise and assurance, that she should be the mother of a numerous progeny, the offspring of her son, whom she was instructed to call *Ishmael*; because, “*the Lord had heard her affliction.*” These are evidently the words of comfort; for wherever the Lord is said in scripture to listen to the voice, it is also constantly implied that he administers to the consolation of affliction.

Having thus followed Mr. H. in the track of his very singular *Data*, I shall now take the liberty to give my opinion on the subject, after stating the following position, which I trust is both clear and indisputable, namely,

That many of those transactions which are mentioned in the lives of the Patriarchs, as handed down to us by the inspired writings, are recorded for a far greater purpose than merely to give us examples of imitation in their conduct; and that we are not to infer the lawfulness, or unlawfulness, of particular pursuits, from the silence of sacred writ respecting certain actions of the Patriarchs.—Every impartial reader

• Compare Gen. xvi. 11. with xxix. 31, 32.

reader, it is presumed, will grant, that I have foundation for this opinion in the records of truth.

When the disobedience of our first Parents had involved them in a condition the most deplorable<sup>p</sup>, an awful fear of God must have seized their unhappy minds; and hence, ignorant of his attributes, they vainly sought shelter from his presence among the covering of Eden's leaves<sup>q</sup>. But God, whose nature is love, beheld with pitying eye the transgressors of his commands; and before he declared the consequences of their sins to them and their posterity; graciously intimated the means of a restoration from the effects of their fall, in the promise of bruising the Serpent's Head<sup>r</sup>: The same wisdom and mercy which planned and determined the wonderful redemption of mankind, did not immediately fulfil the gracious promise, for even sin, which we know to be hateful in the sight of God at all times<sup>s</sup> did widely reign, and its effects were dreadful<sup>t</sup>; nevertheless, God at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake unto the Fathers, and by Types, and other means, gradually prepared mankind for a clear manifestation of the christian covenant, that compleat system of recovery from the fall; a system, including an atonement for the guilt, and strength against the power of sin<sup>u</sup>; and we may fairly draw this humbling lesson, even from some actions in the  
lives

<sup>p</sup> Gen. ii. 17.—iii. 7.      <sup>q</sup> Gen. iii. 8.      <sup>r</sup> Gen. iii. 15.

<sup>s</sup> Gen. vi. 5, 6.    1 Cor. x. 5—12.      <sup>t</sup> Rom. v. 12—17.

<sup>u</sup> Compare Isa. liii. 6. with Rom. v. 8—10. and 1 John i. 9.  
also Jer. xxxi. 31—34. with Heb. viii. 10—12.

lives of the most exalted characters among the Antedeluvians, as also from those under the Mosaic Dispensation, namely, that man's nature is deeply affected by the fall, which has rendered him utterly unable by the utmost exertions of his own power and strength, to restore himself to that moral rectitude, in which he was created: In subserviency to what I have stated above, I clearly apprehend that the sketches, or short histories of the Patriarchs, are so related in the sacred scriptures, to make known and elucidate the necessity of the covenant just mentioned.

In the account we have of their lives, many examples certainly occur, which are well worthy our imitation, and whereby they obtained the approbation of God; the faithfulness of the inspired historian, nevertheless, has recorded some actions of their lives, which it would be sinful in us to copy, though not expressly censured in them<sup>v</sup>; whether or no God testified his displeasure in words, or by his conduct towards them, or their families, while they lived, we are not informed; or whether he did *not impute sin*, when there was *no law*<sup>x</sup>; I will not take upon me to determine: Certain, however it is, that in the lives of these conspicuous characters, there are some instances of conduct, which, if not sinful in them, under *their* dispensation, and in their day, it would be highly culpable in us to imitate.

When human depravity had attained to such an height that all flesh was corrupt, *and violence had filled the*  
*the*

<sup>v</sup> Gen. ix. 21. xii. 11—13.

<sup>x</sup> Rom. v. 13.



*the earth* ||, God called forth Noah, a *Preacher of Righteousness*<sup>y</sup>, a just man and *perfect in his generations*, because he *walked with God*<sup>z</sup>. And although the Deity had said, he would destroy man from the face of the earth; yet in judgment he remembered mercy, and by sparing Noah and his family, and not putting an end to the human race, he established his covenant<sup>a</sup>, promulgated to man first in Paradise, though determined before the world began<sup>b</sup>. The sacred history proceeds to inform us of the wonderful deliverance which Noah experienced, when the waters swept away an unrepenting Race of Tyrants, whose *violence* occasioned that supernatural convulsion of the elements—After this deliverance we are told that Noah planted a vineyard, *and that he drank of the wine and was drunken*<sup>c</sup>, and yet none of the inspired writers ever said the least against his conduct. But will Mr. H. from this *their silence* suppose that drunkenness, and the horrible consequences of it are lawful?

When

¶ As no *violence* can be more notoriously criminal in the sight of a righteous God, than those acts of destructive oppression, generally practised by *Slave Dealers*, and *Slave Holders*, we may fairly presume that *involuntary servitude* was exacted by the powerful from the weak, even before the flood; and consequently that the *Slave Trade* may have been much more ancient than even its most zealous advocate Mr. H. has conceived; but neither the highest antiquity nor any frequency of example, can convince me of the “intrinsic licitness,” of *violence*, *oppression*, and *injustice*; in that instance especially, of exacting *labour without wages*, which the scriptures uniformly condemn under the severest denunciations of woe!

<sup>y</sup> 2 Pet. ii. 5.

<sup>z</sup> Gen. vi. 9.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. vi. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Tit. i. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. ix. 21.

When Abram and Sarai went to Egypt, they agreed to pass for brother and sister<sup>d</sup>, and though they really were such in one sense, yet they were not so in the meaning that Pharaoh understood them. On this their conduct, God's Particular Providence interposed to *undeceive* Pharaoh, and deliver Abram and his wife from the harm to which they had exposed themselves; and except from Pharaoh, not a word of censure is mentioned by the inspired writer. Here again I would ask Mr. H. can we imitate Abram and Sarai's plan in similar cases that may occur? or can we entertain a doubt, either as to "*the intrinsic licitness*" of deceitful equivocation, or of marriage between such near relations as Abram and Sarai were, and which in other parts of Holy Scripture are clearly prohibited?

Abraham had also wives and concubines, which was a vice contrary to the first principles of the Law of Nature, and to the primitive ordinance of God, as our Lord declared that *from the beginning it was not so*. We however find that even Abraham during the latter half of his life, continued in that state, though it involves a crime which would be punished by the laws of England, were any person here to copy such an example, and that because the practice is condemned in the strongest terms, and with the severest threatenings in other parts of the Word of God.<sup>e</sup>

Now although Abraham had wives and concubines, and we read of no reproof given him, nor

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xii. 11. 13.

<sup>e</sup> Exod. xx. 14. Matt. xix. 9. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.—vii. 2, 3, 4.  
Gal. v. 19, 21. Eph. v. 5. Heb. xiii. 4. Rev. xxi. 8.

of any repentance on his part, yet this does not prove the *licitness* of the practice; and in like manner I conclude, that the example of Abraham's having bond-servants without any reproof from God, or any repentance expressed by the patriarch on that account *being recorded in the Scripture*, does by no means prove the lawfulness of buying those of our own species; and much less can it prove the lawfulness of the *Slave Trade*, with which that of Abraham cannot with any propriety be alledged to bear the least comparison.

The candid reader I am sure will pardon this seeming digression, upon a point so very material on the subject before us. The great event of man's redemption by Jesus Christ being overlooked by Mr. H. has led him to mistake the chief design of the short sketches we have of the lives of the Patriarchs; and not considering the *gradual* method by which God has been pleased to make his will known to mankind, seems to me to be what has led him to seek perfect examples in the conduct of characters under the Law of Nature, &c. while even under the Christian Dispensation, no character, however exalted, should be esteemed a perfect example, our Blessed Saviour only excepted.

I shall now proceed to the next proof assumed by Mr. H. in favour of the Slave Trade, deduced from the conduct of Joseph, when he saved the Egyptians from perishing by famine, and upon this transaction, which, in my opinion, has not a single feature analogous to the Slave Trade, Mr. H. has employed about fifteen pages, without producing one just argument.—*Supposing* for the present, what



I am far from *admitting as a fact*, that Joseph did make a contract with the Egyptians which extended to render them all *menial servants* to Pharaoh\*; let us even in this view examine Mr. H.'s pretended impartiality. At his first outset on this business his avowed purpose was to shew “ *The intrinsic lawfulness of the Slave Trade, but not by patronizing such crying enormities and abuses as are said now to be perpetrated* †. However upon this, as on every other occasion offered, not satisfied with stating the purchase of men to be lawful when free from abuses, he insinuates, and wishes to lead his readers to imagine from the cases of Abraham and Joseph, that hardships, and even cruelties, did then exist of the same complexion with those of our *Slave Trade*; a term which includes, from the nature of it, every enormity of oppression and violence.

In his first period, No. XVI. ‡ Mr. H. launches out in praise of those amiable virtues in Joseph's character, which have been in all ages justly considered as examples worthy of imitation. But on turning over the first leaf, the reason of these

\* As I find some who agree with Mr. H. in supposing that Joseph made the Egyptians *Bond-men* to Pharaoh, who at the same time abhor the idea of declaring such a conduct just, I mean while they consider him as the *enslaver* of the Egyptians. Did I also believe this, my reply would be short, thinking it sufficient to object to the precedent. But as I differ still further from Mr. H. and contend that Joseph did *not* enslave the Egyptians, it will require me to dwell longer on this case than otherwise would have been necessary.

† Scrip. Res. Pref. p. vi.

‡ Page 20.

high encomiums is discovered, as resulting from a wish to have it supposed that this exalted character had been engaged very largely indeed *in the Slave Trade*.<sup>b</sup> “ If we examine (says he) the history of “ this eminent Personage as described in the Sacred “ Records, we shall soon find a second very remarkable instance of *the licitness of the Slave Trade*, “ as practised, not only without controul, but under “ the *visible protection of God*, by one of the strictest “ professors of the Religion of Nature, the laws and “ principles of which were the invariable rule of his “ conduct”; and then \* he states the fact to which he alludes in the preceding quotation, as recorded Gen. xlvii. 13—26. and has taken great pains to bring a reproach on this exalted character, by representing him like the *Dealers in Slaves*, whose employment it is “ *to barrafs and destroy men’s lives;*” But I venture to assert that in this very instance of Joseph’s proceedings, when fairly stated, we have a clear proof of the unlawfulness of the Slave Trade, and the Egyptians themselves considered *Him*, as one who came *not* to destroy men’s lives but to save them.

Previous therefore to my statement of this interesting fact, I shall briefly examine Mr. H.’s impartiality, as displayed in the six “ *very pertinent reflections*,” which he has drawn from this portion of scripture.

His first *reflection* states that here “ is a whole “ nation of free independent Africans, one description

<sup>b</sup> Page 22.

\* Page 23.

“ tion of men only excepted, made slaves in one  
“ day.” †

The second supposes Joseph to have purchased seven or eight millions of Africans, and their land, in one day, at the moderate price of one year's maintenance per head ‡.

His third reflection asserts the happiness of the Egyptians, prior to Joseph's purchase §, as being proprietors of “ *Landed Estates*,” for so Mr. H. pretends to understand the expression that the Egyp-

† In all the verses quoted there is not even one of those names which Mr. H. points out in page 51, as the criterion of slavery, viz. “ bond-men, bond-women, bond-maid, “ bond-servant, servant under the yoke.” However, the word servants is sufficient for Mr. H.; perhaps his next publication will contend that the Syrians were slaves to David (2 Sam. viii. 6.) while a third tract may insist that Joshua was *slave* to Moses; and Elisha to Elijah; and in short, prove from thence to as clear a demonstration as in the present essay, that most of the worthy characters mentioned in the Old Testament were engaged in the Slave Trade that “ *ancient commercial pursuit*.”

‡ Supposing that the Egyptians got one year's maintenance as the condition of their bargain, the present African Slaves do not get even one day's maintenance as the condition of their purchase, nor have they any more power in the bargain of assent or refusal, than the dumb beasts of the field. The price is settled by the seller and buyer, who from principles of interest may behave with honesty towards each other, as the house-breaker and receiver of stolen goods.

§ With respect to the happiness of the Egyptians when they came to Joseph, Mr. H. thus expresses himself, page 34.  
“ Is it not evident, from the very words of their own address,  
“ that, finding themselves reduced to the last extremity of  
“ indigence, and seeing nothing before their eyes but inevitable death, or slavery, they were forced through dread of  
“ the former to submit to the latter.”

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tians fold *every man his field* ||; and by way of contrast to their happiness he describes the *present African Slaves*, in a state of absolute indigence and poverty, *when purchased by our African Merchants* \* trading from Europe.

Mr.

|| The reader will the more readily assent to the bible expression of *every man his field*, in preference to Mr. H.'s "*Landed Estate*", when he knows that every soldier in Egypt (of which there were 400,000 kept in continual pay) had a small field, exempt from all taxes. Rollin (Vol. I. Page 51) informs us that "Every soldier was allowed an *Aroura*, that is, a piece of arable land, very nearly answering to half a French acre, exempt from all tax or tribute, and beside this privilege received a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of flesh, and a pint of wine. This allowance was sufficient to support part of their family."

\* Mr. H. in stating this third reflection has very properly mentioned "the indigence and poverty of the present Africans at the period when they are purchased by our Merchants;" to corroborate his assertion, and at the same time to touch the feeling heart, we have this account from Monf. Barbot, a French writer; "The slaves," says he, "who are brought from the inland parts, are of little value, owing to the hard usage they endure during their journey; being weary, beaten, and famished." Some, as we are informed, come from great distances down to the coast, 30 or 40 in a string, tyed with leather thongs by the neck, at about a yard distance from each other, and having generally a bundle of corn, or an elephant's tooth on their head. I cannot refuse the invitation here offered to form a striking contrast, and must beg leave to subjoin the words of two impartial writers, respecting their condition when unmolested by the Europeans, and before the iniquity of fomenting wars, for the sole purpose of procuring slaves, was advanced to the present magnitude.

Monf. Adanson, correspondent of the Royal Academy of sciences at Paris, from 1749 to 1753, gives the following account, both as to the country and people—"Which way  
"foever

Mr. H.'s fourth Reflection applies to the transportation clause, upon which he observes, that notwithstanding every wise regulation which Joseph might make, many of the people must have inevitably perished †, in

“ soever I turned my eyes, I beheld a perfect image of pure  
 “ nature : an agreeable solitude bounded on every side by a  
 “ charming landscape ; the rural situation, of cottages in the  
 “ midst of trees ; the ease and quietness of the Negroes, re-  
 “ clined under the shade of the spreading foilage, with the  
 “ simplicity of their dress and manners ; the whole revived in  
 “ my mind the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to con-  
 “ template the world in its primitive state ; they are, generally  
 “ speaking, very good natured, sociable, and obliging. I  
 “ was not a little pleased with my very first reception ; and  
 “ it fully convinced me that there ought to be a considerable  
 “ abatement made in the account we have of the savage cha-  
 “ racter of the Africans.”

Mr. WM. SMITH who was sent by the Royal African Company of London, to visit their settlements, in 1726, gives us this account, “ The discerning natives account it  
 “ their greatest unhappiness that they were ever visited by the  
 “ Europeans ; that we christians introduced the traffic of  
 “ slaves, and that before our coming they lived in peace ; but,  
 “ say they, it is observable, that wherever christianity comes,  
 “ there comes with it a sword, a gun, powder, and ball.”

† I apprehend the word *many* as referred by Mr. H. to those who must have perished in transporting to cities, &c. is to be understood as tallying in a very extensive sense with the *many* whom the Slave Trade Captains have to consign to the deep, until that day when the oppressors, and their abettors, and the oppressed themselves, are all to meet together ! When the African Merchants and Captains will be convinced of loss by the untimely death of their African brethren, far, nay infinitely greater than any of those present pecuniary considerations which sway their judgment, and stifle, for a few fleeting years, the silent monitor within.—The dawn, which announces to the honest *labourer*, the approach of the gladdening sun, discovers to the hardened *mariner* the employment of separating  
 the



in removing them to cities, from one end of the borders of Egypt, even unto the other end thereof.

In his fifth reflection, Mr. H. seems to have been aware that the surviving bondmen must somehow or other be represented as enduring cruel bondage, lest their condition, from the manner of its being recorded in Scripture, should naturally convey no idea of sufferings at all, and therefore, though there is not the least hint of *servitude in the cities*, with a master, steward, or whipper in, placed over the Egyptians; yet rather than not draw a similitude to the West-India transactions, he considers them (page 26) as so many *slaves*, transported from their native place, and sent by their master, his steward, or overseer †, to work in different plantations.

the shackled dead from the living: which the *former* would shudder to behold, while the *latter* performs his office without remorse or pity. These are common transactions, but some instances occur and come to light, which will make every heart feel that is not callous. St. James's Chronicle, July 4. to 7, 1778, in the Postscript, says, "the St. Lorean, Rosell, " from Africa, with 500 slaves, is put into St. Domingo, " after burying 80 of them, who fell sick all at once, and " died in two nights time."—Reader, if this be not enough, let us come nearer home. We have an instance in a trial at Guildhall, in 1781, where it was proved that 132 Africans in seeming good health, were handcuffed, and *thrown over-board alive!*

‡ Mr. H. has wisely judged in drawing a picture of wretchedness and misery, to glide from the word master to steward, and then to overseer, it is finished in a masterly manner, the distresses need not be heightened—And if *Pharaoh's plantations in the cities* to which the people were transported, did not thrive, we may upon these ideas conclude with the utmost propriety, that the lives of many of them were not extended to a longer period, by the contract they made with Joseph than what would have happened to them by submitting to the famine.

In

In the sixth and last "pertinent reflection," pertinent indeed, as respecting the Slave Dealers, but quite the reverse with regard to Joseph, Mr. H. proceeds on a supposition, that some of his readers may deem his arguments equally infallible with the decrees of the Conclave, and patiently acquiesce with him, step by step, through the series, without presuming to investigate whether they are tenable or not; he may possibly have depended upon their laying aside that "feeble light of mere human reason, and sense, through which the present humane advocates for African liberty may view it." But as one of those who do not wish to give up that degree of reason, which the Almighty hath been pleased to bestow, I am more inclined to state the fact. *First*, without referring to any period of time, or to any other people than Pharaoh, Joseph, and the Egyptians; and from this simple statement alone I trust it will strike with conviction every unprejudiced mind, that Joseph never had the least concern in enslaving his fellow-creatures, or in the practice of any thing similar to the Slave Trade, throughout the whole transaction before us.

The account which we have in scripture of Joseph's instrumentality in the preservation of so many millions of people from death is plainly this:

Pharaoh, by the Providence of God, had been visited with dreams, which troubled him, and when none of the Egyptians could solve them, Joseph was brought before him; who, being favoured of God with a comprehension of their meaning, informed Pharaoh that God intended to bring seven years of plenty upon the land, which should immediately be

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succeeded

succeeded by seven years of famine, Gen. xli. 25—32. Joseph having interpreted the dreams proceeds in ver. 33—36, to apprise Pharaoh of the steps proper to be taken; he accordingly counsels him to appoint a person, with officers under him, over the whole realm, who should take up a fifth part of the produce of the land of Egypt during the seven years of plenty; Joseph says nothing of *buying* the fifth part, but of *taking it up*; from whence it seems highly probable, that Pharaoh had a *right* to the fifth part §, though perhaps not fixed by any positive law or declaration. The 35th verse advises what is to be done with the food when gathered; it was to be kept in “ *the cities*, to be [for store to the land, against the seven years famine.”

When Pharaoh, and his servants, had agreed that no man could be found so discreet and proper for this office as Joseph, he was accordingly appointed; we are then informed, ver. 46, 47, 48, That Joseph went throughout all the Land of Egypt, “ and “ *gathered up all the food of the seven years, which “ were in Egypt, and laid up the food in the cities.”* And then, as if to preclude any idea of the food being in some few particular cities, it is added, “ The food of the field which was round *every city*, he laid up in *the same.*” From which we may understand, that the cities had food laid up in them in the years of plenty, “ from one end of the borders of Egypt, “ even

§ By a kind of compensatory valuation or *modus* as the ecclesiastical writers term it, *i. e.* a payment in lieu of the fifth part of the specific produce; whereas now the king would take it in *kind*; to make a sure reserve of food against the period when the days of dearth should come.



“ even to the other end thereof.” In ver. 54—56, we are told of the beginning of the seven years famine, and of the consequent distresses of the Egyptians; and then, from this passage in the 41st chapter to the 13th verse of the 47th, a long digression from the account of the Egyptians is introduced, to describe the steps by which the Israelites were brought into Egypt. This being related, the subject of the distress of Pharaoh’s people is resumed, and chap. 47, ver. 13 to 17, we are informed that in the first years of their calamities, the Egyptians parted with their money and stock of cattle for food, and (ver. 18) that they had *nothing left but their bodies, and their land*: But when in this great distress they come to Joseph, and plead for a further supply, saying in the words of the 19th verse, “ Buy us and our land for bread,” it is evident they do not offer themselves for *bond-men*. Their words are not the words of persons selling themselves to be transported at Pharaoh’s will and pleasure, for they blend their future service, *jointly* with the usefulness of their *own land*, no less than three distinct times in the same 19th verse; I would therefore humbly submit the following as a just paraphrase of the 18th and 19th verses, as containing the natural sentiments of subjects in distress, supplicating their sovereign’s deputy or prime minister:—“ We will not hide from my lord the greatness of our distress, for we are so reduced that we can bring nothing to offer in exchange for food; our money, and our herds, being in the possession of my lord, and nothing left but our bodies and our land; and if my lord hath not compassion upon us we must die, *and the land will become desolate.*

Yet, wherefore should we die before thine eyes, and not we only but also *our land*? Buy us and *our land* for bread; and *we* and *our land*, in place of being dead and useless, will be servants to Pharaoh: We shall be bound in gratitude, and loyalty, for the preservation; and both *we*, as dutiful subjects, and also *our land* (which would be Pharaoh's useless property by our death) will be *serviceable* to Pharaoh; give us feed, that we may live and not die; and that thus the land be not desolate."

Lest a paraphrase like this, should appear to any of my readers as resulting from an idea adopted without any foundation in scripture, and the rather because Mr. H. is pleased to assert that the word *servants* here used means *slaves*; I shall beg to refer to one other portion of sacred writ, where the *subjects* of a sovereign are expressly called servants; and, what is still more; the place referred to speaks of a *heavy and grievous yoke*; and yet I am persuaded none who read it will suppose the persons in question to be *slaves*, or *menial servants*; the passage I mean is 1 Kings xii. 1—7. We are there informed of the disaffection and complaint of Rehoboam's subjects, on account of his injurious conduct towards them; and upon Rehoboam's asking advice of the *old men* who had stood before his father Solomon, they replied in these remarkable words: "If *thou* wilt be " a *servant* unto this people this day, and will serve " them, and answer them, and speak good words to " them; then *they* will be THY SERVANTS FOR EVER." These words are surely much stronger than those in Genesis, and yet no impartial person can ever suppose them to have the least reference to personal slavery?

But

But the sequel of the inspired writer's account, as given Gen. xlvii. is sufficiently expressive to convince us, that the Egyptians did *not* in effect become *slaves* to Pharaoh; the 20th verse of that chapter, which informs us what became of Pharaoh's property in consequence of the contract, says nothing of the *bodies* of the Egyptians; but affirms, by three expressions in the same short sentence, that it was *the land* which *Joseph bought*; that it was *the land or fields* which *the Egyptians sold*; and consequently, that it was the *land* which became *vested in their Sovereign*. The words are, "and Joseph *bought all* " *the land* of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians " *sold every man his field*, because the famine prevailed over them: so the *land* became Pharaoh's."

Joseph's wisdom in going himself throughout all the land of Egypt, and laying up in *every city*, the food of the field, which was round the same, is clearly discoverable by his conduct, as recorded in ver. 21. where we are told of the mode in which he disposed of the people to receive the food provided for them: "as for the people he removed them to " cities from one end of the borders of Egypt even to " the other end thereof." I must believe that Joseph really needed no negro-drivers, to remove the people to the respective places in which their food was deposited || nor do I apprehend there would be any

|| Mr. H. has represented this passage, as if the Egyptians, like so many captives or convicts, were *transported*, to work in plantations. Surely they had no plantations *in their cities* to employ the labour of so many millions of people; and as for the land, it was not in a state of cultivation, for God himself had determined, for wise purposes, to deny it the genial influences of Heaven.

more

more trouble in this business, than in the billeting of an army when a camp is broke up ; for as a year or two of the famine were yet to come, the order for their removal would be a joyful intimation, as indeed we learn from their own words, ver. 25. and they seem to have continued in the same sentiments after having experienced so timely a support ; therefore it evidently appears, from ver. 18 to 22, that it was the *land* alone, which became Pharaoh's, and that the portion of *the Priests* only was excepted.

In ver. 23. the inspired historian speaks of the last year of the famine, when seed was distributed both for present maintenance, and for sowing the ground to supply a future crop \*.

The transaction of this last year of the famine between Joseph and the Egyptians seems to have been simply this: Joseph calls to their recollection the strong expressions used by them in the time of their distress, and suggests, how he had engaged their fidelity towards their sovereign, by the preservation they had experienced, in order that he might with propriety say he had *bought them* for Pharaoh ; but instead of pursuing the irksome idea, and adding that their *bodies* were an article of *commerce*, that they were the *slaves* of Pharaoh, and that *overseers* were to be placed over them, to whom he should

\* It cannot be supposed that Joseph, at the moment he said " Lo, here is seed for you," &c. distributed it himself to the millions of people who wanted it ; Mr. H. well knows, that the words in the original, " *Lo! seed for you*" were a proper expression, when pointing to the seed ; the officers under Joseph had to distribute to the people, from one end of the borders of Egypt to the other end thereof.

give

give suitable directions respecting the disposal of their persons, the allotment of their labour, &c. Joseph treats them like a *free people*, as they before were, and still continued to be; and when appealing to themselves respecting his past conduct towards them, and urging them to continue in their loyalty to Pharaoh, he particularly states the return they were to make (which was neither more nor less than the punctual payment of a fifth part of the increase, as a tribute for their deliverance.) † They answer him in the unreserved language of *gratitude* with respect to Joseph; and of *power* and *freedom* with respect to their own actions; and upon condition of the continuance of his favours they as *free agents* promise faithfulness to Pharaoh, saying (ver. 25)  
 “ Thou hast saved our lives; let us find grace in  
 “ the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh’s  
 “ servants.

† Joseph knew from his own experience that there were persons, who lost to every sentiment of humanity and religion, would enslave their fellow-creatures; and probably thinking that some tyrant might make this deliverance a plea to enslave his subjects, he ordained it as a fixed and established law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the *fifth part of the annual increase*, which was not more than our land-tax of four shillings in the pound. This precluded every pretence for any other return; and instead of the people being made bond-men to Pharaoh, and the succeeding princes of Egypt, I conclude with the psalmist, that by this very act, Joseph bound the *princes* at his pleasure, and taught their senators wisdom, vide Ps. cv. 22. And for above 500 years after the enacting of this law, we do not find any King of Egypt treating his subjects like slaves. The first who did so I believe was *Cheops*, succeeded also by his brother *Cephrenus*, both of whom were remarkable for their barbarous inhumanity to their subjects.

Having



Having examined the conduct of Joseph, with regard to the particular transaction adduced by Mr. H. in which we have an evident proof *against* the lawfulness of the *Slave Trade*; I shall conclude this head, with reminding my reader of the position I stated when treating on the case of Abraham. In the history of Joseph, and the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt, which God has been pleased to hand down to us, we discover his wonderful Providence towards his peculiar people of old; “*To whom pertained the adoption and the glory.*” In those days, and after that period “*the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises.*” (Rom. ix. 4.) All of which served as a schoolmaster pointing to Christ. Now, supposing we had it on record that Joseph had slaves under him, because it had been proper, for the purposes of God towards the Jewish Nation, or that for the punishment of the Egyptians, they had been *all enslaved*, this could have been no precedent for *us* to enslave our African brethren; but this was *not* the case: the steps by which God was pleased to make Egypt an asylum, or to use the words of a celebrated historian, “*a cradle for his people,*” were not by setting a tyrant over them in the person of Joseph; but by raising him to dignity and power, and making him an instrument in his sovereign hand to save the nation from perishing by famine; the reception of Jacob, and his family, in Egypt, and the placidity of the Egyptians towards the latter, for about sixty-one years after Joseph’s death, prove this conclusion to be just, and at the same time  
shew

<sup>m</sup> Rollin.



shew the grateful remembrance which they retained of Joseph's services; we read of no jealousies of the Egyptians, nor any cruelty of their Prince against the sojourning strangers, *until another king arose, who knew not Joseph*: Then, indeed, Egypt became a *house of bondage*, until in due time the promises of God respecting their return to the land of Canaan were fulfilled, by an interposition of wonderful events, and by some of the most astonishing miracles that God ever wrought in favour of Israel, and of *Liberty*.

We come now to Mr. H.'s second section, wherein the author is to demonstrate that the Slave Trade is also conformable to the principles of the Mosaic Law. To effect which, he begins by stating "That  
 " the Mosaic Law, called also the Written Law, and  
 " the Mosaic Dispensation, succeeded the Law of  
 " Nature: not, as if, by the publication of the former,  
 " the latter had been totally abrogated, or suffered  
 " the least relaxation in any of its laws, which are  
 " of perpetual obligation; but because the Al-  
 " mighty willing to establish a Covenant with his  
 " chosen people, the Children of Israel, added to  
 " the former obligations, such other statutes, laws,  
 " and ceremonies, as were to *distinguish them from*  
 " *every other nation in the world.*" Here he inadvertently declares a truth, which proves to a demonstration that *Englishmen* can have no plea whatever for purchasing their brethren: if the Mosaic Law was to distinguish the *Israelites* from *every other Nation in the World*, the directions given them how to act under *particular Circumstances* cannot certainly be proposed as a model for our imitation;

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thus

thus the advocate for slavery so stumbles at the threshold, that it is almost unnecessary to notice any further his argument on this head. Left, however, his Liverpool patrons † should conceive him unanswerable, I shall offer a few remarks on the texts he refers to in this section; leaving the reader to determine whether, instead of *establishing* his assertion beyond the *power* of *reply*, he has not argued with a temerity beyond the *wish* of *imitation*.

In page 38, he tells us from what part of the Mosaic Law he meant to deduce his arguments: “ I judge it necessary to apprise the reader, that “ the arguments I mean to enforce in vindication of “ the *Slave Trade*, as confined to this second period “ of true religion, shall be entirely grounded on “ such written laws and principles of internal moral “ rectitude, as constituted the true morality of that “ religion.” But when Mr. H. points to those “ written laws and principles of internal moral rec- “ titude which constituted the true morality of the “ Mosaic dispensation” the friends of slavery having as great an aversion to the sixth and eighth commandments as the Conclave have to the second, he wisely passes *them* over unnoticed, and introduces,

† In mentioning Mr. H.’s Liverpool patrons, it cannot be supposed that I include those, who superior to every consideration of interest, support the cause of Liberty, Justice, and Mercy, even in the mart of Slavery, Injustice, and Cruelty (vide Rev. ii. 13) such persons will experience in their own breasts that satisfaction which praise cannot enhance nor envy lessen.

as a *Law*, § the *Judgments* given for the conduct of the Israelites in certain *conditional* cases; and “ *It is singular enough*” that Mr. H. having quoted Exod. xxi. 1, 4, should say nothing respecting the 16th verse of this chapter, which declares that “ *he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or IF HE BE FOUND IN HIS HAND, shall surely be put to death,*” but merely confines himself to the four first verses; whereas those who will examine the portion of scripture in question, and take the trouble to turn to the 2d and 10th verses of this chapter, and ver. 5 of chap. xxii. will perceive that those judgments were not given by God to the Israelites for the purpose of establishing the lawfulness of purchasing any brother, or one of their own persuasion—of taking a second wife—and of putting a beast in another person’s field, but only *if* such instances happened, then those declarations were the judgments of God respecting what steps were to be followed. At the close of his arguments on Exod. xxi. 1—4, a

§ There may be no impropriety in using the word *Law* as synonymous to Judgment when applied to the obedience required from the Israelites, *if* cases occurred for the regulations laid down in the judgments above alluded to. But I imagine Mr. H. has inserted the word *Law* to insinuate that these judgments were a kind of general rule of moral actions prescribed for *our* observance; as such, I must object to them on the authority of scripture, except where they enforce the duties required by the decalogue; for when Moses repeats the commandments of God to the people, as recorded in the 5th chap. of Deut. ver. 22, he expressly says, “ These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the Mount, out of the midst of the fire of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice; and He added no more.”

particular stress is laid on the hardships of the Hebrew servant, because, when his six years service were ended, his wife and children were not entitled to freedom as well as himself; as Mr. H. does not propose this for “*the particular attention of every religious and humane advocate for African Liberty,*” from motives of either religion or humanity, I shall only make this short remark, namely, that I do not think an Hebrew bond-woman, who had served but two or three years, had a claim to be released merely because her husband’s time was expired. Yet Mr. H.’s comment upon this judgement declares it a separation between husband and wife, &c. “*for ever.*” To prove this, it would have been necessary to shew that Hebrew bond-women were not to enjoy freedom at the expiration of six years service, but as this would have been too palpable a perversion, when in the very words quoted, we are taught that if a man and his wife came together, their period of service also ended, and they went out together; Mr. H. therefore seems to have used the words “*for ever*” as less exposed to detection: I must, however, observe that a real separation between the nearest and dearest connections in life, with which the Slave Trade is constantly attended, are not overlooked by the friends of the abolition of that inhuman traffick.

I shall now with deference state it as my opinion on this passage, that the purchase here mentioned is that of an Hebrew, from those heathens into whose hands he might have fallen; for in *Judges*, and in most of the other books of the Old Testament, we find that when the Israelites forsook the living God,  
and

and bowed down to idols, the work of men's hands, God is also said to forsake them, and sell them into the hands of their enemies; namely, by suffering them to be overcome and led captive; and although God never utterly forsook his people, yet for their idolatry, and other vices, he very frequently punished them in that manner; and under such circumstances what can be more equitable than the above humane directions? The purchaser is encouraged to redeem a brother upon the consideration of six years servitude,|| and the captive who would otherwise in all probability have continued in perpetual bondage, is thus restored to his kindred and the commonwealth of Israel, on the above terms. From the judgements now in question we see the avaricious purchaser, by the restrictions of a stated time, is deterred from keeping his brother in long bondage; and lest the captives thus redeemed should fall into the hands of inhuman masters, the cruel are further restrained by the stipulation of the immediate freedom of their servants, on acts of inhumanity, ver. 26, 27; and the presumptuous and murderous are restrained from guilt by the denunciation of death; thus, so far from establishing Slavery and Oppression, this passage of scripture militates against both, in the clearest manner; and yet, as if blinded by his prejudices in favour of slavery, Mr. H. even seems to triumph (page 39) in supposing that the Almighty had acknowledged the *Lawfulness of Slavery* in the above passage; nay, he catches, as it were, at the smallest twig of hope in an expiring cause; for,  
the

|| Seven years is not thought unreasonable in this kingdom for the attainment of a Profession—Why then should six years for the acquirement of Liberty?



that God should permit it “*a single moment,*” is to him perfectly satisfactory.

When Satan presumed to tempt our Blessed Saviour, we are told that *he* even quoted Scripture; nor does his mode seem forgot by those who wish to deceive, for in the account given us by Matthew, the tempter, instead of repeating the whole passage from the 91st psalm, left out a material part of the quotation; in like manner when it is undertaken, on the pretended authority or sanction of Scripture, to defend any custom or practice so diametrically opposite to the Laws of God, as the African Slave Trade [certainly is, we may be sure that some scriptures are wrested, and others disingenuously concealed. I am justified in this remark, not only from Mr. H.’s passing over unnoticed, Exod. xxi. 16. xxiii. 9. Lev. xxiv. 17, 21, 22. but also from the appearance of candour which he assumes when introducing the next portion of Scripture, Lev. xxv. 44, 46. I said *appearance*, for I presume he must be conscious that the verses last selected evidently relate to a practice *permitted* to the Israelites only, and for a certain term, and are no more applicable to the Slave Trade than other texts of Scripture ° would justify Great-Britain in exterminating the inhabitants of any country she could overcome; but the Israelites were *expressly* and *repeatedly* told *why* these judgements were to be executed on the Canaanites<sup>p</sup>, not for the establishing this permission as a new moral precept, in addition to the written Law, which was enacted for the general government of mankind, but for the punishment of  
the

° See particularly Num. xxxiii. 50—55. Deut. vii. 1, 2, 16. Deut. xx. 16, 17. Joshua vi. 21.—viii. 1, 2.

<sup>p</sup> See Lev. xviii. 25—xx. 23. Deut. ix. 5.



the *idolatrous* inhabitants of Palestine, as foretold by Noah, in that prophetic sentence respecting the descendants of Canaan, “ *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall be unto his brethren.*”<sup>9</sup> The permission therefore granted the Israelites, or commands to execute particular judgements on a people whose crimes were abominable in the sight of God, were lawful to the Israelites as far as God then permitted or commanded them, but without such permission or commands, would have been a breach of the Moral Law; and it is undeniable that whatever is contrary to the moral written Law, and militates against the general doctrines of Scripture, cannot be intrinsically lawful. And I desire no other authority in support of this idea, than that of our Lord and Master, who, on another subject, the question of a man putting away his wife, when the Jews asked him “ *Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement and to put her away?*” He answered them, “ *Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so.*”<sup>1</sup> Can any thing be clearer than this decision, which proves to a demonstration (as I observed before) that under the Mosaic œconomy, God for particular reasons, then existing, permitted some acts which it would be highly criminal in us to imitate, and the enslaving of our brethren is undoubtedly one of them, notwithstanding Mr. H.’s very positive assertion to the contrary.—I shall now appeal to the reader to consult his own breast on the perusal of Mr. H.’s inference

<sup>9</sup> Gen. ix. 25.<sup>1</sup> Mat. xix. 7.

rence, page 43, where he boldly declares, that if the Slave Trade is not a just and honest pursuit, the Almighty must have forgot himself.—For my own part, I consider this inference of Mr. H.'s (to use his own words) as “ *one of the most daring blasphemies that the human heart can conceive.*”

I now proceed to consider the next case, which is that of Joshua, and the Gibeonites; Here Mr. H. has selected all the 9th chapter of Joshua, except the 1st and 2d verses, perhaps he thought the omission of these, with his observation at the bottom of page 48, might lead some to suppose that the only reason which induced the five Kings of the Amorites to join their forces together, was to invade the new acquisition of the children of Israel, namely, the vast number of Gibeonites who (Mr. H. says) were made slaves by Joshua \*. In his elucidation of this chapter he

\* Mr. H. has represented the battle between the five Kings of the Amorites and Joshua, a contest for the *persons* of the Gibeonites, and that the Almighty gave Joshua the victory in approbation of his conduct in enslaving them (though without any command from God,) and to secure to the Israelites this “ *property of slaves.*”—His words, page 49, are “ *The exertions of his divine power for securing to his people this new acquired property of slaves were so wonderfully great, that he even fought IN PERSON against the invaders.*” I have already quoted scripture which expressly acquaints us of another reason *why* God gave this, and other repeated victories, to his people over the Canaanites; his interposition was evident in this conquest. But though I firmly believe the wonderful miracle in the destruction of the Amorites, for their sins, recorded by the inspired writer in these words, “ *the Lord cast down great stones from Heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with hailstones, than they whom the children of Israel slew with the*

he tells us that the “ Gibeonites made a league and  
 “ treaty of peace with Joshua; and by virtue of  
 “ this national treaty, they became in every sense  
 “ of the word *free allies*, and friends to the children  
 “ of Israel. Notwithstanding which, when their  
 “ stratagem was discovered, they were all consigned  
 “ by Joshua to perpetual slavery; though they had  
 “ every claim, by virtue of the recent treaty they  
 “ had so solemnly concluded with him and his peo-  
 “ ple to all the privileges and franchises of *free*  
 “ allies.”

Here again we have arguments of the same  
 complexion, and equal to any of his former; for  
 on a candid perusal of this and the following chap-  
 ters, we shall find that the Gibeonites well knew the  
 denunciations which hung over their heads, and  
 therefore, when they come to Joshua they say “ *we*  
 “ *are thy servants*,” (ver. 8) and again (ver. 9)  
 “ from a very far country *thy servants* are come,  
 “ because of the name of the Lord thy God; for  
 “ we have heard of the fame of him, and all that he  
 “ did in Egypt;” and again (v. 11) “ wherefore  
 “ our elders, and all the inhabitants of our country,  
 “ spake to us, saying, take victuals with you for  
 “ the journey and go to meet them, and *say unto*

“ the sword.” Yet to me Mr. H.’s expression, noted by  
 italics, “ *in Person*” conveys too local an idea of the omni-  
 present God for a Protestant to admit of—But it may suit  
 those who dare to have pictures and similitudes invented and  
 made of the *Ancient of Days*, the invisible Jehovah.

G

“ *them*

“ *them, we are your servants* †, therefore now make  
 “ a league with us ” In consequence of their re-  
 quest we find (ver. 15) “ that Joshua made peace  
 “ with them, and made a league with them *to let*  
 “ *them live* : and the princes of the congregation  
 “ sware unto them ; ” and had they come from a  
 far country as they pretended, he was authorised of  
 God (Deut. xx. 10, 11) to enter into a league ad-  
 mitting them as tributaries. But when Joshua was  
 undeceived, and found out who they were, I *deny*  
 that he broke the treaty ; they were amply secured in  
 what they stipulated for, and appeared to be per-  
 fectly satisfied and grateful, when Joshua declared  
 that the servile office of hewing wood and drawing  
 water for the altar and the congregation, should be  
 their appointed lot ; and it was happy for the Gi-  
 beonites that Joshua, and the princes of Israel, re-  
 garded the sacredness of an oath, having no such  
 principles as those in latter times, who maintain that  
 Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks ‡ ; for if they  
 had

† Here I shall just remind the reader of Mr. H.’s ver-  
 fality of argument, when the Egyptians in their distresses  
 sue for support to preserve life, and offer themselves for  
 Pharaoh’s servants, Mr. H. without hesitation, instantly  
 converts them into so many millions of slaves. But when  
 the Gibeonites, conscious of their impending destruction, sue  
 to Joshua to “ *let them live,* ” acknowledging themselves *his*  
*servants*, Mr. H. as instantaneously makes them free allies and  
 friends to the Israelites.

‡ A famous and highly esteemed infallible decretal of Pope  
 Gregory IX. declares “ Be it known to all who are under  
 “ the jurisdiction of those who have openly fallen into heresy,  
 “ that they are free from the debt (or obligation) of *fidelity,*  
 “ *dominion, and every kind of obedience* to them, by whatever  
 “ means or bond they are tied to them, and how securely  
 “ soever they may be bound. ” —Greg. IX. decret. lib. 5.  
 tit. 7. cap. 16.

had I have no doubt but that the command of God for their destruction would have been executed, either by an immediate death, or by making such slaves of them as European avarice makes of our unfortunate African brethren, but to which the bondage of the Gibeonites does not appear to have the least affinity; for, from the tenth chapter of the book of Joshua, we may discover, that the Gibeonites were not all consigned to a perpetual slavery like that which our African Brethren experience, who are treated as on a level with the brute creation, and in which point of view Mr. H. wishes the Gibeonites to be held, but whose subjection was less degrading; they experienced the protection of tributaries notwithstanding their servile lot, for when the five kings of the Amorites encamped before Gibeon, they sent unto Joshua to Gilgal, saying, "Slack not thy hands from thy servants, *come up to us* quickly, &c. for all the kings of the Amorites are gathered together against us." Joshua came to their succour, and they experienced safety under his protection; and what is very remarkable the Gibeonites existed as a people upwards of 400 years after this, for in 2 Sam. xxi. we read that there was three years famine in the land; and when David enquired of the Lord the cause of this affliction, he was answered, it was for *Saul and for his bloody house*, because he slew the Gibeonites. Therefore the king called the Gibeonites and asked what he should do for them to make an atonement, they answered, let seven men of Saul's sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul; which request David complied with, and they suffered accordingly.



I shall now leave the reader to determine whether the condition of the Gibeonites has the least relation to, or can sanction the African Slave Trade; for my part I think the evidence produced is clear against it; for if the blood of the Gibeonites cried unto the Lord, so that *seven* sons of the murderous king must be executed to make an atonement, and this notwithstanding the declaration made by Moses respecting their destruction, before the entrance of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, what shall we think of the blood of thousands and ten thousands of our African brethren, who have been destroyed in the most cruel manner? but more particularly, what shall we think of a man who pretends to be a disciple of the Prince of Peace, and yet will boldly stand forth as a champion to support such enormous cruelties? Drawing inferences which he himself calls blasphemous, and yet necessary, if the Slave Trade has not the divine approbation of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, who he declares “displayed to the world the most extraordinary exertions of his Omnipotence, and disturbed the very course of nature in favour of the inherent moral licitness of the Slave Trade.” This impious doctrine does Mr. H. endeavour to impose on his readers at the conclusion of his case of Joshua’s transaction with the Gibeonites.\*

In pages 50 and 51, Mr. H. has introduced the idea of the emancipation of those now in slavery, which is a distinct consideration from the abolition of the African Slave Trade, though *that subject* is not at present under public investigation, yet I will  
just

\* Scrip. Res. page 49, 50.



just refer to a text or two during the period of the Mosaic dispensation on the emancipation of slaves; The words are those of God by his prophet, reproving his peculiar and chosen people, and rejecting their most solemn service of fasting and humiliation, while they continued in the wicked practice of keeping their brethren in bondage. He says, “ Is not  
 “ this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands  
 “ of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to  
 “ let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every  
 “ yoke?” Isa. lviii. 6.

When the same prophet acquaints the Jews of the cause of their calamities, he says, “ The Lord’s  
 “ hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither  
 “ his ear heavy, that it cannot hear. But your ini-  
 “ quities have separated between you and your God,  
 “ and your sins have hid his face from you, that he  
 “ will not hear. For your hands are defiled with  
 “ blood.” Isa. lix. 1—3.

While I agree with Mr. H. that six years servitude is not the scripture terms of emancipation, I contend that these texts prove slavery § to be absolutely unlawful in the sight of God for any period of time.

There only remains in Mr. H.’s second section for our observation, an assertion in page 51, intended, as I suppose, for the comfort of dealers in Slaves, where he says, that the dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael  
 was

§ When I contend against the lawfulness of slavery, I mean involuntary unmerited slavery. A man who has forfeited his liberty by his crimes, carries our ideas to a different subject from the African Slave Trade.

was "*very bad*," in the eyes of Abraham \*; from which they may imagine that Abraham was not *grieved* as scripture expresses it from natural affection, and was as void of the feelings of humanity as they are. A soothing salve to the consciences of those who may have any scruples in receiving Mr. H.'s *Indulgentia Plenaria*, for the oppression, robbery, and murder of their African brethren, when the Demon avarice impels them to the abominable practice.

We come now to the third section of the Scriptural Researches, concerning the Licitness of Slavery, by the Christian Dispensation.

And can the Christian dispensation, that glorious system of *universal benevolence*, furnish proofs of the intrinsic licitness of violence, oppression, and murder †?

Surely

\* Abraham was grieved, but it was through affection, as may be seen from his own prayers to God, and the answer given him. Gen. xvii. 18—20. xxi. 11—13.

† When Mr. H. appeals to the New Testament to sanction the intrinsic morality of his principles, he exhibits for the world a specimen of those qualifications necessary to the teachers of doctrines, which the ambition or cruelty of the church of Rome may dictate. The black deeds in Mary's reign may shine with a peculiar lustre by the assistance of his pen, as intrinsically lawful, "*when attended with circumstances not altogether conformable to the feelings of humanity.*" None of his pious predecessors could be better qualified, to prove to those who *now* bear the character of strict loyalty to our government, that they are bound by stronger ties to another potentate, whose spiritual jurisdiction over them, is now acknowledged by British Laws. He could prove *that* allegiance licit, from the law of nature, the Mosaic dispensation, and the Christian religion, and from authorities surpassing all these, even from infallible decretals which could not possibly be erroneous. See a specimen, page 42, the note.

Surely not! for when tidings of great joy were announced to the shepherds at the birth of the Prince of Peace, the heavenly hymn of the angelic host, at the conclusion of their wonderful message, was, “ *Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth* “ *peace, GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN.*” Our gracious Lord confirmed the welcome truth, and in every part of his conduct manifested his philanthropy, teaching us that he came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps. The beloved disciple St. John having received the Spirit of Christ, and imbibed the benevolent principle of brotherly love, declares that those who *want that principle*, belong to the grand enemy of mankind. His words are (1 John iii. 10, 11) “ In this the children of God “ are manifest, and the children of the *Devil*; who- “ soever doeth not righteousness is *not of God*, neither “ he that *loveth not his Brother*; for this is the mes- “ sage that ye heard from the beginning, that we “ should *love one another.*” But such texts as these, (with which the New Testament abounds,) do not suit Mr. H. and he endeavours artfully to divert us from them.

Having in No. II. of his second section, declared that the arguments he meant to enforce, should be grounded on such written laws and principles of internal moral rectitude as constituted the true morality of the Mosaic dispensation, in No. II. of this third section, page 53, he says, “ The principles “ and moral duties of perpetual obligation respect- “ ing *right and wrong, justice and injustice*, registered “ in

“ in this Sacred Volume (*i. e.* the New Testament)  
 “ being evidently dictated by the HOLY SPIRIT of  
 “ God, and God himself cannot consistently with  
 “ the essential infallibility of his eternal wisdom bear  
 “ the least opposition to the principles and moral  
 “ duties of perpetual obligation, &c. registered in  
 “ the Old Testament.”

I must here beg leave to remind the reader of the five cases from which Mr. H. proves the licitness of the Slave Trade, by stating the circumstances under which *he* has represented them; to me they appear replete with *inhumanity, uncharitableness, avarice, cruelty, and perjury.*

INHUMANITY, where Hagar, Abram's wife, when with child, was treated “ *with circumstances not altogether conformable to the feelings of humanity,*” even with so much severity, that the Almighty was pleased to declare that he had heard her affliction.<sup>†</sup>

UNCHARITABLENESS, “ that Joseph should take advantage of the extreme indigence of his fellow-creatures, when able to relieve them, in order to reduce them to the condition of slaves.”<sup>‡</sup>

AVARICE, That the Hebrews might deal in the human flesh of their brethren, and reduce them to the condition of slaves *in the strictest sense of the word,* for the term of six years.<sup>§</sup>

CRUELTY, That the Hebrews, with respect to the strangers that sojourned among them, were under “ injunctions from God to prosecute the traffic of  
 “ dealing

<sup>†</sup> Scrip. Res. p. 20.

<sup>‡</sup> Page 28.

<sup>§</sup> Page 39.

“ dealing in human flesh, without any restrictions  
 “ whatever †. ”

PERJURY, When Joshua concludes a treaty of peace and friendship with the Gibeonites, by which they become friends and allies in every sense of the word (according to Mr. H.’s interpretation) notwithstanding which Joshua breaks the treaty confirmed by an oath, and consigns the Gibeonites, with their innocent posterity, to perpetual slavery.\*

These five cases, offered in proof of the intrinsic licitness of the Slave Trade, claiming the confirmation of the Christian doctrine, must have astonished many, who on the perusal of Mr. H.’s tract would be apt to ask, What could induce a Rev. Divine, who pretends to know the scripture, and would wish to be esteemed a Teacher of the Christian Religion, to prostitute his pen and talents in the wretched defence of Slavery?—His professions of impartiality in many places assume an appearance, as if the *Scriptural Researches* were undertaken for the discovery of truth; but his own words, in the adver-

† How unjust against the planters of Barbadoes must the following clause of the 329th act of the laws of that Island appear to Mr. H. “ If any man shall of wantonness, or “ only of bloody mindedness, or cruel intention, willfully “ kill a negro of his own, he shall pay into the public “ treasury fifteen pounds sterling.” What a pity Mr. H. was not present at the enacting of this unjust restriction, preventing people following their natural propensity. He could have proved, “ *beyond the power of reply.*” that one of the Mosaic Laws for perpetual obligation was, to have no restrictions at all in this “ *ancient commercial pursuit.*”

† Scrip. Res. p. 42.

\* Page 48.



tisement, at the end of his tract, lead us to suppose that another motive urged him to the business, for he says, that “ he *engaged* to vindicate the licitness “ of the Slave Trade, from the sacred writings of “ the Word of God.” To accomplish this engagement, it was necessary for him to falsify the records of truth, and traduce their Divine Author: The *former* he has repeatedly done, and particularly, when he declares the New Testament sanctions the Slave Trade, attended with the five cases just related, and which I stated in all the deformity Mr. H. had drawn them to my hand, to evince their perfect contrast to that sacred volume to which we appeal. The *latter*, wherever there has been an opportunity, and in no part more evidently, than in his third section, where he insinuates, that the texts he has selected, as *positive laws*, proving the licitness of the Slave Trade, are alluded to, and confirmed to be of perpetual obligation by these words of Jesus Christ to his disciples: “ Think not that I am come to destroy the “ *Law* or the prophets: I am not come to destroy “ but to fulfil.”<sup>a</sup> The same defamation of our Saviour’s words, continued in page 60, must wound the feelings of every true Christian.

At page 57 Mr. H. says, “ That there is nothing “ in the writings of the New Testament that can be “ produced in justification of the *Slave Trade*, has “ been confidently asserted by many.” This assertion I still maintain, and, I hope with conviction of its truth, to the sincere christian. It acquires an additional weight from the anxiety Mr. H. has discovered

<sup>a</sup> Scrip. Res. P. 55, 56.



covered to find some apparent sanction therein for the practice of the Slave Trade, but failing in his wishes, he has had recourse to interpretations of Scripture, which I am persuaded no unprejudiced reader of the Word of God would ever have adopted.

I should have proceeded immediately to the two cases selected from the New Testament, without thinking it necessary to combat what Mr. H. advances from its *real silence* (as he calls it) respecting the licitness of the Slave Trade; but my duty to the gracious Saviour of Mankind will not allow me to pass over the wicked falsehood Mr. H. has advanced, page 59, where speaking of *Christ*, he asserts, that “ He never once condemned, reprov’d, or even “ hinted the least disapprobation of the practice of “ Slavery, so generally adopted in his time: no, “ not even in his Divine Sermon on the Mount.” But let it be remembered, that in that *Divine Sermon* is the golden maxim, which, in the most direct terms, condemns the practice of slavery: “ There- “ fore all things, whatsoever ye would that men “ should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this “ is the Law and the Prophets.” However, as we shall have to consider these words again, I shall rest satisfied with having disprov’d Mr. H.’s words, last quoted, by the bare insertion of this text here. Some readers, perhaps, whose minds are callous, may not discover even *one hint* against their favourite pursuit in the whole of the sermon on the Mount, because *that pursuit* has banished from their breasts those principles which are necessary for the reception of the gospel; but the religious reader will discover many: the words of Christ (Matt. v. 7) “ Blessed are the

“merciful for they shall obtain mercy,” is a strong hint to the christian, that all those concerned in the practice of the Slave Trade, shall *not* obtain mercy, if repentance does not take place before they appear in the presence of that Judge, who will render to every man according to his deeds.

We come now to Mr. H.’s first instance of the licitness of the Slave Trade from the New Testament,<sup>b</sup> which he affects to believe is in the first epistle to Timothy chap. vi. ver. 1—4; he says, “Among the several instructions given in this epistle by St. Paul to his beloved disciple Timothy, for the government of the church at Ephesus, of which he was bishop, there are some concerning the general duties of that part of his flock, who were under the yoke of bondage or slavery.” Now it is strange reasoning to contend that the instructions which Timothy was to give servants under the yoke to submit patiently to the injuries they might be subjected to, or to bear contentedly the hardships attendant upon their stations, should be so *positive* a proof of the *licitness* of such injuries. But as he has falsified the words of Christ, it is no wonder he should pervert those of the apostle; the words he quotes are “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.” But do these precepts  
prove

<sup>b</sup> Scrip. Res. page 61.

prove the lawfulness of that evil which calls forth the exercise of the Christian virtues here taught? Mr. H. has wished his readers not to view his arguments through the "*scanty light of mere human reason and sense,*" and with great propriety, for it is certain, that a very *scanty* portion of reason is sufficient to see through the fallacy of his positions, particularly those drawn from the New Testament. But the palpable absurdity of his inferences may be seen by St. Paul's words to the Romans, where he says, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation." <sup>c</sup> Those to whom the apostle addressed these words, were "*Beloved of God, called to be saints.*" And yet, they were under a tyrant, the brutal Nero; will Mr. H. by the same mode of perversion, draw the inference that Nero's conduct was lawful?

The apostle St. Peter has urged the doctrine of submission to injuries, after the example of our Redeemer, in such strong terms, so applicable to St. Paul's words above, and so clearly to the point of suffering *unjust* treatment, that I shall insert them at length.

" Servants be subject to your masters, with all  
 " fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to  
 " the froward. For this is thank-worthy, if a man  
 " for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering  
 " wrongfully. For what glory is it if when ye be  
 buffeted

<sup>c</sup> Rom, xiii. 1, 2.

“ buffeted for your faults ye shall 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 did no sin, neither  
 “ was guile found in his mouth: Who when he was  
 “ reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he  
 “ threatened not; but committed himself to him  
 “ that judgeth righteously.” 1 Pet. ii. 18—23.

To close my remarks on this first case of Mr. H.'s  
 positive sanction to Slavery from the New Testament,  
 I must observe that if he really believed that such an  
 enormity of wickedness existed in the days of the  
 apostles as our African Slave Trade, and provided  
 he was acquainted with the principles and doctrines  
 of Christianity, he might have discovered a con-  
 demnation of the practice of Slavery, in the first  
 chapter of this epistle to Timothy, ver. 5, where it  
 is said, “ Now the end of the *commandment* is *charity*,  
 “ out of a pure heart, and of a *good conscience*, and  
 “ of faith unfeigned.”

If these words do not convey to Mr. H. the  
 doctrine of universal benevolence, to which the Afri-  
 can Slave Trade is a compleat contrast, I must pre-  
 sume that he has seen a few verses forward in plain  
 terms a reprobation of the iniquitous traffic. How  
 ought he to be ashamed of his undertaking, when in  
 the 9th and 10th verses, his friends are classed with  
 the most abominable transgressors of the laws of  
 God? <sup>d</sup>

The second of Mr. H.'s positive proofs of the  
 licitness

<sup>d</sup> 1 Tim. i. 9, 10.

licitness of the Slave Trade from the New Testament, is taken out of St. Paul's epistle to Philemon. In page 66, Mr. H. pretends to believe the arguments he had before advanced, and as an introduction to this case, says, "*It will confirm the doctrine he has enforced in the third section.*" I think it my duty here to remind the reader that Mr. H. *confirms* the charge I made against him of falsifying scripture to square with his principles, which will appear very evident by comparing St. Paul's epistle and Mr. H.'s together. The quotation includes verses 8—21, in all which there is not the least sanction for the inferences Mr. H. has drawn: "the consequences very naturally flowing from his arguments," arise from the words Mr. H. has thought necessary to add to this epistle, or substitute in place of the apostle's sentiments; probably he was not without hopes that some of his friends would believe his doctrine, and receive it as a faithful interpretation of the Greek, including a translation of the most material part of this epistle; for in his laboured arguments on this portion of scripture, he informs us, That St. Paul being instructed by Christ himself respecting every part of a Christian's duty, had been taught by his Divine Master that the Slave Trade was agreeable to the spirit of his religion,\* and that he was to enforce the laws supporting that trade whenever opportunities offered, and therefore, in the matter between Philemon and Onesimus, had Paul acted in the plenitude of his apostolic commission, he would have peremptorily enjoined Philemon to receive his fugitive slave  
into

\* Scrip. Res. P. 70, 71.



into his house and service. § But Paul declining to exercise his apostolic commission in giving a direct order, through friendship to Philemon, urged other reasons for the re-admission of his slave, even this very “*powerful inducement,*” namely, that Onesimus, who had been a “*bad servant*” would make amends for his past negligence by his future diligence; that on *this consideration*, St. Paul was inclined to keep him for his own service, provided Philemon should make a free and voluntary gift of so valuable a part of his property, “*without which he would never attempt to deprive him of his slave.*” || To draw still

§ Page 67. Here St. Paul is represented as an enforcer of an act of Dominica, passed in 1774, under whose sanction a free man, *Mr. Lagarite* was severely punished for having manumitted his own slave. *Mr. Lagarite* crossed the Atlantic in search of justice in 1778. But being out of town when he returned, I was informed by the late *Ignatius Sancho*, that *Mr. Lagarite* was disappointed.

|| *Mr. H.* in his second edition, complains against his opponents for having charged him with *forgery* and *interpolation* on this case; at page 169 he says, “The words of St. Paul’s epistle to Philemon are given in the *Researches* pure and genuine, without either *syllable* or *letter* being *interpolated* or *falsified.*” Again in page 171, he appeals to the very *letter* of scripture for confirmation of the truth of his assertion, saying—“Does not the *letter* expressly say, that Onesimus, prior to his supposed application to St. Paul, which is not mentioned in the letter, was a *slave* to Philemon? Does not the Apostle acknowledge to Philemon, before his request in favour of Onesimus was granted, that Onesimus was certainly his *slave*?” Here he contends twice that the *letter* calls Onesimus a *slave*, an appellation for a bond-servant not found in the whole epistle, nor indeed in any text of the bible that I can recollect. My reasons for objecting



still a stronger similitude to the Dealers in Slaves, Paul is represented as entertaining ideas of Philemon's cruel disposition, and an apprehension of the severe treatment Onesimus would receive, and which (Mr. H. says) Paul acknowledged just to inflict upon him; he adds, "and *lest* Philemon should "insist on Onesimus making due satisfaction for "having defrauded him of *his time, or other pro-* " *perty*, and should on that account *use him with* " *severity*, the apostle engages to make him full "reparation, and becomes responsible for the whole: "which is a manifest acknowledgement of *Philemon's* " *right*, as the lawful master of Onesimus, to *inflict* " *due punishment on his slave.*" §

To Mr. H.'s interpolations on this case, I reply, that since St. Paul never was taught by his divine Master the lawfulness of the Slave Trade, and that it was no part of his apostolic commission to order a master to re-admit his fugitive slave; that therefore St. Paul could not write to Philemon de-

objecting to the term is stated before in the note page 9. I shall here add, that, when words apparently synonymous are attended with ideas different from each other, a distinction should be made, and *that word* adopted which applies to the subject in question: the word bond-servant in many parts of scripture is more consonant to our ideas of a servant *bound* by indentures or agreement for a certain time, at the will of a master in all his lawful and just commands, than to the case of a criminal who has forfeited his liberty and sentenced to punishment, or to the condition of our African brethren, who experience the same treatment: To *them*, the term *slaves*, as also *the ideas generally annexed*, are strictly applicable.

§ Scrip. Res. page 69.

claring the *lawfulness* of slavery, or to re-admit Onesimus as his slave, without a manifest breach of his apostolic commission, and acting contrary to his Christian principles.

But leaving Mr. H.'s epistle, let us come to St. Paul's own words, which inform us clearly in what situation Philemon was to receive Onesimus. The apostle expressly says, "not *now* as a servant, but "*above a servant, a brother beloved.*" These words alone are sufficient to convince us that Onesimus was *not* to be received as a *slave*, but as a respected brother, and we have evidence from history that Onesimus was a minister of the church, and might justly be esteemed a *brother, a partner, and fellow-labourer* with *Paul and Philemon*, which exemplifies St. Paul's words when addressing Philemon for Onesimus, he says, (ver. 13.) "whom I would have "retained with me, that *in thy stead,*"—(not surely as a slave, for Paul could not expect that office from *Philemon*, but he could expect even of *Philemon* the kind offices, which, *in his stead, Onesimus* was capable of discharging.) The Apostle writes distinctly, "*That in thy stead he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel.*" Paul having said in verse 16, Onesimus was to be received *not as a servant*, but *above a servant, a brother beloved*, he adds in the 17th verse, "If *thou* count *me* a *partner*, "receive *him*," How? as a slave? No—the apostle says, "receive *him* as *myself.*" St. Paul writes of Onesimus, in his epistle to the Colossians, from Rome, as a person joined with Tichicus in an ecclesiastical commission (chap. iv. 7—9.) "They shall make "known unto you all things which are done here."

The

The learned bishop Fell confirms the above, who informs us from the authority of the ancients, that this Onesimus succeeded Timothy in the bishoprick of Ephesus. And (what may have greater weight with Mr. H. than the words of scripture) the great archbishop *Usher* makes express mention of Onesimus in the bishoprick of Ephesus, from the authority both of *Eusebius* and *Ignatius* \*.

To conclude on this epistle to Philemon, and not to leave unnoticed some few expressions in the verses wrested by Mr. H. to favour slavery, I shall make a quotation from the work of a worthy and indefatigable advocate for the just rights of men, who observes, † that, “ Though the apostle declared, “ indeed, to Philemon the master (ver. 14.) *without thy mind would I do nothing, &c.* yet this by no means proves *the right of the master*, but only that the apostle, in love and courtesy to *Philemon*, desired that *the benefit* which he required of him *should not be as it were of necessity but willingly*, (ver. 14.) for the apostle’s right ‡ to have retained *Onesimus even without the master’s consent*, is sufficiently implied in a preceding verse (ver. 8.)

\* See his little tract, *De Episcoporum et Metropolitanorum origine*, p. 9. ed. Lond. 1687.

† “ The just limitation of slavery in the laws of God,” by Mr. Granville Sharp, p. 36, 37, appendix.

‡ Deut. xxiii. 16, 17. “ Thou shalt *not* deliver unto his master, the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee, he shall dwell with thee, even among you in the place which *he shall choose* in one of thy gates where it liketh *him best*: thou shalt *not oppress him*.”

“ though I might be much bold in Christ, to enjoin,  
 “ thee, that which is convenient. Yet (said the  
 “ apostle) for love’s sake, I rather beseech, &c. And  
 “ a further reason for his not commanding is also  
 “ declared, viz., that he depended on the willing  
 “ obedience of Philemon. Having confidence (said  
 “ he) in thy obedience I wrote unto thee, knowing that  
 “ thou wilt do also more than I say. And yet what  
 “ he really did say, or require in behalf of Onesimus,  
 “ was as strong a recommendation to favour and  
 “ superior kindness as could be expressed. He requi-  
 “ red him to receive Onesimus, not as a servant, but  
 “ above a servant, as a brother beloved, and there-  
 “ fore it is a strange perversion of the apostle’s  
 “ meaning to cite this epistle, in favour of slavery,  
 “ when the whole tenor of it is in behalf of  
 “ Onesimus.” \*

The last text quoted in the Scriptural Researches,  
 which comes under our consideration, is Matt. vii. 12.  
 “ All things whatsoever ye would that men should  
 “ do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the  
 “ law and the prophets.” Here, I must beg the  
 indulgence of the religious reader, who may think it  
 unnecessary to say any thing on these words; the bene-  
 volent purpose of this lesson to mankind, to cultivate  
 universal “goodwill” towards each other being so  
 evident; and who, when the Slave-Trade is presen-  
 ted to his view, and pretences are made of its being  
 sanctioned by scripture, particularly, the New Testa-  
 ment, will exclaim in the words of the apostle Paul—  
 “ What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteous-  
 “ ness?

\* Just Limitation of Slavery, page 33, 34.

“ *ness? What communion hath light with darkness?*  
 “ And what concord hath CHRIST with BELIAL?”—  
 Yet, I trust, the christian will excuse my entering at  
 greater length into Mr. H.’s arguments on this text,  
 when he considers, that I have before me in those  
 arguments, one of the most disgraceful perversions  
 of scripture that ever appeared before the public.

Mr. Harris begins by stating what he presumes  
 the advocates for the just rights of their African  
 brethren will urge, in application of the text,  
 saying, “ Whatsoever things therefore we would  
 “ not, that men should do unto us, we are not even  
 “ so to do to them; but no person whatever would  
 “ certainly wish, that a fellow-creature should reduce  
 “ him to the condition of a slave; therefore no per-  
 “ son whatever is to reduce a fellow-creature to that  
 “ condition.” After this statement Mr. H. adds,  
 “ Here again I must observe, that no one can  
 “ justly tax me with any partiality to the cause I  
 “ have espoused: I have, I think, worded the argu-  
 “ ment against it in terms as forcible, as the most  
 “ zealous advocate for African Liberty, could use.”  
 Having the honour of being one of the advocates for  
 African Liberty, Mr. H. by his curious arguments  
 on this statement, has furnished me with a hint of  
 the propriety of adding a few words to his own, in  
 drawing the above inference, and therefore I state  
 the argument thus: “ Whatsoever things therefore  
 “ we would not, that men should do unto us,” *our*  
*wishes being consistent with the principles laid down by*  
*the Law and the Prophets,—“ we are not even so to*  
*“ do to others” in like circumstances, by acting contrary*  
*to their just wishes, “ but no person whatever would*  
 “ certainly



“ certainly wish, that a fellow-creature should reduce him to the condition of a slave;” and *this wish being strictly just, when a man has not forfeited his liberty,* “ Therefore no person whatever is to reduce such a fellow-creature *involuntarily and unmerited* to that condition,” *because that act would reject a just and reasonable wish, and also transgress the precepts of both the Law and the Prophets.* ||

This view of the text I trust is sufficient to overturn the quibbles and sophistry with which Mr. H. introduces the legal subjection in societies, and argues

|| I have thought necessary to express in words, what I suppose is generally understood by the above precept of Christ, that it applies to those wishes and actions only, which are consistent with the laws of God. Mr. H. wresting this scripture to shew that a master has a right to the service of his slave, because it may be probable that if the slave was to exchange places with his master he would in that situation be as unjust in his wishes and desires as his late master, is a pitiful argument.—What should we think of the highwayman’s argument, who, in the act of robbery, should address the honest traveller, and tell him, that since it was undeniable that if they were to exchange situation, he would wish to be permitted to rob without meeting any resistance, and as there was a precept *to do as we would be done by,* he was in duty bound to submit patiently to be robbed, particularly, (to use Mr. H.’s words in the parallel case, page 73, of Scrip. Res.) since “ every christian is commanded so to behave to his neighbour, in whatever situation or circumstances in life *Providence* may have placed them both, just as he would wish his neighbour would behave to him in his situation, were his neighbour’s situation and circumstances his own.”? Probably he would be under the necessity of employing the same instruments of death in carrying his point as the Slave Dealers in subjugating their African brethren to bear the yoke of bondage.

on his own statement of the text in question. But there is one strong insinuation which I must not pass unnoticed, namely, the insinuation that if his arguments are not conclusive, then this text ought to be expunged or stand for nothing; but, as if ashamed of advancing this himself, he endeavours to place it on the art of logic, for he says, page 72, "It is \* an axiom in logic that *an argument that proves too much proves nothing*: the above is just such a one." Part of this assertion, when the text is applied to the subject of the Slave Trade, is certainly true, for it proves "*too much*" the benevolent principles of Christianity, for all the defenders of cruelty, oppression and injustice, with all their art, to be able to palliate the iniquitous practice of the Slave Trade; but that it "*proves nothing*" must be rejected as an impious assertion against the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, who on another occasion, in answer to a question of the pharisees, inculcated the benevolence taught in the golden maxim, by a rule and measure of brotherly love incompatible with the principles and practice of Slavery: Our blessed Saviour's words are perfectly consonant to the last text, and are an applicable conclusion on Mr. H.'s third section, confirming our opinion, that the Slave Trade is absolutely contrary to every law and dispensation of a God of mercy. The duties of *perpetual obligation* at every period of time, being invariably this, *grateful filial love to God, and love to man*, upon which two duties inseparably connected "together, are founded all the doctrines taught us by the Law and the Prophets.

\* 1 John iv. 20, 21.

Prophets. Our Saviour's own words are " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment, and the second is like unto it, THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF. *On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.* °

Having now disproved every argument offered by Mr. H. in defence of the *Slave Trade*, his corollaries cease of course; any remarks on them would therefore be superfluous. And I trust the time draws nigh, when every advocate for this abominable traffic, will be convinced that their attempts to justify the practice, have only exposed its deformity, and assisted the cause of Freedom. Their last resource is the imaginary impolicy of its abolition, and the pretended loss to the planters; ideas which are demonstrated to be founded in error\*; but were it otherwise, I should still contend, that whatever ideas of policy may sway those who confine their happiness to the accumulation of wealth, regardless of the prosperity, glory, and strength of this nation. Britons who acknowledge the existence of a just God, and who solemnly address him in public prayers to " shew pity upon all prisoners and *captives*, the desolate and *oppressed*, and to have mercy upon all men," cannot esteem it true policy that a British Legislature should refuse extending that mercy and pity now implored, and continue to sanction the most

° Matt. xxii. 37, 38, 39, 40.

\* See the Rev. Mr. Clarkson's excellent essay on the impolicy of the Slave Trade.

cruel

cruel murders tyranny can invent in the consumption of above 40,000 Africans annually, who never offended us. †

Our guilt as a nation has certainly been great, not only because we boast of our humanity, enjoy the blessings, and glory in the privileges of Civil Liberty; but, especially, because our emancipation from the shackles of Popery, spread the volume of wisdom universally through this favoured Isle; so that none can justly plead ignorance of the truth, except the blinded followers of those teachers whose interest it is to mislead and artfully prevail upon the people to be ignorant of the revelations of God, by receiving for doctrines the traditions of men ‡.

Protestants

† The senators of Britain will no doubt consider the high powers vested in their hands, even the lives of their fellow creatures; and seriously reflect, whether their continuing a legal sanction to the African Slave Trade, is not attended with a mockery of the Lord of Hosts, at the repetition of the above prayers. God's denunciations against the king of Judah, by his prophet Jeremiah, must convince them of the *injustice*, and enormous wickedness, of extorting labour without hire, and at the same time remind them, that no rank, however exalted, can escape his justice. "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work.—But thine eyes and thine heart are not but for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression and for violence to do it." Jer. xxii. 13, 17.

‡ Should this tract be perused by any Catholic laymen of Mr. H.'s acquaintance, I must beg they will believe, that I have no enmity against them, being personally acquainted with many worthy characters of their persuasion; and though I do not intend entering into a contention with Mr. H. on

Protestants cannot plead this excuse, because the laws of the Creator of the Universe respecting cruelty, oppression, and murder, are open to their investigation.

The abominable wickedness of the African Slave Trade was not in general known till lately. If we suppose this some palliation of our *past* guilt, and to have hitherto suspended the just retribution of a merciful judge, that excuse can no longer be urged with regard to our future conduct. For though at  
 “ the time of this ignorance God winked at; but  
 “ now commandeth all men every where to repent:  
 “ Because he hath appointed a day, in the which he  
 “ will judge the world in righteousness.”<sup>p</sup> That awful day may not be the first retribution experienced by those who still go on degrading “ *the*  
 “ *offspring of that God who hath made of one blood all*  
 “ *nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the*

the subject of his religious tenets, yet Popery being so congenial with his defence of slavery, its preposterous doctrines naturally occurred to my mind while on the subject. I shall add one hint more as a matter of curiosity to those who attend Mr. H.'s instructions, that they may discover the ingenuity and great ability of their teacher in explaining these words of the apostle Paul to Timothy, “ Now the Spirit  
 “ speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall de-  
 “ part from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and  
 “ doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having  
 “ their conscience seared with a hot iron; *forbidding to marry*  
 “ *and commanding to abstain from meats*, which God hath  
 “ created to be received with thanksgiving of them which  
 “ believe and know the truth.” 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. Mr. H. no doubt, will convince his implicit hearers, beyond the power of cavil or reply, that the above words were delivered, as a clear prophecy of the *Protestant Heresy*.

<sup>p</sup> Acts xvii. 30—31.

“ *earth,*



“*earth*,”<sup>1</sup> and who, no power on earth have a right to enslave.

The poet seemed to dread a return of evil for such crimes, when he said,

Why must I Africk's fable children see,  
Vended for slaves, tho' form'd by nature free,  
The nameless tortures cruel minds invent,  
Those to subject, whom nature equal meant?  
If these you dare, altho' unjust success  
Impow'rs you now, unpunish'd to oppress;  
Revolving empire you and yours may doom,  
*Rome* all subdu'd, yet *Vandals* vanquish'd *Rome*:  
Yes, empire may revolve give them the day  
And blood may blood and yoke may yoke repay.

*Savage on Public Spirit.*

To avert so dreadful a calamity to us or our offspring, true policy should attend to the warning of Him who *ruleth in heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth*. When his favoured people of old were guilty of the horrid crimes of oppression, the prophet Amos thus addressed them: “Hear this, O ye that  
“swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of  
“the land to fail, saying when will the new moon  
“be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath  
“that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah  
“small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the  
“balances by deceit? *That we may buy the poor for*  
“*silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and*  
“sell the refuse of the wheat? The Lord hath

<sup>1</sup> Acts xvii. 26—29.

“ sworn by the excellency of Jacob, surely I will  
 “ never forget any of their works. *Shall not the*  
 “ *land tremble for this, and every one mourn that*  
 “ *dwelleth therein?*”<sup>r</sup> When such warnings were  
 rejected, the just retribution of God overtook the  
 unrepenting transgressors, for thus spake the Lord  
 by the mouth of his prophet Ezekiel: “ The people  
 “ of the land have *used oppression, and exercised rob-*  
 “ *bery, and have vexed the poor and needy; yea,*  
 “ **THEY HAVE OPPRESSED THE STRANGER WRONG-**  
 “ **FULLY.** Therefore have I poured out mine in-  
 “ dignation upon them, I have consumed them with  
 “ the fire of my wrath: their own way have I re-  
 “ compensated upon their heads, saith the Lord  
 “ God.”<sup>s</sup>

I shall now conclude with a portion of scripture well deserving attention at this important crisis, when the cause of Justice, of Humanity, and of Religion, is about to be determined; when millions of oppressed Africans are the suitors, and a British Senate is the tribunal. A tribunal, which, I trust, will rejoice in so glorious an opportunity of spreading the blessings of civil and religious liberty, while they obey the commands of the Lord of Hosts.

“ **THUS SAITH JEHOVAH, EXECUTE YE JUDGE-**  
 “ **MENT AND RIGHTEOUSNESS, AND DELIVER THE**  
 “ **SPOILED OUT OF THE HAND OF THE OPPRESSOR:**  
 “ **AND DO NO WRONG, DO NO VIOLENCE TO THE**  
 “ **STRANGER, THE FATHERLESS, NOR THE WIDOW,**  
 “ **NEITHER SHED INNOCENT BLOOD.”** Jer. xxii. 3.]

<sup>r</sup> Amos viii. 4—8, compare Num. xxxv. 31, 33.

<sup>s</sup> Ezek. xxii. 29, 31.

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## A P P E N D I X.

**T**HE author of the Scriptural Researches, in the second edition of his pamphlet, has added a fourth section, entitled, “ *Scriptural Directions for the proper treatment of slaves, enforced by some exemplary punishments inflicted on unnatural masters by divine vindictive justice.*”

This section seems to have been composed with a view to force some texts which condemn the *principles* of the Slave Trade and make them appear, as if declared for the regulation of the *practice*. A short observation on one text will elucidate this matter, and be sufficient on this section.

In page 98, Mr. H. has quoted these words, “ *If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him; but the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be as one born amongst you; and thou shalt love him as thyself.*” (Lev. xix. 33, 34). Upon these words I appeal to every Englishman, and ask, can any regulations be conceived possible, whereby Europeans can enslave the natives of Africa, and “ *not vex them?*” O highly favoured Britons, sons of freedom, emancipated from the shackles of tyranny by the providence and mercies of the Almighty, do you treat the African stranger “ *as one born amongst you,*” while he suffers as the *worst of malefactors,*  
without

without a crime alledged against him? or can we as a nation, lay any claim to the appellation of *Christians*, while we are so far from "*Loving the African strangers as ourselves,*" that their lives are sacrificed to supply luxuries to the wealthy, and riches to the avaricious?

I shall not enter upon any other of Mr. H.'s "*Directions for the proper treatment of Slaves,*" for as I trust to have proved the unlawfulness of the *Slave Trade* in the foregoing Refutation of every argument urged by this boasted champion of Slavery (this Goliath of the Liverpool Slave Dealers) it would therefore be incongruous that I should contend upon the mode of carrying on this unlawful traffic, for which there is not so much as one direction in the whole Bible. Hence it is, that it was impossible for Mr. H. to draw any inference from his fourth section, in defence of the African Slave Trade, except what has error for its basis, and consequently must be void of truth: which is precisely the case of his general corollary on this section.

After the fourth section Mr. H. has added a Review of the publications which reply to his Tract, and in which, agreeable to promise in his advertisement, of avoiding personal resentment, &c. he has given us a specimen of his "*Decency*" of language, when he stiles his opponents, "*The veteran scoffers—supercilious triumviri—the bustling, carping minister of St. John's,*" &c. The investigation of his Review will be a properer subject for one of those gentlemen than for me, as there is nothing adduced in favour of slavery. One thing, however, I must observe, that as Mr. H. in his second edition seems  
to

to deny that he urged the conduct of the patriarchs, &c. having bond-servants, as a sanction for christians to pursue the Slave Trade, and blames his opponents for having made such a charge against him, it may be expected, after his pretended explanation, that I should give some reasons in this Appendix, why I still persist in that charge. The truth is, I can discover no elucidation in his last work; on the contrary, he has so contradicted himself, that I should lose more time in reconciling the first and second edition of the *Scriptural Researches* with each other, than Mr. H.'s cobbler lost in finding his spectacles, which were on his nose. \*

A specimen of Mr. H.'s inconsistency I shall here give the reader, being faithfully extracted from his tracts.

Section III. No. II. page  
53, first edition, or p.  
48 second edition, Mr.  
H.'s words are:

“ The principal trans-  
actions relative to this  
new Law are registered  
in the several inspired  
writings, that compose  
the sacred volume com-  
monly stiled the New  
Testament. The prin-  
ciples and *moral* duties  
of perpetual obligation  
respecting *right* and *wrong*,

Review,  
No. XI. page 130,  
Mr. H.'s words are:

“ It is unquestionably  
true that several things, not  
only of typical but *moral*  
tendency, were permitted  
and even *commanded in the*  
*Old Law*, which are no  
longer so under the Chris-  
tian Dispensation, *but are*  
*even forbidden to the pro-*  
*fessors of the gospel*: and  
therefore, to conclude

\* See Mr. H.'s elegant anecdote, page 145, *Scrip. Res.* second edition.



*justice and injustice*, registered in this sacred volume, being evidently dictated by the Holy Spirit of God, and God himself cannot consistently with the essential infallibility of his eternal wisdom, bear the least opposition to the principles and *moral duties of perpetual obligation*, respecting in like manner *right and wrong, justice and injustice*, dictated by the same infallible Spirit, and registered in the several inspired writings, that compose the sacred volume, commonly stiled the Old Testament, comprehending such transactions as relate to both the natural and the Mosaic Laws. Were it possible to be otherwise, God would not be consistent with himself, and the religion of the New Testament, instead of being the perfection and accomplishment, would be the reproach and condemnation of both the former laws, natural and Mosaic, on the truth of which its very existence depends."

from such permission or injunction, that whatever was once permitted or enjoined to the professors of the natural and Mosaic Laws, is equally permitted and enjoined to Christians, would be an absurd, *an impious inference*, diametrically opposite to the principles of Christianity. But it is equally unquestionable from the constant tenour of the sacred writings, that there were several things, some commanded, and others simply lawful, without any positive injunction, to the professors of both the former laws which are equally commanded and equally lawful to the professors of the Gospel; not merely because they were commanded or permitted to the former, but because the things themselves were intrinsically and in their nature just and lawful, and have been either confirmed a-new, or never abrogated by the Christian law."

In the second column above, we find Mr. H.'s art when he argues the lawfulness of the Slave Trade from the example of characters under the Law of Nature and Mosaic dispensation having bond-servants, he says, "*Not merely because they were commanded or were permitted to the former, but because the things themselves were intrinsically and in their nature just and lawful.*" Should we upon this evasive answer require Mr. H.'s proof of the *intrinsic lawfulness* of the Slave Trade, his *only* reply is found in the preceding quotation, by leaving out the words *not merely*, and saying "*Because they were commanded or were permitted to the former,*" &c.

Mr. H. in No. XII. of his Review has exemplified this mode of arguing, when attempting a still further explanation of this subject: I shall insert it at length, in its regular succession, though dividing it into four paragraphs, as this number seems to exhibit Mr. H. in a regular combat with himself.

*First*, Asserting the licitness of the Slave Trade.

*Secondly*, Denying the force of all the proofs urged from examples in the Old Testament.

*Thirdly*, Maintaining that the Slave Trade having been expressly declared licit by God the Father in the Old Law, it was impossible that God the Son, or his disciples, should declare the unlawfulness of slavery.

*Lastly*, Arguing, that notwithstanding this evident invariableness of the intrinsic licitness of the Slave Trade, yet there is no conclusion ever drawn in the Scriptural Researches that the prosecution of it is therefore lawful to Christians.

Mr. H.'s words, page 131, 132, are

*Pro.* " The Scriptural Researches conclude the intrinsic licitness of the Slave Trade, or that it is essentially just in its nature, *from the same being practiced by Abraham, Joseph, and the children of Israel, under the positive sanction and approbation of God, attested by many express and positive declarations of his Written Word.*"

*Con.* " But it is utterly false, that they conclude, that the same is *lawful* to Christians, merely *because it was lawful to them*; for, as it is evident from several practices of the Old Law, a thing may be intrinsically licit in its nature, and lawful to some persons to practise it, and yet the same may not be lawful to others, notwithstanding its intrinsic licitness. There is no part of the Scripture Researches where any such inference is drawn."

*Pro.* " They conclude indeed, That, since neither the Son of God, being himself God, nor his disciples commissioned to teach his doctrine, could ever alter the intrinsic nature of *right and wrong*; once the practice of slavery, or the Slave Trade, had been expressly declared by the Father essentially just and lawful in the Sacred Writings of the Old Law, which the Son *did not come to destroy but to fulfil*, it was absolutely impossible, that either he or his disciples should declare it unlawful and unjust in the writings of the new, the principles of both the laws, respecting the intrinsic nature of *right and wrong, justice and injustice*, being invariably the same."

*Con.* " But even from this evident invariableness of the intrinsic licitness of the Slave Trade, *there is no conclusion ever drawn in the Scriptural Researches,*  
that

*that the prosecution of it is therefore lawful to Christians; but only from the prosecution itself not only not having been abrogated, but being expressly confirmed and ratified by the positive sanction of divine authority in the Sacred Records of the New Law.” \**

At page 183, &c. of the Review, Mr. H. has grossly misrepresented (by applying to our African Slaves) the latter part of the prophetic sentence pronounced by Noah, “ *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall be unto his brethren.—God shall enlarge Japheth, &c. and Canaan shall be his servant.*” On which Mr. H. says, “ Pursuing this branch of traffic in that particular region, preferable to any other, is not without a good foundation, since no trace is found in the Sacred Writings, that the descendants of Japheth ever before asserted their *unquestionable prerogative*, or enjoyed the fruits of that *hereditary legacy*, which was left to them in their Father’s name.”

The only remarks I think necessary to be made are, 1st, That the negroes bought by the Europeans are not descendants of Canaan; and 2dly, That the execution of Noah’s sentence respecting the Canaanites, by the descendants of Japheth, does not want the assistance of Mr. H.’s friends to accomplish.

\* The question I would ask the person who undertook to explain Mr. H.’s arguments above, is simply this, Does Mr. H. assert that some exalted characters, (such as Abraham) having Bondservants, and no reproof being found recorded in scripture against them for the same, is therefore a sanction for Christians to enslave the natives of Africa? If not, why has Mr. H. wasted so much paper in urging *their* examples?

With respect to the first, I do not mean to assert that there can be no descendant of Canaan among the African negroes bought by the Europeans, but I do insist, that so far from their being all Canaanites, the most intelligent accounts inform us, that the African Slaves who are now purchased by Europeans, are descended from Chus and Phut †, and are not in the least mentioned in the prophetic denunciation: Their offspring therefore do not devolve as an “*hereditary legacy*” to the modern *descendants of Japheth*, their only title being *Mr. Harris’s generous bequest*.

With regard to the second, the fulfilment of Noah’s prophecy, I shall give an extract from the much esteemed dissertations of the late Bishop Newton:

† The learned Mr. Bryant, in a letter to Mr. G. Sharp, says “*Ham had four sons, Chus, Mizraim, Phut and Canaan, (Gen. x. 6) Canaan occupied Palestine, and the country called by his name: Mizraim, Egypt; but Phut passed deep into Africa; and I believe most of the nations in that part of the world are descended from him; at least more than from any other person.*” And in speaking of the descendants of Chus, he says, “*In process of time the sons of Chus made settlements upon the sea coast of Africa, and came into Mauritania; hence we find traces of them also in the names of places, such as Churis, Chufares, upon the coast; and a river Cusa, and a city Cotta; together with a promontory Cotis in Mauritania, all denominated from Chus,*” &c. “*They extended themselves southward, as I said in my treatise, to the rivers Senegal and Gambia, and as low as the Gold Coast.*” To which Mr. Bryant immediately adds, “*I mentioned this, because I do not think, that they proceeded much further: Most of the nations to the South, being, as I imagine, of the race of Phut.*” See appendix, No. IV. *Of the Just Limitation of Slavery.*

His



His words on this prophecy are, "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.)  
 " The Greeks and Romans too who were descendants  
 " of Japheth, not only subdued Syria and Palestine,  
 " but also pursued and conquered such of the Ca-  
 " naanites, as were any where remaining, as for in-  
 " stance the Tyrians and Carthaginians; the former  
 " of whom were ruined by Alexander and the Gre-  
 " cians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans.  
 " 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." †

There is one other idea of the author of the Scrip-  
 tural Researches, which it becomes me to take some  
 notice of before I conclude.

Mr. H. is so fond of Data and Corollaries, that he  
 has employed one of each to state *his opinion* of the  
 impropriety of reflecting on "*The private religious*

† Should Mr. H. still persist to urge the "*unquestionable prerogative*" of his clients, as descendants of Japheth, to a share of their "*hereditary legacy*" he should lay their claim before the Grand Turk, and no opportunity can be better to urge that claim than the present, while he is engaged with the Russians.

*opinion*

“ *opinion, or any other personal circumstances*” of an opponent, unconnected with the subject in debate. But while he seems offended to be put in mind of *his* principles, he has not spared sneeringly to ridicule the humane principles which influence the Friends of Freedom.\* In the course of my tract I have occasionally alluded to Mr. H.’s religious principles (as they are generally called) but which I consider in another point of view, as having no just title to the sacred name of Religion; being a system of civil policy, invented by ambitious men, calculated to aggrandize themselves and enslave the people. A recollection of those principles lessens our astonishment, when we peruse this Reverend Divine’s defence of a trade inseparable from cruelty and murder; and such arguments as at page 173, of his last edition, where he shrinks from a reply to a matter of fact, under the feigned excuse that his opponents have not entered upon a formal proof that “ *enslaving a fellow-creature is itself unjust,*” and that “ *Slavery is itself an unjust subordination;* || two propositions, the falsity of which (Mr. H. says) has been fully demonstrated in the Scriptural Researches.” Frequent allusions to such principles as Mr. H. has displayed, may prevent some from supposing that he has *justified the wicked for reward, who when his*

\* Scrip. Res. P. 19, 28, 41.

|| The following text before quoted at page 65, is sufficiently declarative of the injustice of slavery. The return due for service being too distinctly expressed for *Mr. H.’s Remuneration*, at page 90 of his Review, to evade its meaning. Jer. xxii. 13.

*tenets*

*tenets* are known and recollected, will express themselves more charitably, considering his arguments as arising from the prejudice of education.

While Mr. H. glories in having proved that enslaving a fellow-creature is no act of injustice, I shall rather glory in being a member of a church whose ministers could not hold forth such arguments, without departing from its doctrines, and contradicting those *benovolent principles*, which *Protestants* in general, of *every denomination*, esteem inseparable from the *Christian Religion*.

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## P O S T S C R I P T.

IT was the Author's first design to have subjoined to this Refutation of Mr. H.'s Tract, further indisputable evidences from the *Law of Nature*, the *Mosaic Dispensation*, and the *Christian Religion*, of the absolute unlawfulness of the African Slave Trade, both in its *Principles* and *Practice*. But, numerous avocations interrupting his progress, and conceiving the present crisis most timely for the publication, he has therefore submitted it in its present state, trusting that what been said upon the texts quoted by Mr. H. has sufficiently proved SCRIPTURE THE FRIEND OF FREEDOM.

F I N I S.