

Teaching American Religion in a Global Context

A TAH Presentation

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My Bondage and My Freedom

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LAST FLOGGING.

A SLEEPLESS NIGHT—RETURN TO COVEY'S—PURSUED BY COVEY—THE CHASE
DEFEATED—VENGEANCE POSTPONED—MUSINGS IN THE WOODS—THE AL-
TERNATIVE—DEPLORABLE SPECTACLE—NIGHT IN THE WOODS—EXPECTED
ATTACK—ACOSTED BY SANDY, A FRIEND, NOT A HUNTER—SANDY'S HOS-
PITALITY—THE "ASH CAKE" SUPPER—THE INTERVIEW WITH SANDY—HIS
ADVICE—SANDY A CONJURER AS WELL AS A CHRISTIAN—THE MAGIC ROOT
—STRANGE MEETING WITH COVEY—HIS MANNER—COVEY'S SUNDAY FACE
—AUTHOR'S DEFENSIVE RESOLVE—THE FIGHT—THE VICTORY, AND ITS
RESULTS.

SLEEP itself does not always come to the relief of the weary in body, and the broken in spirit; especially when past troubles only foreshadow coming disasters. The last hope had been extinguished. My master, who I did not venture to hope would protect me as *a man*, had even now refused to protect me as *his property*; and had cast me back, covered with reproaches and bruises, into the hands of a stranger to that mercy which was the soul of the religion he professed. May the reader never spend such a night as that allotted to me, previous to the morning which was to herald my return to the den of horrors from which I had made a temporary escape.

I remained all night—sleep I did not—at St. Michael's; and in the morning (Saturday) I started off, according to the order of Master Thomas, feeling that

I had no friend on earth, and doubting if I had one in heaven. I reached Covey's about nine o'clock; and just as I stepped into the field, before I had reached the house, Covey, true to his snakish habits, darted out at me from a fence corner, in which he had secreted himself, for the purpose of securing me. He was amply provided with a cowskin and a rope; and he evidently intended to *tie me up*, and to wreak his vengeance on me to the fullest extent. I should have been an easy prey, had he succeeded in getting his hands upon me, for I had taken no refreshment since noon on Friday; and this, together with the pelting, excitement, and the loss of blood, had reduced my strength. I, however, darted back into the woods, before the ferocious hound could get hold of me, and buried myself in a thicket, where he lost sight of me. The corn-field afforded me cover, in getting to the woods. But for the tall corn, Covey would have overtaken me, and made me his captive. He seemed very much chagrined that he did not catch me, and gave up the chase, very reluctantly; for I could see his angry movements, toward the house from which he had sallied, on his foray.

Well, now I am clear of Covey, and of his wrathful lash, for the present. I am in the wood, buried in its somber gloom, and hushed in its solemn silence; hid from all human eyes; shut in with nature and nature's God, and absent from all human contrivances. Here was a good place to pray; to pray for help for deliverance—a prayer I had often made before. But how could I pray? Covey could pray—Capt. Auld could pray—I would fain pray; but doubts (arising

partly from my own neglect of the means of grace, and partly from the sham religion which everywhere prevailed, cast in my mind a doubt upon all religion, and led me to the conviction that prayers were unavailing and delusive) prevented my embracing the opportunity, as a religious one. Life, in itself, had almost become burdensome to me. All my outward relations were against me; I must stay here and starve, (I was already hungry,) or go home to Covey's, and have my flesh torn to pieces, and my spirit humbled under the cruel lash of Covey. This was the painful alternative presented to me. The day was long and irksome. My physical condition was deplorable. I was weak, from the toils of the previous day, and from the want of food and rest; and had been so little concerned about my appearance, that I had not yet washed the blood from my garments. I was an object of horror, even to myself. Life, in Baltimore, when most oppressive, was a paradise to this. What had I done, what had my parents done, that such a life as this should be mine? That day, in the woods, I would have exchanged my manhood for the brutehood of an ox.

Night came. I was still in the woods, unresolved what to do. Hunger had not yet pinched me to the point of going home, and I laid myself down in the leaves to rest; for I had been watching for hunters all day, but not being molested during the day, I expected no disturbance during the night. I had come to the conclusion that Covey relied upon hunger to drive me home; and in this I was quite correct—the

facts showed that he had made no effort to catch me, since morning.

During the night, I heard the step of a man in the woods. He was coming toward the place where I lay. A person lying still has the advantage over one walking in the woods, in the day time, and this advantage is much greater at night. I was not able to engage in a physical struggle, and I had recourse to the common resort of the weak. I hid myself in the leaves to prevent discovery. But, as the night rambler in the woods drew nearer, I found him to be a *friend*, not an enemy; it was a slave of Mr. William Groomes, of Easton, a kind hearted fellow, named "Sandy." Sandy lived with Mr. Kemp that year, about four miles from St. Michael's. He, like myself, had been hired out by the year; but, unlike myself, had not been hired out to be broken. Sandy was the husband of a free woman, who lived in the lower part of "*Potpie Neck*," and he was now on his way through the woods, to see her, and to spend the Sabbath with her.

As soon as I had ascertained that the disturber of my solitude was not an enemy, but the good-hearted Sandy—a man as famous among the slaves of the neighborhood for his good nature, as for his good sense—I came out from my hiding place, and made myself known to him. I explained the circumstances of the past two days, which had driven me to the woods, and he deeply compassionated my distress. It was a bold thing for him to shelter me, and I could not ask him to do so; for, had I been found in his hut, he would have suffered the penalty of thirty-nine lashes on his bare back, if not something worse. But,

Sandy was too generous to permit the fear of punishment to prevent his relieving a brother bondman from hunger and exposure; and, therefore, on his own motion, I accompanied him to his home, or rather to the home of his wife—for the house and lot were hers. His wife was called up—for it was now about midnight—a fire was made, some Indian meal was soon mixed with salt and water, and an ash cake was baked in a hurry to relieve my hunger. Sandy's wife was not behind him in kindness—both seemed to esteem it a privilege to succor me; for, although I was hated by Covey and by my master, I was loved by the colored people, because *they* thought I was hated for my knowledge, and persecuted because I was feared. I was the *only* slave *now* in that region who could read and write. There had been one other man, belonging to Mr. Hugh Hamilton, who could read, (his name was "Jim,") but he, poor fellow, had, shortly after my coming into the neighborhood, been sold off to the far south. I saw Jim ironed, in the cart, to be carried to Easton for sale,—pinioned like a yearling for the slaughter. My knowledge was now the pride of my brother slaves; and, no doubt, Sandy felt something of the general interest in me on that account. The supper was soon ready, and though I have feasted since, with honorables, lord mayors and aldermen, over the sea, my supper on ash cake and cold water, with Sandy, was the meal, of all my life, most sweet to my taste, and now most vivid in my memory.

Supper over, Sandy and I went into a discussion of what was *possible* for me, under the perils and hard-

ships which now overshadowed my path. The question was, must I go back to Covey, or must I now attempt to run away? Upon a careful survey, the latter was found to be impossible; for I was on a narrow neck of land, every avenue from which would bring me in sight of pursuers. There was the Chesapeake bay to the right, and "Pot-pie" river to the left, and St. Michael's and its neighborhood occupying the only space through which there was any retreat.

I found Sandy an old adviser. He was not only a religious man, but he professed to believe in a system for which I have no name. He was a genuine African, and had inherited some of the so called magical powers, said to be possessed by African and eastern nations. He told me that he could help me; that, in those very woods, there was an herb, which in the morning might be found, possessing all the powers required for my protection, (I put his thoughts in my own language;) and that, if I would take his advice, he would procure me the root of the herb of which he spoke. He told me further, that if I would take that root and wear it on my right side, it would be impossible for Covey to strike me a blow; that with this root about my person, no white man could whip me. He said he had carried it for years, and that he had fully tested its virtues. He had never received a blow from a slaveholder since he carried it; and he never expected to receive one, for he always meant to carry that root as a protection. He knew Covey well, for Mrs. Covey was the daughter of Mr. Kemp; and he (Sandy) had heard of the barbarous treatment

to which I was subjected, and he wanted to do something for me.

Now all this talk about the root, was, to me, very absurd and ridiculous, if not positively sinful. I at first rejected the idea that the simple carrying a root on my right side, (a root, by the way, over which I walked every time I went into the woods,) could possess any such magic power as he ascribed to it, and I was, therefore, not disposed to cumber my pocket with it. I had a positive aversion to all pretenders to "*divination*." It was beneath one of my intelligence to countenance such dealings with the devil, as this power implied. But, with all my learning—it was really precious little—Sandy was more than a match for me. "My book learning," he said, "had not kept Covey off me," (a powerful argument just then,) and he entreated me, with flashing eyes, to try this. If it did me no good, it could do me no harm, and it would cost me nothing, any way. Sandy was so earnest, and so confident of the good qualities of this weed, that, to please him, rather than from any conviction of its excellence, I was induced to take it. He had been to me the good Samaritan, and had, almost providentially, found me, and helped me when I could not help myself; how did I know but that the hand of the Lord was in it? With thoughts of this sort, I took the roots from Sandy, and put them in my right hand pocket.

This was, of course, Sunday morning. Sandy now urged me to go home, with all speed, and to walk up bravely to the house, as though nothing had happened. I saw in Sandy too deep an insight into hu-

man nature, with all his superstition, not to have some respect for his advice; and perhaps, too, a slight gleam or shadow of his superstition had fallen upon me. At any rate, I started off toward Covey's, as directed by Sandy. Having, the previous night, poured my griefs into Sandy's ears, and got him enlisted in my behalf, having made his wife a sharer in my sorrows, and having, also, become well refreshed by sleep and food, I moved off, quite courageously, toward the much dreaded Covey's. Singularly enough, just as I entered his yard gate, I met him and his wife, dressed in their Sunday best—looking as smiling as angels—on their way to church. The manner of Covey astonished me. There was something really benignant in his countenance. He spoke to me as never before; told me that the pigs had got into the lot, and he wished me to drive them out; inquired how I was, and seemed an altered man. This extraordinary conduct of Covey, really made me begin to think that Sandy's herb had more virtue in it than I, in my pride, had been willing to allow; and, had the day been other than Sunday, I should have attributed Covey's altered manner solely to the magic power of the root. I suspected, however, that the *Sabbath*, and not the *root*, was the real explanation of Covey's manner. His religion hindered him from breaking the Sabbath, but not from breaking my skin. He had more respect for the *day* than for the *man*, for whom the day was mercifully given; for while he would cut and slash my body during the week, he would not hesitate, on Sunday, to teach me the value

of my soul, or the way of life and salvation by Jesus Christ.

All went well with me till Monday morning; and then, whether the root had lost its virtue, or whether my tormentor had gone deeper into the black art than myself, (as was sometimes said of him,) or whether he had obtained a special indulgence, for his faithful Sabbath day's worship, it is not necessary for me to know, or to inform the reader; but, this much I *may* say,—the pious and benignant smile which graced Covey's face on *Sunday*, wholly disappeared on *Monday*. Long before daylight, I was called up to go and feed, rub, and curry the horses. I obeyed the call, and I would have so obeyed it, had it been made at an earlier hour, for I had brought my mind to a firm resolve, during that Sunday's reflection, viz: to obey every order, however unreasonable, if it were possible, and, if Mr. Covey should then undertake to beat me, to defend and protect myself to the best of my ability. My religious views on the subject of resisting my master, had suffered a serious shock, by the savage persecution to which I had been subjected, and my hands were no longer tied by my religion. Master Thomas's indifference had severed the last link. I had now to this extent "backslidden" from this point in the slave's religious creed; and I soon had occasion to make my fallen state known to my Sunday-pious brother, Covey.

Whilst I was obeying his order to feed and get the horses ready for the field, and when in the act of going up the stable loft for the purpose of throwing down some blades, Covey sneaked into the stable, in his

peculiar snake-like way, and seizing me suddenly by the leg, he brought me to the stable floor, giving my newly mended body a fearful jar. I now forgot my roots, and remembered my pledge to *stand up in my own defense*. The brute was endeavoring skillfully to get a slip-knot on my legs, before I could draw up my feet. As soon as I found what he was up to, I gave a sudden spring, (my two day's rest had been of much service to me,) and by that means, no doubt, he was able to bring me to the floor so heavily. He was defeated in his plan of tying me. While down, he seemed to think he had me very securely in his power. He little thought he was—as the rowdies say—"in" for a "rough and tumble" fight; but such was the fact. Whence came the daring spirit necessary to grapple with a man who, eight-and-forty hours before, could, with his slightest word have made me tremble like a leaf in a storm, I do not know; at any rate, *I was resolved to fight*, and, what was better still, I was actually hard at it. The fighting madness had come upon me, and I found my strong fingers firmly attached to the throat of my cowardly tormentor; as heedless of consequences, at the moment, as though we stood as equals before the law. The very color of the man was forgotten. I felt as supple as a cat, and was ready for the snakish creature at every turn. Every blow of his was parried, though I dealt no blows in turn. I was strictly on the *defensive*, preventing him from injuring me, rather than trying to injure him. I flung him on the ground several times, when he meant to have hurled me there. I held him

so firmly by the throat, that his blood followed my nails. He held me, and I held him.

All was fair, thus far, and the contest was about equal. My resistance was entirely unexpected, and Covey was taken all aback by it, for he trembled in every limb. "*Are you going to resist*, you scoundrel?" said he. To which, I returned a polite "*yes sir*"; steadily gazing my interrogator in the eye, to meet the first approach or dawning of the blow, which I expected my answer would call forth. But, the conflict did not long remain thus equal. Covey soon cried out lustily for help; not that I was obtaining any marked advantage over him, or was injuring him, but because he was gaining none over me, and was not able, single handed, to conquer me. He called for his cousin Hughes, to come to his assistance, and now the scene was changed. I was compelled to give blows, as well as to parry them; and, since I was, in any case, to suffer for resistance, I felt (as the musty proverb goes) that "I might as well be hanged for an old sheep as a lamb." I was still *defensive* toward Covey, but *aggressive* toward Hughes; and, at the first approach of the latter, I dealt a blow, in my desperation, which fairly sickened my youthful assailant. He went off, bending over with pain, and manifesting no disposition to come within my reach again. The poor fellow was in the act of trying to catch and tie my right hand, and while flattering himself with success, I gave him the kick which sent him staggering away in pain, at the same time that I held Covey with a firm hand.

Taken completely by surprise, Covey seemed to

have lost his usual strength and coolness. He was frightened, and stood puffing and blowing, seemingly unable to command words or blows. When he saw that poor Hughes was standing half bent with pain—his courage quite gone—the cowardly tyrant asked if I “meant to persist in my resistance.” I told him “I *did mean to resist, come what might*,” that I had been by him treated like a *brute*, during the last six months; and that I should stand it *no longer*. With that, he gave me a shake, and attempted to drag me toward a stick of wood, that was lying just outside the stable door. He meant to knock me down with it; but, just as he leaned over to get the stick, I seized him with both hands by the collar, and, with a vigorous and sudden snatch, I brought my assailant harmlessly, his full length, on the *not over* clean ground—for we were now in the cow yard. He had selected the place for the fight, and it was but right that he should have all the advantages of his own selection.

By this time, Bill, the hired man, came home. He had been to Mr. Hemsley’s, to spend the Sunday with his nominal wife, and was coming home on Monday morning, to go to work. Covey and I had been skirmishing from before daybreak, till now, that the sun was almost shooting his beams over the eastern woods, and we were still at it. I could not see where the matter was to terminate. He evidently was afraid to let me go, lest I should again make off to the woods; otherwise, he would probably have obtained arms from the house, to frighten me. Holding me, Covey called upon Bill for assistance. The scene here, had something comic about it. “Bill,” who knew *precisely*

what Covey wished him to do, affected ignorance, and pretended he did not know what to do. “What shall I do, Mr. Covey,” said Bill. “Take hold of him—take hold of him!” said Covey. With a toss of his head, peculiar to Bill, he said, “indeed, Mr. Covey, I want to go to work.” “*This is your work*,” said Covey; “take hold of him.” Bill replied, with spirit, “My master hired me here, to work, and *not* to help you whip Frederick.” It was now my turn to speak. “Bill,” said I, “don’t put your hands on me.” To which he replied, “My God! Frederick, I aint goin’ to tech ye,” and Bill walked off, leaving Covey and myself to settle our matters as best we might.

But, my present advantage was threatened when I saw Caroline (the slave-woman of Covey) coming to the cow yard to milk, for she was a powerful woman, and could have mastered me very easily, exhausted as I now was. As soon as she came into the yard, Covey attempted to rally her to his aid. Strangely—and, I may add, fortunately—Caroline was in no humor to take a hand in any such sport. We were all in open rebellion, that morning. Caroline answered the command of her master to “*take hold of me*,” precisely as Bill had answered, but in *her*, it was at greater peril so to answer; she was the slave of Covey, and he could do what he pleased with her. It was *not* so with Bill, and Bill knew it. Samuel Harris, to whom Bill belonged, did not allow his slaves to be beaten, unless they were guilty of some crime which the law would punish. But, poor Caroline, like myself, was at the mercy of the merciless Covey; nor

did she escape the dire effects of her refusal. He gave her several sharp blows.

Covey at length (two hours had elapsed) gave up the contest. Letting me go, he said,—puffing and blowing at a great rate—“now, you scoundrel, go to your work; I would not have whipped you half so much as I have had you not resisted.” The fact was, *he had not whipped me at all.* He had not, in all the schuffle, drawn a single drop of blood from me. I had drawn blood from him; and, even without this satisfaction, I should have been victorious, because my aim had not been to injure him, but to prevent his injuring me.

During the whole six months that I lived with Covey, after this transaction, he never laid on me the weight of his finger in anger. He would, occasionally, say he did not want to have to get hold of me again—a declaration which I had no difficulty in believing; and I had a secret feeling, which answered, “you need not wish to get hold of me again, for you will be likely to come off worse in a second fight than you did in the first.”

Well, my dear reader, this battle with Mr. Covey,—undignified as it was, and as I fear my narration of it is—was the turning point in my “*life as a slave.*” It rekindled in my breast the smouldering embers of liberty; it brought up my Baltimore dreams, and revived a sense of my own manhood. I was a changed being after that fight. I was *nothing* before; I was A MAN NOW. It recalled to life my crushed self-respect and my self-confidence, and inspired me with a renewed determination to be A FREEMAN. A man, with-

out force, is without the essential dignity of humanity. Human nature is so constituted, that it cannot *honor* a helpless man, although it can *pity* him; and even this it cannot do long, if the signs of power do not arise.

He only can understand the effect of this combat on my spirit, who has himself incurred something, hazarded something, in repelling the unjust and cruel aggressions of a tyrant. Covey was a tyrant, and a cowardly one, withal. After resisting him, I felt as I had never felt before. It was a resurrection from the dark and pestiferous tomb of slavery, to the heaven of comparative freedom. I was no longer a servile coward, trembling under the frown of a brother worm of the dust, but, my long-cowed spirit was roused to an attitude of manly independence. I had reached the point, at which I was *not afraid to die.* This spirit made me a freeman in *fact*, while I remained a slave in *form.* When a slave cannot be flogged he is more than half free. He has a domain as broad as his own manly heart to defend, and he is really “*a power on earth.*” While slaves prefer their lives, with flogging, to instant death, they will always find christians enough, like unto Covey, to accommodate that preference. From this time, until that of my escape from slavery, I was never fairly whipped. Several attempts were made to whip me, but they were always unsuccessful. Bruises I did get, as I shall hereafter inform the reader; but the case I have been describing, was the end of the brutification to which slavery had subjected me.

The reader will be glad to know why, after I had

so grievously offended Mr. Covey, he did not have me taken in hand by the authorities; indeed, why the law of Maryland, which assigns hanging to the slave who resists his master, was not put in force against me; at any rate, why I was not taken up, as is usual in such cases, and publicly whipped, for an example to other slaves, and as a means of deterring me from committing the same offense again. I confess, that the easy manner in which I got off, was, for a long time, a surprise to me, and I cannot, even now, fully explain the cause.

The only explanation I can venture to suggest, is the fact, that Covey was, probably, ashamed to have it known and confessed that he had been mastered by a boy of sixteen. Mr. Covey enjoyed the unbounded and very valuable reputation, of being a first rate overseer and *negro breaker*. By means of this reputation, he was able to procure his hands for *very trifling* compensation, and with very great ease. His interest and his pride mutually suggested the wisdom of passing the matter by, in silence. The story that he had undertaken to whip a lad, and had been resisted, was, of itself, sufficient to damage him; for his bearing should, in the estimation of slaveholders, be of that imperial order that should make such an occurrence *impossible*. I judge from these circumstances, that Covey deemed it best to give me the go-by. It is, perhaps, not altogether creditable to my natural temper, that, after this conflict with Mr. Covey, I did, at times, purposely aim to provoke him to an attack, by refusing to keep with the other hands in the field,

but I could never bully him to another battle. I had made up my mind to do him serious damage, if he ever again attempted to lay violent hands on me.

"Hereditary bondmen, know ye not
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow?"

Ruck

Entered at N. Y., P. O., as second-class Mail Matter.





"I've just settled my quarrels at home, and you fellers will find I'm ready to attend to you, if you don't keep quiet." *Overland Monthly*, December, 1896, p. 722.

THE WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

AN ILLUSTRATED AND POPULAR STORY OF THE WORLD'S
FIRST PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS, HELD IN
CHICAGO IN CONNECTION WITH

THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION OF 1893



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CHRISTIANITY AS SEEN BY A VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD.

BY REV. F. E. CLARK, D.D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF
CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

In order that it may be known exactly what countries the voyager who has been asked to prepare this paper has actually seen, it may not be out of place to say that he sailed from San Francisco for Australia early in August, 1892, and that, after making a zigzag course around the world of nearly 40,000 miles, he reached New York after an absence of nearly eleven months late in June of 1893. In the course of these eleven months he had the most delightful privilege of seeing something of Christian work and activity in Australia, China, Japan, India, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, France and England. He visited all the large cities which were accessible in such a journey, such as Melbourne and Sydney, Adelaide and Ballarat and Brisbane, Canton, Hong Kong and Shanghai, Tokio, Kyoto, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, Yokohama and Okyama, Madura and Madras, Calcutta, Lucknow, Allahabad, Poona, Ahinednagar and Bombay, Cairo and Alexandria, Jerusalem and Beirût, Tarsus, Adana, Cæsarea, Angora, Broussa and Constantinople, Athens, Rome, Venice and Genoa, San Sebastian in Spain, Paris and London, Manchester and Birmingham, Dublin, Belfast and Liverpool, besides many other places of scarcely inferior importance. Moreover, his errand was a distinctively religious one, having been invited to attend conventions or gatherings of young people in most of these cities, and being under the auspices and guidance of devoted Christian workers and missionaries in every land that his feet touched. The opinions of such a traveler may be superficial, but he, at least, has an opportunity for a comprehensive view, and must be a dull scholar indeed if he learns nothing of the problems which he came to study, or of the great facts of Christianity which he came to view.

One impression which was very strongly made on the mind of this voyager was that Christianity is an exceedingly real, substantial and vital thing in every part of the world. In spite of the insinuations of prejudiced "globe-trotters," who will not allow that Christianity has made even a ripple on the stagnant pool of heathenism, he came very soon to know that the religion of Christ is the power of God unto salvation among the yellow-skinned, almond-eyed people of the East as well as among the Caucasians of the West.

For instance, this traveler around the world touched at the Port of Apia
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in Samoa. He was kindly and courteously received by the natives, was shown two beautiful Protestant churches of cut stone, which were built largely by the efforts of the native converts, was assured by one high in political authority that the voice of prayer and praise would be heard that evening at family devotions in almost every hut on the island, and in the matter of Sabbath keeping, so far as the native population of Apia was concerned, the little town was another Edinburgh or Toronto. And yet not far from this same group of islands there still live savages and cannibals where the life of a cast-away would not be guaranteed for five minutes even as an extra risk by the most reckless insurance company in the world, and where his flesh would be served as a sweet morsel for the delectation of fortunate chiefs. What makes the difference between these islands? There can be but one answer, and that is, the "religion of Christ." It is the only factor that causes Samoa to differ from New Guinea.

Another impression which is very distinctly made upon the mind of a voyager round the world is that Christianity is absolutely superior in its motive power, its purifying influence and its uplifting inspiration from any and all other religions with which it comes in competition.

The greasy bull of Madura and Tanjore has little in common with the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world. The hopeless, nonchalant, indifferent tom-tom beating of the priests of Canton has no point of contact with the worship of Him who must be worshiped in spirit and truth. Even the religion of the Buddhist of Japan, which has more of life and reality in it than the religions of many other non-Christian lands, even the devotion which leads women to sacrifice their tresses, that they may be woven into cables with which to haul the beams for the temples of their gods, bear little resemblance to the intelligent faith and hope and charity which constitute the strength of Christian manhood and the grace of Christian womanhood.

Again, a traveler around the world is impressed by the large part which is assigned to the Anglo-Saxon races in the spread of the principles of Christianity. Among all the Christian nations of the world the English-speaking peoples must take the lead in the spread of the faith to which they have given their allegiance. Whatever is done for the spread of the Kingdom of God, during the next century at least, will be largely accomplished by those who speak our mother tongue. With this fact I was profoundly impressed during my own journey. In regard to the great island continent of Australia this cannot be doubted. Here are people who are flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone; here flows blood, which in the estimation of every American is thicker than water; here is a mighty land containing as many square miles as the United States of America, excluding Alaska, which is settled and Christianized by the Anglo-Saxons. Along the shores of this interminable island for ten days and nights I sailed, much of the way within the Great Barrier reef which, for more than a thousand miles, stretches

along the shores of Australia. Scarcely for an hour during all these days did we lose sight of these endless shores, and yet the huge island was not half circumnavigated by this steamer. On all these coasts the Englishman has full sway; the dwindling native tribes acknowledge his rule even when they do not accept his God, and all these boundless millions of square miles of hill and valley and wooded slope and dreary deserts, which may yet be reclaimed and made to blossom as the rose, is a part of the vast heritage of the Anglo-Saxon.

In all the large cities of this land which has, latest of all the continents, felt the touch of civilization and Christianity, this voyager around the world found great gatherings of earnest Christian young people whose one purpose in life was to learn their Master's ways and to win if possible their great island heritage for Christ. Everywhere he found unbounded enthusiasm for the things of the coming kingdom, and a sensible, earnest, unquenchable purpose to take Australia for Christ. With the essential vigor, naturalness and reproductive powers of this Christianity he was deeply impressed, and believes that the nation which has sent out a John G. Paton, and which so thoroughly recognizes her responsibility for her own vast hemisphere, has a very large part to play in the evangelization of the world.

A four-weeks voyage from one of the leading ports of Australia brings one to the wonderful land of Japan. One of the first buildings which he is likely to see in Yokohama or Kobe is a commodious Christian church, and the first Japanese whom he may meet upon the street it is not unlikely will be an earnest and devout believer in the same Saviour whom the voyager from across the seas has learned to love and trust. If he journeys to the imperial city of Tokyo he will find there a magnificent university established under governmental auspices and supported by government funds. But this university was projected and started by a Christian missionary. In the sacred city of Kyoto, where for a thousand years the Mikado lived, is a distinctively Christian university scarcely inferior in rank to the Imperial University itself. This great school, the Doshisha, founded and fostered by its first president, the lamented Neesima, and whose present president, Mr. Kozaki, honors this Parliament, is a standing monument to the power of Christianity and its moulding influence in the Mikado's empire. In fact, it is not too much to say that every high grade school, whether a distinctively Christian school or under the control of the government, is directly the result of the introduction of Christianity in Japan. It is not fair to reckon the influence of a faith by any process of arithmetic. We cannot sum up the power of Christianity in Japan by counting the number of Protestant converts, though these are by no means inconsiderable, and are numbered by tens of thousands. Yet now, as in the days of our Lord, in Japan as in Palestine and in America, Christianity is as a little leaven hid in three measures of meal. One of these days will the whole be leavened.

Only three or four days by steamer from the smiling coast which

embosoms the Inland Sea lies the great nation of China, so strangely similar to and yet so vastly different from its cousin on the other side of the Yellow Sea. In Shanghai the traveler finds nearly, if not quite, a hundred missionaries of different boards living together in peace and concord, and each doing their best to win some portion of the great empire for Christ. Here is the splendid "plant" of the China Inland Mission, the finest mission building which I saw in any part of the world. Here is the vigorous work of the American Presbyterians and the Southern Methodists, the Baptists and the Adventists, the English Independents and the Wesleyans. Here one will meet upon the streets flaxen-haired Saxons in Chinese garb and cap, with shaved heads and long blonde queues down their backs. So thoroughly are these missionaries of the cross attempting to become all things to all men if by any means they may win some. Such scenes the traveler will see in Canton and in Peking, in Foochow and Nankin, and in a hundred other places, smaller and larger, scattered all through this vast human bee-hive of the world, called the Flowery Kingdom.

Then as he hastens on to India he still finds that his faith is known and loved and respected. From the southern tip of the great triangular peninsula, where Tuticorin stretches out into the sea to the snowy height of Mt. Everest, which in the far north towers up above all the mountains in the world, the voyager will find his faith respected and his Lord loved; not by all the people, to be sure, but by elect and devout souls in every part of this greatest appanage of the British crown. Here he will find every facility put in the way of Christian education by the British government, which, dollar for dollar, doubles the educational appropriation of every missionary board within its borders, whose students pass certain government requirements.

In such parts of India as the Telugu field, where the Baptist missionaries have been so marvelously blessed, and in Northern India, where the same results have followed the labors of the Methodist board, a blessed flood-tide of Christian influence seems to be sweeping over the land. The "break" in caste distinctions and in hereditary animosity to Christianity, for which the Christian world has been so long hoping and praying, seems to have already come. The restraining dikes of ignorance and prejudice seem to be swept away, or, at least, if not wholly gone, the streams of salvation which trickle through them show that the crevasse is coming.

In only one nation of the world to-day is the outlook for Christianity more hopeless than it was a quarter of a century ago, and that is the nation which is cursed by the reactionary policy of the timid tyrant who reigns in Constantinople. Since the gradual withdrawal of British influence from Turkey the subject races of that land have been left largely unprotected, and in many ways, sometimes slyly and sometimes openly, the Sultan's agents oppose Christianity, throw obstacles in the way of education, incite riots and mobs to burn school-houses and churches, and in every way are seeking to

make the land where Christianity first had its birth a desert of Mohammedan superstition and bigotry. The petty obstacles which are thrown in the way of missionary effort, the objections to Christian literature which are urged by the censor of the press, would be as amusing as they are absurd were not such serious consequences involved.

But God still reigns in heaven, the imprisoned and murdered Christians call to him for vengeance, the awful tyranny and the petty interference of the past must alike come to an end in the better days that are coming, and, either by some justifiable revolution on the part of the subject races, or by the interference of enlightened Christian nations, who would not delay a day longer to set things right were not selfish interest involved, will bring better days and brighter prospects even to the land of the Sultan. There is, it should be said, an inherent nobleness and strength about the Turkish character itself (the character of the common people I mean, the non-official class) which augurs well for the future of the land where first the gospel of Christ was preached.

The voyager around the world will rejoice in all that is good in the religion of the Catholic countries of Europe, but rejoices still more in their approximation to Protestant ideas and in the light which is shining upon them from the Reformation, long delayed though it has been, in such movements as that of the Free Italian Church, in the fruitful missionary work of Bohemia, in the extraordinary McAll mission work of France, in the interesting American School for Girls at San Sebastian, where, in this anniversary year, American money and scholarship is beginning to repay the debt which America owes to Spain, by making it possible for the first time in the history of the ages for a Spanish girl of the people to receive a worthy education.

The greatest lack in modern Protestant Christianity, as seen by a traveler around the world, is a lack of unity and coöperation on the part of Protestant Christians.

The most pitiable sight which I saw in foreign lands was that of churches which had been gathered out of heathenism or Mohammedism rent in twain by the sectarian jealousies which had been introduced from a so-called Christian land. To see, as is occasionally seen, a Christian missionary or teacher trying to build up a church not from the foundation, not out of the ruins of heathenism, but by building on another man's foundation, and tearing away the converts from the truth around which their minds have feebly begun to twine, in order that some sect or ism may be built up—this, indeed, is disheartening! Thank God that such cases are comparatively rare.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

MISSIONS OF THE AMERICAN BOARD

TURKEY.

BY
REV. S. C. BARTLETT, D.D.

WITH SUPPLEMENT.

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HISTORY OF MEDICINE
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The Crimean war for three or four years agitated the nation and the nation. But the spiritual reformation rolled on; it was a mightier and a deeper force. It was impossible for the missionaries to keep pace with the calls. The wonder is, that they could accomplish so much as they did. At one time (1855) they hurried five young students into the ministry before their studies were completed. But they felt and wrote that they were losing opportunities all the time. And they were right. Humanly speaking, it seemed as though with a sufficient missionary force the Armenian element of Turkey could have been carried everywhere by storm.

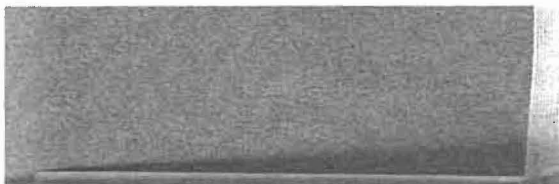
From this time forth the enterprise became too broad even to trace in this rapid way. If the whole movement shall ever be suitably recorded, the history of this reformation will be second in interest to no other that ever has been written. There are scores and scores of villages, each of which would furnish materials for a volume; and multitudes of cases that recall the fervor, faith, and fortitude of apostolic times. Let us hope that they may find their adequate historian. For the present we can only refer to the contemporary pages of the *Missionary Herald*.

The breadth of the movement began also to demand new missionary centres. The book depository, which had been on the north side of the Golden Horn, planted itself boldly (1855) in the heart of Constantinople; and six or eight boxes of books might be seen at a time, marked to "Diarbekir," "Arabkir," "Cesarea," "Aintab," and so on. The Seminary proved inadequate to the demand for preachers and teachers, and the organization of other seminaries about this time at Tokat and Aintab, indicated the time as not distant when there

should be three missions, instead of one, in Asiatic Turkey. Indeed, Mr. Dunmore was writing, in 1857, that "forty men" were needed at once, as teachers and preachers around Harpoot; and Dr. Hamlin was urgently pressing the wants of the Bulgarians in European Turkey.

One of the most delightful instances of Christian magnanimity was displayed in England about this time. The financial troubles of 1857 in America had embarrassed the Board, and threatened serious embarrassment to this mission. Noble Christians in England, of all Evangelical communions, including ministers of the Church of England, came at once to the rescue. They formed the "Turkish Missions Aid Society," invited Dr. Dwight to present our cause in England, and raised money thenceforward, not to found missions of their own in Turkey, but to aid ours. At an anniversary of the Society in 1860, the Earl of Shaftesbury crowned this magnanimity of deeds by an equal magnanimity of words. He said of our missionaries in Turkey, "I do not believe that in the whole history of missions, I do not believe that in the history of diplomacy, or in the history of any negotiation carried on between man and man, we can find anything to equal the wisdom, the soundness, and the pure Evangelical truth of the men who constitute the American mission. I have said it twenty times before, and I will say it again, — for the expression appropriately conveys my meaning, — that they are a marvelous combination of common sense and piety."

At this point, the enterprise, like a Banyan tree, changed its branches into new roots, and henceforth was reported as the Western, Central, and Eastern Turkey missions. The main feature of interest became that of sure but gradual growth.



The Western Turkey mission-field covers a region of singular historic interest. It includes alike the field of Troy and of the "Seven Churches." It probably saw the origin both of the Iliad and the Odyssey, and of the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel. In its north-western portion flows the little river Granicus, where Alexander first defeated the Persian armies, and in its south-western part lies the once world-renowned seaport of Miletus, where Paul made his affecting speech to the elders who had come from Ephesus, that seat of the marvelous temple of Diana, and of the church of the "Ephesians." The poor little village of Isnik, too small for a mission station, is all that remains of the Nicæa, famous for the Nicene Creed, framed in a council where Constantine presided—a city long the bulwark of Constantinople against the Turks, then the capital of the Sultan Solymán, and afterwards retaken by the first crusaders. The centre of missionary operations is the great city of unparalleled site and matchless harbor, rebuilt by Constantine, the object of six captures, and more than twenty sieges, the ignis fatuus that turned the first Napoleon towards Moscow rather than St. Petersburg, the long-coveted treasure of the Russian czars, and the place of five great Christian councils. Broosa, another of our stations, is at the ancient capital of the Ottoman empire; and its castle is said to commemorate the time and the work of Hannibal the Carthaginian. Nicomedia, still another station, was once the capital of the Bithynian kings, the home of Diocletian when he ruled the Eastern empire, and the place where poison ended the life of Hannibal. One of the stations last occupied, Manissa, is the old Magnesia, where the two Scipios defeated Antiochus the Great, and won for Rome the empire of the East.



In this region, covered thick with historic associations, the twenty-four churches,¹ with their thousand members, their twenty-nine pastors and licensed preachers, and their forty-five hundred enrolled Protestants, only indicate the deep under-current of influence now at work. A considerable body of missionaries are still furnishing the original forces. The press pours forth some fifty thousand volumes and thirty thousand tracts a year, in six different languages, including the English. Two "Evangelical Unions" of native churches and pastors have been formed, and the churches contribute already to Christian objects four thousand dollars a year. A theological seminary, and a ladies' boarding-school, now at Marsovan; two other girls' schools; training classes at Broosa and Sivas; Robert College, the indirect child of the mission, now looking out conspicuously over the Bosphorus, with its hundred and eighty students of seventeen different nationalities; and last, not least, a band of lady missionaries finding their way into the homes and hearts of their sisters,—these are some of the influences unfalteringly at work in the heart of the Turkish empire.

The Central Turkey mission numbers among its thirty stations and out-stations Antioch, the old "Queen of the East," long the chief city of Asia, if not of the world, then the residence of Syrian kings, and afterwards of Roman governors, the place where "the disciples were first called Christians;" Aleppo, which succeeded Palmyra in the trade between Europe and the East, still the commercial centre of Northern Syria; Oorfa, a traditional "Ur of the Chaldees;" and Tarsus, where Paul was born, and Alexander nearly died. Here² twenty-two churches comprise eighteen hundred members, and average congregations of more than five thousand persons.

¹ See page 29.² See page 30.

of these efforts, the intrusion of macadamised roads, railways, and civilization, a change has taken place. Education begins to be prized, and forty young Bulgarians are in Robert college. Everything is now in readiness for a vigorous campaign, if the Christian soldiers can be found. The field is thoroughly explored. The strong points are designated, and three stations occupied. A complete Bulgarian Bible—the fruit of Mr. Biggs's twelve years' toil—is ready; and there is a wide-spread desire to obtain it. A few converts are scattered here and there, and a young and active church is just organized. Two other hopeful signs are seen: The spirit of persecution has been awakened at Yamboul; and at Banako an earnest written demand for light in the Greek church itself—for elevation of the schools, for the observance of the Sabbath, for religious services in the language of the people, and “that the teachings of the gospel be preached.”

Here everything seems now ready for the sickle. If the laborers can but be furnished, and the enterprise pushed as the greatness of the opportunity requires, we may well watch, and pray, and hope for cheering results. It is a mission on which to look with an intelligent interest, for itself and for its relations.

SUPPLEMENT.

January, 1883.

THE foregoing sketch is now reprinted from the original plates, as giving the history of the Turkish missions down to 1871. The story of missionary operations since that date, if given in detail, would require a volume. Only a few statements respecting the present condition of the missions can here be presented.

The European Turkey Mission covers ground that in 1871 was under control of Turkey, part of which is now independent of that power. In the war between Russia and Turkey in 1878-79, the region in which the mission is located was devastated, and though our missionaries were delivered from many perils, one of the stations, Eski Zagra, was utterly destroyed. In the adjustments of territory that have been made since that war, the provinces of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia have become practically independent. In 1885, by the act of the people, these two provinces were united; and after a short but sharp conflict between Bulgaria and Servia, their union was recognized by Turkey and the Great European Powers. The two stations Samokov and Philippopolis are in Bulgaria, while Monastir, in the ancient Macedonia, which was occupied as a station in 1877, is still under Turkish authority. But the Bulgarians are scattered throughout Macedonia, and the labors of missionaries of the Board are confined to people of this race. Two mem-

bers of this mission are located in Constantinople, engaged in preparing a Christian literature for the Bulgarians, issuing books and tracts, and also a weekly and monthly paper, the *Zornitza*, which is believed to have had no insignificant part in preparing the way for a free constitution in Bulgaria. The Collegiate and Theological Institute at Samokov has eighty-eight students, and the Female Boarding Schools of Samokov and Monastir, one hundred and ten. The number of Bulgarians at Robert College and at the "Home" at Constantinople indicates the progressive character of the race, and gives promise of large growth in the immediate future. This mission has 4 stations; 29 out-stations; 8 churches, having 650 members; 9 ordained missionaries, and 1 physician; 14 female assistant missionaries; 17 native pastors and preachers, and 30 teachers and other helpers.

The Western Turkey Mission has 8 stations; 121 out-stations; 29 churches, having 2,648 members; 23 ordained missionaries; 1 treasurer; 44 female assistant missionaries; 74 native pastors and preachers; 209 teachers and other helpers. There are 135 common schools, with more than 5,000 pupils. Besides Robert College, at Constantinople, which is not directly connected with the mission, although an outgrowth of it and in sympathy with it, and Anatolia College, which has been opened at Marsovan, there are six high schools for boys, and seven high schools for girls, including the "Home" at Constantinople. These institutions have a membership of 913. The Theological Seminary at Marsovan is doing all it can to supply pastors for the native churches, and from every direction calls are coming for preachers and teachers. The *Asedaper*,

a Christian newspaper in three languages, circulates through the cities and towns of the interior, carrying the light of the gospel both to Protestants and non-Protestants. In the year 1887 the mission press at Constantinople issued 39 different publications; the aggregate number of copies being 88,920, and the pages 7,961,547. These are in the Armenian, Armeno-Turkish, Greco-Turkish, and Bulgarian languages. Work for the Greeks is especially prosecuted at Constantinople, Broosa, Manisa, Trebizond, and some other places.

The Central Turkey Mission has now two stations, namely, Aintab and Marash; but the work of the mission is by no means confined to these localities. Missionaries also reside at Adana and Hadjin, which are regarded as out-stations of Marash. There are 6 ordained missionaries, 1 physician, 1 teacher, and 16 female missionaries. There are 51 out-stations, with 33 churches, having 4,050 members. There are 46 pastors and preachers, with 114 teachers and other helpers. The growth of the Protestant community has been steady and large. Central Turkey College at Aintab, commenced in 1874, is designed to be a Christian college in the best sense of the term, having a medical department connected with the college. There is a theological seminary at Marash. Female education is efficiently prosecuted at Marash, Aintab, Adana, and Hadjin.

The Eastern Turkey Mission has five principal stations, namely: Harpoot, Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, and Mardin, with 15 ordained missionaries, 1 physician, and 28 female missionaries. Connected with these stations are 115 out-stations, 41 churches, 78 native

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pastors and preachers, 218 teachers and other helpers. The church membership is 2,542. There are 144 common schools, and the total number under instruction in 1888 was 3,261. Euphrates College, at Harpoot, is a group of institutions having, in addition to the college proper, a primary, a normal, a female, and a theological department. An endowment of over \$70,000 has been secured, and the institution, having at the beginning of 1880 about 150 pupils, and in 1888 in all its departments nearly 500 pupils, is exerting a powerful influence throughout Eastern Turkey. From Marlik the mission is reaching out into the Jebel Tour region, and native preachers and colporters have gone to Mosul.

The Scriptures are now translated into all the principal languages of the Turkish Empire, and a Christian literature can be presented to all who will read it. The impulse given to education is one of the most noticeable results of missionary efforts. Not merely have the converts in the mission churches been inspired to seek instruction, but the Turks and Armenians have been shamed into the establishment of schools, as they have seen the contrast between the ignorance of their children and the progress of the youth in the Protestant communities. It is also a result of missionary efforts that a remarkable change has taken place in the position of woman. Formerly the slave of man, and kept in ignorance, her true position is coming to be recognized. Nor should we fail to notice the changed attitude toward evangelical missions, of the people who still adhere to their old forms of religion. The Armenians, ecclesiastics as well as their followers, are more friendly, and in some cases even welcome our mission-

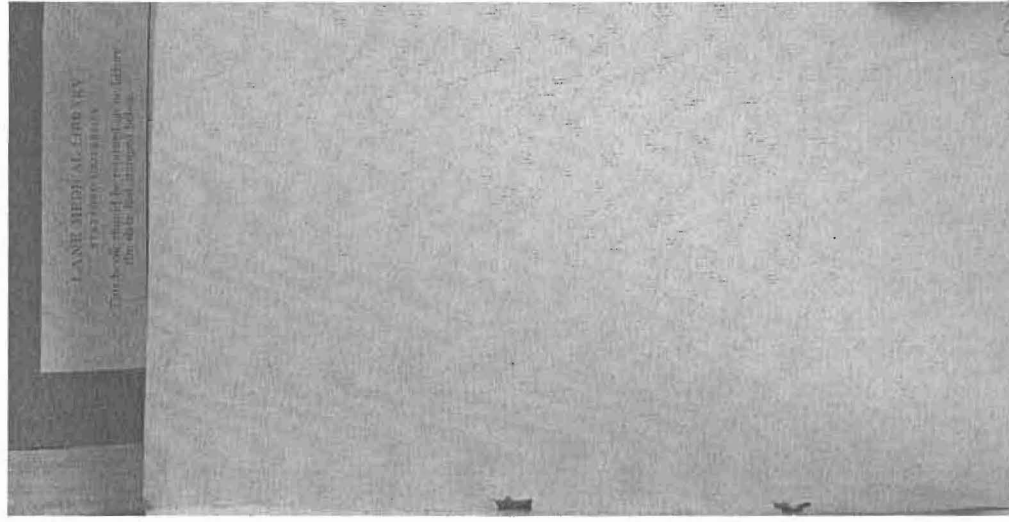
aries to their churches. In several places there seems to be something like a true reformation going on among the adherents of the Old Church, and more or less evangelical truth is presented from not a few of their pulpits. And although there are on the part of Moslems signs of a reaction toward the old intolerance, there has been, and there will continue to be, a breaking down of the haughtiness and bigotry of the Turk.

The mission in Syria, once under the care of the American Board, but transferred to the American Presbyterian in 1870, has been remarkably prospered. At its last report it had 38 American missionaries, male and female, besides the 11 American teachers in the Syrian Protestant College. There are 85 congregations, 70 Sunday-schools, and a church membership of more than 1,500. The Syrian Protestant College has nearly 200 students. The American United Presbyterian Board is laboring in Egypt, the Southern Presbyterian Board has a mission in Greece, and the English Church Missionary Society is at work in Palestine. With these exceptions the American Board is the only great missionary body now engaged in extensive labors for evangelizing the Turkish Empire.

It belongs to us, in the orderings of Divine Providence, to give the gospel to the different races of that empire.

The summary of the four missions of the American Board referred to in this sketch is as follows: Missions from the United States, 169, of whom 53 are ordained; stations, 19; out-stations, 316; native pastors, 69; native preachers, 116; teachers and other native helpers, 371; churches, 111, with a membership of 9,809, of whom 730 were added in the year 1887-

88; colleges, high schools, and theological seminaries, 34, with 1,624 pupils; girls' boarding schools, 18, with 870 pupils; common schools, 477, with 16,373 pupils; total number under instruction, 18,067. During 1887-88 the contributions of the native churches amounted to \$57,118, an average of nearly six dollars for each church member. This latter sum, comparing the value of a day's labor in Turkey and in this country, would be equivalent to not less than \$60, which, considering the great poverty of the people, is a remarkable exhibition of liberality and self-denial.



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*To us there is one God, the FATHER; and one Mediator, the MAN
CHRIST JESUS. 1 Cor. viii. 6.—1 Tim. ii. 5.*

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P R E F A C E

THE AMERICAN EDITION.

PERCEIVING in this country some symptoms of an alarm that has been taken at my religious principles, as an *unitarian christian*, and being persuaded that it has arisen from nothing but an ignorance of their nature and tendency, I have thought proper to reprint a small tract, of which more than fifty thousand have been disposed of in England, but which does not appear to be known here. It contains a short account of whatever can be thought most dangerous in the unitarian principles, together with the reasons on which they are founded; and when they are attentively considered, I am persuaded that, if they do not give satisfaction to the candid and impartial with respect to their truth, they will with respect to their *innocence*.

Since all persons must, I think, agree in maintaining that *opinions* are of no consequence but as they influence the *practice*, what danger can reasonably be apprehended from any system of religion, which contains the doctrines of the *being*, the *perfections*, and *providence of God*, the *divine missions of Moses*, and of *Jesus*, and a *state of righteous retribution after death*, which all unitarians

unitarians hold? Compared with these great articles, nothing besides can be of much practical importance. For these are the doctrines that most eminently lead to a good life and conversation, to form the good man, and the good citizen, the man who will be exemplary, in every relation of life.

It is, however, of secondary, and of considerable importance, that religion appear reasonable to thinking men. Otherwise, they will, without any farther examination, reject the whole. And on this account the unitarian christian presumes that his system has great advantages over every other form of christianity, and therefore that the real friends of it are under considerable obligation to him. For at the same time that, with other christians, he believes every thing that has the least favourable aspect on moral conduct, he holds nothing at which the reason that God has given to man can justly revolt, such as the doctrines of *transubstantiation* and of the *trinity*, which men have been required to believe though they could not understand them, and with respect to which it is said that *reason* must be sacrificed to *faith*.

Such doctrines as these, together with those of *various suffering*, *arbitrary election and reprobation*, and *eternal torments*, will not long be retained in this age of free inquiry. And surely the most orthodox christian, as he will think himself, if he be a friend to *virtue*, would chuse that a person should believe only as much as an unitarian does, rather than have no religion at all; and this, if he know any thing of the world, he must be sensible will be the only alternative with thousands.

No person, however, who professes a regard to *truth*, will take umbrage at the freest *discussion* of any theoretical principles. For this must be favourable to truth. And, happily, in this truly free country, civil govern-

ment does not interfere with the business of religion, so that free inquiry will meet with no obstruction to its producing its natural and happy effect. May the *God of truth*, by this and every other means lead us into *all truth*. Every man may be supposed sincere in adopting this prayer. For how can it be the interest of any man to maintain an error?

THOUGH the government of England, in strict alliance with an established church, be very unfriendly to free inquiry, yet what we call *liberality* has made greater progress in that country than it appears to have done in this. At the request of a numerous body of members of the church of England, I once preached, though not in a consecrated place, immediately after the clergyman had read the service of that church. The very first congregation to which I preached after the riots in Birmingham, and this at the unanimous request of the minister and people, was one of Calvinistic Baptists; and, at my proposal, my own congregation at Birmingham, once requested Mr. Berington, a Roman Catholic priest, to preach in my pulpit. All christians have topics with respect to which they are agreed, and on these they can enlarge, to the edification of other christians, without introducing any thing that could give them the least offence, which every man who wishes to do good, will endeavour to avoid.

Time, however, is requisite to produce every effect, and true liberality among those who differ from one another is a plant of slow growth, as every thing else of much value is. But I doubt not that, some time hence, the same amiable liberality, and generous confidence

ence, that prevails among the different sects of christians in England, will prevail here, and in a still higher degree. Nothing on my part shall be wanting to bring about so desirable an end. I owe much, and hope to owe more, to this happy country, and every thing that I can, in any respect, do for it in return, will ever be due from me to it.

JUNE 30, 1794

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My CHRISTIAN BRETHREN

PERMIT one who professes obedience to the same Lord, and faith in the precious promises of the same gospel with yourselves, to address himself to you, with all freedom and plainness of speech, on subjects relating to your common salvation. I need not tell you that these subjects are interesting. In reality nothing else is interesting in comparison with them. For what is this world compared with the future? What is time compared with eternity? Believe me, my Brethren, it is nothing but the deepest concern for the honour of a religion which is the most valuable inheritance of the human race, and which sets us above all the follies and vices, all the weaknesses and troubles of life, by giving us the most solid hope in death, that has induced me to solicit your attention. But I am confident that you will not think it ill bestowed, because it is upon a subject that is near and dear to you, and the consideration of which cannot but please and profit you.

If, by the blessing of God upon our common endeavours to lead, and to be led into all truth, I shall be so happy as to bring you to entertain the same views of these things with myself, we shall rejoice together; and if, after all that I may be able to advance, you should still think differently from me, I trust you will, at least, be disposed to think with more candour of some of your fellow-christians; who love the gospel, and are zealous for its honour, though you may think them mistaken in their conceptions concerning it. Let me intreat you, therefore, my brethren, to give

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me a patient and candid hearing. Attend, in the spirit of meekness, to what I shall say from the earnestness of my heart; and exercise the reason which God has given you upon this occasion, which is the noblest on which it can be exercised, and for which you may, therefore, conclude, that it was principally given you.

I. Of the Use of Reason in Matters of Religion.

BE not backward, or afraid, my brethren, to make use of your reason in matters of religion, or where the scriptures are concerned. They both of them proceed from the same God and Father of us all, who is the giver of every good and every perfect gift. They cannot, therefore, be contrary to one another, but must mutually illustrate and enforce one another. Besides, how can we distinguish one scheme of religion from another, so as to give the preference to that which is the most deserving of it, but by the help of our reason and understanding? What would you yourselves say to a Mahometan, whom you would persuade to abandon the imposture of Mahomet, and embrace christianity, but bid him make use of his reason; and judge, by the help of it, of the manifest difference between the two religions, and the great superiority of yours to his? Does not God himself appeal to the reason of man, when he condescends to ask us, *Whether his ways be not equal?* Ezek. xviii. 29. Does not the apostle exhort us that, *in understanding we be men?* 1 Cor. xiv. 20. Are we not expressly commanded to *prove all things, and then hold fast that which is good?* 1 Thess. v. 21. Also, when we are commanded to *search the scriptures*, (John v. 39.) more must be meant than merely reading them, or receiving implicitly the interpretations of others. *Searching* must imply an earnest endeavour to find out for ourselves, and to understand, the truths contained in the scriptures; and what faculty can we employ for this purpose, but that which is commonly called *reason*, whereby we are capable of thinking, reflecting, comparing, and judging of things?

Distrust,

Distrust, therefore, all those who decry human reason, and who require you to abandon it, wherever religion is concerned. When once they have gained this point with you, they can lead you whither they please, and impose upon you every absurdity which their sinister views may make it expedient for them that you should embrace. A Popish Priest would require nothing more than this, to make you believe the doctrine of transubstantiation, and that a man is infallible; or to persuade you to commit the most flagrant wickedness, as a means of *doing God service*. For the first of these articles they do not fail to urge the words of scripture, which expressly say, concerning the bread that is used in the Lord's supper, that it is *the body of Christ*, Mat. xxvi. 6. and there is no possibility of replying to them, but by appealing to reason, as the necessary and proper judge of the sense of scripture. The Papist, therefore, as might well be expected, is forward, on all occasions, to vilify human reason, and to require men to abandon it; but true Protestants will not part with it. It is by the help of reason, in conjunction with the scriptures, that we guard ourselves against the gross delusions of the Papists, who, after relinquishing reason, have been *made to believe a lie*; and by the diligent and continued use of the same power, let us endeavour to combat every remaining error, and trace out, and reform, every corruption of christianity, till we hold the pure truth as it is in Jesus, and obey it in the love thereof.

Do not think that, by recommending the use of reason, I am about to decry the scriptures. My appeal shall be to both, upon every subject on which I address you; and I think you cannot but see that the plainest and most obvious sense of the scriptures is in favour of those doctrines which are most agreeable to reason. A good man will rejoice to see them thus go hand in hand, mutually illustrating and enforcing one another.

his life, depending upon the cast of a die; the decree of God being a thing that he has as little power to command. Besides, this doctrine certainly represents the God and father of us all in such a light, as no man would chuse that he himself should appear in.

V. Of the Divinity of Christ.

SO fatal have the consequences of the sin of Adam been represented, that you have been told, that nothing but the blood of God himself could reverse them; and therefore you have been taught to believe, that Jesus Christ, whose proper title is *the son of man*, as well as *the son of God*, was not merely *man*, but very and eternal God himself; without considering that, by thus making more Gods than one, you are guilty of a breach of the first and most important of all the commandments, which says expressly, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*, Exodus xx. 3. But whatever such divines may say, the apostle Paul says, in direct contradiction to them, *To us there is but one God, the FATHER, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him*, 1 Cor. viii. 6. And again, after saying that we have *one Lord, one faith, one baptism*, he adds, *one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all*, Eph. iv. 5, 6. The creed of all christians, therefore, ought to be, *There is ONE GOD, and one mediator between God and men, the MAN Christ Jesus*, 1 Tim. ii. 5.

The Father is frequently stiled *God*, even with respect to Christ, as well as other beings. *The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, give unto you, that ye may know the exceeding greatness of his power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand*, &c. Eph. i. 17. &c. Christ himself uses the same language. *I ascend unto my Father, and your Father, and unto my God, and your God*, John xx. 17. *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*

Christ

Christ who was *the image of the invisible God*, and the *first-born* (or *most excellent*) of all his creatures, Col. i. 15. and in whom dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, Col. ii. 9. acknowledged that his Father was greater than he, John xiv. 28. and indeed, upon all occasions, and in the clearest terms, he expressed his dependence upon God his father, for all his power and glory; as if he had purposely intended to guard his disciples against forming too high an opinion of the dignity of their master. *Verily I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself*, John v. 19. *I can of mine own self do nothing. As I hear I judge, and my judgment is just, because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father who sent me*, ver. 30. *The words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself, but the Father who dwelleth in me, he doth the works*, xiv. 10. *I live by the Father*, vi. 57. *The Father hath given to the Son to have life in himself; and hath given him authority to execute judgment*, v. 26, 27. *All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth*, Matt. xxviii. 18. He even calls his Father *the only true God*, John xvii. 3. *that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*. It appears to me not to be in the power of language to exclude the idea of the divinity of Christ more expressly than by these solemn words.

Notwithstanding the divine communications with which our Lord was favoured, some things are expressly said to be withheld from him. For he himself, speaking of his second coming, says, Mark xiii. 32. *But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father*. In Matt. xxiv. 36. where the same observation is repeated, it is, *but my Father only*.

The apostles, notwithstanding their attachment to their Lord and Master, always preserve the idea of his subordination to the Father, and consider all his honour and power as derived from him. *He received from God the Father, honour and glory*, 2 Peter i. 17. *It pleased the Father, that in him should all fullness dwell*, Col. i. 19. *The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him*, Rev. i. 1. *Ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's*, 1 Cor. iii. 23. *The head of Christ is God*, 1 Cor. xi. 3.

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The reason why Christ was so much distinguished by God the Father, is frequently and fully expressed in the Scriptures, viz. his obedience to the will of God, and especially in his submitting to die for the benefit of mankind. *Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life,* John x. 17. *He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God has highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father,* Phil. ii. 8.—11. *Who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is now sat down at the right hand of God,* Heb. xii. 2.

Our Lord says, that *he and his Father are one*, John x. 30. but he sufficiently explains himself, when he prays that all his disciples may be *one with him, and his Father, even as they are one*, John xvii. 11. and he gives them the same glory which God had given to him, ver. 22. Besides, at the very time that our Lord says, that he and his father are one, and in the very sentence preceding it, ver. 29, he says, that *his Father is greater than all*. But how could the Father be greater than all, if there was any other, who was so much *one* with him, as to be, in all respects, *equal* to him?

The mere term *God* is, indeed, sometimes used in a lower and inferior sense in the scriptures, denoting *dominion* only; as when the Divine Being himself says, that *he will make Moses a god to Pharaoh*, Exod. vii. 1. but, surely, there can be no danger of our mistaking the sense of such phrases as these: or if it were possible, our Lord himself has sufficiently guarded against any misconstruction of them when applied to himself, by the explanation he has given of them; informing us, that, if, in the language of scripture, *they are called gods to whom the word of God came*, John x. 35. (though, in fact, they were no other than mere men) he could not be guilty of blasphemy in calling himself only *the son of God*. Now, if Christ had been conscious to himself that he was the *true and very God*, and that it was of the utmost consequence to mankind that they should

should regard him in that light, this was certainly a proper time for him to have declared himself, and not to have put his hearers off with such an apology as this.

But even this power and dominion, to which Christ is, advanced by God his Father, *who gave all power into his hands, and who made him head over all things to his church*, Eph. i. 22. this mediatorial kingdom of Christ (as it is sometimes, and with sufficient propriety, termed) is not to be perpetual. For the apostle Paul, speaking, no doubt, under immediate inspiration, expressly says, that when *the end shall come, that God shall have subdued all things to his Son* (in which he observes, that *he must be excepted who did subdue all things unto him*) *he must deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father, and he himself subject to him who had put all things under him, that God may be all in all*, 1 Cor. xv. 24. &c. Nay, he himself says expressly, that he had not the disposal of the highest offices of his kingdom, Matt. xx. 23. *To sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give; but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father*.

So clear, my brethren, so full, and so express, is the uniform testimony of the scriptures to the great doctrine of the proper unity of God, and of the subordination of Christ, and all other beings to him, that the prevalence of so impious a doctrine, as the contrary must be, can be ascribed to nothing but to that *mystery of iniquity*, which, though it began to work in the times of the apostles themselves, was not then risen to so enormous a height as to attack the supremacy of the *one living and true God*, and give his peculiar glory to another. This, my brethren, among other shocking corruptions of genuine christianity, grew up with the system of popery; and to shew that nothing is impossible to the superstition and credulity of men, when they are become vain in their imaginations, after exalting a man into a god, a creature into a creator, they made a piece of bread into one also, and then bowed down to, and worshipped, the work of their own hands.

But though it seemed fit to the unsearchable wisdom of God, that all the errors and abuses of popery should not

be reformed at once; and though this great error was left untouched by the first reformers, blessed be God, the bible is as open to us as it was to them; and by the exertion of the same judgment and spirit, we may free christianity from the corruptions which they left adhering to it; and then, among other excellencies of our religion, *Our Lord will be one and his name one.* Zech. xiv. 9.

If you ask *who*, then, is Jesus Christ, if he be not God? I answer, in the words of Peter, addressed to the Jews, after his resurrection and ascension, that *Jesus of Nazareth was a man approved of God, by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him, and whom God raised from the dead.* Acts ii. 22. If you ask what is meant by *man*, in this place; I answer, that *man*, if the word be used with any kind of propriety, must mean the same kind of being with yourselves. I say, moreover, with the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, that *it became him by whom are all things, and for whom are all things, to make this great captain of our salvation in all respects, like unto us his brethren, that he might be made perfect through sufferings,* Heb. ii. 10. 17. *and that he might have a feeling of all our infirmities,* iv. 13. For this reason it was that our Saviour and deliverer was not made of the nature of an *angel*, or like any superangelic being, but was of the seed of Abraham, ii. 16. that is (exclusive of the divinity of the Father, which resided in him, and acted by him) a mere *man*, as other Jews, and as we ourselves also are.

In the ideas of Paul, both *the first and second Adam* (as Christ, on this account, is sometimes called) were equally men; *By man came death, by man also came the resurrection of the dead,* 1 Cor. xv. 21. And, certainly, in the resurrection of a *man*, that is, of a person in all respects like ourselves, we have a more *lively hope* of our own resurrection; that of Christ being both a *proof* and a *pattern* of ours. We can, therefore, more firmly believe, that *because he lives, we, who are the same that he was, and who shall undergo the same change by death that he did, shall live also,* John xiv. 19.

Till

Till this great corruption of christianity be removed, it will be in vain to preach the gospel to Jews, or Mahometans, or, indeed, to any people who retain the use of the reason and understanding that God has given them. For how is it possible that *three* persons, *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, should be separately, each of them, possessed of all divine perfections, so as to be *true, very, and eternal* God, and yet that there should be but *one God*; a truth which is so clearly and fully revealed, that it is not possible for men to refuse their assent to it; or else it would, no doubt, have been long ago expunged from our creed, as utterly irreconcilable with the more favourite doctrine of a *Trinity*, a term which is not to be found in the scriptures. Things *above* our reason may, for any thing that we know to the contrary, be true; but things expressly *contrary* to our reason, as that *three* should be *one*, and *one three*, can never appear to us to be so.

With the Jews, the doctrine of the Divine Unity is, and indeed justly, considered as the most fundamental principle of all religion. *Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord,* Deut. vi. 4. Mark xii. 29. To preach the doctrine of the Trinity to the Jews, can appear to them in no other light, than an attempt to seduce them into *idolatry*, a thing which they dare not entertain the most distant thought of.

The great creed of the Mahometans is, that *There is one God and Mahomet is his prophet.* Now that Mahomet is not the prophet of God, it is to be hoped they may, in time, be made to believe; but we must not expect that they will so easily give up their faith in the unity of God. To make the gospel what it was originally, *glad tidings of great joy*; and as at last it certainly will be, to all the nations of the world; we must free it from this most absurd and impious doctrine, and also from many other corruptions which have been introduced into it. It can no otherwise appear worthy of God, and favourable to the virtue and happiness of mankind.

Left some common objections should hinder the reception of the great truth here contended for, I shall briefly consider and reply to the principal of them. It is often

said that Christ speaks of his *humanity* only, whenever he represents himself as inferior to the Father, and dependent upon him. But the scriptures themselves are far from furnishing the least hint of any such method of interpretation, though, according to the Trinitarians, it is absolutely necessary to the true understanding of them.

Besides, when it is applied to the passages in question, it is far from making them either true in themselves, or agreeable to the obvious purport and design of the places in which they are introduced. I shall just mention a few. Could our Lord say with truth, and without an unworthy prevarication, that *the Father is the only true God*, John xvii. 3. if any other person, not implied in the term *Father*, was as much the true God as himself? Now the term *Father* being appropriated to what is called the *first* person in the godhead, cannot comprehend the *Son*, who is called the *second*. This key, therefore, is of no service in this case; and our Lord, by expressing himself as he has done, could not but lead his hearers into what is called a dangerous mistake.

When our Lord said that *his Father was greater than he*, did he make any reserve, and secretly mean, not *his whole self*, but only *part*, and the inferior part of himself, the other part being equal in power and glory with the Father? How mean the prevarication, and how unworthy of our Lord!

When our Lord said that *the time of the day of judgment was not known to himself, the Son, but to the Father only*, could he mean that his *humanity* only did not know it, but that his *divinity* (which is supposed to be intimately united with his *humanity*) was as well acquainted with it as the Father himself? If the human nature of Christ had been incapable of having that knowledge communicated to it, the declaration would have been needless; but as that was not the case, his hearers must necessarily understand him as speaking of himself in his highest capacity; as he certainly must do, if at all, when he speaks of himself as the *Son*, corresponding to the *Father*.

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If Christ had not satisfied the Jews that he did not mean to make himself equal with God, would they not have produced it against him at his trial, when he was condemned as a blasphemer, because he confessed that he was the Messiah only: and yet no Jew expected any thing more than a man for their Messiah, and our Saviour no where intimates that they were mistaken in that expectation. It is plain that Martha considered our Lord as a different person from God, and dependent upon God, when she said to him, John xi. 22. *I know that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee.*

VI. Of ATONEMENT for Sin by the Death of Christ.

YOU have been taught by divines, that if Christ be not God, he could not have made an *infinite satisfaction* for the sins of mankind. But, my brethren, where do you learn that the pardon of sin, in a finite creature, requires an infinite satisfaction; or, indeed, any satisfaction at all, besides repentance and reformation, on the part of a sinner. We read in the scriptures that we are *justified freely by the grace of God*, Rom. iii. 24. but what free grace, or mercy, does there appear to have been in God, if Christ gave a full price for our justification, and bore the infinite weight of divine wrath on our account. We are commanded to *forgive others, as we ourselves hope to be forgiven*, Matt. vii. 12. and to be *merciful, as our Father, who is in heaven, is merciful*. But surely we are not thereby authorized to insist upon any atonement, or satisfaction, before we give up our resentment towards an offending and penitent brother. Indeed, how could it deserve the name of *forgiveness* if we did? If he only *repent*, we are commanded to *forgive him*, Luke xvii. 4.

You read in the scriptures that Christ died a *sacrifice for our sins*, Heb. ix. 26. So he did, and a sacrifice it was, of a *sweet smelling savour to God*. To die, as Christ did, in the glorious cause of truth and virtue; to die, as he

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Teaching Nineteenth-Century American Religion in a Global Context

Teaching Resource Links Page

Religion and Slavery

Robert E. Conrad, *In the Hands of Strangers: Readings on Foreign and Domestic Slave Trading and the Crisis of the Union* (Penn State Press, 2001)

Docs on America, England, Brazil illegal trade

Sue Peabody and Keila Grinberg, *Slavery, Freedom, and the Law in the Atlantic World: A Brief History with Documents* (Bedford / St. Martin's, 2007).

Haitian constitution of 1806

the U.S. Act to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves (1807)

the Peruvian “free womb” law 1821

Mexico’s abolition law of 1829

Brazil’s Áurea Law

Mason I. Lowance, ed., *A House Divided: The Antebellum Slavery Debates in America, 1776-1865* (Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 51-87.

Thornton Stringfellow

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Clarke

Owen, *A House Divided*, 88-115.

Rev. Frederick A. Ross, *Slavery Ordained by God* (1859), excerpted in Conrad, *In the Hands of Strangers*, 373-380.

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<http://www.americanunitarian.org/channing.htm>

Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Testem Benevolentiae Nostrae*, Papal Encyclicals Online, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/113teste.htm>.

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Pius VII, his brief *Non Sine Magno*,
Archbishop of Baltimore, Ambrose Marechal.

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