THE BIBLE VIEW
OF
SLAVERY RECONSIDERED.

A LETTER

TO THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP HOPKINS.

SECOND EDITION,
REVISED AND SOMewhat ENLARGED.

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To the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hopkins:

Sir,—It was once the glory of the Protestant Episcopal Church that her clergy kept aloof from all political agitations as foreign to their purpose. When about three years ago you departed from that time-honored practice, and became the political champion of slavery, on Biblical principles, and published your "Bible View of Slavery," many of us, though dissenting from those views, (apart from the dangerous innovation,) held our peace, from the mistaken supposition that your course would conciliate "our erring brethren of the South," and prevent the disruption of our beloved Union. But when, on application from a political party, whose energies are solely directed to harass and weaken the hands of our rightful government, and to strengthen those of the bastard government of rebellion, you consented to republish those views—and that, too, "in a Diocese not your own"—we, because our respect for you is so widely known in this Diocese, were, in self-defense, compelled to issue a protest—that we "have no complicity or sympathy with such a defense." Approving of that protest, because I do not believe that the Bible teaches the perpetual bondage of the negro or any other race, I desire you to divest yourself of your former bias, and reconsider the Biblical aspect of slavery.

You state that you do not "oppose the prevalent idea that slavery is an evil in itself." You admit "it may be a physical evil," but you maintain that it is "no moral evil, no po-
tive sin to hold a human being in bondage." What is sin? It is a deviation from rule. God has placed man under his law, and requires him to walk by rule. In reference to Himself, he requires us to love him, with all the heart, mind, soul, and strength. In reference to our fellow-creatures, he requires us that we should love our neighbors as ourselves, and do unto others as we would they should do unto us. This is the rule—and every departure from this rule, in thought, word, or deed, is sin. From this law "there can be no appeal."

It is not my intention to reconsider every proposition in your pamphlet. If its criticism can be proved incorrect, its "proofs" erroneous and misapplied—if the statement, so often repeated, that "Southern slavery is a divine institution," can be proved to be untrue, then Southern slavery will stand condemned as "a moral evil and a positive sin." I shall leave it to others to argue with you "the soundness of the proposition of the far-famed Declaration of Independence." I shall simply confine myself to the Old Testament "proofs" advanced in your pamphlet in behalf of Southern slavery.

Your opening proposition states that the term "servant" has generally the meaning of "slave" in the Hebrew. This is incorrect. The Hebrew word "Ebed," translated "servant," has a very wide signification, and is indiscriminately applied. It comprehends all manner of service that can be rendered under the sun.

1st. In Gen. ii. 5, the last three words, "la-eabod eth ha-adamah," literally, "to serve the ground," our translators rendered, "to till the ground," v. 15; the same word is rendered, "to dress it," Gen. ii. 25. Chapter iv. 12, the word "Ebed" occurs only twice in the English Bible. Yes, in the English Bible. But in the originals, and, indeed, to the intelligent reader of the English versions, it does not occur at all. There are two well-known rules laid down for the guidance of the general reader of the Bible. 1st. Where the marginal reading differs from the textual, the margins are to be preferred. 2d. That all words in italics are not in the original, but mere words placed there by the translators, to make out what they believed to be the sense. The word "slave" occurs, for instance, in Revelation xii. 19, showing that the word "slave" is not in the Greek; it occurs the second time in Revelation xvi. 11; the margin reads "Ebedervhus," passing immediately after the word "slave" is not in the Greek.
same word is again rendered, "to be." 2d. It is applied to the service of Jehovah; as also to the service of strange gods. Thus, in Joshua xxiv. 2, "and they served other gods," v. 14; and "serve ye the Lord," and so in several instances of the same chapter, 2d. To Patriarchs—Gen. xxvi. 24, "Abraham, my servant," Isaiah xlii. 8; "Thus Israel art thou servants," Isaiah xlii. 1; "Jacob, my servant." 4th. To Prophets—Numbers xxxi. 6, 7, 8, the same term is three times applied to Moses. And so Deuteronomy xxxi. 5, "Moses the servant of the Lord died." And so Joshua i. 1, 2; xxiv. 29, Jeremiah vii. 23: "I sent to you all my servants the prophets." 5th. To the ministers of the State—Gen. xiv. 16: "It pleased Pharaoh well and his servants." Exod. x. 7: "The servants of Pharaoh chidden his princes and advising him what to do." 6th. To soldiers and their officers—2 Samuel ii. 12, 13: "Abner the son of Ner went with the servants of Ish-bosheth to fight with Joab the son of Zeruiah and the servants of David." In this whole chapter, David's army is called "the servants of David." In chapter xxv. 22 (2 Sam.) the captains of David are called "his servants." 7th. To Ambassadors—2 Samuel vii: "The great insult to the servants of David, brought about the war between him and the children of Ammon." 8th. The same persons who are called, 2 Sam. xxiv. 20, "The king and his servants," are called in 1 Chron. xi. 16, "David and the Edomites of Israel." In this same chapter, (1 Chron. xxi. 3.) Josh asks David concerning the whole nation, "Are they not all my Lord's servants?" And finally, to confidential friends and assistants—Thus Hushai, David's confidential friend, is directed to say to Absalom, 2 Samuel xv. 34: "I will be thy servant (Ebed) as I have been thy father's servant (Ebed) hitherto, so will I be now also be thy servant." In the Chaldean, which is a twin sister to the Hebrew language, the word "Ebed" is used with still greater latitude. Thus, Geor. i. 5, where the Hebrew has, "Vay aha Elohim," "And God made the firmament," the Chaldean has, "Vaza-ked," &c., &c.; "And the Lord served the firmament," and so in every instance where the Hebrew word, "to make," and
And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made;" the Chaldaic has it: "And on the seventh day the Lord finished all his service which he had served, and he rested on the seventh day from all his service which he had served."

From the above it is seen that the signification of the word Ebed is very extensive; it comprehends to worship, to officiate, to perform the services of the State, to advise and also to do the work of a domestic or that of a field laborer. The distinction between "Ebed," when applied to a domestic or field laborer, and the word "Sachir," translated "hired servant," is simply this: The "Ebed" is a servant who was hired for a term of years, whereas the "Sachir" was hired by the day. When Jacob, therefore, offered his services to Laban for seven years, he did not say, I will be seven years a Sachir with thee, but I will be seven years thy Ebed. Hence the injunction in Leviticus xix. 34: "The wages of him that is hired (Sachir) shall not abide with thee until morning."

In fact, the same distinction which exists in our day between "an apprentice" and "a day laborer" existed then. The one is under bonds to serve one master for a term of years, and the other can hire himself out to whomsoever he will.

Your statement, therefore, that the term "Ebed," commonly translated "servant," has the meaning of "slave" in the Hebrew, is erroneous, and the inference that it is to be defined as servitude for life, descending to the offspring, is a most serious error, fraught with the most serious consequences.

I now proceed to your "array of positive proofs," and re-examine their validity with all the impartiality in my power.

Your first "proof" is advanced from Genesis ix. 25—a passage which the ultra-pro-slavery divines are so excessively fond of repeating: "Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren." Here it is seen that the first appearance of slavery is coupled with a "curse," which pro-slavery advocates pronounce to be "an insufferable blessing."
a marked Biblical difference. But can you tell us why the descendants of Canaan were at first conquering nations? And what is most remarkable, that civilization is deeply indebted to Ham's descendants for its first development. Besides, if "this remarkable" imprecation was to be literally fulfilled, why were the Israelites positively commanded not to enslave but to annihilate them? Deuteronomy xx. 16, 17. "They shalt save alive nothing that breatheth. But thou shalt utterly destroy them, namely the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee." And what connection has this curse with the enslavement of the negro race in the South? For it is not Ham, but Canaan that is cursed, and his descendants were destroyed by the Israelites nearly three thousand four hundred years since. By what historical facts did you come to the knowledge that the negro is a veritable descendant of Canaan? Your vehemence in the advocacy of slavery caused you to overlook the stubborn fact that all commentators, Jews and Gentiles, maintain that from Cush, the son of Ham, the black races descended. The statement, therefore, that the "Almighty has ordained the negro race to servitude" is pure imagination.* The proof cannot be found. But should you still insist on an "actual fulfillment of this wonderful" imprecation, with which the descendants of Cush can have no possible connection, then the Southern slave owners ought first to be reduced to slavery themselves, and then the negro would be a "slave to slaves."

Will your "second proof," advanced from Genesis xiv. 14, that "Abraham had three hundred and eighteen bond servants born in his house," stand the test of sound criticism?

* The following is a logical summary of your first "proof":

Noah cursed Canaan and doomed his descendants to perpetual slavery. But God strictly prohibited the enslavement of the Canaanites under any circumstances. Therefore it is inexcusably presumed that the enslavement of the negroes, (who are not descendants of Canaan), "by our Southern friends," is a Divine Institution.
It must be known to you as a scholar that ch'neechov literally signifies consecrated, dedicated or trained retainers. Is it possible that the number of three hundred and eighteen young men perplexed you? I can easily remove that difficulty. Abraham wherever he went proclaimed the name of the Lord, and made proselytes. The life then being nomadic, they attached themselves to his household, and considered him as their chief. Their children are properly said to be "born in his house." Three he consecrated to the service of Jehovah; they were his "trained retainers." Hence, when he declined to take a reward from the king of Sodom, he adds, (verse 24,)

"Save only that which the young men [mark, he did not call them "my bond servants," but the young men] and the portion of the men which went with me, Abner, Eleasar and Mamre, let them take their portion." He could decline for himself, but could not decline for his retainers—a strong proof that "Father Abraham" had no idea that they were "his property."

Though I pass Hagar, I will not omit her. Let us see the only logic of your third proof. Because the tenth commandment says "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant," &c., &c., therefore "it is evident that the principle of property runs through the whole." Now, permit me to ask you ever had in the free State of Vermont a worthless "maid-servant?" and if your neighbor happened to have such a good one, did you ever feel like saying, "I wish I could get such a good girl," and did such a thought ever escape your lips? Is it not evident that the whole of the tenth commandment is directed against covetousness in general? Did not St. Paul understand it so? "Nay, I had not known sin but by the law; for I had not lust, except the law had said, 'thou shalt not covet.'" Romans vii. 7. For the sake of common fairness, I beseech you, not to torture every passage of Scripture into a defense of "slave property."

Your "fourth proof" strongly supports my distinction between "Ebed" and "Sachin." "Ebed" is the name of a "serv-
vant” who was said to be sold (the term “apprentice” not being known then) for a term of years. The law limited that term to six years. Whether that servant was male or female, whether he sold himself through poverty, or to learn a trade, or was sold by the magistrate for his crimes, six years were fixed as the utmost limit of time during which he could be deprived of his personal liberty. “If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself; if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons and daughters,” and his term of six years expire before her term is completed, “the wife and her children shall be her master’s, and he shall go out by himself.” That this is the true exposition of this law appears clear from the fact, that the wife must have been an Israelitish woman. The prohibitions against intermarriages with the heathens are so very express. That female servants were under the same law of six years, is expressly stated in Deuteronomy xv. 12: “If thy brother, a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee.” Verse 17: “And also unto thy maid-servant thou shalt do likewise.” But should he refuse to wait the legitimate time when she would be entitled to her liberty, and “say I love my master, my wife and my children, I will not go out free,” then he is to be disgraced, and have his ear bored to his master’s door, and he with his wife and children must serve that master “to Ohlam,” “to ever,” that is, to the Jubbile year; the surest method of deterring any one placed in such circumstances of availing himself of the provisions of the statute.

In arguing for a perpetual bondage of the heathen races from Leviticus xxv. 40, “they shall be your bondmen forever,” you have overlooked several facts. First. You did not take into consideration the historical facts, and did not inform us whence. The Hebrew servant was not freed every Sabbath year, unless he happened to be sold at that time. Thus, if he were sold two years before the last Sabbath year, he was not to be freed at all, and the first year after the last Sabbath year, the next Sabbathed release would free neither of them. Each must serve his term of six years.
the heathen slaves were obtained, whether from a particular race or from one class; whether from a regular slave-market in Africa, or from the surrounding conquered nations; and, secondly, you did not critically examine the limited duration expressed by these words, and therefore erroneously concluded that their bondage was perpetual—that the Jubilee did not emancipate them. This is an error. Let us see how the heathen slaves were obtained. In those times, the captives of the conquered nations, (the Canaanites always excepted,) no matter of what complexion, if they were not put to the sword, were sold as slaves. They and their children were kept in bondage until they adopted the religion of their conquerors. The Jews were commanded to make proselytes of and circumcise all these heathen slaves, Genesis xvii. 15: "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised." The descendants of these proselytes, in the third generation, became entitled to all the rights and privileges of the native Israelites, and would, therefore, acquire their freedom after they had attained their twentieth year—at the first proclamation of a "release," Deuteronomy xxv. 1, or at the farthest at the first Jubilee proclamation, which year is termed by Moses "Leolham," "to ever."

I know that very high authority will be brought to disprove this statement. But, in proof of the truth of the above proposition, I beg to observe, 1st. That the literal language of Levit. xxi. 10, warrants the belief that the benefit of the Jubilee reached all classes of slaves: "Ye shall account the fiftieth year, and ye shall proclaim liberty in the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

2d. The first part of the fortieth verse, "And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession," presents no such insuperable difficulties, and does not mean that the emancipation perpetual. In our own days, in England, men buy leases for a certain period of years—the utmost, I believe, is ninety-nine years. These leases are literally "take or assign an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession;" but at the expiration of the stipulated period, the land becomes free, and reverts to the heirs of the original owners.

3d. The second part of the fortieth verse, "They shall be your bondmen forever," reads in the literal, "Leolham habben sha-en-enokh,"—"Tu Ollhem ye shall cause them to serva." The same expression is used in Exod. xix. 16: "And he shall serve him to Ollhem." Also rendered in our English version: "And he shall serve him forever." All the Jewish and Gentile commentators declare
I will now state a few facts which you did not consider, and which I hope you will notice in your promised forthcoming work, and which will prove Southern slavery as it exists in the Cotton States, to be contrary to the teachings of the Bible.

1. The issue of the female slave always enjoyed the privilege of the father. If the father was a free man the master had no claim upon the offspring. If the master ever "fancy her," she regained her freedom at once. More than that, she became entitled to all the rights and immunities of a wife. In fact, he was commanded to marry her. This law is specially laid down in the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th verses of Exodus xxi., when she slave is an Israelitish woman, (the same chapter from which you selected your "fourth proof,"), and in Deuteronomy xxi. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, when the slave is a heathen woman—but which it never suits the convenience of pro-slavery divines to notice. Hagar's case comes in here appropriately. Was Ishmael Abraham's son or slave? When he became obnoxious to Sarah, did she ask Abraham to sell him and his mother for the benefit of Isaac, or to send him away? Does the Scripture recognize Ishmael as Abraham's son or slave? When Abraham died, who buried him? Ishmael, his slave, and Isaac, his son? What says the Scripture? Genesis xxv, 9: "And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him."

Again, in Genesis xxxix, we find that Laban gave to his two daughters, Zilpah and Bilhah, for "handmaids." Jacob "knew them." Their children were Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher. Were these four children counted as Jacob's "slave property," or as his sons? Was there any inequality among

with one voice that "Leolam" ("to ever") here signifies to the Jubilee; and I have yet to find a pro-slavery divine who would dare to maintain that the Jubilee did not free the Hebrew slave, though his ear was bored to his master's door with an awl and if Leolam signifies to the Jubilee," in Exodus xxv. 46, why should it not signify to the Jubilee," in Levit. xxv. 39? Finally, in worse thing, Moses himself speaks: "A house in a walled city, if not redeemed within a certain period, that house shall not go out of the Jubilee;" and if the heathen slave would have been excluded from the benefits of the Jubilee, he would have stood so, just as he did in the case among...
them, or were they counted as head tribes of Israel? How does Southern slavery compare with the Biblical teaching of these cases? "Upon the rock of the everlasting Scriptures," exclaimed one of your admiring followers, "I will stand forever." By what laws are the mulattoes kept in slavery? Can you maintain that the enslavement of the mulattoes (whose blood proclaims their Scripture and divine right to freedom) is a divine institution? Does the Bible ever teach the enslavement of one's own wife and children? Again: In your "fourth proof," you admit that the slave can say, "I love my wife and my children," I will not be separated from them. Even the idolatrous Egyptians who enslaved Israel, whom the Bible describes as being very rigorous — but they made Israel's life bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, in brick, and in all manner of service in the field, — practiced no such cruelty as forcible separations of husband and wife and children, and acknowledged the necessity of giving proper food to their slaves. And Israel in the wilderness remembered "the fishes, and the flesh, and the cucumbers, and the melons and the leeks, &c., &c., which they did eat in Egypt freely."

The law courts of the Christian South have decided, again and again, that slaves can contract no marriages, and therefore

* You may, (page 112.) "The third objection is, that slavery must be a sin, because it leads to immorality. But where is the evidence of it?" The Southern would suppose that the hundreds of thousands of mulattoes held in slavery would be a standing evidence against the immorality of slavery. In nearly every case, the resemblance of the slave to the owner is so striking, that it is utterly impossible to conceal the paternity of the unfortunate slave-sons and slave-daughters. And yet, in the face of the most "positive proofs" of the immorality of the Freedman's Commission, we are asked, "Where is the evidence of the immorality of slavery?" As for the "offenses against Christian morality" committed in the single city of New York," I am thankful to state, that no Biblical Scripture has yet appeared to claim for it a divine sanction.

† In the case of Medina vs. Gardner, 26 Ala. 715, the law record stands that "slaves cannot contract marriages, nor can they confer any legal rights on their children."

Or take two between the following cases: Mr. Allen Hummell, a Mississippi planter, was, during a long and dangerous illness, faithfully nursed by a
free can confer no legal rights on the children. That he, she, or their children can be sold at their master's will and pleasure. And Southern Christian slave owners, who "fare sumptuously every day," have decided that two meals per day, consisting of Indian corn and having no rice, with an occasional piece of salted pork or salted codfish, is a sufficient allowance for their over-worked slaves. Are these decisions also a divine institution and can they be proved from the Bible?

2. Excessive punishment, by which a slave might lose his life, was not often of his. He afterwards took her to Ohio, but her children and unaccompanied by her, she re-married him. He returned with her to his plantation in Mississippi, where she gave birth to a son. Upon the death of his wife, he was forced to sell her, which he refused the deed of emancipation, and freed all his property to his son. The will was contested by some distant relatives of the master in North Cor- nell, Judge Stansbury delivered the decision. The slave of the case shows conclusively that the contract had taken in a court against morality, president could determine as an example. But above all, it seems to have been planned and executed with a bad design to evade the spirit of the laws of this State. The action of the party is going to Ohio with the slave, and there enacting the deed, and his immediate return with them to this State, joint with another certainty to his purpose and object. The laws of this State cannot be thus defraud of their operation by one of our own citizens, and, therefore, John Monroe and his brother are still slaves and part of the damage of their family. This decision goes to the North to explain the whole system, and another can be rendered to slavery. Even this cruel and monstrous law of Pagan Nature, which deprived the duties and habits of the slave with freedom, and would cause a decision, like the above from their ancient book. See 2 Howard Miss. Rep. 237.

* It may not be unsafe to state here how we know fed their slaves. Hayes Rabbit Mosses Brown Mainam, the highest biblical authority, in his commentary, Yaf Mokhanah (the strong hand) on Hithiith Balaheh, (or the laws on Hithiith Balaheh) commenting on the text that "the beaten slaves are not to be treated with rigor."—Piety and justice require us to be merciful and kind to them. We ought not to oppress them, nor lay heavy burdens upon them. Nay, we ought to let them partake of the same food which we eat ourselves. Our instruction of blessed memory, made it a rule to give to their slaves a portion of every dish prepared for their own, nor would they sit down to their meals before they had some that their necessities were properly provided for so that they could approach God and truly say, "Beloved, as the sons of slaves are disposed toward their masters, and as the eyes of the beneficent toward her members, so are our eyes directed toward Jehovah our God, until he has mercy upon us."
is positively forbidden in the Bible. Indeed, the law makes no distinction between the murder of a man and the murder of a slave. "If a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod and he die under his hand, Nacama yeze zachah, avenging he shall be avenged." The Jewish Rabbins, who can be relied upon respecting the treatment of their slaves, insist that the death penalty is to be visited on the master of the murdered slave. Now, it is not enough that your Southern slave owners can chastise, can horribly mutilate, can hunt with dogs, and can even shoot their slave without ever being troubled by a living creature, but the very passage which the law has decreed for his protection, is by you dressed up in such a shape as to prove that severe corporal correction may be administered.

You also justify (p. 11) severe corporal correction, under the name of "presumed cruelty," because "the Saviour himself used a scourge of small cords when he drove the money-changers from the temple," and then self-complacently ask, "are our modern philanthropists more merciful than Christ and wiser than the Almighty?" Bishop, for whose benefit was the scourge used by Christ? For the hapless victims or for the "buyers and sellers?" Who are "the buyers and sellers," the money-changers in Southern slavery? The unfortunate victims who are bought and sold against their will—the men and women who are lashed at the whipping-post— or the slave owners? Is there not a manifest misapplication of Scripture?

Finally, permit me to draw your serious attention to a special fact which has escaped your consideration. It is recorded in Jeremiah xxxiv. Jerusalem was besieged by the army of the Chaldeans—within the famine and the pestilence consisted— without the sword devoured. The Jews set their hearts to search out their sins, in order to repent. They soon discovered that no "liberty year" was proclaimed to their slaves. They at once entered into a covenant to do so. The proclamation was issued, liberty was granted and the slaves were

"... See the case of Manea v. Gardner Davis, 18 Georgia Rep. 125, in which it was decided that it is lawful to exact runaway slaves with dogs, provided it be done with a due degree of caution."
emancipated. No sooner was the transaction completed than avarice caused them to repent of it, and they re-enslaved them. That, according to your views of the case, ought to have pleased the Lord, slavery being so divine, holy, and blessed an institution. But hear the word of the Lord: “Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, I made a covenant with your fathers, saying, At the end of seven years let you go every man his brother, a Hebrew, which hath been sold unto thee; and when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee; but your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear. And ye were now turned and had done right in proclaiming liberty, every man to his neighbor. But ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom ye had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants and unto you handmaids. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother and every man to his neighbor; behold I proclaim a liberty for you—to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine, and I will make you to be removed & to kingdoms of the earth.” So that, in accordance with the teaching of this chapter, slavery, though God tolerated it, is nevertheless a pollution in his sight—a pollution of his holy name, and emancipation is a righteous deed in his sight.

I know that in order to escape from the divine teaching of the above passage, you will point out the words “his brother a Hebrew.” But is not the Southern negro equally “his brother a Christian?” Yes, for we are all one in Christ Jesus, members of the same mystical body, living stones of the same spiritual temple, built on the same foundation, begotten again to the same blessed hope by the same means—the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. We all are heirs of the same inheritance, candidates for the same immeasurable glories, renewed to the same likeness, and sanctified to the same obedience, by the same blessed spirit. And therefore “in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free.”

Gal. iii. 28.

Your faithful servant, BIBLEMAN.