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From the Christian Reflector. TO THE REV. RICHARD FULLER D. D. LETTER II.

My DEAR BROTHER, -In my last letter I took notice of some incidental topics alluded to in your letter on domestic slavery. My object was to show that while the North had erred in the manner of treating this subject, this error was by no means peculiar to the North; and also that the sensitiveness in regard to it, which has of late become so universal, had no existence in the early periods of the history of this country. It seems to me desirable that the position of both parties should be changed; that the North should treat this subject by a calm yet earnest appeal to the understanding and conscience of their fellow-citizens at the South, and that the South should invite the freest possible discussion of it, from what ever quarter it proceed, so long as it confine it self within their limits.

In your letter it is stated that 'the thing affirmed and denied is, that slavery is a moral evil, that slavery is, in itself, a sin; a sin amidst any circumstances.' You also, with great truth and frankness, add, if slavery be a sin, it is the immediate duty of masters to abolish it, whatever be the result; this you urge and this I grant.' believe that in these latter expressions you give utterance to the real sentiments of your heart. believe that you have submitted yourself without reserve to the whole will of God, in so far as he shall reveal it to you. I well know the flattering prospects which you abandoned in order to become a prescher of the gospel of Christ. I believe that the sa ne principles would govern you in this case and that as soon as you shall be convinced that the fule of Christian duty requires of you any other course than that which you now adopt, you will; at any sacrifice whatever, act in accordance with your convictions. It is in this confidence that I address you on this subject with peculiar pleasure. I hope that if I am convinced of error shall be enabled to act from the same principles.

It may perhaps be proper to state that I have never expressed my views of slavery in the form to which you have alluded. The assertion is ambiguous in meaning, and may admit of several very different answers. I could not pretend to affirm or deny it in this indefinite and indeterminate shape. It will be necessary therefore to fix its different meanings, and then offer my views

upon each of them.

You remark, it is affirmed that 'slavery is a moral evil.' This you deny, and assert, as I suppose, on the contrary, that slavery is not in itself

You define slavery to be 'an obligation to labor for the benefit of the master, without the contract or consent of the slave.' I understand you, then, to assert, that the master has a right to oblige the slave to labor for his (the master's) benefit, without the contract or consent of the slave. Now if the master have this right, he has also the right to use all means necessary to enforce and to render it permanent. He has a right to protect himself against every thing that would interfere with the exercise of this right. If the intellectual or moral cultivation of the slave would interfere with the master's power to enforce this right, he has the right to arrest this cultivation at any point he exist, therefore, I do not perceive that any excepever been enacted in any of the Southern States, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, the education of negroes, and forbidding them to assemble for the worship of God, except under the strict-

I do not really see how these two rights can be separated. Either the right of the master to oblige the slave to labor without his consent, conam bound to use all the means in my power to el- were ordained from the beginning, ere even etate and improve him, just as I am bound to do good to all other men, as I have opportunity.

Or to state the matter in another form. The and no ordinance of man can in any manner vary light of the master over the slave, and the right or annul them.

of the slave freely to enjoy the blessings of mor-al and intellectual cultivation, and the privileges of domestic society, are manifestly conflicting rights. I may go farther, and observe, that by the will ber of the society, for all the wrong which the so-that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but ciety binds itself to uphold and render perpet-domestic society, are manifestly conflicting rights. The control of th

ensure the exercise of the original right.

each other, and depending upon entirely different trate the nature of my belief. considering these two meanings separately.

exclusively the second, of these meanings of the his case as in either yours or my own? term moral evil. The one party has shown that

meanings of the phrase moral evil."

man in slavery as it has been above explained is myself, I should forbid them to read, and thus sponsible in the sight of God. has established between his moral and intelligent then do all in my power to render it certain that for another occasion.

be more or less ignorant than myself, but these any greater? and Father of us all.

which renders him susceptible of moral obligation neither makes one party more nor the other less on this subject. both to God and to man. In virtue of this en- than human beings; hence their actions are to be dowment, it is his imperative duty to seek by all judged of by precisely the same rule as if no such ment of regard, means to know the will of God, and it is his inal- transfer had taken place. Hence I cannot resist ienable right to serve God in the manner which the conclusion that the act in question is, as behe believes will be most pleasing to the Creator .- fore, wrong; and that slavery, with this modifica-He has powers of external action, and by means tion, is again, as before, a moral evil.' of his intellect he may use these powers for the I will offer but one more supposition. Supchooses, or to abolish it altogether. If this right improvement of his own condition, and, provided pose that any number, for instance one half of the tion can be taken to the sternest laws which have his brethren, he may employ them as he will, and the other half in the manner that I have describclusively his own.

that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoev- alter the moral aspect of the case ? er believeth in him should not perish but have ever, and I may use it innocently, at my own discre- his message, addressed to every child of Adam .der to secure to myself the exercise of the origin- human being has a perfect right to know every which they now possess. al right which God has given me. If, on the other word that God had addressed to him, and as perhand, it does not exist, then the slave in these re- fect a right to the use of all the means by which as any other man. I have no more right to in- and obligations seem to me to arise specially and letter with his intellectual or moral improvement exclusively from the relations established by God than with that of any other man. He is in these between the creature and himself; therefore with respects as free as I am myself; and to interfere them no other creature of God, not even the anwith him is both cruel and unjust. Nay more, I gels of heaven, have a right to interfere. They 'The hills were formed, the fountains opened

Or the sea with all its roaring multitude of waves;

One or the other must overrule. If the right of mong these are the relations of husband and wife, The Scriptures frequently allude to the fact, in the judgment of the neighbor's party, the first the slave be the predominating right, it abolishes and parent and child. From these relations cer- that wrong done by law, that is by society, is becomes last and the last first. slavery, wherever slavery interferes with it. tain obligations arise, and for the fulfilment of amenable to the same retribution as wrong done It is, then, the clear responses of the sacred or-Were I therefore, to define the right of slavery, these obligations, God holds the parties individual. Thus, Psalm 94: 20-23 acles to which we must after all appeal. But as should go somewhat farther than you have gone. ally responsible to him. With these obligations Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with we may rest assured that no science, truly so callsuppose it to be the right to oblige another to la- no other human being has a right to interfere. them which frame mischief by a law, and gather ed, will be found opposed to revelation; and as I bor for me, without his contract or consent, with the The laws which God has gryen respecting them themselves together against the soul of the right- abhor and abjure the blasphemy which would additional right to use all the means necessary to in his word, transcend and overrule and abrogate eous, and condemn the innocent blood ! But the charge the Bible with countenancing sin; I shall all counteracting laws of man. Every man is Lord is my defence; and my God is the rock of suspend what still appears to me (with deference) But it is asserted that 'slavery is not a moral bound to obey these laws which God himself has my refuge. And he shall bring upon them their to be the unequivocal argument from the Scripevil.' Here I think a most important distinction enacted, nor can any man rightfully present any own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own tures, until I examine the logic usually employed is to be taken. The term moral evil may be us- obstacle to this obedience. I might pursue this wickedness; yea, the Lord our God shall cut them on this subject my principal object being to vined to designate two ideas widely dissimilar from subject, further, but I have said enough to illus- off.' So also Isaiah 10: 1-4. Wo unto them diente the inspired volume from having, at any

violation of the relations which exist between the tion of a human nature, I think no one can deny, aside the needy from judgment, and to take away Now, in order to clear away rubbish, and arparties, the transgression of a moral law of God. In And if this be not denied, I do not perceive how the right from the poor of my people, that widows rive at once at the point, let me remind you that the other sense it signifies the personal guilt which the subject in this view admits of any argument, may be their prey, and that they may rob the it is simply the essential character of slavery which attaches to the being who does the wrong, violates It is a matter of immediate moral consciousness. fatherless! And what will we do in the day of we are discussing; and that slavery is a term the obligation, or transgresses the law. In the I know and feel that by virtue of my creation, I visitation, and in the desolation which shall come whose meaning can be clearly and easily defined. first sense, moral evil depends upon the immuta- possess such a nature. I feel that the rights from far? to whom will ye fice for help? and Slavery is bondage. It is (to give Paley's idea in ble relations which God has established between which I have described were conferred on me by where will ye leave your glory? Without me other language) the condition of one to whose serhis moral creatures. In the second sense, mean- the immediate endowmont of God. I feel that they shall bow down under the prisoners, and they vice another has a right, without the consent cr ing personal guilt, it may vary in different per- with the exercise of these my rights, no created shall fall under the slain. For all this his anger contract of the servant. The addition you make sons, and at different times, and depends upon being can interfere, without doing me an aggrava- is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out to this definition is really included in it; the origlight, knowledge of duty, means of obtaining infor- ted wrong, and violating the law to which we are still." Besides, persecution for the sake of reli- nal right involving, of course, all rights necessarimation on the subject, &c. It is manifest that we both subjected by our Creator. I am sure, my gious opinion is always perpetrated by law; but ly and properly implied. But, my dear brother, can take no proper view of this subject, without brother, you feel all this as keenly as any man at this in no manner affects its moral character. live. . You feel it, not by virtue of any constitu- There is, however, one point of difference, which from the premises assumed, it really seems to me It has seemed tome that much of the misunder- tion of government, or any enactment of civil law, arises from the fact that this wrong has been e- that those premises beg the whole question, and standing which has existed on this subject has a- but simply and truly because you are a man - stablished by law. It becomes a social wrong - take for granted the only thing I ever denied. I risen from the want of attention to this obvious And is not every other man, for precisely the same The individual, or those who preceded him, may am now referring to your second communication; distinction. We at the North have considered reason, endowed with the same rights, and is not have surrendered their individual right over it to nothing can be more carefully and lucidly reasontoo exclusively the first, and you at the South as the violation of these rights as great a wrong in the society. In this case it may happen that the ed, and the abolitionists declare they thave read no

he use them not in violation of the equal rights of families in our neighborhood, should agree to treat the result of this employment is strictly and ex- ed. Suppose we should by law enact that the weaker half should be slaves, that we would exer-But more than this. Every human being is a cise over them the authority of masters, prohibit fallen creature. He is a sinner against God, and by law their instruction, and concert among ouris exposed, for his transgressions, to the condem- selves means for holding them permanently in their nation of everlasting death. God so loved him present situation. In what manner would this

responsible both for his own, and also, as a mem- opinions, they will not prove invulnerable. He you surely do not maintain. You certainly do

that decree unrithteous decrees, and that write time or place, permitted and regulated a crime of principles. In the one sense it means wrong; the That all these ideas are involved in the concep- grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn the darkest malignity.

individual cannot act as he might act, if the law argument from any quarter so simple and yet so To present this subject in a simple light. Let had not been made. In this case the evil can on- conclusive against slavery.' And yet, after seveslavery is always a violation of right, and there- us suppose that your family and mine were neigh- ly be eradicated by changing the opinions of the ral times perusing this letter, will my brother forfore always involving equal guilt. The other has bors. We, our wives and children, are human society, and inducing them to abolish the law. It give my saying that it presents to my mind preurged the circumstances in which they and their beings in the sense that I have described, and, in will however be apparent that this, as I said be- cisely the following problem, and no other :- Slavslaves are placed, and have aimed to show that in consequence of that common Creator, are subject fore, does not change the relation of the parties ery being admitted to be an aggregate of crimes. their present condition they were not chargeable to the law, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. either to each other or to God. The wrong exists it is required to prove that it is criminal—as to with guilt, and hence that what they do is not Suppose that I should set fire to your house, shoot as before. The individual act is wrong. The which you very justly add, I do not perceive how you as you came out of it, and seizing upon your law which protects it is wrong. The whole soci- the subject in this view admits of any argument." Let us endeavor calmly to consider both of these wife and children, 'oblige them to labour for my ety, in putting the law into execution, is wrong. benefit, without their contract or consent.' Sup- Before, only the individual, now, the whole socie- is, that slavery is not only a moral evil, but as In the first sense, when it is affirmed that slave- pose, moreover, aware that I could not thus oblige ty, becomes the wrong doer, and for that wrong

I am, my dear brother, yours with every senti-

THE AUTHOR OF THE MORAL SCIENCE.

From the Christian Reflector. TO THE REV. FRANCIS WAYLAND, JR. D. D.

exercised. It is a right given me by God, over anoth- ternal salvation. The New Testament constitutes whole party bind themselves to assist every indi- ble. Now such an umpire we have. Whatever tion creates. vidual of themselves to subdue all resistance from importance others may attach to the deductions The proposition adduced by you is only a modtion; that is, I may control his intellectual and Upon our understanding and obeying it the etern- the other party, and guaranteeing to each other of human reasoning, and thus impiously array a- ification of another which has so often been urged; moral nature just in so far as is necessary in or. al destiny of every one of us depends. Every that exercise of this power over the weaker party gainst the Scriptures those oppositions of science viz: that man cannot be made a subject of propfalsely so called,' which the Apostle terms 'pro- erty; as to which who but sees that the whole Now I cannot see that this in any respect chan- fane and vain babblings,' you and I have long perplexity arises from a confusion of terms? The ges the nature of the parties. They remain, as since put on our shields one motto, 'Let God be affirmants mean, that it is wrong to treat human spects stands to me in precisely the same relation this knowledge may be obtained. These rights before, human beings, possessing the same intellecture and every man a liar.' There are, indeed, beings as brutes and inanimate chattels; which is tual and moral nature, holding the same relations some truths which are seen, like the sun, by their self-evident. Those who support the negative into each other and to God, and still under the same own light; but when the character of any human tend only, that one man may have a just right to unchangeable law, Thou shalt love thy neighbor action admits of discussion at all, it admits, almost the services of another, and that this right may be as thyself. By the act of holding a man in bond- always, of indefinite discussion. The question it- transferable; which is also self-evident. Here the age, this law is violated. Wrong is done, moral self of innocence and guilt is necessarily complex; dispute would at once cease, if the term property evil is committed. In the former case it was done and it is vain, too, in this day of knowledge and were defined. And just so with us. Your conby the individual; now it is done by the individ- mental discipline, to expect any such signal re- clusions are quite indisputable, if slavery be essenual and the society. Before, the individual was sults as formerly belonged to the trial by battle,- tially and necessarily the compound of palpable responsible only for his own wrong; now he is No matter how an advocate seems to establish his infractions of right which you suppose. But this

while I concur fully in the conclusions you draw

Let me go a little into detail. Your conclusion

gaeat a sin as 'we can conceive of ;' and this you ry is not a moral evil, we assert, that to hold a them, unless they were inferior in intelect to both the individuals and the society are held re- derive from two propositions, both of which I humbly apprehend to be fallacious. First, you affirm right, that it violates no law of God, and is at va- consign them to intellectual and moral imbe- I have thus endeavored as clearly as possible to that the right of the master is irreconcilable with riance with no moral relation existing between cility. Suppose I should measure out to them illustrate my views upon the question, is slavery the right of the slave to the blessings of moral man and man. Now I believe directly the reverse the knowledge of God on the same principle. a moral evil? understanding by these terms, wrong, and intellectual cultivation, and the privileges of of this. I believe it to be wrong, utterly and ab- Suppose I should exercise this dominion over or violation of moral law. The consideration of domestic society;' which I deny. Why indeed solutely at variance with the relations which God them and their children as long as I lived, and the second meaning of the phrase I must reserve should it be ? When you hire a servant for a year, he is under obligation to 'labor for your bencreatures. My reasons for holding this opinion my children shall do it after me. The question It may perhaps be propor for me here to state, efit that year; but does your right to his service, before us I suppose to be simply this, would I in once for all, that in these remarks and those that or your right to 'use all means necessary to the I suppose that 'GoJ, of one blood, made all men so doing act at variance with the relations existing may follow, I speak as the organ of no party and original right,' conflict with his right to the blessthat dwell upon the earth, that we are all par- between us as creatures of God! Would I, in oth- of no sect. I belong to none. I am not and I ings of moral and intellectual cultivation, and the takers of the same nature, as we are all the chil- er words, violate the supreme law of my Creator, never have been connected with any abolition soci- privileges of domestic society?' The term 'mordren of one common parent. I suppose that this Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, or that ety, and I believe that I have read as much on one al cultivation' means, I suppose, improvement in common nature is not affected, in any respect, by other, Whatsoever- ye would that men would do side of the question as on the other. I write what holiness; now, suppose a slave to have the word the color of the skin, the difference of the hair, or unto you, do ye even so unto them? I do not see seems to me the simple dictate of my individual of God, and to enjoy all the means of grace, why any other variety of physical formation. I believe how any intelligent creature can give more than understanding and conscience, enlightened I hope should his moral improvement be impossible bealso that this nature remains the same under eve- one answer to this question. Then I think that by the teachings of the Holy Scriptures. Nay, I cause he labors for my benefit ! In fact might ry degree of intellectual development. A man every intelligent crea ure must affirm that to do may claim that the sentiments which I have ad- not his very position shelter him from many of may be wiser or less wise, he many be more or this is wrong, or, in the other form of expression, vanced are by necessity involved in the character those temptations of pride, and avarice, and ambiless richly endowed in mental capacity, he may that it is a great moral evil. Can we conceive of which I hold as an American citizen. I do not tion, which are most fatal to piety ? Then, again, know that I have advanced a single sentiment as to intellectual cultivation-the laboring populadifferences affect not our common nature. He is in Again, suppose my neighbor offers me money, which is not comprehended in the notable words in all countries have but little taste or time for litevery respect, notwithstanding all this, as perfect- and I, for the sake of this money, transfer some of which form the introduction to our Declaration of erature; but if our slaves were taught to read, I ly a human being as myself; and he stands with these children to him, to oblige them to labor for Independence. 'We hold these truths to be self- know no class of people employed in manual inme in precisely the same relation to the Creator his benefit, without their contract or consent; and evident, (that is, so evident that they are, from dustry who would have more liesure for books.takes all the means, as before stated, which shall the principles of the human mind, admitted as Many Roman slaves were hard students—they I believe that every human being is endowed enable him to exercise this power. Does this soon as they are stated,) that all men are created were employed as amanuenses, and their value with an immortal soul, and that he is placed in transfer of money from him to me in any respect equal,' (that is, equal in right to use the endow- was in proportion to their education. And so, too, the present state of probation, a candidate for ev- modify the relations which exist between him and ments of the Creator as they choose, though not as to domestic society, why should it not be ener asting happiness or everlasting woe. He has them as creatures of God, or abolish that law by equal in endowments,) that they are endowed by joyed by those who labor for a master? The an intellect capable of endless progression in which God has ordained that all our actions to- their Creator with certain inalienable rights,' (that right of a master, I repeat it, does not confer any knowledge, and is animated with a desire to im- wards each other shall be governed ! They are is, rights from which they cannot be rightfully such rights as you suppose. He may require the prove that intellect to the utmost; and God has the same human nature, and they stand in the alienated,) and that among these are life, liberty, just and reasonable service of the slave, but it is a given him a right to improve it, to whatever ex same relations to God and to each other that they and the pursuit of happiness.' I do not know how service exactly such as is due from a servant hirtent he pleases. He is endowed with a conscience did before. The transfer of silver from him to me else in so few words I could express my opinions ed for the year or for life. Nor does the absence of 'the contract or consent of the slave,' nor the right of transfer, at all alter the nature and extent of the master's right. The case is analogous to that of parents and children. A father has a right to the services of his child during minority, without the contract or consent of the child; and he may transfer that right, as in case of apprenticeship; but is he therefore justified in debasing the moral and intellectual character of the child 1-My DEAR BROTHER,-The issue now before us Nay, does not the very law which gives him the regards the essential moral character of slavery, control of his child, place him under the strongest and on such a question I am strongly disposed to obligations to promote that child's best and eternal pass by all ethical and metaphysical dissertation, interests? And, beyond a doubt, this is the true and appeal at once to the only standard of right light in which Christianity would have masters reand wrong which can prove decisive. For my gard themselves-a view which must cause the own part, I am heartily sick and weary of the holiest amongst us to tremble at our fearful recontroversies and debates waged and waging on sponsibility, and bow down in contrition and penevery side, in which each party is contending, not itence at our unfaithfulness. . But this is only A law in this case is merely a determination of for truth, but victory, and which have effected just what I fear to be too true as to most parents; and, fers the right over his intellectual and moral nature, erlasting life.' To one possessing this nature, Je- one party, in which all unite, to hold the other nothing, for the want of some arbiter recognized in each case, it is not the relation which is sinful. or it does not. If it does then it may be rightfully sus Christ has made in the gospel the offer of e- party in bondage; and a compact by which the by all, and whose decree shall be final and infalli- but infidel ty to the solemn trust which that rel