

## SLAVERY IN ANCIENT GREECE.\*

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THERE has not been any attempt, within our knowledge, to investigate thoroughly the condition of Grecian Slavery.† The ancient historian, for the most part, concerned himself only with the freeborn citizen. He had in general no sympathies to expend in behalf of the great prostrate multitude, who toiled and died unseen. We have allusions, incidental notices, paragraphs scattered here and there in the long records from Hesiod down to the historians of Byzantium. The thoughtful tragedian sometimes drops a tear for the poor slave, and the comic poet raises a laugh at his expense, but no Xenophon was found to lift the curtain and detail the features of that system, which deprived at least two thirds of the population of Greece of all political importance, and, in a great measure, of happiness itself. In the following pages we propose to collect and embody such facts and

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\* This Essay was published in the *Biblical Repository* for January, 1835, and was afterwards republished in Great Britain.

† The German work of Reitemeier excepted, which we have not been able to procure. So far as we know, he is the only author who has written formally on the subject.

notices as a somewhat patient examination of Greek writers has brought to our knowledge.

Greece, in its early days, was in a state of perpetual piratical warfare. Cattle, as the great means of subsistence, were first the object of plunder. Then, as the inhabitants, by degrees, engaged in agricultural pursuits, men, women, and children were sought for slaves. A sea, which has innumerable islands and ports, offered powerful incentives to piracy. Perhaps the conduct of the Phœnicians towards the uncivilized nations, among whom the desire of gain led them, was not always the most upright or humane. Hostilities would naturally ensue; and hence might first arise the estimation of piracy, which was a fruitful source of slavery, and long prevailed among the Greeks as an honorable practice.

From the general account of the polity of the island of Crete, furnished by Plato and Aristotle, we find that Minos established his system upon two principles; that freemen should be all equal; and that they should be served by slaves. The soil was cultivated by the slaves on the public account; the freemen ate together at the public tables, and their families were subsisted from the public stock. While a comparatively small society lived in freedom and honorable leisure, a much larger portion of the human race was, for their sakes, doomed to rigid and irredeemable slavery. In the same manner, without doubt, the early inhabitants of Sicyon, Corinth, Argos, and other cities, were unhappily divided.

In Homer, we find many allusions to manners and customs growing out of a state of slavery. "These are the evils," we are told in the *Iliad*, "that follow the capture of a town: the men are killed; the city is burned to the ground; the women and children of all ranks are carried

off for slaves." \* "Wretch that I am!" says Priam, "what evil does the great Jupiter bring on me in my old age! My sons slain, my daughters dragged into slavery; violence pervading even the chambers of my palace; and the very infants dashed against the ground in horrid sport of war." † In the *Odyssey*, we discover many allusions to the institution of slavery. The directions which Penelope's house-keeper gives are as follows: "Go quickly! some of you sweep the house and sprinkle it, and let the crimson carpets be spread on the seats; let others rub well the tables with sponges, and wash carefully the bowls and cups. Some of you go instantly to the fountain for water." ‡ No less than twenty went on this errand. The whole number of maid-servants was fifty; not all, however, employed in household business; for we find fifty also forming the establishment of Alcinoüs; of whom some, says the poet, ground at the mill, and some turned the spindle or threw the shuttle. Men-servants waited at meals; and those of Ulysses's household are described as comely youths, well clothed, and always neat in their appearance. Servants of both sexes seem to have been all slaves. It was praise, equally for a slave and a princess, to be skilful in the business of spinning, needle-work, and the loom. The princess Nausicaa, the beautiful daughter of the king of Phæacia, went with the female slaves, in a carriage drawn by mules, to a fountain, in a sequestered spot, at some distance from the city, to wash the clothes of the family.

In estimating the happiness of the heroic ages, we must take into account its extreme instability, arising in part

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\* Τέκνα δὲ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγονσι, βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας. II. IX. 594.

† ——— ἐλεηθείσας τε θύγατρας. II. XXII. 62.

‡ *Odyssey*, XX. 149.

from the institution of slavery. Hence there is a melancholy tinge widely diffused over the poems of Homer.\* He frequently adverts, in general terms, to the miseries of mankind. That earth nourishes no animal more wretched than man, is a remark which he puts into the mouth of Jove himself. His common epithet for war is "tearful" (*δακρυόεις*). He seems to have had some knowledge, by tradition or otherwise, of a period when slavery did not exist; an idea to which Herodotus alludes, and Plutarch also in his *Life of Numa*.

Though there were many slaves in the days of Homer, yet their number was afterwards greatly increased. At one time, in Argos, they assumed the reins of government, and executed all the affairs of State, till the sons of those who had been slain, arriving at adult age, obtained possession, and expelled the slaves. The latter retired to the fortress Tyrinthe, which they had seized. A serious war followed. After suffering severe losses, the Argians were finally victorious.† The Ionian colonies on the coast of Asia Minor were supposed to furnish remarkably fine slaves. Atossa, queen of Darius, urged that monarch to make war on the Greeks, in order that she might have some Ionian female slaves. When the inhabitants of Coos, says Athenæus, sacrificed to the gods, they allowed no slaves to be present.‡ In the early history of Macedonia, we find that great vassals of the crown held extensive lordships in the inland country, with a princely authority; bearing evident analogy, in office and dignity, to the barons of Europe in the Middle Ages. In later times, also, the Macedonian constitution appears to have borne a near resemblance to that

\* See *Odyssey*, IV. 93; VIII. 523; XI. 621; XVIII. 129.

† Herodotus, *Erato*, 83.

‡ Athenæus, *Bale* ed. 1535, p. 131.

of the European kingdoms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the combined civil and military powers were divided among lordships, dukedoms, earldoms, and baronies. Lordships and townships together acknowledged the sovereignty of one king; especially his right to command their service in arms for the common defence. Slaves existed among them, but less numerous than in the republics, and in a more mitigated condition. The people of all ranks above slavery, in cities and throughout the country, held the important right of judgment on life and death, and of bearing arms for common defence against foreign and domestic disturbers of the common peace.\*

In Thessaly, the Penests, so called from their poverty, (*πενήης, πενέστης*), were the descendants of the people of the neighboring countries, conquered and enslaved by the Thessalians, and were frequently formidable to the government. They were most commonly occupied in cultivating the lands of their severe masters. In their employments, numbers, and continual disposition to revolt, they agreed with the Lacedæmonian Helots.† They first revolted in the wars of the Thessalians with the Achæans, Perrhæbians, and Magnesians. Aristotle mentions, that the island of Ægina, at one time, contained 400,000 slaves. This statement seems to be correct, though it has been called in question by Hume. A learned German, C. O. Müller, has accurately determined the area of Ægina, from Gell's map of Argolis, and made it 42 square miles English; thus increasing the possibility of a large slave population, especially if we assume, as is probable, that Ægina, in early times, had pos-

\* Mitford's Greece, Vol. VII. p. 191.

† Aristotle's Pol., b. II.; Athenæus, 6. 18; Eurip. Herac. 639; Gillies's Greece, Vol. I.

sessions on the coast of Argolis. The naval dominion of the island, and its powerful assistance to others, are incompatible with a small population. Slaves never occupied much room. Ægina received supplies from the countries on the Black Sea, as well as the Peloponnesus, and particularly from Corinth.\*

Timæus asserts, that Corinth had 460,000 slaves, in early times, before Athens had obtained possession of the commerce of Greece and the sovereignty of the seas. That the Corinthians kept a very large number of slaves, is proved by the expression *chanix-measurers*, by which they were distinguished.†

There are different accounts of the origin of the Helots at Sparta, who were distinguished from other slaves by name, as well as condition. The common opinion is, that Helos, (whether an Arcadian town, or a rebellious dependency of Lacedæmon, is not agreed,) being taken by Soüs, son of Procles, king of Sparta, the inhabitants were, according to the practice of the times, reduced to slavery, and dispersed in such numbers over Laconia, that the name of Helot prevailed in that country as synonymous with slave. It appears probable, however, that the Lacedæmonians, as well as all the Peloponnesian Dorians, had slaves of Grecian race, before the reign of Soüs; and we know that, after it, they reduced numbers of Greeks to that miserable state. But the institutions of Lycurgus must necessarily have occasioned a considerable alteration in the condition of Lacedæmonian slaves. For as husbandry and all mechanical arts were to be exercised by them alone,

\* See Augustus Boeckh's *Public Economy of Athens*, 1828. Vol. I. p. 55.

† *Χοινικομέτραι*. A *χοῖνιξ* held somewhat more than a half-gallon.

their consequence in the State was considerably increased; but as private property was nearly annihilated, every slave became, in a great degree, the slave of every freeman. In proportion as their consequence increased, it became necessary to look upon them with a more jealous eye; and thus every Helot was watched by thousands of jealous masters.\* The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians towards the Helots is frequently alluded to by many authors; though Plutarch, who was a great admirer of the Spartans, endeavors (inconclusively) to palliate it. These poor wretches were marked out for slaves in their dress, their gestures, in short, in every thing. They wore dog-skin bonnets and sheep-skin vests; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their masters. Once a day they received a certain number of stripes, for fear they should forget they were slaves. To crown all, they were liable to the horrible *crypticæ* (*κρυπτεία*), *ambuscade*. The governors of the Spartan youthful freemen ordered the shrewdest of them, from time to time, to disperse themselves in the country, furnished only with daggers and some necessary provisions. In the day-time they hid themselves, rested in the most private places they could find, but at night they sallied out into the roads and killed all the Helots they could find. Sometimes, by day, they fell upon them in the fields, and murdered the ablest and strongest of them. Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian war, relates, that the Spartans selected such of the Helots as were remarkable for their courage, to the number of two thousand or more, declared them free, crowned them with garlands, and conducted them to the temples of the gods; but, soon after, they all disappeared, and no one could, either then or since, give

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\* Mitford. Vol. I. p. 279.

account in what way they were destroyed. Aristotle says, that the Ephori, as soon as they were invested with their office, declared war against the Helots, that they might be massacred under pretence of law. In other respects they treated them with great inhumanity; sometimes they made them drink till they were intoxicated, and in that condition led them into the public halls, to show the young men what drunkenness was. They ordered them to sing mean and disgraceful songs, and to engage in ridiculous dances, but not to intermeddle with any thing graceful or honorable. When the Thebans invaded Laconia, and took a great number of Helots prisoners, they ordered them to sing the odes of Alcmon, Terpander, and others; but the Helots excused themselves, alleging that it was forbidden by their masters.\* Plutarch endeavors to prove that the cruelty practised upon the Helots was not introduced by Lycurgus. He thinks that the *ambuscade*, particularly, had its origin in the fact that the Helots joined with the Messenians, after a terrible earthquake, which happened about 467 B. C., whereby a great part of Lacedæmon was overthrown, and in which above twenty thousand Spartans perished. But Ælian affirms expressly, that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans for treating these Helots with such inhumanity.† The truth is, that the institutions of Lycurgus made slavery indispensable. The passion for military glory was universal. Sparta was one great camp. One of the principal curses (privileges, says Plutarch) which Lycurgus procured for his countrymen, was the enjoyment of leisure, the consequence of his forbidding them to exercise any mechanical trade. The Helots tilled the ground, and were answerable

\* Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*.

† Ælian, *Hist. Varior.* 3.



for its produce. Lycurgus introduced an unnatural state of society, and slavery was one of its products. He had a model, however, in the institutions of Crete, Egypt, and other countries, where military men generally belonged to the nobility, and were a distinct order from the husbandmen, mechanics, &c. The actual number of the Helots was not far, we believe, from four hundred thousand. That it was large, and at times very formidable, is the unanimous testimony. Their ranks, though constantly thinned by war and the horrible cruelties of their masters, were frequently replenished by the subjection of new tribes. By the conquest of Messene, a large number of wretched captives were forced into the condition of Helots.

Of the slavery which existed in Attica and Athens, we have more definite information. According to the accurate map of Barbié du Bocage, which is attached to the Travels of Anacharsis, the area of Attica, with the two islands, Salamis and Helena, amounts to about 874 square miles. Xenophon says, that the Athenians were equal in number to all the Bœotians, that is, the citizens of the one country to the citizens of the other. The whole population of Attica would be known, if we could separately ascertain the number of the citizens, resident aliens, and slaves, together with their wives and children. On an occasion of a distribution of corn, which, like all other distributions, was made according to the register of the adult citizens of eighteen years of age and upwards, a scrutiny was instituted in the archonship of Lysimachides, Olymp. 83. 4, into the genuineness of their birth (*γενεαίτης*). There were then found, according to Philochorus, only 14,240 genuine citizens; and 4,760, who had assumed the rights of citizens unjustly, were in consequence sold as slaves. Previously, therefore, there

were 19,000 persons, who passed for citizens. After the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, besides 13,000 heavy-armed infantry (*ὄπλιται*) there were also 16,000 others in Athens, who consisted of the oldest and youngest citizens and a certain number of resident aliens; the number of citizens must therefore at that time have been higher. An enumeration of the people was effected by Demetrius Phalereus, when Archon at Athens in Olymp. 117. 4, and yielded, according to Ctesicles, 21,000 citizens, 10,000 resident aliens, and 400,000 slaves. From this very important statement, the whole population of Attica has been variously estimated. According to the usual rule of statistics, the adults have been generally taken as a fourth part of the population. This would give for the citizens 84,000, the aliens 40,000, and the slaves 400,000. Sainte Croix erroneously adds 100,000 children to the number of slaves; they were doubtless reckoned in the 400,000. With regard to the total number of slaves, it is stated too much in round numbers to be entitled to perfect confidence. It will be sufficient to reckon 365,000 slaves, including women and children; and the whole population at 500,000; of whom the larger proportion were men, since fewer female than male slaves were kept, and not all the slaves, by any means, were married.

The proportion of the free inhabitants to the slaves can consequently be taken as 27 to 100, or nearly as one to four. In some of the American sugar plantations it has been as one to six. This number of slaves cannot appear too large, if the political circumstances of Attica are taken into consideration. Even the poorer citizens used to have a slave for the care of their household affairs.\* In every

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\* See the beginning of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes.

moderate establishment many were employed for all possible occupations, such as grinders, bakers, cooks, tailors, errand-boys, or to accompany the master and mistress, who seldom went out without an attendant. Any one who was extravagant, and wished to attract attention, took perhaps three attendants with him.\* We even hear of philosophers, who kept ten slaves. They were also let out as hired servants; they performed all the labor connected with the care of cattle and agriculture; they were employed in the working of mines and furnaces; all manual labor and the lower branches of trade were in a great measure carried on by them; large gangs labored in the numerous workshops for which Athens was celebrated; and a considerable number were employed in the merchant vessels and the fleet. Not to enumerate many instances of persons who had a smaller number of slaves, Timarchus kept in his workshop eleven or twelve; † Demosthenes's father, 52 or 53, besides the female slaves in his house; Lysias and Polemarchus, 120. ‡ Plato expressly remarks, that the free inhabitants had frequently 50 slaves, and the rich even more. § Philémonides had 300, Hipponicus 600, Nicias 1,000 slaves in the mines alone. || Suidas on the word ἀπεψηφίσασαο mentions, that the slaves employed in the silver mines alone, and in country labor, amounted to 150,000. But Hume raises an objection on this number out of Xenophon. Xenophon proposed to the State to buy public slaves for the mines, and particularly mentions how large a revenue the State would receive from them, if it had 10,000 to begin with, remarking at the same time: "That the mines are able to

\* Demosthenes, Oratio pro Phorm.

† Æschin. in Timarch.

‡ Demosthenes in Aphob.

§ Plato, De Republica, IX.

|| Xenophon, De Vectigal.

receive many times this number, every body will allow, who remembers how much the slave-duty produced before the occurrences at Decelea.\* From this statement Hume infers, that the number cannot have been so large; for the diminution by the war of Decelea only amounted to 20,000,† and the increase of 10,000 does not stand in any considerable proportion to so large a number as 400,000. It must, however, be considered, that after the war of Decelea the Athenians probably ceased to keep so many slaves, on account of the facility of escape, and that a still greater number than ran away may have been dismissed. Xenophon himself proves that the mines, of which he has been speaking, could have afforded employment to many times 10,000.‡

In what manner this population of 500,000 souls, in Attica, was distributed, cannot now be accurately known. Athens itself contained above 10,000 houses. There were, besides, lodging houses, inhabited by several families; and manufactories contained many hundreds of slaves. If 180,000 are reckoned for the city and harbors, and 20,000 for the mines, there then remain 300,000 souls for the other 608 square miles in Attica; which gives something less than 493½ to a square mile, which, with the numbers of small market-places, villages, and farms that were in Attica, is not to be wondered at.

The servants at Athens were of two sorts; the first were those who, through poverty, were forced to serve for wages, being otherwise free-born citizens, but not possessing any suffrage in public affairs on account of their indigence; it being forbidden, at some times, that persons not having such

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\* Thucyd. VII. 27.

† Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, Vol. I. p. 53.

an estate as was mentioned in the law should have the privilege of giving their voices. These were properly called *θήρες* and *πλάται*, and were the most genteel sort of servants, being only in that condition during their own pleasure and necessities, and having power either to change their masters, or, if they became able to subsist by themselves, wholly to release themselves from servitude. The other kind of servants were properly *slaves* wholly in the power of their masters, who had as good a *legal* title to them as to their lands or beasts of burden. What greatly enhanced the misery of their condition was, that they had little hope of recovering their freedom themselves, or of procuring it for their posterity. All the inheritance they could leave their children, (for their masters encouraged them to marry,) was the possession of their parents' miseries, and a condition but a little superior to that of beasts.

The following were the methods in which they were reduced to this deplorable bondage. First, some were poor, and being unable to subsist of themselves, and perhaps deeply in debt, were forced to part with their freedom, and yield themselves slaves to such as were able to maintain them. Secondly, vast numbers were reduced to slavery by the chance of war, by which the vanquished were placed wholly at the disposal of the conquerors. Thirdly, by the perfidiousness of those who traded in slaves, who often stole persons of ingenuous birth and education and sold them. Plato and Diogenes were sold as slaves. Aristophanes informs us that the Thessalians were notorious for this species of villany: —

“ Whence will you get slaves ? I'll buy them with money.  
 But where ? for all the merchants leave off sale,  
 Being sufficiently enriched ? Driven by hope of more gain,  
 The slave-dealer will come here from Thessaly.”\*

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\* Aristoph. Plut. Act II. Scene 5.

Fourthly, slaves were sold by the public authority. The father of Bion, the philosopher, was sold, together with his whole family, for an offence against the laws of the custom-house, though this did not take place at Athens.

At Athens, when a slave was first brought home, there was an entertainment provided to welcome him to his new service, and certain sweetmeats were poured upon his head. This ceremony was not practised elsewhere, though in all countries slaves were bought and sold like other commodities. The Thracians are particularly remarkable for purchasing them with salt.\* The Chians, whose slaves, according to Thucydides, were very numerous and were treated with severity, insomuch that on one occasion they revolted in great numbers to the Athenians,† are reported to have been the first who gave money for slaves. Previously, they had been exchanged for other commodities, which was the ancient way of trading, before the invention of money. Homer's heroes are often said to have exchanged their captives for provisions. ‡

The following were some of the legal enactments respecting slavery, which were in force at various times at Athens. Persons of the meanest sort shall be capable of no magistracy. Let no person, who is a slave by birth, be made free of the city. They only shall be reckoned citizens, both whose parents are so. He shall be looked on as illegitimate, whose mother is not free. No illegitimate persons shall be obliged to keep their parents. No slave shall presume to anoint, or perform exercises in the palæstra. No slave, or woman other than free-born, shall study or practise physic.

\* Therefore they were called *πρὸς ἀλὸς ἡγοράσμενα*.

† Thucyd. Hist. VIII. 48.

‡ See the end of the seventh book of the *Iliad*.

No slave shall caress a free-born youth; he who does so shall receive publicly fifty stripes. He that beats another man's servant may have an action of battery brought against him. No one may sell a captive for a slave, without the consent of his former master. If any captive has been sold, he shall be rescued; and let his rescuer put in sureties for his appearance before the polemarch. If the freedom of any slave has been unjustly arrested by another, the arrester shall be liable to pay half the price of the slave. Any slave, unable to drudge under the imperiousness of his master, may compel him to let him quit his service for one more mild and gentle. Slaves may buy themselves out of bondage. No slaves are to have their liberty given them in the theatre; the crier that proclaims it shall be *infamous*. All emancipated slaves shall pay certain services and due homage to the masters who gave them liberty, choosing them only for their patrons; and they shall not be wanting in the performance of those duties to which they are under obligation by law. Patrons are permitted to bring an action of ἀποστράσιον against such freed slaves as are remiss in the forementioned duties, and reduce them to their pristine state of bondage, if the charge be proved against them; but if the accusation be groundless, they shall completely enjoy their freedom. Any who have a mind, whether citizens or strangers, may appear as evidence in the above-mentioned cause. He that redeems a prisoner of war may claim him as his own, unless the prisoner himself be able to pay his own ransom. Maintenance is by no means to be given to a slave careless in his duty.\*

The Greeks were very industrious to prevent and sup-

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\* See the first volume of Potter's *Greek Antiquities*, pp. 144 - 162, *passim*. London ed. 1795.

press all such inclinations in slaves as would lead them to desire liberty. In general, they kept them at a great distance, by no means condescending to converse familiarly with them; instilling into them a mean opinion of themselves; debasing their natures, and extinguishing in them, as far as possible, all feelings of generosity and manliness, by an illiberal education, and accustoming them to blows and stripes, which they thought were very disagreeable to high-born souls. The following facts will show the general influence of slavery, according to the common practice of the greater part of the cities and tribes of Greece. It was accounted insufferable for slaves to imitate the conduct of a freeman, or offer to be like him, in their dress, or in any part of their behavior. In those cities where the free inhabitants permitted their hair to grow long, it was an unpardonable offence for a servant to have long hair.\* They had a peculiar form after which they cut their hair,† which they laid aside if they ever recovered their liberty. And because slaves were generally rude and ignorant, the expression, “You have slavish hair in your soul,” was generally applied to any dull, stupid fellow. A freeman’s coat had two sleeves; that of a slave but one. The slaves covered their heads with bonnets;‡ an outer garment which they wore reached to the knees,§ and had at the bottom a strip of sheep-skin. They were subjected to degrading raileries from the stage.|| Terence, the scene of whose *Phormio* was laid in Athens, affirms that the slaves

\* Ἐπειτα δὴτα δούλος ὦν κομὴν ἔχεις. Aristoph. *Avibus*, 912.

† Θριξ ἀνδραποδώδης.

‡ Aristoph. *Vesp.* 443.

§ Κατωνάκας φοροῦντας. Aristoph. *Lysis*. 1153.

|| Aristoph. *Acharn.* 507. Also Thucyd. *Lib. I.*



were neither permitted to plead for themselves, nor to be witnesses in any cause.\* Yet it was customary to extort confession from them by torture; but, because this was often so violent as to occasion the death of the slave, or to disable him from being serviceable to his master, any person, who demanded a slave for this purpose, was obliged to give his master a sufficient security to answer the loss of his slave. The various modes of torturing slaves are mentioned by Aristophanes,† and other writers. The common way of correcting them for any offence was to scourge them with whips, sometimes made of hog's bristles. A villain, who had been guilty of any crime which deserved punishment, was said *μαστιγιῶν*, to stand in need of, and as it were to itch for, the scourge. Sometimes, to prevent their shrinking, or running away, they were tied fast to a pillar. Those convicted of any notorious offence were condemned to grind at the mill, a labor very fatiguing in those days, when it was the custom to beat the grain into meal; our mills being the invention of later ages. When people wished to express the difficulty of any labor, it was usual to compare it to grinding in a mill.‡ They were also beaten with rods and scourges, sometimes, if their offence was very great, to death. The mills were in general called *μύλωνες*, which word Julius Pollux says was unlucky, because of the cru-

\* "Servum hominem causam orare leges non sinunt;  
Neque testimoni dictio est." — *Terence, Phorm.* Act I. Scene 4.

† "ἐν κλίμακι

Δήσας, κρεμάσας, ὑστρυγίδι μαστιγιῶν, δέρων,  
Στεβλῶν, ἐπίτε τὰς ῥίνας ὄξος ἐγγέων,  
Πλίνδους ἐπιτιθείς." — *Ran.* Act II. Scene 6.

‡ "Tibi mecum erit, Crasse, in eodem pistrino vivendum." — *Cicero de Orat.*

eity inflicted upon the slaves in mills. It was usual there to examine upon the rack. It was likewise customary to stigmatize slaves, which was usually done in the forehead, as being most visible. Sometimes other parts were thus used, it being not uncommon to punish the member which had offended. Thus the tongue of a tattler was cut out. The usual way of stigmatizing was, by burning the part with a red-hot iron marked with certain letters, till a fair impression was made, and then pouring ink into the furrows, that the inscription might be more conspicuous. Persons thus used were called *στυγματιαί*. Pliny calls them *inscripti*; Plautus, *litterati*. This punishment was seldom or never inflicted upon any but slaves; and with them it was so frequent, that the Samians, when they gave a great number of slaves their liberty, and admitted them to offices in the State, were branded with the infamous name of *litterati*. Among some nations, as the Thracians, Scythians, and Britons, the stigma was accounted a mark of honor. The slaves were branded with stigmata not only as a punishment for their offences, but to distinguish them in case they should run away. Soldiers were branded in the hand, but slaves on the forehead. In the same manner it was customary to stigmatize the votaries of some of the gods.\*

Sometimes in war the slaves deserted to the enemy, which, excepting theft, a crime almost peculiar to them, was the most common offence they committed, being in many places the only way which they had to deliver themselves; but if they were taken, they were bound fast to a wheel, and unmercifully beaten with whips. The same

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\* See Galatians vi. 17, τὰ στίγματα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω, i. e. the scars of wounds which show that I belong to the Lord Jesus. See also Rev. xiv. 9. 2 Cor. xi. 23, 25.

punishment was inflicted on them for theft.\* They were occasionally racked on the wheel, a cruelty never practised upon a free-born person, to extort a confession from them, when they were suspected to have been accessory to any villanous design. Τύμπανα or τύπανα were cudgels or sticks of wood, with which criminals, particularly slaves, were beaten to death. The culprit was suspended to a stake, and beaten till he died.

The Greeks thought it lessened the dignity of free-born citizens to call slaves by any name that was in use among them. If any man presumed to give his slave the name of an honorable person, it was thought to be an intolerable offence. The Roman Emperor Domitian is said to have punished Metius Pomposianus, for calling his slaves by the illustrious names of Hannibal and Mago. The Athenians enacted a law, that no man should presume to call any of his servants by the names of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, renowned defenders of liberty, who opposed the misrule of the two sons of Pisistratus. The Athenians were also forbidden to derive the names of their slaves from any of the solemn games. For the most part, according to Strabo, they were called after the names of their native countries, as Λυδός or Σύρος, if they were born in Lydia or Syria; or by the names which are most used in those nations, as Manes or Midas in Phrygia; Tibias in Paphlagonia. The most common names in Athens were Geta and Davus, being taken from the Getes and Daci. They seldom consisted of above two syllables, and therefore Demosthenes, having objected to Æschines that his father was a slave,

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\* "Non furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicat

Servus, habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio."

Hor. *Epist.* I.

tells him further, as a proof of what he affirms, that he had falsified his name, calling it Atrometus, when in fact it was Tromes. The reason seems to have been the same as in the case of dogs; a short name being more easy of pronunciation. It was common for slaves who had recovered their freedom, to change their names for those of more syllables. Above all things, especial care was taken that slaves should not wear arms, which, since their number was in general altogether greater than that of the citizens, might have been dangerous to the public. On this account it was not usual for them to serve in wars.\* Yet in case of extreme danger it was allowed, and sometimes when there was no such emergency. For the maintenance of security and order at Athens there was a city guard, composed of public slaves.† These persons, though of low rank, enjoyed a certain consideration, as the state employed them in the capacity of constables. These public slaves were also appointed for the trade-police; and subordinate places, such as those of heralds and checking clerks, together with other offices in the assemblies and courts of justice, were filled by persons of the same description. The public slaves composed the body-guard of the Athenians. They are generally called bowmen, or, from the native country of the majority, Scythians, or Speusinians. They lived under tents in the market-place, and afterwards on the Areopagus. Among their number were many Thracians and

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\* "Vix unus Helenor,

Et Lycus elapsi, quorum primævus Helenor;

Mæonio regi quem serva Licymnia furtim

Sustulerat, vetitisque ad Trojam miserat armis."

Virg. *Æn.* IX. 545.

† δημόσιοι.

other barbarians. Their officers had the name of toxarchs. In the first instance, 300 were purchased soon after the battle of Salamis. The number soon rose to 1,000 or 1,200. These troops might, if necessary, be used in the field. As they were able-bodied men, they probably cost three or four minas apiece, and, to keep the number good, thirty or forty must have been purchased yearly, costing in all from one to two talents. Their pay was perhaps three oboli a day.\*

A large number of the rowers on board the fleets were slaves. This will not be considered strange, if it be borne in mind that the Spartans brought their Helots with them into the field; that the Thessalian mounted Penestæ were bondmen; that a considerable number of slaves were always employed in war as attendants on the army, who were sometimes even manumitted; that slaves were said to have fought as early as at the battle of Marathon, and afterwards at Chæroneæ, when the Athenians granted them their liberty. It is remarked as an unusual circumstance, that the seamen of the Paralos were all freemen.† At the successful sea-fight of Arginusæ, there were many slaves in the Athenian fleet;‡ and it equally redounds to the honor of both parties, on the one hand, that victory was chiefly owing to the slaves, and, on the other, that the Athenians immediately emancipated them, and made them Platæan citizens.§ A large number of slaves were considered, not as useful only, but as necessary, to a State which possessed a naval force. It was only on some pressing emergency that citizens were employed as rowers.

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\* An obolus was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents of our money; a drachma, 8 cents; a mina, about \$ 8; and a talent, about \$ 480.

† Thucyd. VIII. 73.

‡ Xenophon, Hell. 1. 6. 17.

§ Aristoph. Ran. 706.

In mining, as in every thing where labor was necessary, the actual work was performed by slaves. It does not appear that in Greece free citizens ever labored in the mines or founderies under the compulsion of tyrants. The Romans condemned the offenders who had been enslaved by public ordinance, to work in the mines, in the same manner that criminals of this description are now sent by the Emperor of Russia to the mines of Siberia. This method of punishment cannot, however, have existed at Athens, as the community did not carry on any mining at the public expense; nor did it let mines for a term of years together with the laborers, which was only done by private individuals. The master, however, could probably punish his slaves, by forcing them to labor in the mines as well as in the mills; and, in general, none but inferior slaves were employed in them, such as barbarians and criminals. Their condition was not, indeed, so miserable as that of the slaves in the Egyptian mines, where the condemned laborers worked without intermission until they were so exhausted as to fall senseless; but notwithstanding that in Attica the spirit of freedom had a mild and benevolent influence even on the treatment of slaves, yet myriads of slaves are said to have languished in chains in the unwholesome atmosphere of the mines.\* As was the case in Italy and Sicily, and as it has frequently been in modern times, the insurrection of these hordes of slaves was in Greece neither unfrequent, nor unaccompanied with danger. In a fragment of Posidonius, the continuer of the history of Polybius, it is related that the mine-slaves in Attica murdered their guards, took forcible possession of the fortifications of Sunium, and from this point ravaged the country for a considerable time; an oc-

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\* Athen. VII. Plutarch comp. Nicias and Crassus init.

currence which probably belongs to the end of the 91st Olympiad, about which time, during the war of Decælea, more than 20,000 slaves, of whom the greater proportion were manual laborers, escaped from the Athenians.\* Of the slaves who worked in the mines, some belonged to the lessees, and for some a rent was paid to the proprietor, the maintenance being provided by the person who hired them. The price of slaves varied, according to their bodily and mental qualities, from half a mina to five and ten minas. A common mining slave, however, did not cost at Athens more than from three to six minas, and, in the age of Demosthenes, not more than from 125 to 150 drachmas.

When Nicias, the son of Niceratus, gave a talent for an overseer of his mines, we are to understand a person in whom he might repose entire confidence. For the most part, compulsion was the only incentive to labor, and little favor was ever shown to the slaves. By the hiring of slaves, the profit was distributed into various channels, and by this means persons who would have otherwise been unable to advance capital for so expensive an undertaking, were enabled to engage in the business.†

Slaves were generally treated at Athens with more humanity than in any other place. Under grievous oppression, they were allowed to flee to the temple of Theseus, whence to force them was an act of sacrilege. Those who had been barbarously treated by their masters, were allowed the privilege of commencing a suit at law against them. If it appeared that the complaint was reasonable, the master was obliged to sell his slave. Also, if any other citizen did them

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\* Thucyd. VII. 27.

† See the Dissertation of Boeckh on the silver mines of Laurion in Attica, originally inserted in the Berlin Transactions.

an injury, they were allowed to vindicate themselves by a course of law. It appears also, from the comedies of Plautus, Terence, and Aristophanes, that they enjoyed great freedom of discourse, and had many pleasures which were denied them elsewhere. Demosthenes informs us, that the condition of a slave in Athens was preferable to that of a free citizen in some other cities; which remark, allowing for the antithesis of the orator, must have contained some truth. They were sometimes permitted to acquire estates for themselves, and to take shares in the mines on their own account. If they could procure enough to pay for their liberty, no one had any power to hinder them. Sometimes their masters dismissed them, if faithful, of their own accord. On the performance of any remarkable service for the public, the State generally took care to reward them with liberty. Yet they were not advanced to the rank of citizens without great difficulty and opposition. Slaves, as long as they were under the government of a master, were called *δικέται*, but, after their freedom was granted them, they were named *δοῦλοι*, not being, like the former, a part of their master's estate, but only required to render some small services, such as were required of the *μέτοικοι*, to whom in some respects they were inferior.\*

Before closing this subject, it will be interesting to inquire respecting the sentiments of some of the philosophers and authors of Greece, on the right and expediency of the institution of slavery. Alcidas, the scholar of Gorgias of Leontium, has this remark: "All come free from the hands of God; nature has made no man a slave."† Phile-

\* Potter's Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 68.

† Scholiast on Aristotle's Rhetoric, Gillies's Greece, Vol. II. p. 337.



mon says, "Though he is a slave, yet he has the same nature with ourselves. No one was ever born a slave, though his body by misfortune may be brought into subjection."<sup>o</sup> Menander remarks that slaves ought not to be treated unjustly.† Aristotle, in his *Politics*, has taken up the subject with his usual scientific nicety. "By some writers," says Aristotle, "that part of economy, employed in the management of slaves, has been dignified with the name of science; by others, slavery is considered as an institution altogether unnatural, resulting from the cruel maxims of war. Liberty, they assert, is the great law of nature, which acknowledges not any difference between the slave and the master; slavery is therefore unjust, being founded on violence. But property at large is merely an accumulation of instruments, to be moved and employed for the comfortable subsistence of a family; and even a slave is in this view a movable instrument, endowed with life, which, impelled by the will of another, communicates motion to other instruments less excellent than himself. Among the instruments subservient to the comfort of human life, there is this material distinction, that the work performed by one class consists in production, and the work performed by another is totally consumed in use. A domestic slave is relative to use; his labor is totally consumed in promoting the ease of his master. He is merely the possession and property, or, as it were, the separable part of that master; and every part, whether separable or inseparable, is to be employed, not according to its own caprice or humor, but in subserviency to the general good, and suitably to reason. It is to be regarded simply in relation to that whole or system to which it appertains. A slave is

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\* Fragments of Menander and Philemon, p. 226.

† Ibid. 40.

simply the property of his master ; but the master stands in many other relations besides that of proprietor to his slaves. Such is the nature of servitude. We proceed to examine whether the institution be wise and just.

“ To determine this question, it will be sufficient to contemplate the ordinary course of nature, and to deduce from our observations clear inferences of reason. Government and subjection, then, are things useful and necessary ; they prevail everywhere, in animated, as well as in brute matter. From their first origin, some natures are formed to command, and others to obey ; the kinds of government and subjection varying with the differences of their objects, but all equally useful for their respective ends ; and those kinds the most excellent, from which the most excellent consequences ensue. In compositions endowed with life, it is the province of mind to command, and of matter to obey. Man consists of soul and body, and, in all men rightly constituted, the soul commands the body ; though some men are so grossly depraved, that in them the body seems to command the soul. But here the order of nature is perverted.\* Those men, therefore, whose powers are chiefly confined to the body, and whose principal excellence consists in affording bodily service ; those, I say, are naturally slaves, because it is their interest to be so. They can obey reason, though they are unable to exercise it ; and though different from tame animals, who are disciplined by means merely of their sensations and appetites, they perform nearly the same tasks, and become the property of other men because their own safety requires it.†

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\* In this passage, Aristotle's better reason seems to go beyond his theory, and the prejudices of the age in which he lived.

† But who or what shall determine the degree of servility which

“ In conformity with these observations, nature, we see, has variously moulded the human frame. Some men are strongly built and firmly compacted; others erect and graceful, unfit for toil and drudgery, but capable of sustaining honorably the offices of war and peace. This, however, holds not universally; for a servile mind is often lodged in a graceful person; and we have often found bodies formed for servitude, animated by the souls of freemen. Yet the distinction itself is not frivolous; for were part of the human race to be arrayed in that splendor of beauty which beams from the statues of the gods, universal consent would acknowledge the rest of mankind naturally formed to be their slaves. The difference of minds, though less obvious, is far more characteristic and important; whence we may conclude that slavery is founded both on utility and justice.

“ This decision, however, has been arraigned with considerable plausibility; for slavery may be taken in two senses, in one of which he is a slave who submits to the laws of war, commanding the vanquished to become the property of the victors. This is acknowledged to be law;

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shall reduce one to the condition of slavery? Who has the power or intelligence to go round with his inkhorn, and brand the subject of freedom and slavery respectively? By the adoption of the rule proposed, many of us would be called to grind in the mill. The 20,000 free Athenians might have been sadly diminished. Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, and a few of similar stamp, might have escaped. Besides, actual slavery never made such a separation as Aristotle indicates. The fact is wholly the reverse. There were noble men in great numbers, who were toiling on the farms of Laconia, chained to the oars of the fleets, or delving into the mines of Laurion. It was *Æsop*, *Alcman*, *Epictetus*, *Terence*, who were slaves, while many a brainless free demagogue was haranguing in the forum, or squandering the hard-earned produce of the poor slave in the house of some fair Milesian.

but the law itself is accused of iniquity. On this subject, wise men hold different opinions. Some consider superiority as the proof of virtue ; while others deny the force of this argument, maintaining that nothing can be truly just, which is inconsistent with humanity. Unjust wars are often successful, by which persons of illustrious merit are reduced to slavery. To avoid this conclusion, the other party propose to limit this law to the case of barbarians vanquished by Greeks ; for the nobility of barbarians is confined to their respective countries, but the nobility of Greece is as extensive as the world. But in so doing, they abandon their own principle, and acknowledge the principles which we have established, that slavery adheres to the character itself, and is independent of accident. There are thus two kinds of slavery, the one founded on nature, the other established by law, or rather produced by violence. The first kind can take place only when the master is as fit to command as the slave to obey.\* It is then profitable both to the slave and master ; whose interests, rightly understood, become as inseparable as the interests of soul and body."

It will thus be seen, that the peculiarity of the relation between master and slave results, according to Aristotle, on the superiority of character in one man over another. The sole condition seems to be, that one man knows how to command, and another knows how to obey. The author shows the mildness of his nature, in his advice to masters to secure the fidelity of slaves by the pledges of wives and children, and to indulge them with the enjoyment of festivals and

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\* This kind of slavery would be extremely rare. It has always been found unsafe to trust men with such power as a master exercises over a slave. It almost inevitably exerts a bad effect on the master. Besides, who is to determine what men are fit to command ?

diversions, of which their condition stands more in need than that of freemen. In the treatment of slaves and peasants, he considers it to be exceedingly difficult to hit the middle point between the extremes of indulgence and harshness; that indulgence which is productive of insolence, and that harshness that will be repaid with hatred.

Xenophon, following the example of his master, Socrates, raises no objection against the institution of slavery. Plato, in his Republic, only desires that no Greeks may be reduced to slavery. In the sixth book of his treatise *De Legibus*, he adverts to the question of the expediency of slavery. He says that many slaves have been found superior, in their kindness towards masters, to the brothers and sons of the family, practising all fidelity both in respect to persons and property. On the other hand, he says, that there seems to be nothing in the soul of a slave, which can be a foundation for trustworthiness; verifying the assertion of Homer, that in the day when Jupiter makes slaves of men, he deprives them of half their reason. Alluding to the instances of the Messenians and some of the Italian cities, he remarks that the slaves have caused all manner of disturbances, so that an observer considering such facts would be disposed to denounce the whole system as inexpedient and worthless. He agrees with Aristotle, that it is of the first importance, though very difficult, to preserve, in the treatment of slaves, the due medium between severity on the one hand, and indulgence on the other.

How a thinking and philosophic mind could have failed to see the utter incongruity between the boasted freedom of the Greek republics and the iron slavery which they tolerated, seems to us an exceedingly difficult problem. At the time when Demosthenes was uttering his words of fire

to the few thousands of free Athenians, stimulating them to rise up against the aggressions of the Northern tyrant, as he called Philip, there were 400,000 human beings, whose life and liberty were at the mercy of a most despotic democracy. We shall, however, cease to wonder, when we reflect on the inconsistencies of human nature. In all ages of the world, the men who have been most jealous of liberty in their own persons, have been most willing to take it from others. The boon is too sweet to be distributed. The highest zest is given to the enjoyment by contrast. The liberty coveted is that resulting from instant obedience to every species of authority ; in other words, it is the liberty of despotism. If an ancient traveller had wished to see the greatest amount of solid happiness, enjoyed by *all* ranks, he must have left republican Sparta and Athens, and visited the *monarchy* of Macedon. We ought, however, to consider that the civil polity of Greece was in general so arranged as, perhaps, to render slavery indispensable. The institutions of Minos, Lycurgus, and Solon, derived, doubtless, in a great measure from Egypt or from some other Oriental source, were in many respects fundamentally wrong. They made agriculture, manufactures, mercantile pursuits, and all the useful arts, unpopular. The free citizens were intended either for soldiers or politicians ; the latter oftentimes furnishing employment for the former. Sparta, as has been remarked, was saved by war and ruined by peace. The theory of Lycurgus, in more than one respect, was at war with the human race. He instilled a stoical fortitude into the bosoms of the Spartans, which found no opportunity for exercise, except in enduring the chances of war, or witnessing the anguish of the Helots.

In the numerous wars which desolated, and, finally, in

conjunction with other causes, ruined the Grecian States, there was one signal alleviation. In the twenty-seven years of the Peloponnesian war, along with the various miseries which it occasioned, it brought very important benefits to the slaves. When all the neighboring republics were friendly, the slave looked around in vain for refuge from the cruelty of an inhuman master; but if they were hostile, it behooved equally the wealthy despot of many slaves, and the poor tyrant of one, to beware how he set the wretch upon comparing the risk of desertion with the hope of a better service. Even at Athens, where, in general, slaves were better treated than elsewhere, war produced regulations to soften their condition. In the comedy of Aristophanes called the Clouds (v. 7), we find an old country gentleman of Attica ludicrously execrating the war, because he was no longer allowed to beat his slaves.

The Grecian States suffered one of the most common and pernicious evils of slavery, the absence of an enlightened and virtuous middle class,—that part in society, which constitutes its true glory and defence. In Athens, this class of men could not be intrusted with any public office, give their votes in the assemblies, or have any share in the government. They were obliged patiently to submit to all the laws enacted by the citizens. Aristophanes compares them to chaff, as being an unprofitable and useless part of the commonwealth. The women were obliged to carry vessels of water, and also umbrellas to defend the free women from the weather. The men were taxed twelve drachmas annually, and the women six. Upon non-payment of this tax, they were liable to be sold into slavery. Diogenes Laertius was actually sold, because he had not wherewithal to pay this tribute. This was a natural effect of the institution of

slavery. Almost every species of manual labor was considered degrading, because performed by slaves. Emigrants, foreigners, and all those who were not citizens, were in general compelled to resort to personal labor in order to obtain a subsistence. Consequently, in the view of public opinion, they were fit subjects for oppression and insult. They stood between the slaves and freemen, and felt little sympathy for either, and in case of an insurrection took part with the stronger. It was a grand defect in the Grecian forms of government, that they did not adequately provide for all the classes in the community. A large part of the population was cut off from all sympathy with the country. Where slaves abound, rich men can dispense with the labor of the poor, while the poor profit in no way from the prosperity of the rich. The consequences of this state of things form one of the most prominent features of Grecian history.

Greece was at length absorbed in the Roman Empire. Subsequently, the Roman slave-trade, in that part of the world, seems to have been mainly carried on at Delos. That island rose into importance, as a commercial place, after the fall of Corinth, and grew an *entrepôt* for trade of every sort, between the East and West, but principally for that in slaves. It was resorted to by the Romans more than by any other people, and the slave-trade which they encouraged was so brisk, that the port became proverbial for such traffic, and was capable, says Strabo, of importing and reëxporting 10,000 slaves in a single day. The Cilician pirates made Delos the great staple for the sale of their captives, which was a very gainful part of their occupation. Delos ceased to be the great mart, after the Mithridatic war; and it seems probable, that, afterwards, the slave-trade was



transferred to the various ports nearest those countries whence the slaves came ; and therefore, perhaps, to the cities upon the Euxine, to which the Romans might not have made direct voyages at an earlier time. Corinth was long the chief slave-mart of Greece, and, from its situation, was likely to have much communication with the ports on the eastern side of Italy ; but we meet with no authority for believing that the Romans resorted much thither for slaves, or other commodities, before their conquest of Greece.

In the epistles of Paul to the Grecian churches, there are a few allusions to slavery. Many of the poor *chænix-measurers* of Corinth, weary and heavy laden, doubtless welcomed with great eagerness the doctrines of the Gospel. Though among the foolish and weak and despised things of that luxurious metropolis, yet God chose them to be the freemen of the heavenly city. The instructions which Paul gave to them were of this tenor : “ Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant (δοῦλος) ? care not for it ; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord’s freeman ; likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ’s servant. Ye are bought with a price ; be not ye the servants of men. Brethren, let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God.”\* The exhortation, which Paul gives to the Thesalonians respecting manual labor, shows what class of the community he was addressing.† The same Apostle directs Titus, who had been left in Crete, where peasants and slaves, bearing the name of Perizæci, Clarotæ, and Mnoitæ, had existed from the earliest times, to “ exhort servants to be obe-

\* 1 Cor. vii. 20-24.

† 1 Thess. iv. 11 ; 2 Thess. iii. 10-12.

dient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again, but showing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things.”<sup>o</sup> The Apostle here adverts to those vices, to which slaves in all ages have been peculiarly addicted, — pilfering and petulance. The maid at Philippi, who had the spirit of divination, or of a soothsaying demon, and who was very profitable to her masters, was doubtless a slave.†

There does not seem to have been any material difference, on the whole, between the treatment experienced by the slaves under the Grecian and the Roman governments. The Helots might have enjoyed some advantages from the fact that they were the property of the State, and lived away from the immediate control of masters, in a condition somewhat similar to that of the serfs of modern Russia; yet they were liable to the horrible *cryptia*. Previously to the reign of Antoninus Pius, the slave at Rome was much less protected by law and public feeling than the slave at Athens. At Sparta, slaves seem to have had hardly any hope of ever being admitted amongst freemen. At Athens, emancipation was frequent; but the privileges of citizens rarely followed, even to a limited extent, and were conferred by public authority only. At Rome, the lowest slave could always look forward to manumission, and to obtaining the rank of a citizen, through the sole will of his master. Still, the Romans, like the Greeks, never came so far from the original view, of slaves being the absolute property of their owner, as to consider the master's rights limited to the unpaid services of the slave, and his powers restricted to those of a domestic magistrate, for correction of slight

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<sup>o</sup> Titus ii. 9, 10; also Aristotle's Politics, Book II.      † Acts xvi. 16.

misconduct, and for enforcement of obedience and exertion.\*

The effect of Christianity, in meliorating the usage of slaves, though not sudden, was important. The various Christian Emperors issued decrees, abridging the power of masters, and raising slaves above the level of insentient creatures. The Church openly condemned the barbarous treatment of slaves. Clemens Alexandrinus, in the close of the second century, forbade the bishop to accept the oblations of cruel and sanguinary masters. At last Justinian did most to encourage improvement in the condition of bondmen, and to promote the ultimate extinction of slavery.†

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\* See William Blair's *Inquiry into the State of Slavery among the Romans*, London, 1833. Also Dunlop's *History of Roman Literature*.

† Gibbon's *Hist. Decline and Fall*, Chap. XLIV.

## ROMAN SLAVERY IN THE EARLY CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.\*

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VARIOUS definitions are given by the Roman and other writers of the word *servus*. Scaliger derives it from *servando*, because the slave preserves or guards the property of his master. Slaves are denominated *servi*, says the Code of Justinian, from the verb *servare*, to preserve; for it is the practice of our generals to sell their captives; being accustomed to preserve and not to destroy them. Slaves are also called *Mancipia*, *a manu capere*, in that they are taken by the hand of the enemy. Just. Lib. I. Tit. 3. The origin of the word *servus*, says Augustine, De Civit. Lib. XIX. Cap. 15, is understood to be derived from the fact, that prisoners, who by the laws of war might have been put to death, were preserved by the victors, and made slaves. "Servus est nomen," says Seneca, "ex injuria natum." † *Servi*, *servitia*, and *mancipia* are frequently used as convertible terms. The term for a slave born and bred in the family was *verna*.

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\* This Essay was published in the Biblical Repository for October, 1835, and was subsequently republished in Great Britain.

† Aristotle's definition of a slave was applicable to Italy, Polit. I. 6 :  
κτῆμα καὶ ὄργανον τοῦ δεσπότου ἑμψυχόν.

In respect to the comparative number of the slaves and the free citizens of Rome, we have not sufficient data on which to found a correct judgment. We may agree with Niebuhr in doubting the accuracy of the older *censuses*, which were taken at Rome. The Romans, in the early periods of their history, rarely or never acted as menial servants in the city. Niebuhr thinks that mechanical occupations were not lawful for plebeians. Yet in the country they willingly performed agricultural labor. Lipsius admits the probability of there being as many slaves as freemen, or rather more, within Rome in its most populous times. After the influx of wealth, which followed the foreign conquests, the number of slaves must have been greatly enlarged. Polybius, Hist. ch. II., estimates the forces which the Romans and their allies could bring into the field, between the first and second Punic wars, at 770,000 men. This enumeration, however, implying a total free class of 3,030,000, and an equal amount of slave population, is much larger than seems consistent with the state of Italy at that time. The number of citizens returned to Augustus at the 72d lustrum, A. U. C. 745, as appears from the monument of Ancyra, was 4,163,000. At the 73d lustrum, the number was over 4,000,000. In the 74th lustrum, in the reign of Claudius, A. D. 48, the citizens amounted to 6,944,000, of whom, probably, but a small proportion consisted of persons out of Italy. If we allow two slaves to each Roman, an average below that of some Grecian cities, we should not in that case take into the account those slaves who were the property of the various orders of freemen, or those who belonged to other slaves. Rich citizens were very extensive owners of slaves, kept both for luxury and profit, as domestics or artisans in town, and as laborers on

the vast estates in the provinces.<sup>o</sup> Some rich individuals are said to have possessed 10,000, and even 20,000, of their fellow-creatures. Seneca says, *De Tran. Animi*. ch. VIII., that Demetrius, the freedman of Pompey, was richer than his master. "Numerus illi quotidie servorum, velut imperatori exercitus, referebatur." The slaves of Crassus formed a large part of his fortune. His architects and masons alone exceeded 500. Scaurus possessed above 4,000 domestic, and as many rural slaves. In the reign of Augustus, a freedman, who had sustained great losses during the civil wars, left 4,116 slaves, besides other property. On one occasion, the family of Pedanius Secundus, prefect of Rome under Nero, was found to consist of 400 slaves: Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 43, "Quem numerus servorum tuebitur, cum . . . quadringenti," etc. When the wife of Apuleius gave up the lesser part of her estate to her son, 400 slaves formed one of the items surrendered. Slaves always composed a great part of the movable property of individuals, and formed a chief article of ladies' dowries. A law passed by Augustus against the excessive manumission of slaves by testament, forbidding any one to bequeath the liberty to more than one fifth of all his slaves, contains the following words: "Plures autem quam centum ex majori numero servorum manumitti non licet." † We may hence infer that 500 was not an extraordinary number of slaves to be held by one owner. It was fashionable to go abroad attended by a large number of slaves. Horace, *Sat. Lib. I. iii. 11*, says, "Habebat sæpe ducentos, sæpe decem servos." Augustus prohibited exiles

<sup>o</sup> Pignorius has enumerated 48 classes of *rustic slaves*, 40 of *rustic or urban*, 60 of *urban*, 66 of *personal attendants*, 15 of *upper servants*, 13 of *nursery slaves*, 130 of *slaves of luxury*, and 5 of *military slaves*, in all three hundred and twenty-five classes.

† Hugo, *Jus Civile Antejustinianæum*, Vol. I. p. 157.

from carrying with them more than 20 slaves.\* Besides the domestic and agricultural slaves, were the gladiators, who were chiefly slaves, and who were extremely numerous at different periods. We may have some idea of the frequency and ferociousness with which these were exhibited, from a restriction imposed by Augustus, who forbade magistrates to give shows of gladiators above twice in one year, or of more than 60 pairs at one time. Julius Cæsar exhibited at once 320 pairs. Trajan exhibited them for 123 days, in the course of which 10,000 gladiators fought. The State and corporate bodies possessed very many slaves. For example, 600 were employed in guarding against fires in Rome.† Chrysostom says, that under Theodosius the Great, and Arcadius, some persons had 2,000 or 3,000 slaves. Synesius complains, that every family of tolerable means kept Scythian slaves of luxury; and Ammianus Marcellinus informs us, that luxurious ladies and great men used to have 400 or 500 servile attendants. From the time of Augustus to Justinian, we may allow three slaves to one freeman; we shall thus have a free population in Italy of 6,944,000, and of slaves 20,832,000, — total 27,776,000. “After weighing every circumstance which could influence the balance,” says Gibbon, “it seems probable, that there existed in the time of Claudius about twice as many provincials as there were citizens, of either sex, and of every age; and that the slaves were at least equal in number to the free inhabitants of the Roman world. The total amount of this imperfect calculation would rise to about 120,000,000 of persons.”‡

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\* See Plin. Nat. Hist. XXXIII. 47, 52; also XXXIV. 6, and XXXV. 58.

† “Publicos servos.” Liv. IX. 29.

‡ The present population of Italy is between 16,000,000 and

The different methods in which men became slaves were by war, commerce, the operation of law in certain cases, and by their birth.

1. *Slaves acquired by war.* In general, prisoners of war were sold immediately, or as soon as possible, after their capture. If a subsequent treaty provided for their release, it would appear that a special law was passed, ordering the buyers of such slaves to give them up, on receiving from the treasury repayment of the original purchase money. Livy, XLII. 8, says in relation to the Ligurians, 10,000 of whom had surrendered themselves as prisoners, "At ille [consul] arma omnibus ademit, oppidum diruit, ipsos bonaque eorum vendidit." As the Senate were at the time deliberating about the treatment of them, "res visa atrox"; and a decree was issued, annulling the previous sales, and compelling the respective purchasers to set the Ligurians free, but with restitution by the public of the prices which had been paid. Prisoners belonging to a revolted nation were, without exception in favor of voluntary surrender, sold into servitude; and, sometimes, as a more severe punishment, or for greater precaution, it was stipulated at their sale, that they should be carried to distant places, and should not be manumitted within twenty or thirty years.\* After the fall of the Samnites at Aquilonia, 2,033,000 pieces of brass were realized by the sale of prisoners, who amounted to about 36,000.† Lucretius brought from the Volscian war 1,250

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17,000,000. See the Essay of Hume on the Populousness of Ancient Nations; Gibbon, Hist. Dec. and Fall, Ch. II.; Blair's Inquiry into the State of Roman Slavery, Ch. I.

\* "Ne in vicina regione servirent, neve intra tricesimum annum liberarentur." — *Sueton. Octav. XXI.*

† "Id æs redactum ex captivis dicebatur." — *Livy, X. 46.*



captives; and, by the capture of one inconsiderable town, no less than 4,000 slaves were obtained. On the descent of the Romans upon Africa, in the first Punic war, 20,000 prisoners were taken. Gelon, prætor of Syracuse, having routed a Carthaginian army, took such a number of captives, that he gave 500 of them to each of the several citizens of Agrigentum. On the great victory of Marius and Catulus over the Cimbri, 60,000 were captured. When Pindenissus was taken by Cicero, the inhabitants were sold for more than £ 100,000. Augustus, having overcome the Salassi, sold as slaves 36,000, of whom 8,000 were capable of bearing arms. Cæsar, in his Gallic wars, according to the moderate estimate of Velleius Paterculus, took more than 400,000 prisoners. The rule, which forbade prisoners taken in civil wars to be dealt with as slaves, was sometimes disregarded. On the taking of Cremona by the forces of Vitellius, his general Antonius ordered that none of the captives should be detained; and the soldiers could find no purchasers for them.\* A slave, carried off from the Roman territories by the enemy, fell again under his master's authority, if he came back or was retaken. Roman citizens, who had been made prisoners, recovered their former rank, with all the rights and privileges belonging to it, upon their escape or recapture from the enemy's hands.

2. *Slaves acquired by commerce.* The slave-trade in Africa is as old as history reaches back. Among the ruling nations of the North coast, — the Egyptians, Cyrenians, and Carthaginians, — slavery was not only established, but

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\* The language of Tacitus, Hist. Lib. III., is, "Irritamque prædam militibus effecerat consensus Italiæ, emptionem talium mancipiorum adspernantis. Occidi cœpere: quod ubi enotuit, a propinquis adfinibusque occulte redemptebantur."

they imported whole armies of slaves, partly for home use, and partly, at least among the Carthaginians, to be shipped for foreign markets. They were chiefly drawn from the interior, where kidnapping was just as much carried on then as it is now. Black male and female slaves were even an article of luxury, not only among the above-mentioned nations, but in Greece and Italy. The Troglodyte Ethiopians seem to have been a wild negro race, dwelling in caves in the neighboring mountains, who were kidnapped by the Garamantes to be sold for slaves.\* The slave-trade in Africa was directed mainly to females, who, in the Balearian Islands, were sold for three times as much as the men.† For the building of public works at Rome, vast numbers of slaves were procured. The piers, porticos, equeducts, and roads, whose magnificent ruins are now an object of admiration, were constructed by the sweat and blood of slaves. In raising such a structure as the mausoleum of Adrian, thousands of wretched men, torn from their own firesides, toiled unto death. The island of Delos became an extensive mart for slaves. In that opulent emporium 10,000 could be bought and sold in a single day. Predatory excursions were made into Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Syria, and great numbers were carried off to the market-places of Sidon, or Delos. For a long period, great numbers of slaves (“maxi-

\* Heeren's *Hist. Researches*, Vol. I, Oxford edit., pp. 181, 223, 239.

“Cum obsidibus Carthaginiensium, ut principum liberis, magna vis servorum erat. Augebant eorum numerum, ut ab recenti Africo bello, et ab ipsis Setinis captiva aliquot nationis ejus ex præda empti mancipia.” — *Livy*, XXXII. 26.

† “Tibi pocula cursor

Gætulus dabit, aut nigri manus ossea Mauri,

Et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem,

Clivosæ veheris dum per monumenta Latina.” — *Juv.* V. 51.

mus mancipiorum fuit proventus") were drawn from the interior of Asia Minor, particularly from Phrygia and Cappadocia. *Slave* and *Phrygian* became almost convertible terms. So great a multitude were carried into slavery, that but few towns were planted; the country was rather a pasturage for flocks. There were 6,000 slaves which belonged to the temple of a goddess in Cappadocia. Hence the words of Horace, "Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex."<sup>2</sup> At an early period, the emporia for slaves, from the extensive Scythian regions, were Panticapæum, Dioscurias, and Phanagoria, all on the Euxine or Black Sea. Slaves appear to have reached the market of Rome, under the Cæsars, in separate bands, composed of natives of their several countries. The Getæ probably came from a country a little to the east of Pontus. The Davi were probably an Oriental race. Alexandria was a considerable place for the sale of slaves of a particular kind. Slaves possessing certain accomplishments were procured from Cadiz.† Cor-sica, Sardinia, and Britain, were the birthplace of slaves. The profits of dealers, who bought slaves that were captured in distant wars, were often enormous. In the camp of Lucullus, in Pontus, a man might be purchased for three shillings, while the lowest price for which the same slave could be had at Rome was, perhaps, nearly £15.‡ In most countries, it was common for parents to sell their children into slavery. In trafficking with comparatively barbarous nations, dealers procured slaves by barter, at a very cheap rate. Salt, for example, was anciently much

<sup>2</sup> See Heyne's *Opuscula Academica*, Vol. IV. p. 137. Göttingen, 1796.

† "Forsitan expectes, ut Gaditana canoro," etc. — *Juv. Sat.* XI. 162.

‡ Plutarch, *Vit. Lucullus*.

taken by the Thracians in exchange for human beings. Man-stealing was, at all times, a very prevalent crime among the ancients. Paul in denouncing man-stealers, 1 Tim. i. 10, as among the worst of sinners, impresses us with the belief, that the offence was very frequent. Even Romans were often carried off into illegal bondage, especially in troublous times, when individuals were permitted to keep private jails and workhouses, which served both for detention and concealment.\* In calamitous times, the sale of children by their indigent parents was of frequent occurrence. Constantine allowed a new-born infant to be sold under the pressure of extreme want. This sale, in any need, was legalized by Theodosius the Great.

3. *Free-born Romans might be reduced to slavery by the operation of law.* Criminals doomed to certain ignominious punishments were, by effect of their sentence, deprived of citizenship, and sunk into a state of servitude. They were then termed *servi pœncæ*, and during the Commonwealth were the property of the public. A pardon or remission of the penalty left the convict still a slave, unless he was restored to his former rank by a special act of grace. But this condition of penal slavery was entirely abolished by Justinian. Of old, those that did not give in their names for enrolment in the militia, were beaten and sold into bondage beyond the Tiber. Those who did not make proper returns to the censor, were liable to be visited with the same punishment. An indigent thief was adjudged as a slave to the injured party. By the Claudian decree, reenacted under Vespasian, it was ordered that a free-born woman, having an intrigue with another person's slave, should herself be made

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\* "Repurgandorum tota Italia ergastulorum, quorum domini in invidiam venerant," etc. — *Suet. Vit. Tib. VIII.*

the slave of her paramour's master. Various other laws of this sort were passed under the Emperors. In early times, the exposure of children was common.\* Both the Senecas relate that the custom of exposing feeble and deformed children was common.† Healthful infants were also sometimes left to perish. Not only prostitutes, but the wives of the most noble Romans, were frequently guilty of destroying their children before their birth.‡ It came at length to be established as a rule, that those fathers or masters who exposed their own, or their slaves' offspring, should lose their respective rights, and that the children should become the slaves of any one who chose to take them up and support them. Justinian at last ordered that all exposed children should be free. Vagrant slaves, *mancipia vaga*, were dealt with as stray goods. Freedmen, if guilty of ingratitude towards their former masters, might be again reduced to slavery, though, according to Tacit. Ann. XIII. 26, 27, the practice was discontinued in the reign of Adrian.

4. *Slavery by birth.* The following is the declaration of the civil law: "Slaves are either born such, or become so. They are born such, when they are the slaves of bond-

\* "Portentosos factus extinguimus, liberos quoque, si debiles monstrisquo editi sunt, mergimus." — *Sen. de Ira*, Lib. I. Cap. 15.

† "Ex nepte Julia, post darationem, editum infantem agnosci elique vetuit." — *Suet. Vit. Octav.* LXV. After the death of Germanicus, as an indication of the intensest grief, "partus conjugum expositi." — *Suet. Cal.* V.

‡ "Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt,  
Quæ steriles facit, atque homines in ventre necandos  
Conducit." — *Juv. Sat.* VI. 595.

See also Sen. Consol. ad Helviam. 16, who speaks of the custom as not uncommon. *Suet. Vit. Dom.* XXII. See the *Opus. Academ.* of Tzschirner, p. 72, Lip. 1829.

women; and they become slaves, either by the law of nations, that is, by captivity, or by the civil law, which happens, when a free person, above the age of twenty, suffers himself to be sold, for the sake of sharing the price paid for him." Slavery by birth thus depended on the condition of the mother alone, and her master became owner of her offspring, born while she was his property. In order to determine the question of a child's freedom or servitude, the whole period of gestation was taken into view, by the Roman jurists; and if at any time between conception and birth the mother had been for one instant free, the law, by a humane fiction, supposed the birth to have taken place then, and held the infant to be free born.\* For fixing the ownership of a child, the date of the birth was alone regarded; and the father of a natural child, by his bond-woman, was the master of his offspring, as much as of any other of his slaves.

We will now proceed to an investigation of the condition of the Roman slaves, first as it was in law, and secondly as it was in fact.

Slavery is defined in the Codex Just., as that by which one man is made subject to another, according to the law of nations, though *contra naturam*, contrary to natural right. "Manumission took its rise from the law of nations, for all men by the law of nature are born in freedom; nor was manumission heard of, while servitude was unknown." "All slaves are in the power of their masters, which power is derived from the law of nations; for it is equally observable among all nations, that masters have had the power of

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\* "Quia non debet calamitas matris ei nocere, qui in ventre est." Lib. I. Tit. 4, *De Ingen.*

life and death over their slaves; and that whatsoever is acquired by the slave, is acquired for the master." "Servile relations are an impediment to matrimony, as when a father and daughter, or a brother and sister, are manumitted." "The manumission does not change his state, because he had, before manumission, no state or civil condition." "Whatever our slaves have at any time acquired, whether by delivery, stipulation, donation, bequest, or any other means, the same is reputed to be acquired by ourselves, for he who is a slave can have no property. And if a slave is instituted an heir, he cannot otherwise take upon himself the inheritance, than at the command of his master. Masters acquire by their slaves, not only the property of things, but also the possession." "Those persons are allowed to be good witnesses, who are themselves legally capable of taking by testament; but yet no woman, slave, interdicted prodigal, no person under puberty, etc., can be admitted a witness to a testament." "An injury is never understood to be done to the slave; but it is reputed to be done to the master, through the person of his slave. If a man should only give ill language to a slave, or strike him with his fist, the master can bring no action on that account; if a stranger should beat the slave of another in a cruel manner, it is actionable." "Inter servos et liberos matrimonium contrahi non potest; contubernium potest." "A fugitive slave, who is retaken, cannot be manumitted in ten years, contrary to the will of his former master." Under the alarm of great public danger, and during civil wars, slaves were occasionally taken into the ranks of the army, but they were not enlisted before being emancipated.\*

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\* "Octo millia juvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes

The system of Roman polytheism was, at all times, exceedingly tolerant. During the Empire, the introduction of foreign divinities and rites became fashionable. The servile classes followed any religion which they pleased. Rustic masters and their slaves sometimes united in offering up sacrifices to the gods. Slaves were permitted to make offerings to Venus. They were not specially excluded in later times from the great religious solemnities, except the Megalesian plays in honor of Cybele. Public slaves were employed about temples. Female slaves were suffered to participate in some of the mysteries of the Bona Dea. Hercules was the tutelar divinity of slaves, and Juno Feronia presided over their manumission. Public holidays, in all amounting to about thirty in a year, during the existence of paganism, were observed by slaves as well as freemen, with partial cessation from labor. The customary rights of burial were not denied to slaves. Monuments were often erected to their memory, as is proved incontestably by the numerous inscriptions, preserved in Gruter and elsewhere. Slaves were, at all times, permitted to avail themselves of the temporary protection of sanctuaries. These were the temples and altars of the gods, afterwards the palace and images of the emperors, and still later Christian churches and shrines. It was lawful for any person to be the proprietor of slaves; even a slave might hold others of his own class, and act as their master to all intents; but still, those slaves were, as fully as the rest of his *peculium*, subject to the superior rights of his free lord.

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singulos, vellente militare, empta publice armaverunt." — *Liv. XXII.* 57. "Ex hoc edicto dati nautæ, armati instructique ab dominis," etc. — *Liv. XXIV.* 11, 17. "Servi, quibus arma darentur, ita ut pretium pro iis bello perfecto dominis solveretur, emebantur." — *Liv. XXXIV.* 6.



The customary allowance of food for each slave was, probably, four Roman bushels (*modius*, one peck English) of manufactured corn a month; monthly supplies being furnished to the upper slaves in the country, and daily rations to those in the city. Gladiators were proverbially well fed ("paratos cibos, ut gladiatoriam saginam," etc. Tac. Hist. II. 88). Salt and oil were commonly allowed, and occasionally vinegar, and salt fish, olives, etc. They had daily what was about an English pint and a half of wine. *Posca*, a mixture of vinegar and water, was given to slaves, as well as to soldiers. Slaves near town procured for themselves other necessaries, and even luxuries.

Male slaves were not permitted by law to wear the *toga*, gown, *bullæ*, ball, or the gold ring, which were the badges of citizenship; nor were female slaves suffered to assume the *stola*, the robe of free and modest matrons. The cap, *pileus*, as an emblem of liberty, was probably a forbidden piece of dress. Thus we read: "Servi ad pileum vocati." In most other respects, they were attired as their masters pleased, till the reign of Alexander Severus, who appointed a certain garb for the servile classes. It had been proposed, at a much earlier period, to clothe slaves in a peculiar manner, but the project was abandoned from dread of showing to the slaves the *superiority of their numbers*.\*

The laborers on a farm were shut up at night in a building called a work-house, *ergastulum*, but which rather resembled a prison. Each slave had a separate cell.† Some

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\* "Quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos cœpissent." — *Sen. de Clem.* I. 24. "Galliæ purpuræ tingendæ causa ad servitorum vestes." — *Plin. Nat. Hist.* XVI. 31.

† "Numerus illi quotidie servorum, velut imperatori exercitus, referebatur; cui jamdudum divitiæ esse debuerant duo vicarii et cella laxior." — *Sen. de Tranquil. An.* VIII.

masters allowed well-disposed slaves to be better lodged than others.\* Suetonius informs us, that it had become so common to expose sick slaves on the isle of Æsculapius in the Tiber, that Claudius enacted a law to prevent the barbarity.† No authoritative regulations seem ever to have been adopted, for limiting the forced labor of slaves within due bounds. Agricultural laborers were probably made to undergo great fatigues. Considerable abatement of toil was made in favor of female slaves, particularly such as had borne three or more children.

Masters were often at great pains to teach their slaves various exercises, trades, arts, and accomplishments; ‡ and even employed hired instructors for this purpose. We have little reason, however, to think that the servile classes generally received any education, in the most limited sense of the term. There was, apparently, no benefit to accrue to the master from his hewers of wood and drawers of water being able to read and write. The obedience of slaves was enforced by severe discipline. The masters availed themselves of the latitude of the law in this respect to the utmost extent. A blow with the hand was a very ready discipline. § The lash and rod were in frequent

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\* "Reliqua pars lateris hujus servorum libertorumque usibus detinetur, plerisque tam mundis, ut accipere hospites possint." — *Plin. Ep. II. 17.*

† "Omnes, qui exponerentur, liberos esse sanxit, nec redire in ditio-  
nem domini, si convaluissent." — *Suet. Vit. Claud. XXV.*

‡ "Literulis Græcis imbutus, idoneus arti  
Cuilibet." — *Hor. Ep. Lib. II. ii. 7.*

Donatus says, that Virgil was very partial to two slaves: "Utrumque non ineruditum d' misit, — Alexandrum grammaticum, Cebetem vero et poetam."

§ "Nos colaphum incutimus lanibenti crustulo servo." — *Jib. IX. 5.*

use.\* If a slave spoke or coughed at a forbidden time, he was flogged by a very severe master.† The toilet of a lady of fashion was a terrible ordeal for a slave. A stray curl was an inexorable offence, and the slave's back was punished for the faults of the mirror.‡ Whips and thongs were not the most dreadful instruments of punishment. Burning alive is mentioned as a punishment in the Pandects and elsewhere. Tertullian says it was first used for slaves alone.§ Vine saplings as instruments of punishment were least dishonorable; next to them rods, *fustes* or *virgæ*; then thongs, *lora*; scourges, *flagella* or *flagra*, sometimes loaded with lead, *plumbata*. Chain scourges were used, with weights at the end, all of bronze or tin. The *equuleus* was a terrible instrument of torture. Dislocation was one of its effects.|| There were also the *fidiculae*, lyre-strings, the *ungula* and *forceps*, etc. A slave taken among soldiers was cast from the Capitoline rock, having been first manumitted, that he might be worthy of that punishment.¶ As slaves could not testify on the rack against their own master, they were sold to others, and thus qualified to testify.\*\*

\* "Vox domini furit instantis virgamque tenentis." — *Juv.* XIV. 63.

† "Et ne fortuita quidem verberibus excepta sunt, tussis, sternutamentum, singultus," etc. — *Sen. Ep.* XLVII.

‡ "Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum

Annulus, incerta non bene fixus acu.

Hoc facinus Lalage speculo, quo viderat, ulta est;

Et cecidit sectis icta Picusa comis." — *Mart. Lib.* II. *Ep.* 66.

§ "Sed de patibulo et vivi comburio per omne ingenium crudelitas exhauriat." — *Tert. de Anima*, I.

|| Seneca, *Ep.* XIX.

¶ Dio Cassius, L 46, Han. ed. p. 337. 1606.

\*\* *Id.* LV. 357. Juvenal has this:

☞ "Tuta felix, quoties aliquis tortore vocato  
Uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro.

Cruel masters sometimes hired torturers by profession, or had such persons in their establishments, to assist them in punishing their slaves, or in extorting confessions from them, and many horrible torments were employed for those purposes.\* The noses, ears, teeth, or even eyes were in great danger from an enraged master.† Crucifixion was frequently made the fate of a wretched slave, for trifling misconduct, or for mere caprice. ‡ Cato, the Censor, used after supper to seize a thong, and flog such of his slaves as had not attended properly, or had dressed any dish ill. Insulting appellations were given to slaves who had been often subjected to punishment. One who had frequently been beaten was called *mastigia*, or *verbero*; he who had been branded was termed *stigmatias*, or *stigmatius*, or *inscriptus*, or *liferatus*, and he who had borne the *furca* was named *furcifer*. No distinction whatever seems to have been maintained between the modes of punishing male and female slaves. The laws, which abolished the master's power of life and death, appear to have been obeyed with great reluc-

Quid suadet juveni lætus stridore catenæ,  
 Quem mire afficiunt inscripta ergastula, carcer  
 Rusticus ?" — XIV. 21.

\* "— sunt, quæ tortoribus annua præsent." — *Juv.* VI. 480.

† "Tranci naribus auribusque vultus." — *Mart.* II. 83. "Peccantis famuli pugno ne percute dentes." — *Id.* XIV. 68.

‡ "Pone crucem servo; meruit quo crimine servus

Supplicium? Quis testis adest? Quis detulit? Audi.

Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est.

O demens, ita servus homo est? Nil fecerit, esto;

Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas." — *Juv.* VI. 218.

The following law was passed A. C. 58. "Si quis a suis servis interceptus esset, ii quoque, qui testamento manumissi sub eodem tecto mansissent, inter servos supplicia penderent." — *Tac. Ann.* XIII. 32.

tance, and frequently virtually defeated by an increase in the amount of an inferior punishment.

Slaves had various rewards for good conduct held out to them by their masters. The chief of these were manumission, or promotion to a better situation in their owner's service, as to the place of steward, or superintendent. They were sometimes allowed to keep a share of the profits of their business, or money was given them in acknowledgment of special services. Slaves had generally a separate fund called *peculium*, though this was strictly the property of the master. At the *Saturnalia*, slaves were treated like masters, feasting at their owner's tables, having license to say what they pleased without fear of chastisement. Their other principal holidays were the *Matronalia*, in March, *Populifugia*, 7th of July, and *Compitalia*, 7th of May.\*

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\* The writings of M. Seneca are full of tender sympathy and of exalted sentiments in behalf of slaves. "Servis," he says, "imperare moderate, laus est; et in mancipio cogitandum est, non quantum illud impune pati possit, sed quantum tibi permittat æqui bonique natura." In the same place, the conduct of Vedius Pollio, who fed his fish with the flesh of his slaves, is reprobated in the severest manner. — *De Clem.* L. 18. In the essay *De Beneficiis*, L. iii. Cap. 19, 20, 21, etc., many instances are recorded of grateful conduct on the part of slaves. "Errat, si quis existimat servitutem in totum hominem descendere; pars melior ejus excepta est. Corpora obnoxia sunt, et adscripta dominis; mens quidem sui juris; quæ adeo libera et vaga est, ut ne ab hoc quidem carcere cui inclusa est, teneri queat." One of the examples quoted is where the servant of C. Vetius, "ejus gladium militi ipsi, a quo trahebatur, eduxit, et primum dominum occidit; deinde, *Tempus est, inquit, me et mihi consulere, jam dominum manumisi*; atque ita se uno ictu transjecit" (Cap. 23). In the civil wars another slave habited himself like his master, and was slain, while his master escaped. A third, by wise counsel, saved the life of his master, who had spoken treasonable things against Cæsar. The 47th epistle is taken up in describing

The proportion between the sexes of the slaves, has not been ascertained. There were few female agriculturists, and the men who lived in *ergastula* would rarely have wives. Women alone were employed in spinning; but men were, as often as they, engaged in weaving. The sepulchre of the freedmen and slaves of Livia, the daughter of Augustus, as described by Gori, has 150 female names to 400 names of men.

On the whole, we may regard the condition of the slaves, in the later days of the Republic, and during the Empire previously to the reign of Constantine, as one of great hardship. Their lot was dependent on the disposition of particular masters, not on the laws, nor on a humane and enlightened public opinion. On a cursory reading of the classical authors, we may form the opinion that slaves in general enjoyed great liberties. But we must recollect that the authors in question were conversant mainly with the *vernæ*, with the house slaves, with the smart, precocious slaves, children brought from Alexandria, with the educated slaves, etc. The groans from the *ergastula* do not reach our ears. We cannot gather up the tears which were shed on the Appian

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what the treatment of slaves ought to be. Unhappily, he furnishes evidence enough that his compassionate advice was but little heeded. After saying that he will pass over the instances of inhuman men, who treated their slaves more cruelly than beasts, he says: "Alius vini minister in muliebrem modum ornatus, cum ætate luctatur. Non potest effugere pueritiam, sed retrahitur. Jamque militari habitu glaber, destitutus pilis, aut penitus evulsis, tota nocte pervigilat; quam inter ebrietatem domini ac libidinem dividit, et in cubiculo vir, et in convivio puer est." The younger Pliny was a humane master. Dio Cassius, I. 47 of his Roman. Hist., mentions three slaves in the time of Antony's proscription, who saved their masters at the loss of their own lives. One of them was a *stigmaticus*.

Way, around the mausoleum of Augustus, in the countless farms of Italy. There were griefs which we know not of, — sorrows, heart-rending cruelties, which will not be revealed till the day of doom. Slaves were valued only so far as they represented money. Hortensius cared less for the health of his slaves than for that of his fish. It was a question put for ingenious disputation, whether, in order to lighten a vessel in a storm, one should sacrifice a valuable horse or a worthless slave. So late as the reign of Adrian, we find that indications of insanity were not uncommon among slaves, which must generally be attributed to their misery.

The slaves not unfrequently rose in rebellion against their masters. At one time, A. C. 458, Appius Herdonius summoned the slaves from the Capitol with the inspiring words, “*Se miserrimi cujusque suscepisse causam, ut servitiis grave jugum demeret.*” In the city the terror was extreme, as no one knew whom to trust. His foes were they of his own household. A little later, A. C. 415, (Livy, IV. 45,) it was announced that “*Servitia, urbem ut incenderent distantibus locis, conjurarunt.*” At another time, A. C. 271, (Livy, XXII. 33,) twenty-five slaves were affixed to the cross, because they had entered into a conspiracy in the Campus Martius. Etruria, A. C. 196, (Livy, XXXIII. 36,) was threatened with a fearful insurrection. The mournful result was, “*Multi occisi, multi capti, alios verberatos crucibus affixit, qui principes conjurationis fuerant; alios dominis restituit.*” Again, A. C. 184, (Livy, XXXIX. 29,) we read, “*Magnus motus servilis eo anno in Apulia fuit.*” Seven thousand men were condemned. In the brief language of the historian, “*de multis sumptum est supplicium.*”

In A. C. 135, an insurrection of the slaves in Sicily happened, which, says Diodorus, was the most dreadful which

ever occurred. Many towns were plundered; multitudes of persons of both sexes (*ἀναπίθμητοι*) were visited with the direst calamities, and the slaves gained possession of almost the whole island. The insurgents under Eunus amounted to 70,000 men, of whom 20,000 are said to have fallen in the last defeat; and the rest to have been taken and crucified; but they had kept the field for six years, in the face of considerable forces.

In Italy there were vast numbers of slaves, and frequent and dangerous commotions. The first happened at Nuceria, where thirty slaves were taken and executed. In the second insurrection at Capua, 200 slaves rebelled; they were immediately destroyed. The third took place in consequence of the disgraceful conduct of a rich Roman, Titus Minutius by name. Having proclaimed himself king, 3,500 slaves flocked to his standard. Lucius Lucullus was charged with the business of dealing with the insurgents. Minutius, having been betrayed, killed himself, and his associates perished. This was, however, but a prelude to greater troubles in Sicily. The Senate having passed a decree that no freedman among the allies of the Roman people should be reduced to slavery, more than 800 in Sicily, who had been unlawfully deprived of freedom, were liberated. This excited the hopes of the slaves throughout the island. Remonstrances having been made to the prætor, he ordered those who had assembled about him, for the purpose of recovering their liberty, to return to their masters. This was the signal for a general insurrection. The insurgents, having strongly fortified themselves, bade defiance to the efforts of the prætor. A certain Titinius, an outlaw, was their leader. He having at length proved treacherous to his cause, the designs of the conspirators were crushed. Soon,



however, the tumult broke out afresh, and Titinius, who was sent by the prætor against the slaves, was worsted. Their number increased in a few days to more than 6,000. Having chosen a certain Salvius leader, they ravaged various parts of the island. In a battle with the Romans, Salvius took 4,000 prisoners. The whole island was soon in a sad condition. Salvius collected an army of 30,000 men, and assumed all the ensigns of royalty. In this manner the war was protracted for several years, and the disturbances were not fully quelled till after the most vigorous and persevering exertions of the Roman army.\*

The famous servile war in Italy, which occurred in the time of Crassus and Pompey, lasted nearly three years, and was not brought to a close without the greatest difficulty. It seems that the slaves lost 105,000 men, exclusive of those who fell in their victories over Lentulus, and other generals; besides, after their main overthrow by Crassus, a body of 5,000 men were vanquished by Pompey.

In A. D. 24, T. Curtisius, a soldier of the pretorian cohort, at Brundisium in Italy, and the neighboring towns, fixed placards on conspicuous places, in which he called on the slaves to assert their rights. His designs were, however, soon crushed, by the unexpected appearance of a fleet. Cinna, Marius, Catiline, and the barbarian invaders of Italy, augmented their forces by promising general freedom to the slaves.†

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\* We have drawn the preceding facts about the servile war from Diodorus Siculus, Lib. XXXVI., where a detailed and impartial statement may be seen. This second rebellion in Sicily lasted three years.

† Plat. Vit. C. Marius; Cicero in Cat. IV. 2; Sallust, Cat. 56. "Servi te reliquerunt. Alium compilaverunt, alium accusaverunt, alium occiderunt, alium prodiderunt, alium calcaverunt, alium veneno, alium criminatione, potierunt." — *Seneca, Ep. CVII.*

Besides the political troubles to which we have alluded, slavery was the fruitful cause of many other evils. The slaves were much addicted to lying, which Plutarch calls the vice of slaves. They were so great thieves, that *fur* was once synonymous with slave.\* It came to be said almost proverbially, that slaves were foes.† Female slaves were exposed to so many seductions, and were, at the same time, guarded by so few better influences, that we cannot wonder at their extremely licentious conduct. Slavery fearfully increased dissoluteness in the high ranks of Romans, idleness in the lower ranks, and cruelty in both. The horrid butcheries of the amphitheatre are a sufficient proof of the sanguinary disposition of the Romans.‡ The number of foreign slaves imported from various countries, at too advanced an age to learn the language of their lords, must have tended greatly to corrupt the Latin language.§ The crowds of slaves, assembled in the houses of the rich, were the means of propagating fatal diseases, which frequently ravaged the Roman world.||

\* "Exilis domus est, ubi non et multa supersunt,  
Et dominum fallunt, et prosunt furibus."

*Hor. Ep. Lib. I. vi. 45, 46.*

† "Totidem esse hostes, quot servos." — *Sen. Ep. XLVII.*

‡ "Quam hujus amentie causam detineam nisi fidei imbecillitatem, pronam semper concupiscentiam secularium gaudiorum?" — *Tertul. ad Uxorem, Lib. II. Cap. 8.* Also *De Spectac. XXII.*

§ "At nunc natus infans delegatur græculæ, ancillæ, cui adjungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus, nec cuiquam serio ministerio accommodatus." — *Tac. de Caus. Corrupt. XXIX.*

|| In Heyne's *Opuscula*, Vol. III. Prol. 7, is an account of the various *pestes* which desolated Rome. The number mentioned is 33. The sixth, which happened A. U. C. 292, cut off almost all the slaves, and nearly one half of the free population. *Liv. XXXVI. Dio-*

Such, in brief, was the condition of the Roman world in respect to slavery when our Saviour appeared. Under the first Cæsars, domestic servitude had reached its height of enormity. No part of the immense empire was free from the evil. The Sicilian dungeons were full. Medians, Mæsians, Bithynians, were driven in crowds to the Roman metropolis. Men-stealers were on the alert in the fastnesses of the African Troglodytes. The voice of the slave-auctioneer was heard early and late at Corinth and Delos. From Britain to Parthia, and from the woods of Sweden to the great African desert, the cries of the bondman went up to Heaven. In Judea alone, there seems to have been some alleviation to the picture. Yet there the Romans doubtless transported their slaves as an indispensable part of their domestic arrangement.\*

In the Gospels, there is no marked and prominent mention of slavery, though the allusions and incidental notices are not unfrequent. Thus in Matt. viii. 9, *δοῦλος* in the mouth of the Roman centurion unquestionably means a slave. The military slaves of the Romans were the *armiger*, armor-bearer, *galearius*, helmet-bearer, *clavator*, club-bearer, *calo* and *cacula*, soldier's drudge. In Matt. xiii. 27, 28, perhaps it is the most natural to understand *δοῦλος* as a slave, though a higher meaning of the word may be included. Also compare Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13; John viii. 33; xiii. 16; xv. 20. The punishment of the cross, which was inflicted on slaves and the lowest malefactors, was introduced among

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nys. IX. 67. In the one which occurred A. D. 69, which lasted only for an autumn, 30,000 funerals were registered, "*triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ venerunt.*" — *Suet. Vit. Nero, XXXIX.*

\* King Agrippa exhibited at one time in Judea 700 pairs of gladiators, — *slaves.* — *Jos. Hist. XIX.*

the Jews by the Romans. See also Acts vii. 6. In Rom. vii. 14, we find the expression *πεπραμένος ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίας*, sold under sin, the bond-slave of sin, referring to the general practice of selling prisoners of war as slaves. They were considered as having lost their title to freedom. Corinth was long the chief slave-mart of Greece, and, from its situation, was likely to have much communication with Brundisium, and the other ports on the eastern side of Italy. Timæus, perhaps with some exaggeration, asserts that Corinth had, in early times, before Athens had reached her supremacy, 460,000 slaves. They were distinguished by the name *chaniæ-measurers*. Many of them doubtless embraced the Gospel, when preached by Paul, Apollos, and others. From the language employed by Paul in describing the social condition of the Corinthian converts,\* as well as from the development of the particular vices to which they were exposed, we reasonably infer that many slaves were converted. In 1 Cor. vii. 20-24 are the following words: "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman; likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men. Brethren, let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God." The meaning of this passage clearly is, Be not unduly solicitous about being in a state of bondage. If you have a favorable opportunity for gaining

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\* Βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλήσιν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ πολλοὶ δυνατοὶ, οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς. 1 Cor. i. 26. Also the terms *μωρά, ἀσθενῆ, ἀγενῆ, ἐξουθενήμενα, τὰ μὴ ὄντα*, etc.

your freedom, embrace it; it is the preferable state; nevertheless, to be a freeman of Christ is infinitely more important. Your spiritual redemption is purchased at a great price; yield not a servile assent to the authority and opinions of men.\*

Eph. vi. 5-9, "Servants! be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eyeservice, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good-will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And, ye masters! do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him." That slaves are here referred to is unquestionable,—from the contrast, in v. 8, between *δοῦλος* and *ἐλεύθερος*. Both masters and slaves are charged to perform their respective duties faithfully and kindly, as accountable alike to God. Col. iii. 22, 25; and iv. 1, are of similar import. Slaves were numerous in Colosse, in Ephesus, and in all the principal cities of Asia Minor. A principal fault in the slaves seems to have been, a faithless performance of duty in the absence of their masters. Col. iv. 1 prescribes τὸ δίκαιον τὴν ἰσότητα, kind treatment, such as is

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\* That *δοῦλος*, v. 22, means a slave, one in actual bondage, is made altogether certain by its being in contrast with *ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι*, as well as by the whole spirit of the passage. There would be no sense in directing hired servants to change their condition, if they could. After *χρησεῖς*, v. 21, understand *ἐλευθερίαν*, not *δουλείαν*, as the old commentators think. V. 23, *τιμῆς* is used in a spiritual sense, with reference to the price which is paid for human freedom.

becoming Christian masters. That it cannot mean the legal enfranchisement of the slave is clear; for why, in that case, were any directions given to the slaves, if the relation was not to continue? 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2, "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit." Then follows, v. 3-5, an exhortation to Timothy to withdraw himself from persons who taught a contrary doctrine, and who were employing themselves in useless logomachies. The word "yoke," in 1 Tim. vi. 1, denotes a servile condition; as in Lev. xxvi. 13, "I have broken the bands of your yoke." It seems that the honor of the Gospel was concerned in the rendering, on the part of the slave, of a prompt obedience to the commands of his master. Titus ii. 4, 10, is of kindred meaning. The vices of pilfering and petulance are particularly mentioned. Crete was full of slaves from the earliest times to which history carries us.

Onesimus, the subject of Paul's Epistle to Philemon, was the slave of Philemon, a Colossian, who had been made a Christian through the ministry of Paul. He absconded from his master, for a reason which is not fully explained. In the course of his flight he met with Paul at Rome, by whom he was converted, and ultimately recommended to the favor of his old master. It may be observed that Paul would, under any circumstances, have had no choice, but to send Onesimus to his master; the detention of a fugitive slave was considered the same offence as theft, and would no doubt incur liability to prosecution for damages. Runaways appre-

hended and unreclaimed were sold by order of the *præfectus vigilum*, if not liberated by the Emperor. In later times, a runaway, guiltless of other offences, was not punished for the sake of public justice, but was restored to his owner.

1 Pet. ii. 18: "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward." The word *οἰκέται* is here employed. This word denotes any one under the authority of another, particularly household servants, *vernæ, familia, domestici, famuli*. It is used but four times in the New Testament: in this passage; in Luke xvi. 13; Acts x. 7; Rom. xiv. 4. In all these passages, the presumption is that slaves are intended, as they almost universally performed the duties which are now performed by hired servants. The *ἀνδραποδιστὴς*, the slave-trader, is classed, 1 Tim. i. 10, with the most abandoned sinners. Slave-dealing was not esteemed an honorable occupation, or worthy of merchants, by the Romans; \* and those who followed it, *mangores, venalitarii*, sometimes gave themselves an air of much consequence, trusting to their wealth, and the means of gratifying competition for the abominable though precious objects of their traffic. †

Though the Christian religion did not by direct precept put an end to the iron servitude which prevailed in the Roman Empire, yet its whole spirit and genius are adverse to slavery, and it was the most powerful of all the causes, which were set in operation, and which finally extinguished

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\* "Mercator urbibus prodest, medicus agris, mango venalibus; sed omnes isti, quia ad alienum commodum pro suo veniunt, non obligant eos quibus prosunt." — *Sen. de Benef.* IV. 13. "Radix est bulbacea, mangonicis venalitiis pulchre nota, quæ e vino dulci illita pubertatem coerces." — *Plin. Nat. Hist.* XXI. 97, and XXXII. 47.

† See *Suet. Aug.* 69; *Macrob. Saturn.* II. 4; *Pliny, LXXI.* 12; *Mart. VIII.* 13.

the system throughout Europe. 1. It raised the worth of the human mind. It fully established its dignity and immortality. It poured a new light on the murderous arena, and on all the horrid forms of destroying life which prevailed. 2. It proclaimed the doctrine of universal love. It placed charity, kindness, and compassion among the cardinal virtues; and took away from a man all hope of salvation, unless he forgave heartily all who might have injured him. 3. It proclaimed a common Redeemer for the whole human race. It declared that in Christ, barbarian, Scythian, bond and free were on an entire equality. 4. It taught men the value of time, made them industrious, temperate, and frugal, and thus took away the supposed necessity for servile labor. 5. It commanded all its disciples to engage personally in the great work of propagating the religion among all nations. This very enterprise of course embraced the millions of slaves.

We are now prepared briefly to consider the influence which Christianity exerted in the mitigation and final extinction of slavery. One of the Apostolical Canons is in the following words: "Servi in clerum non promoveantur citra dominorum voluntate; hoc ipsum operatur redhibitionem. Si quando vero servus quoque gradu ecclesiastico dignus videatur, qualis noster Onesimus apparuit, et domini consenserint, manuque emiserint, et domo sua ablegaverint; efficitur." In chap. 2 of the Epistle of Ignatius of Antioch to Polycarp of Smyrna is the following: "Overlook not the men and maid servants; neither let them be puffed up; but rather let them be the more subject to the glory of God, that they may obtain from him a better liberation. Let them not desire to be set free at the public cost, that they be not slaves to their own lusts." In the



general Epistle of Barnabas, chap. xiv. ver. 15, "Thou shalt not be bitter in thy commands towards any of thy servants that trust in God; lest thou chance not to fear him who is over both; because he came not to call any with respect of persons, but whomsoever the Spirit prepared."

A warm sympathy was felt, it seems, by many of the primitive Christians, in behalf of the slaves. Clemens, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, remarks: "We have known many among ourselves, who have delivered themselves into bonds and slavery, that they might restore others to their liberty; many, who have hired out themselves servants unto others, that by their wages they might feed and sustain them that wanted." Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, expended his whole estate, and then sold himself, in order to accomplish the same object. Serapion sold himself to a stage-player, and was the means of converting him and his family. Ambrose (Off. I. 2) enjoins that great care should be taken of those in bondage. Cyprian (Ep. LX.) sent to the Bishop of Numidia, in order to redeem some captives, 2,500 crowns. Socrates, the historian, says, that after the Romans had taken 7,000 Persian captives, Acacius, Bishop of Amida, melted the gold and silver plate of his church, with which he redeemed the captives. Ambrose of Milan did the same in respect to the furniture of his church. It was the only case in which the imperial constitutions allowed plate to be sold.

During the early persecutions, reduction to slavery, in a very horrid form, was employed as a punishment for the embracing of the faith. Female Christians were often condemned to be given up as slaves to the keepers of public brothels in Rome, in order to be subjected to open prostitution. Such was the fate of Agnes, of whom Ambrose thus

speaks: "Insanus iudex jussit eam expoliari, et nudam ad lupanar duci, sub voce præconis dicentis, Agnem sacrilegam virginem Diis blasphemia inferentem scortum lupanaribus doctum." \* Her offence was her refusal to worship *Ve'na*. Lactantius has the remark, that, if any slave became a Christian, all hope of freedom was taken away.

These severe enactments were in some measure neutralized by the compassionate treatment of the Church. After the establishment of Christianity, under Constantine, slaves partook of all the ordinances of religion; † and their birth was no impediment to their rising to the highest dignities of the priesthood. Slaves holding the true faith were sometimes taken into the service of the Church. ‡ At first, indeed, it was required that a slave should be enfranchised before ordination; but Justinian declared the simple consent of the master to be sufficient. If a slave had been ordained without his master's knowledge, the latter might demand him within a year, and the slave fell back into his master's power. If a slave, after ordination, with his master's consent, chose to renounce the ecclesiastical state, and returned to a secular life, he was given back as a slave to his master. It was common for the patrons of churches,

\* Ambr. Serm. Tertullian, Apol., Cap. L.: "Nam et proxime ad leonem damnando, Christianum, potius quam ad leonem," etc. August. de Civit. Dei, L. 26: "Sed quædam sanctæ femine tempore persecutionis, ut insectatores suæ pudicitie devitarent, in repturam atque necaturum se fluvium projecerunt." Lactantius also says, Vol. II. p. 214: "Fidelissimi quique servi contra dominos vexabantur."

† Paul mentions slaves having been baptized, 1 Cor. xii. 13, *εἶτε δούλοι, εἶτε ἐλεύθεροι — ἐβαπτίσθημεν*, etc.

‡ "Quo magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri, et per tormenta quærere." — *Plin. Ep. X. 97.*

till the fifth century, to encourage their slaves to become clergymen, that they, in preference to strangers, might receive their benefices. Slaves were fully protected, in the exercise of worship, and, to a certain extent, in the observance of religious festivals. The liberty and gambols of the *Saturnalia* were transferred to Christmas. If a Christian slave fell into the hands of a heathen master, the latter was prohibited from interfering with his spiritual concerns. Judaism was looked upon with such horror, that any Christian was entitled to force a Jewish master to sell to him a Christian slave.

Augustus restrained the right of indiscriminate and unlimited manumission. Antoninus empowered the judge, who should be satisfied about the slave's complaint of ill treatment, to force the master to sell him to some other owner. The master's power of life and death over his slaves was first sought to be legally abolished by Adrian and Antoninus Pius. Constantine placed the wilful murder of a slave on a level with that of a freeman, and expressly included the case of a slave who died under punishment, unless it was inflicted with the usual instruments of correction. The effect of this humane law was, however, done away by a subsequent enactment of Constantine. Several councils of the Church endeavored to repress slave-murder, by threatening the perpetrators with temporary excommunication.\* Adrian suppressed the work-houses for the confinement of slaves. Several humane laws were enacted by Constantine in relation to the separation of families. One directs that property shall be so divided, "ut

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\* "Et in pluribus quidem conciliis statutum est, excommunicationi, vel pœnitentiæ biennii, esse subjiciendum, qui servum proprium sine conscientia judicis occidunt." — *Murator*.

integra apud possessorem unumquemque servorum agnatio permaneat." Another law says, "ut integra apud successorem unumquemque servorum, vel colonorum adscriptitiæ conditionis, seu inquilinorum proximorum agnatio, vel adfinitas permaneat." A Christian church afforded very great safety from the wrath of unmerciful owners; for when a slave took refuge there, it became the duty of the ecclesiastics to intercede for him with his master, and, if the latter refused to pardon the slave, they were bound not to give him up, but to let him live within the precincts of the sanctuary, till he chose to depart, or his owner granted him forgiveness. In Christian times, the ceremony of manumission,\* which was performed in church, particularly at Easter, and other festivals of religion, was considered the most regular mode of emancipation, and came to displace, in a great measure, the other forms. This mode was introduced and regulated by three laws of Constantine; † but it was not

\* The different modes of manumission were the following: 1. *Vindicta*, the pronouncing of a form of words by the owner before the prætor. 2. *Census*, enrolment in the censor's books. 3. *Testamentum*, by will. 4. *Epistolam*, by letter. 5. *Per convivium*, at the banquet. 6. By the master designedly calling the slave his son. 7. By actual adoption. 8. Leave given to a slave to subscribe his name as witness. 9. Attiring a slave in the insignia of a freeman, etc.

† The following is the rescript of Constantine: "Qui religiosa mento in ecclesiæ gremio servulis suis meritam concesserint libertatem, eandem eodem jure donasse videantur, quo civitas Romana solem. cælibus decursis dari consuevit. Sed hoc duntaxat iis, qui sub aspectu antistitum dederint, placuit relaxari. Clericis autem amplius concedimus, ut, cum suis famulis tribuant libertatem, non solum in conspectu ecclesiæ ac religiosi populi plenam fructum libertatis concessisse dicantur, verum etiam cum postremo judicio libertates dederint, seu quibuscunque verbis dari præceperint; ita ut ex die publicatæ voluntatis, sine aliquo juris teste vel interprete, competat directa libertas."

adopted over the whole Empire at once, as, nearly one hundred years afterwards, the Council of Carthage, A. D. 401, resolved to ask of the Emperor authority to manumit in church. The request was granted. Augustine, in one of his sermons, mentions the formalities thus observed in conferring freedom.\* After the establishment of Christianity as a national religion, when heresy came to be dreaded as much as treason, the testimony of slaves was received equally in respect to matters relating to their own interests and to those of their masters. The Church did not openly maintain the validity of slave nuptials for many years. Attempts of free persons to form marriages with slaves were severely punished.† Justinian removed most of the obstacles which preceding emperors had placed in the way of manumission. Slavery did not cease, however, till a comparatively late period. ‡

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\* Augustine, in another place, holds the following language: "Non oportet Christianum possidere servum quomodo equum aut argentum. Quis dicere audeat, ut vestimentum eum debere contemni? Hominem namque homo tanquam seipsum diligere debet, cui ab omnium Domino, ut inimicos diligit, imperatur."

† "The Emperor Basilius allowed slaves to marry, and receive the priestly benediction; but this having been disregarded, Alexius Comnenus renewed the permission. It seems to have been thought either that the benediction gave freedom, or ought to be followed by it." — *Blair*. See *Justin. Græco-Roman*. Lib. II. 5.

‡ The authorities on the general subject, which we have consulted, are the different codes of Roman law; Gibbon; two Essays of M. de Burigny, in Vols. XXXV. and XXXVII. of *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*; and Blair's *Inquiry into the State of Slavery among the Romans*, Edinburgh, 1833, a valuable work. In nearly all the facts which we have quoted from him, we have referred to the original authorities. We have made a personal examination of nearly all the extant Latin authors, including the historians of Byzantium, and the early writers and fathers of the Christian Church.

## SLAVERY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.\*

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BEFORE the conclusion of the fifth century, the Roman Empire in all the West of Europe was overthrown by the Northern barbarous nations. The Vandals were masters of Africa; the Suevi held part of Spain; the Visigoths held the remainder, with a large portion of Gaul; the Burgundians occupied the provinces watered by the Rhone and Saone; the Ostrogoths, nearly the whole of Italy. Among these barbarous nations involuntary servitude, in various forms, seems to have existed. Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, XXV., says: "The slaves in general were not arranged at their several employments in the household affairs, as is the practice at Rome. Each has his separate habitation, and his own establishment to manage. The master considers him as an agrarian dependent, who is obliged to furnish a certain quantity of grain, of cattle, or of wearing-apparel. The slave obeys, and the state of servitude extends no further. All domestic affairs are managed by the master's wife and children. To punish a slave with stripes,

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to load him with chains, to condemn him to hard labor, is unusual. It is true, that slaves are, sometimes, put to death, not under color of justice, or of any authority vested in the master, but in a transport of passion, in a fit of rage, as is often the case in a sudden affray; but it is also true, that this species of homicide passes with impunity. The freedmen are not of much higher consideration than the actual slaves. They obtain no rank in the master's family, and, if we except the parts of Germany where monarchy is established, they never figure on the stage of public business. In despotic governments, they rise above the men of ingenuous birth, and even eclipse the whole body of nobles. In other states, the subordination of the freedmen is a proof of public liberty." It is not easy to determine whether liberty most flourished in Germany, or Gaul. In the latter the influence of religion was much greater, while in the former there was more individual independence. In Gaul, however, manumission was much more frequent, the slaves being made free, in order that they might, on any emergency, be able to assist their lords, who had not, like the German barons, freeborn warriors always at hand to assist them. In Gaul, the Church had a much greater number of slaves; and under the influence of Christianity slavery is always sure to be mitigated.

In the various ancient codes of law,\* the first thing which strikes us is the distinction of social ranks. The fundamental one is that of freemen and slaves. Besides the slaves who become so by birth, or the fortune of war, anciently any freeman could dispose of his own liberty: if he mar-

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\* Such as the *Lex Salica*, the *Code of the Ripuarii*, *Code of the Burgundians*, *Lex Saxonum*, etc.

ried a female slave, he incurred the same penalty ; if unable to pay his debts, he became the bondsman of his creditors. The code of the Lombards in Italy seems, in some respects, to have been peculiarly rigorous. For him who slew his own slave no punishment was provided ; but no composition would atone for the life of the slave who assassinated a freeman. If a slave presumed to marry a freewoman, the doom of both was death ; but the freeman might marry his maiden, provided he previously enfranchised her. Such unions were, however, regarded as disgraceful. The slave had little hope of escape. Enfranchisement was far from frequent, and the *libertus* was as dependent on his patron, as the slave on his owner ; neither could marry beyond his own caste without incurring the penalty of death ; yet marriage was all but obligatory, that servitude might be perpetuated. Manumission generally took place in the churches, or by will, or by a written instrument ; and these three modes were also common to the Romans ; but there were other modes peculiar to certain nations. in France, it was effected by striking a *denarius* from the hands of the slave, or by opening the door for him to escape. The Lombards delivered him to one man, this man delivered him to a third, the third to a fourth, who told him he had leave to go east, west, north, or south. The owner might also deliver his slave to the king, that the king might deliver him to the priest, who might manumit him at the altar. Among the Lombards, the symbol was sometimes an arrow, which, being delivered to the slave, betokened that he was now privileged to bear arms, — the distinguishing characteristic of freedom.\* The condition of the *liberti* varied ; those

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\* See Muratori's *Ital. Scriptor. Rerum*, Vol. I. Pars ii. p. 90.



who were emancipated before the altar were exempted from every species of dependence. The same may be said of the *manumissio per denarium, per quartam manum, per portas patentes*; but if *per chartam*, the *libertus* obtained a much less share of freedom; if he escaped from personal, he was still subject to other service, and to the jurisdiction of his late owner. The rustic freedman seldom possessed any land, and if he removed, as his new condition allowed him, to any city or town, he was still bound by an annual return to his patron. He could not depose in a court of justice to that patron's prejudice, nor marry without his consent. The *ingenuus*, who enjoyed freedom without any civil dignity, and who was privileged to carry arms, often engaged himself as the client of some chief, with whom he fought during war, and administered justice during peace; if no client, he was still liable to military service, and to assist in the local courts. Among the Salian Franks, if a freeman married a slave, he became a slave. The Ripuarians were still more severe; the woman who had married a slave was offered, by the local judge or court, a sword and a spindle; if she took the former, she must kill her husband; if the latter, she must embrace servitude with him. Greater severity still was found among the Burgundians, Visigoths, and Lombards. Among the Saxons, says Adam of Bremen, it is commanded that no unequal marriages be contracted, — that noble marry with noble, freeman with freewoman, freedman with freedwoman, slave with slave; for if any one should marry out of his condition, he is punished with death. A criminal leniency towards crimes committed against slaves, and great severity towards crimes committed by that unfortunate class, characterize more or less all the German codes. By the Lex

Saxonum, the mulct for the murder of a noble was 1440 sols to the kindred, besides a fine to the State ; for that of a freedman, 120 ; for that of a slave by a noble, 36 ; but by a freedman an oath of compurgation sufficed. .

The perpetual wars in which these nations were engaged, greatly increased the number of slaves. The Goth, the Burgundian, or the Frank, who returned from a successful expedition, dragged after him a long train of sheep, of oxen, and of human captives, whom he treated with the same brutal contempt. The youths of an elegant form were set apart for the domestic service ; a doubtful situation, which alternately exposed them to the favorable or cruel impulse of passion. The useful smiths, carpenters, cooks, gardeners, etc. employed their skill for the benefit of their masters. But the Roman captives, who were destitute of art. but capable of labor, were condemned, without regard to their former condition, to tend the cattle, and cultivate the lands of the barbarians. The number of the hereditary bondsmen, who were attached to the Gallic estates, was continually increased by new supplies. When the masters gave their daughters in marriage, a train of useful servants, chained on the wagons to prevent their escape, was sent as a nuptial present into a distant country. The Roman laws protected the liberty of each citizen against the rash effects of his own distress or despair. But the subjects of the Merovingian kings might alienate their personal freedom.\* From the reign of Clovis, during five successive centuries, the laws and manners of Gaul uniformly tended to promote the increase and to confirm the duration of personal servitude.

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\* "Licentiam habeatis mihi qualemcumque volueritis disciplinam ponere ; vel venundare, aut quod vobis placuerit de me facere."

In a later age, and during the prevalence of the feudal system, the lower class of the population may be considered under three divisions. 1. *Freemen*, distinguished among the writers of the Middle Ages as *Arimanni*, *Conditionales*, *Originarii*, *Tributales*, etc. These persons possessed some small allodial property of their own, and, besides that, cultivated some farm belonging to their more wealthy neighbors, for which they paid a fixed rent, and likewise bound themselves to perform several small services. These were properly free persons; yet such was the spirit of oppression cherished by the great landholders, that many freemen in despair renounced their liberty, and voluntarily surrendered themselves as slaves to their powerful masters. This they did in order that their masters might become more immediately interested to afford them protection, together with the means of subsisting themselves and their families. It was still more common for freemen to surrender their liberty to bishops or abbots, that they might partake of the security which the vassals and slaves of monasteries and churches enjoyed.

2. *Villani*. They were likewise *adscripti glebæ* or *villæ*, from which they derived their name. They differed from slaves in that they paid a fixed rent to their master for the land which they cultivated, and, after paying that, all the fruits of their labor and industry belonged to themselves in property. They were, however, precluded from selling the lands on which they dwelt. Their persons were bound, and their masters might reclaim them, at any time, in a court of law, if they strayed. In England, at least from the reign of Henry II., the *villeins* were incapable of holding property, and destitute of redress, except against the most outrageous injuries. Their tenure bound them to what were called *villein-services*, such as the felling of timber,

the carrying of manure, and the repairing of roads. But by the customs of France and Germany, persons in this abject state seem to have been serfs, and distinguished from villeins, who were only bound to fixed payments and duties.\*

3. *Servi*. The masters of slaves had absolute power over their persons, and could inflict punishment when they pleased, without the intervention of a judge. They possessed this dangerous right, not only in the more early periods, when their manners were fierce, but it continued as late as the twelfth century. Even after this jurisdiction of masters came to be restrained, the life of a slave was deemed to be of so little value, that a very slight compensation atoned for taking it away. In cases where culprits who were freemen were punished by fine, slaves were punished corporeally. Slaves might be put to the rack on very slight occasions. During several centuries after the barbarous nations embraced Christianity, slaves who lived together as husband and wife were not joined together by any religious ceremony, and did not receive the nuptial benediction from a priest. When this connection came to be considered as lawful marriage, the slaves were not permitted to marry without the consent of their masters; and such as ventured to do so, without obtaining this consent, were punished with great severity, and sometimes were put to death. Afterwards, such delinquents were subjected only to a fine. All the children of slaves were in the same condition with their parents, and became the property of their masters. Slaves

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\* See Ducange on the words *Villanus*, *Servus*, *Obnoxatio*. Also Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Vol. I. p. 121, and a note in Vol. I. of Robertson's *Charles V.*

were so entirely the property of their master, that he could sell them at pleasure. While domestic slavery continued, property in a slave was sold in the same manner precisely in which property in any other movable was sold. Afterwards, slaves became *adscripti glebæ*, and were conveyed by sale, together with the farm or estate to which they belonged. Slaves had a title to nothing but subsistence and clothes from their master. If they had any *peculium*, or fixed allowance for their subsistence, they had no right of property in what they saved out of that. All which they accumulated belonged to their master. Slaves were distinguished from freemen by a peculiar dress. Among all the barbarous nations long hair was a mark of dignity and freedom. Slaves were for that reason obliged to shave their heads, and thus they were constantly reminded of their own inferiority. For the same reason, it was enacted in the laws of almost all the nations of Europe, that no slave should be admitted to give evidence against a freeman in a court of justice.\*

When charters of liberty or manumission were granted to persons in servitude, they contained four concessions corresponding with the four capital grievances to which men in

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\* Ducange, under the word *Servus*, mentions, among others, the following classes of slaves: Of the field; *beneficarii*; attached to the soil, *adscripti glebæ*; *censuales servi civitatis*, public slaves; *servi comitum*; *consuetudinarii*, a species of serfs; *ecclesiastici*, belonging to the Church; *fiscales*, connected with the royal treasury; *fugitivi*; *servi fundorum*; *gregarii*; *massari*, a species of serfs; *ministeriales*, domestics employed in and about the house, of whom twenty classes are enumerated; *palatii*; *servi pœnæ*; *stipendiarii*; *testamentales*; *tributarii*; *triduan*, who served three days for themselves, and three for their masters; *vicarii*, who performed in the country-seats duties for their masters, etc.

bondage are subject:—1. The right of disposing of their persons by sale or grant was relinquished. 2. Power was given to them of conveying their property and effects by will or any other legal deed. Or if they happened to die intestate, it was provided that their property should go to their lawful heirs, in the same manner as the property of other persons. 3. The services and taxes which they owed to their superior, which had been previously arbitrary and imposed at pleasure, were precisely ascertained. 4. They were allowed the privilege of marrying according to their own inclination. Many circumstances combined to effect this deliverance for the slaves. The spirit and precepts of the Christian religion were of great efficacy. Christians became so sensible of the inconsistency of their conduct with their professions, that to set a slave free was deemed an act of highly meritorious piety. “The humane spirit of the Christian religion,” says Dr. Robertson, “struggled long with the maxims and customs of the world, and contributed more than any other circumstance to introduce the practice of manumission.”\* A great part of the charters of manumission previously to the reign of Louis X. were granted “*pro amore Dei, pro remedio animæ, et pro mercede animæ.*” The formality of manumission was executed in church, as a religious solemnity. The person to be set free was led

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\* When Pope Gregory, towards the end of the sixth century, granted liberty to some of his slaves, he introduces this reason for it: “*Cum Redemptor noster, totius conditor nature, ad hoc propitiatus humanam carnem voluerit assumere, ut divinitatis sue gratia, dirempto (quo tenebatur captivus) vineulo, pristinae nos restitueret libertati; salubriter agitur, si homines, quos ab initio liberos natura protulit; et jus gentium jugo substituit servitutis, in ea, qua nati fuerant, manumittentis beneficio, libertate reddantur.*”

round the great altar with a torch in his hand ; he took hold of the horns of the altar, and there the solemn words of conferring liberty were pronounced. Another method of obtaining liberty was by entering into holy orders, or taking the vow in a monastery. This was permitted for some time, but so many slaves escaped, by this means, out of the hands of their masters, that the practice was afterwards restrained, and at last prohibited by the laws of most of the nations of Europe. Princes, on the birth of a son, or other joyous event, enfranchised a certain number of slaves as a testimony of gratitude to God. There are several kinds of manumission published by Marculfus, and all of them are founded on religious considerations, in order to procure the favor of God, or to obtain the forgiveness of sins. Mistaken ideas concerning religion induced some persons to relinquish their liberty. The *oblats*, or voluntary slaves of churches or monasteries, were very numerous. Great, however, as the power of religion was, it does not appear that the enfranchisement of slaves was a very frequent practice while the feudal system maintained its ascendancy. The inferior order of men owed the recovery of their liberty in part to the decline of that aristocratical policy, which lodged the most extensive power in the hands of a few members of the society, and depressed all the rest. When Louis X. issued his ordinance, some slaves had been so long accustomed to servitude, that they refused to accept of the freedom which was offered to them. Long after the reign of Louis X., several of the ancient nobility continued to exercise dominion over their slaves. In some instances when the prædial slaves were declared to be freemen, they were still bound to perform certain services to their ancient masters, and were kept in a state different from other subjects,

being restricted either from purchasing land, or becoming members of a community within the precincts of the manor to which they formerly belonged.

Slavery seems to have existed among our English ancestors from the earliest times. The anecdote respecting the *Angli* found in Rome by Pope Gregory, is well known. The Anglo-Saxons, in their conquests, probably found, and certainly made, a great number of slaves. The posterity of these men inherited the lot of their fathers. Many free-born Saxons, on account of debt, want, or crime, lost their liberty. The enslavement of a freeman was performed before a competent number of witnesses. The unhappy man laid on the ground his sword and lance, the symbols of the free; took up the bill and the goad, the implements of slavery; and, falling on his knees, placed his head, in token of submission, under the hands of his master. In the more ancient laws, we find various classes of slaves. The most numerous class were the *villani*. All were, however, forbidden to carry arms, were subjected to ignominious punishments, and might be branded and whipped according to law.\* In the charter, by which one Harold of Buckenhale gives his manor of Spalding to the Abbey of Croyland, he enumerates among its appendages, Colgrin his bailiff, Harding his smith, Lefstan his carpenter, Elstan his fisherman, Osmund his miller, and nine others, who were probably husbandmen; and these, with their wives and children, their

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\* In the reign of Athelstan, a man-thief was ordered to be stoned to death by twenty of his fellows, each of whom was punished with three whippings, if he failed thrice to hit the culprit. A woman-thief was burned by eighty women-slaves, each of whom brought three billets of wood to the execution. If either failed, she was likewise whipped.



goods and chattels, and the cottages in which they lived, he transfers in perpetual possession to the Abbey. The sale and purchase of slaves prevailed during the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period. The toll in the market of Lewes was one penny for the sale of an ox, four pennies for that of a slave. On the importation of foreign slaves no impediment had ever been imposed. The export of native slaves was forbidden under severe penalties. But habit and avarice had taught the Northumbrians to bid defiance to all the efforts of the legislature. They even carried off their relations, and sold them as slaves in the ports of the Continent. The men of Bristol were the last to abandon this traffic. Their agents travelled into every part of the country; they were instructed to give the highest price for females in a state of pregnancy; and the slave-ships regularly sailed from that port to Ireland, where they were secure of a ready and profitable market. At last, Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, visited Bristol several years successively, resided for months in the neighborhood, and preached every Sunday against the barbarity and irreligion of the slave-dealers. The merchants were convinced by his reasons, and in their guild solemnly bound themselves to renounce the trade. The perjury of one of the members was punished with the loss of his eyes. The influence of religion considerably mitigated the hardships of the slaves. The bishop was the appointed protector of the slaves in his diocese. The masters were frequently admonished, that slaves and freemen were of equal value in the eyes of the Almighty; that all had been redeemed at the same price; and that the master would be judged with the same rigor which he had exercised towards his dependents. The prospect of obtaining their freedom was a powerful stimulus to their industry and good

behavior. When the celebrated Wilfred had received from Edelevaleh, king of Sussex, the donation of the isles of Selsey, with two hundred and fifty slaves, the bishop instructed them in the Christian faith, baptized them, and immediately made them free. In most of the wills which are still extant, we meet with directions for granting liberty to a certain number of slaves, especially such as had been reduced to slavery by the *wite theow*, a judicial sentence. Their manumission, to be legal, was to be performed in the market, in the court of the hundred, or in the church.

In the abstract of the population of England in the Domesday Book, at the close of the reign of William the Conqueror, the whole population is stated at 283,242, of which the *servi* are 25,156; *ancillæ*, 467; *bordarii*, 82,119; *villani*, 108,407; total, 216,149; leaving for the remaining classes, 67,093. The *servi* of the Norman period, says Bishop Kennett, might be the pure *villani*, and *villani in gross*, who without any determined tenure of land were, at the arbitrary pleasure of the lord, appointed to servile works, and received their wages and maintenance at the discretion of their lord. We have the authority of Dracton for asserting that, however unhappy the condition of the *servi* was in other respects, yet their lives and limbs were under the protection of the laws; so that if the master killed his bondman, he was subject to the same punishment as if he had killed any other person. The form of emancipation of the *servi* is minutely described in the laws of the Conqueror. The *ancillæ* were female slaves under circumstances nearly similar to the *servi*. Their chastity was in some measure protected by law. The *bordarii* were distinct from the *servi* and *villani*, and seem to be those of a less servile condition, who had a bord or cottage with a small parcel of

land, on condition that they should supply the master with eggs, poultry, etc., as very necessary for his *board* and entertainment. Brady says, "they were drudges and performed vile services, which were reserved by the lord upon a poor little house, and a small parcel of land." \* The *villani* have already been described.

There seems to have been no general law for the emancipation of slaves in the statute-book of England. Though the genius of the English constitution favored personal liberty, yet servitude continued long in England, in particular places. In the year 1514, we find a charter of Henry VIII., enfranchising two slaves belonging to one of his manors. As late as 1547, there is a commission from Elizabeth with respect to the manumission of certain slaves belonging to her.

In Italy, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the number of slaves began to decrease. Early in the fifteenth century, a writer quoted by Muratori speaks of them as no longer existing. The greater part of the peasants in some countries of Germany had acquired their liberty before the end of the thirteenth century. In other parts, as well as in the northern and eastern portions of Europe, they remain in a sort of *villenage* to this day. In France, after innumerable particular instances of manumission had taken place, Louis Hutin, by a general edict in 1315, asserting that his kingdom is denominated the kingdom of the *Franks*, that he would have the fact correspond to the name, emancipates all persons in the royal domains upon paying a just composition, as an example for other lords possessing *villeins* to follow. Philip

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\* See General Introduction to the Doomsday Book, by Sir Henry Ellis, principal Librarian of the British Museum, 2 vols., 1833.

the Long renewed the same edict three years afterwards, a proof that the edict of Louis had not been carried into execution. Prædial servitude was not abolished in all parts of France till the Revolution. In 1615, the *Tiers Etat* prayed the king to cause all serfs to be enfranchised, on paying a composition; but this was not complied with, and they continued to exist in many provinces. Throughout almost the whole jurisdiction of the parliament of Besançon, the peasants were attached to the soil, not being capable of leaving it without the lord's consent; in some places he even inherited their goods, in exclusion of their kindred. Voltaire mentions an instance of his interfering in behalf of a few wretched slaves of Franche Compté. About the middle of the fifteenth century, some Catalonian serfs, who had escaped into France, being claimed by their lords, the parliament of Toulouse declared that every man who entered the kingdom, *encriant France*, should be free.

On a review of the subject of slavery during the period in question, we find:—

1. That Christianity had done much to abolish slavery, as it existed in the Roman Empire in the time of Constantine and his more immediate successors. The spirit of the Christian religion effected a glorious triumph in almost every portion of the imperial dominions. There was no instantaneous abandonment of the system of servitude. There was no royal edict which crushed the thing at once. But its contrariety to the precepts of the New Testament was gradually seen. Clergymen vindicated the rights of the oppressed. The codes of slave law were ameliorated, till finally the rescripts of Justinian nearly completed the salutary reform.

2. During the last years of the Roman Empire an unfortunate change was going on, which was destined once more to revive the system. The *middle class* in society was dwindling away. A few distinguished families swallowed up the moderate landholders, or drove them out of the country. A large class of hungry and spiritless dependents, with nothing of *Roman* but the name, crowded the towns and country-seats. The vices of the upper class rapidly thinned their ranks, till most of the old noble families became extinct. The barbarous lords then rushed in, finding scarcely any thing to obstruct their progress. The abject Roman multitude became slaves in form, as they had been for some time in spirit. The Goth and Vandal threw their chains on the descendants of Cincinnatus and Brutus, and sent them to work in their kitchens and farm-yards. The children of the men from whom Scipio sprung became the scavengers and scullions of Visigoths and Huns. The way had been prepared by the destruction of the middle class, — a class which contains the bone and muscle of any community in which it exists. A foundation was thus laid for the slavery of the Middle Ages.

3. In the darkness and confusion which reigned from the fourth to the twelfth century, we might expect that such an institution as slavery would flourish. It was in a sense suited to the times. Its undistinguished and forgotten lot was in some cases, no doubt, a real blessing to individuals, though on general principles, and as a system, it is worthy of nothing but execration. Partial benefits accompanied the feudal system, though in its essential features no wise man could commend it.

4. In the abolition of the servitude of the Middle Ages, Christianity again performed a work of mercy. When-

ever her voice could be heard, the poor *villain* was not forgotten. All contemporary and subsequent history conspires to attribute the gradual abolition of the system to her beneficent but effectual aid.

5. The Northern nations of Europe seem always to have possessed a sense of individual freedom, of personal rights, which, when enlightened and directed by Christianity, became a powerful antagonist force to slavery. The spirit which broke out at Runnymede, at London in 1688, at Philadelphia in 1776, was nurtured in its infancy in the woods of Sweden, and in the marshes of Denmark.

6. The contemporaneous revival of learning must come in for its share in the abolition of slavery. Xenophon and Cicero and Lucan could not be perused without exerting a beneficial influence in ameliorating the asperity of manners, in inspiring a love for freedom, and a tender sympathy towards the oppressed.

7. The same effect must be attributed to the establishment of large towns and cities. This circumstance increased the demand for labor. Various classes of artisans sprung into existence. Wherever ingenuity and skill were required, free labor was in demand. Slavery vanished before the spirit of competition. Labor became honorable. The value of land was augmented. A free population followed in the train.

NOTE.—The original authorities which we have consulted on this subject are the Glossarium of Ducange, on the words *Scrvus*, *Villanus*, *Tributales*, *Originarii*, *Forismaritagium*, *Arimanni*, *Oblati*, *Manumissio*, etc., in 6 vols. folio; Heineccius, in 8 vols. quarto; Muratori's Antiquities of Italy, in 6 vols. folio; works of De Malby, in French, 12 vols. octavo. These works are in the Boston Athenæum, and are an invaluable

storehouse of materials. Dr. Robertson has two very valuable notes on the subject in the first volume of his *History of Charles V.* See also Hallam's *Middle Ages*; Brodie's *British Empire*; the first volume of Lingard's *History of England*; Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*; Dunham's *Germanic Empire*; Sismondi's *Italian Republics*; Montesquieu; Blackstone's *Commentaries*; Grotius *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, etc.