

THE
CHURCH CARRIED ALONG,
OR THE
OPINIONS OF A DOCTOR OF DIVINITY
ON
AMERICAN SLAVERY.

BY REV. BERIAH GREEN,
PRESIDENT OF ONEIDA INSTITUTE.

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CHARGED as they are with being ignorant, rash, and headlong, the abolitionists are at length furnished with a guide. And a guide too, of such pretensions and of such a reputation! No less a master than the late REV. JOHN H. RICE, D.D., *Professor of Christian Theology in Union Theological Seminary, Virginia*, backed by the authority of the *Christian Spectator*. It would not, we think, be easy to find among southern clergymen, living or dead, a name equally honored—an authority equally weighty and powerful. Those, who wish to know how and why he came to have so high a place in the esteem and confidence of his fellow-christians may, if they choose, consult the reviews of his memoirs in the *Christian Spectator*, and in the *Literary and Theological Review*.

In this paper we would devote some attention to his views of the subject of American Slavery. These are contained in a letter of his to William Maxwell, Esq., and introduced in the *Christian Spectator* with the following paragraph;

“His views on the delicate and difficult subject of *slavery*, many of our readers may wish to learn. And it will not be out of place, perhaps, at the present time, when this subject is undergoing so vigorous a discussion, to give them. As a Virginian, educated amid the associations and under the many influences of this strong feature in the laws and the social economy of his native section of country, his views on this subject are, perhaps, as enlightened and liberal as from the nature of the case they could be expected to be. We are not quite sure, that, when they are looked upon in their application to the existing state of things at this moment, and with all the advantage of our position as northern men, they are not both just and important.” It is immediately added: “The following remarks are extracted from a letter to William Maxwell, Esq.:—

“I am most fully convinced that slavery is the greatest evil in our country, except whiskey; and it is my most ardent prayer that we may be delivered from it. But it is my full belief that the deliverance is not to be accomplished by the

combination of benevolent societies. The great body of persons composing such societies are too little accustomed to calculate consequences. They go directly at their measure, and have no means of accomplishing it but the producing, by means of speeches and addresses, a strong excitement. But on a subject of this delicate character, where much opposition is to be encountered, these very means give the adversary an advantage, which he will not fail to use to the injury, perhaps to the destruction of the society. While, therefore, I do most devoutly wish success to the Colonization Society, I do earnestly wish that its friends may not refer to it as a means of deliverance from slavery. Should that success which I hope for, crown the efforts of this association, the existence of a prosperous colony on the western coast will of itself do more for the cause of emancipation, than all that any, or all of us, now can effect by speaking of these things. So fully am I convinced of this, that I deplore every movement that raises any thing like opposition to the society.

The reason why I am so strenuously opposed to any movement by the church or the ministers of religion on this subject, is simply this. I am convinced that any thing we can do will injure religion, and retard the march of public feeling in relation to slavery. I take the case to be just this: as slavery exists among us, the only possible chance of deliverance is by *making the people willing* to get rid of it. At any rate, it is this or physical force. The problem to be solved is, to produce that state of the *public will*, which will cause the people to move spontaneously to the eradication of the evil. Slaves by law are held as property. If the church or the minister of religion touches the subject, it is touching what are called the rights of property. The jealousy among our countrymen on this subject is such, that we cannot move a step in this way, without wakening up the strongest opposition, and producing the most violent excitement. The whole mass of the community will be set in motion, and the great body of the church will be carried along. Under this conviction, I wish the ministers of religion to be convinced that there is nothing in the New Testament which obliges them to take hold of this subject directly. In fact, I believe that it never has fared well with either church or state, when the church meddled with temporal affairs. And I should—knowing how unmanageable religious feeling is, when not kept under the immediate influence of divine truth—be exceedingly afraid to see it brought to bear *directly* on the subject of slavery. Where the movement might end, I could not pretend to conjecture.

But I tell you what I wish. While we go on minding our own business, and endeavoring to make as many good christians as possible among masters and servants, let the subject of slavery be discussed in the political papers, reviews, &c., as a question of political economy. Keep it entirely free from all ecclesiastical connections, and from all the politics of the general government; and treat it as a matter of state concernment. Examine its effects on the agriculture, commerce and manufactures of the state. Compare the expense of free and slave labor. Bring distinctly before the people the evil in its unavoidable operations, and its fearful increase. Set them to calculating the weight of their burdens. Let them see how many old slaves, and young slaves, who produce nothing, they have to support. Show them how slavery deducts from the military force as well as the wealth of a country, etc. etc. Considerations of this sort, combined with

the benevolent feelings growing out of a gradual, uninterrupted progress of religion, will, I believe, set the people of their own accord to seek deliverance. They will foresee the necessity of a change; soon begin to prepare for it; and it will come about it without violence or convulsion. Such is my opinion." pp. 306-308.

Dr. Rice then had the strongest conviction, that excepting intemperance, slavery was the greatest evil in our country. We shall not dispute its claims to such an unenviable distinction. It seizes a child of God; mars the divine image which had been impressed upon him; puts him among "goods and chattels," and disposes of him as if he had been reduced to a piece of property. It lays his "life, liberty, and happiness" at the feet of any creature, who has a heart hard enough and a purse long enough, to buy him. It blights his intellect; blasts his honor; treads out his soul. This it has done—this it is still doing, for millions within our republic and among our churches;—for millions of sufferers, who are not allowed the poor privilege of giving free utterance to their sighs and groans and tears. In doing this, moreover, it is debauching the morals, disgracing the name, trampling upon the constitution and laws, and destroying the prospects of no less a nation than the United States! What an evil, then, must slavery be!

"I am most fully convinced," declared Dr. Rice, "that slavery is the greatest evil in our country except whiskey." But what *sort* of evil did our theological professor think it was? Did he regard it as a calamity or as a crime? As a misfortune or as a sin? Nothing can be more important here than just discrimination and accurate definition. A misfortune may be to be deplored and submitted to; but sin never. It is always and immediately to be repented of and abandoned. To our brethren who are under the pressure of calamity, it is our privilege to offer our heart-felt condolence; our fellow sinners are entitled to reproof, and to our assistance in breaking the "bonds of iniquity." How then did Dr. Rice regard the evil of slavery? This inquiry may be fairly settled in the light of the hints, which he suggests. In the first place, then, let us mark the class of evils in which he gives slavery a place. At the head of it we find *intemperance*. Was drunkenness in the eye of Dr. Rice, a misfortune or a sin? It opens a flood-gate, through which misfortunes run, doubtless. This is an office which sin is

always commissioned to perform; and which it does perform with fearful fidelity and terrible effect. Moral evil may always be expected to open the way for physical. Those who sin must suffer. But surely it cannot be rash to presume, that Dr. Rice would pronounce it wicked for any man to intoxicate himself with "whiskey." The evil of intemperance, we cannot doubt, was with him a *moral evil*. With intemperance he ranks slavery. Not only does he assign it to the same class; he also gives it a marked prominence there. It has the second place. It stands "next to the head;"—near enough to inhale the fetid breath of its swollen neighbor. In the next place, Dr. Rice makes the prevalence of slavery to depend upon the "*public will*." "The problem to be solved is," as he informs us, "to produce that state of the *public will*, which will cause the people to move spontaneously to the eradication of the evil." The great thing to be attempted in the abolition of slavery is, according to him and in his words, to "make the *people willing* to get rid of it." But what can that evil be, whose prevalence depends upon the *human will*? What sort of evils are they, which vanish whenever "the people are willing to get rid" of them? Are they hurricanes, and plagues, and broken bones? No, no. Dr. Rice knew—every man knows, that they are *sins*. When *moral evils* are to be "got rid" of—when wicked habits are to be broken up, then the very problem which Dr. Rice presents, is to be disposed of. Then "that state of the *public will* must be produced, which will cause" transgressors "to move spontaneously to the eradication of the evil." In the light, then, in which Dr. Rice exhibits slavery, we cannot hesitate to pronounce it a *SIN*—one of the *greatest* sins which disgraces and afflicts our country. And as such, if he understood the import of his own language, he must from the "fullest convictions" have been ready to pronounce it—"sin."

Yet Dr. Rice would not have "benevolent societies" meddle with slavery. He was "exceedingly afraid"—we quote his own words—"to see RELIGIOUS FEELINGS brought to bear *directly*" upon this subject! Let us see what were his objections.

His first objection "to the combination of benevolent societies" to deliver the nation from the evil of slavery, is to be found in the *directness* of their exertions. "They go," says

the Doctor, "directly at their measure." By this we understand that they fix their eyes full upon their object—distinctly and carefully survey it—adopt such measures as are best adapted to accomplish it; and like frank, honest, fearless men, announcing their intentions, go about their work. They thus choose a path strongly marked by the foot prints of their Lord and his Apostles. This the Doctor thinks is not the best way to contend with one of "the greatest evils in our country." He could not think so, and remain what he claimed to be, an ardent friend to the scheme of the American Colonization Society. Nothing could be more *indirect* than the exertions of that organization to break up the system of American slavery. Such a thing was not even proposed by the supporters of that scheme. Not a few of them were themselves slaveholders. They impudently claimed, and stoutly held, the right of property in their fellow men. They never dreamed, living or dying, of striking the chains from the limbs of their own vassals; much less of urging on the petty tyrants around them the doctrine and the duty of emancipation. And such men held the highest offices, and exerted the leading influences in this pseudo-benevolent society. So far were they from expecting in it any direct means for the abolition of slavery, that they seem to have regarded it as a shield to protect the hydra. Others—and perhaps Dr. Rice belonged to this class—seem to have hoped, that in some inconceivable, inexplicable roundabout way, the *expatriation of the free* would open the door for the *enfranchisement of the enslaved*! And if, at some shining point, midway perhaps between now and never, their plan might take effect and ensure success, they saw no cause for discontent or discouragement. And then what a happy method! Nobody's claim to property in human flesh disputed! Nobody's crimes assailed! Nobody's prejudices aroused! Nobody's passions inflamed! Thus by humoring in the oppressor "the lust of the eye, and the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life," these sentiments and habits, gradually becoming weaker, would at length, of their own accord, let go of the heart in which they had been cherished! Could such a plan succeed, the devil, that old hunter, who has for many ages been busy at work setting traps for others, would for the first time, be himself entrapped—and entrapped by those who would thus outwit him in wiliness, and outdo him in trickery!

But benevolent societies, the Doctor tells us, "*are little accustomed to calculate consequences.*" They lack that slight of hand, by which our great magicians force the future to give up its secrets. On great moral questions, involving elemental principles and first truths, they lack that adroitness which might enable them by balancing probabilities, to guess at obligations! How poorly qualified must they not be, to aid in removing "one of the greatest evils in the country!"

There is a way, to be sure, in which those who know not how by the doctrine of expediency to *juggle* sin out of the human heart, foresee with prophetic certainty, and proclaim with prophetic confidence the consequences of evil doing. God in shedding the light of reason upon their understandings, and in opening their eyes upon the page of Revelation, has furnished them with *the principles* upon which His government proceedeth. Through those principles a flood of sunbeams is poured upon the future; and a child, if his eye be single, may clearly see what must result from obedience or disobedience to the laws under which human nature is placed. Conformity to these laws must be as practicable and useful as it is obligatory. To invade human rights in any way and under any pretext is to transgress these laws, and incur the penalties by which they are sanctioned. And as slavery is a most flagrant violation of these rights, it must bring after it the most dreadful consequences. To restore to the wronged their rights, must be followed with good results. No man can doubt this without stifling his own nature. Before opening his lips to deny it, he must close his eyes against the light of reason, and turn away from the inspired volume. Foulter blasphemy was never heard than he utters, who ventures to affirm *that it can be hurtful to any good cause to reduce strict rectitude to practice!* So every truly benevolent society believes, and while in contending with any evil, though second only to "whiskey" in magnitude, they hold on their way along the line of rectitude, they cheerfully give over the calculation of chances to those jugglers, political and ecclesiastical, who now amuse, and now scare, the multitude around them with their wonder-working rod. No man ever betakes himself under the pressure of evil to the fortune-teller, till he has fallen out with reason and the Bible. The king of Israel would never have gone to the witch of Endor, if he had not felt that Je-

hovah had forsaken him. Poor man ! If he had been content to obey God without calculating consequences, he could never have been driven to such shifts.

What good have *they* done us, who, "accustomed to such things," have been "calculating consequences" for the benefit of this nation ? At the close of the war of the revolution, how powerfully did not a thousand things press upon us the claims of the American negro ! Freedom had led us through a struggle, which had well nigh exhausted our strength, and consumed our resources. In that struggle, the negro had a far deeper interest than his white brethren. Chains a thousand fold heavier, hung upon his limbs. His' bruised and crushed by our hands, he gave us his sympathies, and "came up to our help." And when the shouts of victory broke upon his ears ; O, with what imploring looks did he not urge upon us the demand, "am I not a man and a brother ?" What could have steeled our hearts to such an appeal ! Ah, what was it ? What grim fiend stifled the yearnings of nature within us, and closed our ears to the voice of God ? Instead of doing what in their inmost hearts, they felt to be right and good, the patriots of this nation fell to "calculating consequences." As the result of this cruel process, they had the assurance to tell their suppliant brother, that though he had assisted them in stripping off their chains, they had found it expedient to rivet his upon his limbs ! And they quieted themselves and the nation, by insinuating the hope, that in process of time, these chains, though every link was made of iron, would gradually rot away and disappear. And so the republic was founded on an expedient, which gave up one sixth of the nation, to the cupidity, lust, and cruelty, of the rest ! This piece of state policy has been regarded by our self-complacent, and boastful countrymen, as a striking proof of the wisdom of our political patriarchs. What an ingenious expedient to harmonize jarring interests ! And every body's welfare provided for, except that of a few thousand helpless creatures, who were to be sacrificed to national prejudice and national avarice, and whose tears and blood might cement the glorious Union ! But God "taketh the wise in their own craftiness." What already have been the results of this laying myriads of human victims on the altar of state policy ? In the church, human cunning has to a fearful extent usurped the place of divine wisdom. Expe-

diency has seized upon the throne of rectitude. Under its sway the national heart has become lamentably corrupt. Those who are "set for the defence of the gospel," the appointed guardians of the public morals, are seen in great numbers following those whom they ought to guide; caressing those whom they should rebuke; floating passively down the stream, which they ought to stem. As might well have been expected, the monster whom ruler and subjects, priest and people, had conspired to fatten with negro blood, eager and insatiate, now opens his jaws and clamors for white victims. Expediency seconds his demands, and declares that he must not be denied. Better glut his maw with unnumbered victims, than tempt his rage and expose "the Union" to his snaky folds! And so the rights of white freemen as well as black bondmen, have been vilely set at naught. They have been insulted, mocked, and murdered with impunity. American citizens are counted exiles and outlaws in their own country. The fat priest and the supple statesman, with the man of learning and the man of fashion, and the man of wealth, have joined in a conspiracy with the ignorant, the debauched, and the desperate, to crush every one who may dare to call in question the divine right of slaveholding. Thus our country is forced to the very verge of ruin. And the very expedient, which worldly wisdom, at the expence of truth, and righteousness, and humanity, employed to form our vaunted Union, has already opened the way for its dissolution! What thanks must we not owe to those, who, in the language of Dr. Rice, are "accustomed to calculate consequences!"

Dr. Rice had a great dread of enlisting "the religious feeling" in the struggle with slavery, on account of its *unmanageableness*. He was not alone. Not a few, both at the South and at the North, have the same sentiment. They seem to be aware that if impelled by their "religious feeling," christians enter on the examination of the nature and bearings of American slavery, nothing can so "manage" them out of their reason, consciences, and hearts, as to put them asleep amidst such abominations as prevail around them. "The love of Christ will constrain them" to "remember those who are in bonds as bound with them;" to recognize in them the accredited representative of their Saviour. Thus affected, no "benevolent society" could relax its efforts till slavery

was swept from the face of all the earth. This matter has been familiar to the thoughts of such champions as oppression has found in Duff Green, and his reverend coadjutors at Princeton.

What wonder, then, that our theological and ecclesiastical "managers" should exert themselves so strenuously to get ahead of the "religious feeling." If they fail here they seem to be aware that all is lost to the "patriarchal institution" of slavery. If the "religious feeling" should once open the way for the claims of the oppressed to be thoroughly canvassed and fairly judged of, it would spurn the restraints which have hitherto, to so great an extent, availed to "manage" it. Hence the thousand expedients, which are in a thousand ways employed to prevent free discussion.

Let those who are curious to know by what sort of management, theological professors and titled ecclesiastics may exert themselves to prevent the "religious feeling" from gushing forth in favor of the enslaved, study the "resolutions"* lately taken by the Associations of Connecticut and Massachusetts. They will see what shifts the keepers of their neighbors' consciences can resort to, to prevent light from streaming in upon the human mind through other than the regular and appointed "windows." We advise these men to examine well the foundation of their authority, before they presume too much upon the readiness of the church to wear the yoke, which they are trying to fasten on her neck. The airs they put on in disposing of evangelists and lecturers, remind us of the condescension with which his Majesty, King George, received an Indian Prince. He *kindly* held out his hand for the copper-colored foreigner to kiss. But the monarch of the forest promptly declined the honor, with the characteristic exclamation, "*Humph, I king too!*" How much the *peace* of Zion will be promoted by constraining evangelists, and lecturers, and agents—aye, all christian people to assert and exercise their rights, is a question, which we leave with our peace-loving resolution

* "Resolved, that the operations of itinerant agents and lecturers, attempting to enlighten the churches in respect to particular points of Christian doctrine and Christian morals, and to control the religious sentiment of the community on topics which fall most appropriately within the sphere of pastoral instruction and pastoral discretion as to time and manner, *without the advice and consent of the pastors and regular ecclesiastical bodies*, are an unauthorized interference with the rights, duties and discretion of the stated ministry—dangerous to the influence of the pastoral office, and fatal to the peace and good order of the churches."

makers. But we take the liberty to express our full conviction, that in their efforts to reach the slave, the friends of human nature will hold "the even tenor of their way," despite of the obstacles which may thus be thrown before them.

We beg leave to assure such as "are not quite" certain "that Dr. Rice's views of slavery and its remedy," are not both "just and important," that the abolitionists are prepared highly to appreciate the "religious feeling." Under its impulse, they have been constrained to take their position by the side of the slave; to give him their sympathy and assistance. The "religious feeling" taught them to regard him "as a man and a brother;" to identify their interests with his; and with their eye lifted up to their common Father, calmly to expect to participate in whatever of weal or of woe might fall to his lot. Had they looked upon him with the eyes of economists or politicians merely, they might not perhaps have been wholly "unmanageable." Their views might have been modified, and their movements controlled by the state of the market, or the demands of an election. They might thus have been bribed, as thousands, aye, millions have been bribed, to leave him in the hands of thieves and assassins, with the atheistic* inquiry upon their lips, *what good will it do for us to attempt any thing for his relief?* But while they recognize in him one of God's own children—dear to that heart which bled for the world's redemption, the "religious feeling" will not permit them to look on unmoved, and see wretches, by an authority more absolute than God himself ever claimed, forcing him to herd and wallow with the swine. No "management," however cunning, can put a stop to their exertions for his deliverance. When it can be shown, that reason, conscience, humanity, the Bible, are against them, then, and not till then, they will abandon their bleeding brother. Till then, they may be expected to do their utmost to bring the "religious feeling" of the nation to subserve the cause of holy freedom.

But "benevolent societies have no means," we are reminded by Dr. Rice "of accomplishing their measures, but the producing, by means of speeches and addresses, a strong excitement." In other words, instead of wielding the law-

* Job xxi. 15. What is the Almighty that we should serve Him; and what profit should we have, if we pray unto Him.

making, and war-waging power, they must be content to compass the ends they aim at, by *moral suasion*. With this, they may well be content. More than this, they need not demand. Give the friends of truth and freedom access to the understandings, consciences, and hearts of their fellow citizens; let them state facts, urge arguments, make appeals in the presence of the nation, and the dungeons of oppression will speedily crumble with the dust. Of this the abettors of slavery are well aware. Hence their desperate efforts to chain thought, to cripple inquiry, gag discussion. Do not those, who are almost if not "quite" ready to subscribe to the views of Dr. Rice know, that in a republic like ours, law-makers and their laws are indebted for their life and power altogether to public sentiment? Let this be corrupt, and wickedness in every form may be legally enacted. Purify this, and good laws shine upon the pages of the statute-book. And purified it may be under God "by an excitement produced by speeches and addresses"—by the power of moral suasion. And who will forbid Reason to expose, rebuke, and restrain the wayward Will? But the excitement! Let it come! Let the infectious pool, stagnant, green, alive with abominable reptiles, be agitated. Who would not invoke and welcome the storm? Better inhale the breath of the tempest than the infection of the plague. We do not choose to withdraw our sympathies from a celebrated "producer of excitement by means of speeches and addresses" with whom we desire to unite in objects, methods, spirit and hopes—that great master of moral suasion, who once exclaimed; "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh: For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds; casting down imaginations and every high thing, that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." Will the Christian Spectator inform us, whether in achieving such victories, the Apostle welcomed as an auxiliary "the religious feeling," and whether he ever tried, even at the hazard of an excitement, to enlist it by "speeches and addresses?"

Dr. Rice believed, "that it never fared well with either church or state, when the CHURCH MEDDLED WITH TEMPORAL AFFAIRS!" With temporal affairs! And from what

by such an intimation, would the doctor dissuade his brethren? From meddling with one of the greatest evils; according to his own showing, a MORAL EVIL, with which our country is cursed! Slavery, that mother of abominations—that source of crimes of all sorts and sizes—that sin, second in the eyes of Dr. Rice himself only to the sin of intemperance, he would have the church leave unexposed, untouched. They must not form benevolent societies; must not make speeches and addresses; must not produce an excitement; must not enlist the religious feeling in “delivering the poor and needy—in ridding them out of the hand of the wicked! No! Why? Because it has never fared well either with church or state, when the church have meddled with TEMPORAL AFFAIRS!” Stealing babes from their mother’s bosom;—merely a temporal affair! Selling children by the pound;—merely a temporal affair! Tearing the helpless husband from his frantic wife;—merely a temporal affair! Cutting men with whips for trying to “search the Scriptures;”—merely a temporal affair! One church member putting up another at public auction;—merely a temporal affair! Full indulgence for fornication, adultery, and murder—ay, murder “by moderate correction;”—merely a temporal affair! A legalized system of oppression, which consigns millions of God’s children to insufferable wrongs and unutterable misery in this world, and to agony and despair in the future;—merely a temporal affair! Too vulgar for the church to waste her thoughts upon! or defile her hands with! We wonder, what a theological professor would have considered a *spiritual* affair!—Ah, we have it! The doctor himself has solved the problem. Such temporal affairs are not to be meddled with, “while we go on MINDING OUR OWN BUSINESS, and endeavouring to make as MANY GOOD CHRISTIANS AS POSSIBLE among masters and servants!” Here is business as spiritual as mist and moonshine. “Go on, making good Christian baby-stealers! Good Christian children-sellers! Good Christian wedlock-breakers! Good Christian Bible-withholders! Good Christians; the pledged protectors of a system of fornication, adultery, and murder! How *spiritually* minded, churches and ministers thus employed must be! With what pious disgust must they not stand aloof from such “temporal affairs,” as “defending the

poor and fatherless;—as doing justice to the afflicted and needy!”—Such “good Christians” belong to a stock which may boast of high antiquity. The Hebrew Prophets found them very numerous; and took the liberty on various occasions to delineate their character and dispose of their pretensions. Isaiah, though his views and feelings ill accord with those of Dr. Rice, shall place these “good Christians” in the light in which they ought to be regarded. “Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation, that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinances of their God: they ask of me the ordinances of justice; they take delight in approaching to God. Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast, ye find pleasure and exact all your labors. Behold ye fast for strife, and debate and to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye shall not fast as you do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast, that I have chosen? A day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness and undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?” Would Isaiah have been taught to deliver himself in such terms, if he had been trained up in Dr. Rice’s Seminary? By all his regard “for calculated consequences,” would he not have been urged to let such “temporal affairs” alone, “while he went on minding his own business, and making as many good Christians as possible!”

His skill in “calculating consequences” gave, we suppose, to Dr. Rice the right “to meddle” with slavery. For meddle with it he did, if we may believe what he asserts, that “it was *his most ardent prayer*, that we might be delivered from” this next to “the greatest evil in our country.” But though it be a “delicate subject,” we cannot well suppress the inquiry. With what sort of prayers did Dr. R. seek deliverance from the evil, of which he so loudly complains? That they were “ardent”—*most ardent*,” he himself has acknowledged. But what with a soul on flame with the vehemency of his desires, could he say? Between his

views of the evil and remedy of slavery, and his prayers for "deliverance from it," we have a right to presume there must have been a strict consistency and a manifest harmony. From his description of the former, we may fairly infer the tenor of the latter. See the suppliant, then, upon his knees! Listen to his "most ardent" supplications. "Our Father, who art in heaven. Behold this nation, under the pressure of one of the greatest evils. Next to intemperance, I deplore before Thee the evil of slavery. I lift up my soul in earnest entreaty for deliverance from it. Save, Lord, *save*, I beseech thee! I confess before thee, that this evil depends upon "the state of the *public will*;" that our "only possible chance of deliverance is by making *the people willing* to get rid of it." But how, O Lord, shall they be made willing? Thou knowest how fearful a thing it must be to have "the religious feeling brought to bear directly on the subject of slavery;" how little can be accomplished "by the combination of benevolent societies." Thou knowest how "little the great body of persons composing such *societies, are accustomed TO CALCULATE CONSEQUENCES*;" how directly they are apt to go at their measure," and to "produce a strong excitement by speeches and addresses." Lord, as I am "strenuously opposed to ANY movement by the church or ministers of religion on this subject," so do thou graciously prevent them from "touching it." Thou knowest, heavenly Father, that "slaves," thine own children though they be, "are held by law as property." Thy people cannot "*touch* the subject without touching what are called the rights of property." "We cannot move a step in this way without wakening up the strongest opposition and producing the most violent excitement." "*The whole mass of the community will be set in motion, and THE GREAT BODY OF THE CHURCH WILL BE CARRIED ALONG!*" And then, what wilt Thou do for Thy great name? Stretch out Thy arm to prevent such dreadful results. For Thou knowest it has "never fared well either with church or state, when the church has meddled with TEMPORAL AFFAIRS!" "I most devoutly wish success to the Colonization Society." Crown the efforts of this association with Thy blessing. But O, grant my "earnest wish, *that its friends may not refer to it as a means of DELIVERANCE FROM SLAVERY!*" Grant, then, Father of men, that "we may go on *minding our own business.*"

May we leave "the subject of slavery" --the slavery of *our* brethren and *Thy* children, "with the *POLITICAL papers, reviews,*" &c., "to be discussed as *a question of POLITICAL ECONOMY!*" Teach us to "treat it as a matter of *state concernment!*" Help us, Thou who hast given Thy Son to die for the enslaved; O, help us "to examine its effects on the agriculture, commerce and manufactures of the state!" Enable us to compare the expense of free and slave labor! In thy great mercy—for nothing is too hard for Thee—"set the people to calculating the weight of their burdens!" "Let them see how many old slaves and young slaves, who *PRODUCE NOTHING, they have to support!*" "Show them how slavery detracts from the *military* force as well as the wealth of a country, &c. &c.!" Open their eyes to "considerations of *this sort*, that, combined with the benevolent feelings growing out of a gradual, uninterrupted progress of religion, they may "set the people of their own accord to seek deliverance." "Such is my" prayer!

Such a prayer is suited to the preaching, with which Dr. R. would edify us. What a prayer, to be offered for the repentance of those, whose "*will*" has involved the nation in an evil inferior, even in the doctor's eyes, only to intemperance!—the repentance of the guilty authors and supporters of a system of oppression, which is crushing and destroying millions of God's children! What a prayer, to be offered for the deliverance and relief of *stolen men*, who are robbed of all their rights, and whose welfare here, and whose happiness hereafter are set at nought, as a vile and worthless thing!

While he sees such men as Dr. Rice upon their knees, let every abolitionist be excited to prayer. Let him carry the insulted, outraged children of the Lord to their gracious Father. Let him carry the "little ones" of Christ, whose ransomed souls are put up at public auction, to their merciful Redeemer. Let him invoke the grace of the Holy Spirit upon His despised outcasts, who, while they are entitled to His influences, are shut away from his presence. Let him give the Avenger of the oppressed no rest, day nor night, till He arise to redress the wrongs and vindicate the rights of His own suffering poor.

Dr. Rice had reason to expect, that the "good christians" of the South would, whenever an occasion for so doing

should arise, verify his prediction respecting their readiness to conform to the world. "The whole mass of the community" he assures us, "will," if "the minister or the church touch the subject of slavery," "be set in motion, AND THE GREAT BODY OF THE CHURCH WILL BE CARRIED ALONG!" He had seen "the whole mass of the community" rushing to the slave market, *and the great body of the church CARRIED ALONG!* "The whole mass of the community" he had seen eagerly engaged in trafficking in the bodies and souls of men, *and the great body of the church CARRIED ALONG!* "The whole mass of the community" he had seen "set in motion" to organize and perfect a system of theft, adultery and murder, *and the great body of the church CARRIED ALONG!* And we have seen "the whole mass of the community set in motion," to vindicate and support this system of abominations by the authority of Reason and the Bible, *and the great body of the church CARRIED ALONG!* We have seen "the whole mass of the community" agitated with murderous violence—"breathing out threatenings and slaughter" against the open advocates of the dumb—the pledged friends of the helpless; *and the great body of the church CARRIED ALONG!* Yes, "CARRIED ALONG" like dead fish in a filthy stream! Verily, our doctor understood the character of the "good christians," whom he was so anxious to have his brethren endeavor to "go on" to multiply. But when they are "made," what are they good for? "To purify a corrupt popular sentiment? No; but to be "carried along" with it! "Good" to rebuke prevalent iniquity? No; but to be "carried along" by it! "Good," to rid the poor and the needy out of the hand of the wicked? No; but to be "carried along" with their oppressors! "Good," to turn the feet of the wanderer into the narrow way? No; but to be "carried along" with the multitude in the broad road! Verily Dr. Rice could not have chosen language more happily descriptive of "the great body" of his "good christians." It ought to be written on their foreheads as it is inscribed upon their character, "CARRIED ALONG!" And yet these "good christians, carried along" as they are, are urged upon us in the great work of abolishing slavery, as teachers and guides! They are to be our exemplars and champions! They are to be placed at the head of the "Sacramental host," in their warfare with

the fiends, which, all armed, have sprung from the bowels of slavery! What must be the fate of an army marshalled under such leaders? They must of course be "CARRIED ALONG"! If the friends of human nature put themselves under such guides, they will richly deserve the defeat, disgrace, and destruction, to which they will inevitably be "*carried along*"! Let them be warned by the prophetic voice of Dr. Rice! Let them be instructed by what they themselves have witnessed. They have been urged again and again, and from every quarter have they been vehemently urged, to leave the slave in the hands of his oppressors, without uttering a word in his behalf. "The tender mercies of the South will best provide for his welfare. Why should the Northern abolitionist interfere? Are there no churches in the land of slaves? No ministers of the gospel? Are they not best qualified to plead with felicity and effect the cause of the enslaved? At least confide in them for such ways and methods as may be best adapted to work deliverance for the oppressed. Why should not Northern philanthropists be content to act merely as auxiliaries to the "good christians" of the South? Auxiliaries in what? In "going on minding their own business"! Auxiliaries in "not touching the matter"! Auxiliaries in giving up "the subject to political papers, reviews, &c. to be discussed as a question of political economy!" Auxiliaries in being "*carried along*" with "the whole mass of the community," set in motion by the apprehension that "a step" may be taken towards "touching what are called the rights of property" in the bodies and souls of the poor! Let abolitionists beware! If they would not see their dearest hopes blasted; the slave dying in despair, or breaking his fetters with the hand of violence, let them not commit themselves, as auxiliaries with those, who are "*carried along*" down-stream with "the whole mass of the community."

To Dr. Rice's plan for the abolition of American slavery, we have strong objections.

1. *It is founded on what we cannot but regard as a gross and monstrous falsehood.* A crime of appalling magnitude—a sin of crimson die is to be "treated," merely "as a matter of *state-concernment*"! It is to be disposed of "as a question of political economy"! But this would be to deal *falsely* with transgressors. All sin involves injury.

It occasions waste and inflicts injury. It blasts and ravages and ruins. What then? Is it to be regarded as "a question of political economy"? So to regard it is obviously to practice falsehood. And as "no lie is of the truth," so no lie can promote the cause of righteousness. Painful as the task may be, we shall continue to "rebuke" our brethren, while they "go on minding" the "business" of man-stealing; and leave it to those, who "are accustomed to calculate consequences" to reckon up the dollars and cents, which rebellion against God and treason against man may happen to cost!

2. *Dr. Rice overlooks the strongest props which support the system of American oppression.*—What if he could convince the petty tyrants around him, that slaveholding was unprofitable? Would they for that give up their vassals? What; and subdue their idleness? And yield their power? And crucify their lusts? What; and break the cord of caste? And work with their own hands? And form habits of sobriety and industry, and chastity? Such power in the interest-table? Has talk about dollars and cents such resistless energy? Go, give lessons on political economy to a bloated aristocracy. How soon they will surrender their gilded coaches, their beds of ease, their sumptuous fare! Go, tell the debauchee, that he is violating the rules of political economy. With what disgust and horror will he not forsake the slough, in which he had been wallowing! Go, tell the aspiring demagogue, that his ambition must, on the principles of political economy, be an expensive article. How soon will he turn his eye away from the giddy eminence which he is straining every nerve to reach! Political economy contending with slavery! Stubble against fire! Slaveholders know, as well as any political economist can tell them, that their pride and lusts and cruelty are unprofitable. Of this, they have demonstration in the blasted things—the mouldering ruins, which slavery has scattered all around them. But Leviathan is not so tamed. Political economy never yet brought one sinner to repentance. No, no. We shall continue under God to wield His truth, and invoke His Spirit, in contending with the foe, which we have dared to grapple with. Thus, and only thus can he be laid prostrate in the dust.

3. The results which have already followed Dr. Rice's

plan at the South, where, for ages, it has been acted on, do it great discredit. How cautiously all along have not ministers and churches abstained from touching the subject of slavery! How steadily have they "gone on minding their own business," leaving their "crushed brethren, unaided in the hands of the oppressor! How magnanimously and cautiously have they committed the whole matter "to political papers and reviews," to be discussed as a "question of political economy"! And so, master and slave, generation after generation, passed away, infected with guilt and involved in darkness, to their final account, till Dr. Rice opened a prophet's eye upon the future. And what said the seer? "The jealousy among our countrymen on this subject is such, that we cannot move a step in this way (the way of touching slavery) without wakening up the strongest opposition and producing the most violent excitement. *The whole mass of the community will be set in motion, and the great body of the church will be carried along!*" So much for the success of the doctor's plan, when he stood upon the watch-tower! And what have we been called since to witness? Throughout the whole South—the entire length and breadth of the land of leprosy—Sophistry wagging its tongue, and Violence swinging its fist, in defence of perpetual slavery! Nay, the spirit of oppression has summoned the energies of the nation, to protect his magazine of whips and chains, and engines of murder! The priest has laboured hard to prove from the Bible, that the groans, and tears, and blood of "the poor innocents" are an acceptable sacrifice to God! And the statesman has exerted himself to show, that our republican edifice is constructed of bones, broken by the rod of tyranny! And a thousand voices have been heard shouting the praises of servitude! And a thousand hands have been stretched out, eager to extend the chain, which is fastened on the slave of the South to the free laborer of the North! And what has thus "set the whole mass of the community in motion," while "the great body of the church" has been "*carried along*"? Why some of our fellow-citizens have had the audacity to examine the principles, on which our free institutions are professedly founded. In the light of these principles they have seen, that slavery under all its aspects and in all its bearings was wicked, abominably wicked, and that

it was speedily and certainly, working the ruin of the republic. What they have seen they have dared to proclaim. "Sighing over the abominations," which are multiplied around them, they have called upon their fellow-citizens to act upon the noble principles, on which our government claims to be based. For thus "touching the subject of slavery," they have exposed themselves to the fierce denunciations and malignant violence of "the whole mass" of legalized manstealers, not excepting the "good christians," who have been "*carried along*"! We think, therefore, that Dr. Rice's plan has worked badly. The evil he was so anxious to escape, has grown worse and worse. Had the friends of humanity "gone on" a little longer "minding their own business," the ruin of the republic would have been inevitable and complete.

4. Just such results as have now been described, every sound philosopher must have confidently expected. Even in the nursery, I hear him say, it is well understood, that pride and selfishness and passion always gather strength from indulgence. The more they are humored, the more eager, imperious, and violent they become. They must be exposed, resisted, subdued, or they will transform the human spirit, which they possess, into a malignant and miserable fiend. And what is true of the nursery, is true in such matters of every department of human life. No wonder, then, that the pride, and selfishness, and passions of American slaveholders have attained such a growth—have become so imperious and violent, as to throw off all restraints, and threaten the subversion of the republic. Those, who were under obligations as sacred as the throne of Heaven, to expose, and rebuke the "evils" which prevailed a round them, have all along to a fearful extent, and in accordance with the advice of Dr. Rice, been "going on minding their own business"—"calculating consequences"—"treating" *sin* "as a matter of state concernment"—"giving up the subject to political papers and reviews, to be discussed as a question of political economy"! No wonder, "the whole mass of the community" have been "set in motion" to strengthen and rivet the chain of servitude, while "the great body of the church" has been "*carried along*."

On what grounds any "christian spectator" can regard the views of Dr. Rice as "both just and important," we "are

quite sure" we cannot tell. "Most fully convinced" we are, that the hearty friends of human nature can never adopt them. They are false in theory and ruinous in practice. Such views, too generally embraced, have already well nigh reduced the American churches to apostacy. Their prevalence has opened a broad way to the "slippery steep," on the verge of which the giddy republic now totters! They are at war with sound philosophy and true religion;—with every principle and arrangement of the divine government. Why then should not those, who amidst reproach and blasphemy, and violence, have dared "to consider the poor" go on plainly and boldly to expose the guilt and folly of oppression. Why should they not "treat it" as a *SIN*—a *mother-sin*, pregnant with abominations? Why should they not, as with trumpet-tongue, warn their country of her danger, and call her to repentance? God, the long-suffering, and the gracious, may crown their labors with a blessing as rich, as it must be undeserved. "Let us not be weary in well-doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not."