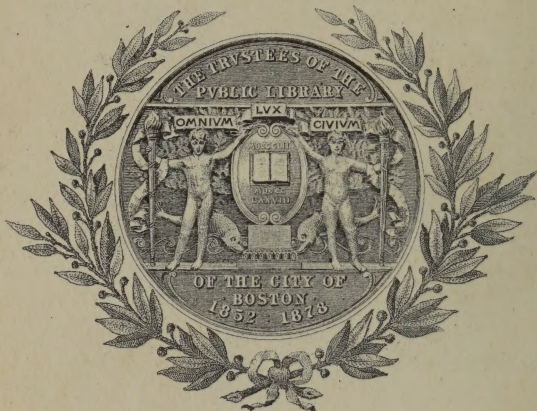




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THE  
INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY,

4265.543

VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF

DIVINE TRUTH.

A LECTURE DELIVERED IN THE CITY HALL, PORTLAND, SUNDAY EVENING,  
MARCH 17, 1861.

BY WILLIAM B. HAYDEN.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

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# LECTURE.

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“And Jesus answering, said unto them, Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.”—Mark, xii. 17.

For several months we have been passing through a political crisis that will form a memorable era in our annals. Little doubt can be entertained that it will have an important influence on our future as a people, and on the destiny of our government. The permanency of our institutions has been threatened. The nation’s heart has been stirred to its core; and some of the strongest feelings, both of antagonism and fraternity, have been called into exercise. No man, and especially, no Christian man, who loves his country could stand by and look on altogether unmoved.

In the extraordinary character of this event, will be found my apology, if apology be needed, for departing, for once, from an otherwise uniform course of avoiding the discussion of such topics in the pulpit, and for a single hour regarding the subject from a moral point of view.

And as men’s minds now, more than usual, are directed to civil matters, a favorable opportunity is presented to contemplate some of our duties as members of the commonwealth, to view these relations as seen in some degree of spiritual light, and to avail ourselves of the doctrines of the church alike to aid us in the formation of correct opinions and in shaping our conduct aright.

The subject of *Slavery* comes up to be viewed—the central irritating point in the present contest, and the one great problem which perhaps the issues of this crisis are destined to solve.

In the brief remarks we have to offer, it is proposed to consider this subject in the light of a few general principles, and of a few broad facts, simple, and manifest to all.

1. The first truth I desire to call attention to is that, *God leads different communities in different ways.*

The meaning of this proposition may become more apparent as we proceed.

Take the map of the world and cast your eyes over it for a moment. There is China and here is Great Britain; here is New England, and there is Patagonia; and there are Germany and Turkey; India and France; Russia and Africa. What difference of character! and with what diversity of institutions do we find the nations endowed! One people has Buddhism for its religion; another, Brahminism; a third, Mohammedanism; a fourth is immersed in Fetishism; while the light of Christianity sheds its rays in widely differing degrees (of obscurity or of brilliancy) over the more civilized portions of the globe.

Then look at their governments. One people enjoys an extreme of freedom verging on lawless license; another willingly submits to the restraints of constitutional order in a republic or a limited monarchy; over a fourth a single autocrat reigns supreme; a fifth bows its head to a despotism still more rigid and irresponsible; while others yet, deprived of all political existence, are doomed to a helpless and degrading bondage.

And if we inspect these communities a little more closely we shall find the social varieties equally great. The structure of society differs in every one of them; as do also manners and customs, intellectual culture and moral development; as well as occupations and natural products.

And yet the Divine Providence is over all these as much as it is over us ; and is leading them in their ways as truly as it is leading us in ours. The Being who is mercy itself and wisdom itself, who has all power in heaven and on earth, whose Hands touch the very springs of all action, and who minutely superintends every movement in the world's affairs,— suffers all these differences to exist, and, to a superficial observation, seems in no haste to remove them. He gave the Word of God to the Jew, but withheld it from the gentile ; and now sends the gospel to the Englishman, while keeping it from the Turk, and shutting it out of Japan. Instead of attaching the steam car of (some modern ideas of) progress to the train of political and social reform, He allows it to drag its slow length along through the ages retarded by the heavy brakes of a stiff and unyielding conservatism.

Why is it that our Heavenly Father treats his children, seemingly, with such different degrees of His favor ?

A complete answer is found to this question in some of the simplest truths of the Christian Religion. The Lord regards eternal, and not temporal ends in all the ways of His Providence. Hence, not the worldly elevation, but the spiritual salvation of the nations is the first object to which His operations are directed.

The final happiness or true state of man consists in willing conformity to the laws of Divine Truth. Every disorder we witness comes from a want of such conformity. And the problem of the world's history is to bring men into this conformity. First, their spiritual regeneration is to be wrought out ; and, secondly, that regeneration is to be wrought out while they are in perfect moral freedom.

Now, in this double proposition just stated, we have the key which unlocks all the apparent mysteries in the divine providences, and in the divine permissions. Every spiritual good comes to man through willing obedience to revealed

heavenly truth, and through no other medium. Hence God's revelations of his truth are tempered to men's states. He at no one time reveals the whole, but in each age, and to each people, reveals just so much as the aggregate mind of that age or that people can begin to conform to in freedom. Europe has the Gospel given to it, because many minds in Europe have reached such a degree of development as to be willing to acknowledge its light, and yields a degree of obedience to its precepts. And through them it can be made operative of benefit to the whole. But the moral will of China is too weak to impose upon itself the restraints required by the purity of its doctrines. They could not conform in freedom. The presence of so much light, while they continued to sin against it, would only involve them in so much the greater condemnation; and so it is mercifully withheld by their Heavenly Father. Each people has a Religion allowed it adapted to its state. While the religion allowed is the one so fitted to their genius as to insure the highest degree of spiritual life they are morally capable of attaining.

And so it is with every other good thing under heaven: good government, and bodily freedom, among the rest. They are given as soon as a wise use can be made of them, tending to spiritual regeneration; but mercifully withheld from every people whose unrestrained passions would abuse them, turning them from a blessing into a curse.

We, in our human superficiality, looking on the outside of things, and perceiving the *hardships* under which so much of humanity is struggling, have our benevolent feelings powerfully stirred, and at once set about some reform. We are too apt to charge the whole difficulty to certain external conditions, or to some specific outward institution. And we are liable, too, to fall into the fallacy of mistaking the *hardships* under which a people groan for real evils.

But the Lord, and the angels who work with Him in re-

forming and elevating men, looking on the inward states, and not alone on the outward conditions, see better than we do where the whole difficulty lies. The *real evil* consists in the wrong dispositions within, while the outward conditions are only effects, the necessary results of the degradation within. Hence as viewed in spiritual light, the outward hardships, so far as divinely permitted, are good things, and not evils. They are disciplinary, and useful inflictions, tending to bring about the very results Divine Providence is aiming at.

As soon as through these preliminary disciplines, the Lord can bring a people into a state for accepting and obeying a higher degree of truth, the truth finds them out. It comes to them, sometimes from above, sometimes from the Church established elsewhere, sometimes from the Church among themselves. And as they begin to obey it, their condition begins to change; better institutions are given, more freedom is enjoyed. Only so comes the true reform.

To illustrate more plainly the meaning and application of some of these abstract statements, take one or two familiar instances. There is the freedom of the press, which we regard as so inestimable a blessing, and for the enjoyment of which we all should be willing to sacrifice so much. But the great French nation, a people whom we so highly respect, has for many years past been, by its government, deprived of this boon; while the French Emperor has been loudly denounced for the restriction, on this side of the Atlantic. We know not, of course, the selfishness or unselfishness of the motive which prompted this line of policy, nor can we presume to dogmatize as to the precise degree of fitness that nation possesses for the enjoyment of such privileges. But we have no doubt that if the whole truth were known it would be seen that, if all restriction were taken off, and as much freedom given as is allowed with us, his administration would be destroyed in a

few months, and that no stable government could long survive; so great would be the excitement and disorder which unprincipled men playing upon the passions and prejudices of the multitude might succeed to produce in that community.

The *elective franchise* is another highly prized privilege, which with us is universally extended, and which would not be relinquished by us without the utmost reluctance on the part of the popular mind. But suppose this system were transferred to the empire of Russia, and the masses of her serfs endowed with it to the same extent as the masses of New England. We suppose it will be generally conceded that the experiment would be extremely hazardous; the probability being that it would be decidedly detrimental, leading to insubordination and revolution, inaugurating a worse condition for all the interests of civil and moral progress than now exists under the despotism of the Czar.

Thus we see that the good or evil of certain institutions, and civil privileges, is not absolute, but relative; good here, but bad yonder.

The law of Divine Providence in this respect, so far as we are able to deduce it, seems to be that, as soon as one of these higher privileges will on the whole, produce more good than evil, the reform is allowed to take place; but when it would occasion more evil than good, it is withheld, and constantly deferred until the proper state has been prepared.

The Lord never *provides* evil, in any case, He only permits it, for the sake of the moral freedom of man and his subsequent regeneration; providing the limitations by which it is held in check, overruling it to useful results, contrary to the intent and beyond the knowledge of the evil doer. Nor is any bad condition of society, in any part of the world, permitted to exist but for the sake of preventing some greater evil;—out of sight to *human* eyes, perhaps, but in perfect view of the Divine.

We now hear much said about this 19th century, its light and its progress, its vast achievements and superior character, and there seems to be an impression that whatsoever is contrary to the spirit of this new age has no right any longer to exist. There is great and powerful truth in all this. But while we acknowledge the truth and act upon it, we must yet remember that although the 19th century is here, the other centuries have not altogether gone away. In many important respects they are with us still. The ages that are past all stand ranked around us to-day, in serried columns, one behind another, in the great amphitheatre of the nations; and it would require no very long or laborious journey for a man to reach any one of them he might choose. In Russia he might find one of the medieval christian ages, in Mexico, perhaps, another. In the Ottoman empire he could go back to a time before Christianity had dawned, or in the valley of the Hoang-ho might set himself down in the midst of a civilization whose date is earlier than the days of Moses. Scarcely a state through which humanity has passed, since sin set its mark upon our race, from the lowest savageism to the highest Christian culture, that does not find its living representatives to-day, full in our sight, somewhere on the earth's surface.

Now the dealings of the Divine Providence with these different classes of men have not changed, they are the same with these men now, that they were with the similar classes in the ages that are gone.

We have brought into view the panorama thus briefly presented, not with a design to palliate any great evil or wrong, to militate against genuine ideas of progress, nor to abate in the least an honest and true ardor in the great cause of real reform. But these facts have been suggested as a preface, to enable us to contemplate the subject before us in its connections, to see things as they really are, viewing them in their relations to each other; to escape exaggeration, and to tone

down those feelings of special hostility which naturally arise when some single disorder becomes the sole object of sight.

It has been well said, by a distinguished philosopher, that a grain of sand held close to the eye may be made to shut out of view the whole universe beyond ; and likewise a single object of thought kept continually before the mind becomes exaggerated in its proportions, shutting from view other facts and considerations equally true and equally important.

We are now prepared to devote a few moments to the subject of Slavery. Much has been written to show that the Bible approves of slavery ; and as much perhaps to prove that it does not, but rather condemns it, in its whole tone and spirit. Perhaps there is not so much real difference of opinion in these writers as would appear from the opposite sides they take in this controversy : but we have not seen any thing in print which has altogether satisfied us on this point. The treatises wear too much a partizan aspect. Either everything is made to tell in favor, or else everything is made to go against the system.

The character of the servitude established among the Israelites has been much discussed.

Let us pause a moment and take a glance at that system, as it stands exhibited in the laws Divinely given through Moses.

First, a foreign slave trade, which should be made the instrument of subjugating a people not already enslaved is peremptorily forbidden. "And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him; or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." (Ez. 21, 16). There was, however, a species of foreign trade of this kind which the Jews were permitted to have. They were allowed to purchase such as were already in bondage, of their heathen neighbors. And they were allowed also to buy of their parents the children of heathen sojourning among them, who were in the habit of selling their offspring into servitude. This statute is found in Levit. 25,



44—46. “Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen forever.”

The Divine Truth, in the process of its revelation, is graded to man's capacity to bear. As much restraint is thrown around the self-will of a people as can be done, and still leave them in the freedom of moral action. And foreseeing that,—from the character of the times in which they lived, the circumstances by which they were surrounded, and their own native dispositions,—they *would have slavery*, the system was allowed them; while it was hemmed round and restrained by some very important enactments; which were provisions of goodness and benefit, both to the servile and to the governing class. For instance, the statute that has just been read,—while it permits the *purchase* of slaves is a provision of *mercy* to both parties concerned. Left to *themselves*, the Israelites would have enslaved *each other*, making merchandise of their own brethren, as did the nations around them, and as they themselves did to a limited extent and for short periods. But this statute rescued the *Hebrew* from *perpetual* service, substituting in his stead a more degraded and abject race. On the other hand, it transferred the *slave* (so bought) from the more intolerable rigors of a *heathen* bondage, where he would be left to the unrestrained oppressions of the master, to one of a milder type, where were thrown round him innumerable social privileges, together with all the safeguards of wise and beneficent law.

Under the Jewish code, (Ex. 21, 20), the servant was pro-

tected, not only as to life and limb, but also from excessive punishment. For if the master destroyed an eye, or so much as smote out a tooth, the bond servant was allowed his or her freedom. (Ex. 21, 26-7 .). The virtue of the *female* slave was protected against the lust of the master : and in cases where the statute was violated, he was obliged either to take her to be his wife, or to let her go forth free ; he was no longer allowed to make merchandise of her. (Deut. 21, 14.) By this act, as will be perceived, her offspring of course became free.

In addition to these restrictions, their heathen bond men were entitled to all the privileges of the Jewish church. They were instructed in what the Jews knew about religion. They were exempted from labor on the Sabbath, according to the commandment ; they enjoyed the respite granted to the whole population during the numerous national festivals, amounting to nearly one-fourth, some authorities say one-third, of the time ; and they were permitted to eat of the passover with the rest of the family. In short, they were throughout regarded as persons, and protected as persons, and never treated merely as property, or things. The theory of the law was that they were *persons held to service*. It was their *labor* which belonged to their masters, but not their *persons*. It was a property similar to that which the laws of the State of Maine, and we presume of all the free States, give to every parent in the services of his children before they are legally of age, and which subjected them to the same civil disabilities. In other words, under the Mosaic system, the heathen servant was simply a legal *minor*, or apprentice, all the days of his life.

Such was the property that was guarded by the Jewish law, and recognized in the tenth commandment of the decalogue, where we are told not to covet our neighbor's man-servant or his maid servant, or any thing that is his.

Again:—The Israelites had what may be called a *fugitive slave law*. That is, they were bound to return to each other the servants running from their masters, or fleeing from service, as they were bound to return any other kind of property straying or lost. This regulation extended throughout all the tribes, from Dan to Beersheba: as with us, through all the States of the Union. The runaway could be reclaimed as far as the jurisdiction of the central government extended. (Deut. 22, 3; I. Sam. 30, 15; I. Kings, 2, 38, 39, 40, 43.)

On the other hand, they were prohibited from returning a slave to his master in a foreign country. If a runaway, escaping from heathen bondage in any of the nations round about them, sought refuge within their borders, his rendition was not allowed, they were to extend to him the full protection of their laws. Even as with us, a slave escaping into Canada is not given up by the British government; nor should *we* return one who had succeeded in coming to us from Brazil, or Cuba, or any other foreign jurisdiction. This law is addressed to the nation as a whole, and is found in Deut. 23, 15, 16. “Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in the place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.” Some have supposed, that at the year of Jubilee, *all* servants among the Jews were released from service; but this appears to be a mistake. That law, we believe, operated in favor of only the *Hebrew* servants, relieving them from any unexpired portion of their term of six years. While to the *heathen* slave held to Jewish service, no year of Jubilee ever came; his children descended to their children as a perpetual inheritance.

We believe that the precepts of the Bible and the operations of Providence have for their Author one and the same Divine Being, and that the two will be found to flow together in the

utmost harmony and consistency ; that both concur in pointing out to us the same mode of treatment in relation to the subject of slavery. And as we read them, neither of them counsel us to lay violent hands on the institution itself. They concur in tolerating it. Divine Revelation nowhere speaks of servitude, or of the simple relation of master and servant, as objectionable, as out of order, or as a relation necessarily injurious either to the governing or to the servile race. On the contrary, both Scripture and Providence recognize the system as having a certain function to fulfil in the upward movement of the races.

But the moment the divine precepts fall upon it they begin to modify it in every one of its relations. They denounce every sin whatsoever, and of course forbid every wrong that may be sought to be committed under the system. Would a man, taking advantage of his position of master, make use of his authority to oppress his inferiors, all the provisions of the law are against him. He is bound to keep every one of the commandments, and in keeping them he would be obliged to refrain from every evil that, in other cases, is perpetrated in connection with the system. He could not indulge in cruelty, nor punish with great severity, nor make merchandise of his own children by a slave mother. The whole tendency of the Bible teachings is to melt away, one after another, every unhallowed feature, until the relation is reduced to one simple function ; for which and for which alone it seems designed in the Divine economy of history ; that is, to teach a weak, ignorant and indolent people, the lessons of obedience and useful work, and all the other lessons necessary to its social elevation. When it fails to do this,—when it ceases to be a medium of elevating the servile race,—of endowing them with a better civilization and reducing them to a better moral order, then it is out of its place ; it is no longer doing the work Providence designs for it, and all the Divine laws are against it.

But look at it a moment, supposing it were existing anywhere in the form, and under all the conditions and regulations which these Precepts enjoin. We should then behold it with all its evils removed. Instead of a wicked and oppressive master, cruelly driving his dependents about as mere slaves, and working them with rigor solely for his own benefit, we should have a patriarchal relation, in which the master, while claiming obedience and service, would be nothing more than the legal guardian and instructor of weak and inferior, but yet of attached and loyal, dependents. Care, restraint, protection and instruction would be bestowed by the wise and the strong upon the ignorant and the weak, while willing service and affectionate obedience would come to be yielded on the part of the other.

Such we believe to have been the relation that existed between Abraham and his dependents;—those “servants,” some of whom were “born in his own house,” while others of them had been “bought with his money.” Now this, so far from being a wicked relation, we can on the other hand conceive of its being, under some circumstances, even now, a good one. Where, for instance, it were made the instrument of lifting a race like the African, out of ignorance and barbarism and indolence, into some knowledge, and civilization, and moral order, and habits of industry. It might become, in right hands, one of the mightiest civiliziers ever known; requiring on the part of the master, however, firm principle, and the highest moral rectitude. For the *benefit of the inferior race* must needs be constantly one of his main purposes. Such a system could not properly be called *slavery*, nor even *bondage*, in any bad sense, but rather a legal and beneficent tutelage. The preparation for freedom would be continually going on; and when the time should arrive for the legal relation to cease, complete emancipation would be an easy process. For the master, having no property in the person of his ser-

vant, having bestowed upon him about as many benefits as his labor was worth, would be willing to act wisely and do what was best; while the servant on his part having benefited by his kindly training, would be prepared to take upon himself all the functions of manhood, and to make a good use of his freedom.

It has been well said by another, that, when the Lord purposes to do any given thing, He first makes the most thorough preparation for it, and when such preparation has been made, then the specific change seems to come almost as a matter of course. The suggestion, we think, is one that is calculated to lead us to wise counsels in every department of important action.

If it should so happen, that for some urgent reason, an *iceberg* were to be destroyed, in some portion of the northern seas, some men, especially if they were only partially instructed men, might, in the ardor of their enterprize, think it the best method to assail it at once where it lay; to set upon it by main force, with hammers and pick axes, and crow bars, and other similar weapons of offence, with a view of knocking it to pieces with the utmost possible despatch. And they might succeed in cleaving off many projecting portions, scattering their shining fragments about them. But we know that if the cold did not abate, their labor would be all in vain; the fragments so chipped off would remain as solid as before, while the ice in the main mass would in the meanwhile continue to make. While the Divine method of destroying an iceberg, as that method operates in nature, is to treat it by a gentler process; to float it away to a milder clime and a softer air; to bear it down on the slow currents of the ocean, until its sides are bathed in the warm waters of the gulf stream, while on its domes and roof are poured the gentle rays of a summer's sun. And then, in no long time, we shall behold the huge obstacle gradually betake itself away from human

sight, as if by an inward law and of its own accord. It makes no resistance ; but spire after spire, and turret after turret, abdicates its power and descends from its throne, as if moved thereto by a consenting will of its own, until, without noise, without confusion, without untoward disturbance of any kind, the whole mass has disappeared from view ; and in a little while we shall seek for any traces of it in vain.

Similar to this, we believe, is the Lord's method of removing from any community, when His precepts are obeyed, a state or condition of society belonging to a past age, and which therefore, in His Providence, is to give place to a higher. Not by demolition, from without, but rather through regeneration from within, by the silent influences of His love and truth. To abolish simply an *institution* suddenly does not remove the evil state in which the wrongs of an institution originate ; it is the state of mind and heart and life that need modification and softening first, and as soon as this is effected all needed reforms follow as a matter of course.

From this principle flows the treatment which the system of slavery received at the hands of the writers of the New Testament. As is well known, the Christian Religion was first promulgated in a slave-holding community. The gospel encountered the institution the moment it went beyond the borders of Judea, and very probably before. And for three hundred years the primitive churches gathered into their folds, indiscriminately, masters and slaves, in the same congregation, wherever they went. And while the early church was loud against all the great national sins of the Græco-Roman world,—its idolatry and paganism, its theatres and games,—no word was raised against the institution of slavery. But when questioned in relation to it, the uniform advice of the Apostles was obedience and acquiescence on the part of the servant, and leniency and Christian kindness on the part of the master. Listen to what Paul says in the seventh chapter of

the first Epistle to the Corinthians. We read it in the new, revised translation of Conybeare and Howson.

“Only let each man walk in the same path which God has allotted to him, wherein the Lord has called him. This rule I give in all the churches. Thus,—if any man, when he was called, bore the mark of circumcision, let him not efface it; if any man was uncircumcised at the time of his calling, let him not receive circumcision. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but obedience to the commandments of God. Let each abide in the condition wherein he was called. Wast thou in slavery at the time of thy calling? Care not for it. Nay,—though thou have power to gain thy freedom, rather make use of thy condition. For the slave who has been called in the Lord is the Lord’s freedman; and so also, the freeman who has been called, is Christ’s slave. He has bought you all; beware lest you make yourselves the slaves of man, [i. e. by a servile adherence to mere party leaders.\*] Brethren, in the state wherein he was called, let each abide with God.” (Vol. 2, pp. 46, 47.)

Similar is the instruction given in the five or six other places in the various epistles where the subject is treated. The language of the Bible, everywhere, seems to be, “Of what moment is it that you do endure hardships? All men endure hardships, each one according to his spiritual needs, in the view of Divine Providence, and some of the best of men even to martyrdom. Of what moment, then, are the varieties of condition which end with life here? These fleeting and transitory things are like a drop in a bucket, or as the small dust in the balance, in comparison with those eternal benefits which the infinite love of your Heavenly Father is working out for you, through these very means.”

\* Conybeare & Howson’s note:—“Alluding to their servile adherence to party leaders.” Compare 2 Cor. 11, 20.



Thus the Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ does not attack the legal relation of master and servant; it wages no war directly, with the system itself; but descending into it with the healing influences of its divine precepts and its heavenly love, melts out of it every abuse and every sinful practice, leaving the institution, thus renovated, to wear out according to the operation of great physical and economic laws, when, in the view of Providence, the state has been prepared, both in the minds of the governed and of the governing class, for it to disappear.

The truth is, that the system of *servitude* is not a sin, *absolutely*, as murder and theft and false witness are sins,—which are sins at all times and in all places, and are forbidden by the precepts of every religion under heaven; but it is a sin only *relatively*, according to the conditions of society by which a man is surrounded, and the degree of light in which he lives. It is one of the divine disciplines, having a function to perform in the historic renovation of the races, relatively good, where nothing else will meet the stern requirements of the case, and bad only where it has fulfilled its office or outlived its time. It may be carried on in such a way as to be exceedingly sinful; while it may be continued in, where it already exists, in such a way as to be not sinful. Originating, indeed, in the evil passions of men, but, overruled for good, and destined in the end to be wholly removed by the spirit and operation of Christian truth.

The one great lesson which God would teach all people, in every age, and in all conditions, is *obedience*; and it is for this that they are led in so many crooked ways and over so many rugged paths. While the human mind is undeveloped as to rationality or reasoning powers, and in a merely propensive or wilful state, *forced* obedience to outward regulations is its proper and wholesome regimen. By means of this imposed restraint, a ground is prepared in the individual for self-

restraint in after years. By being obliged to conform to outward rule in an unreasoning state, the mind is taught how to control itself and yield willing obedience when the rational perceptions are opened and reason assumes the sway. Hence it is the Divine provision that all men should be subject to this outward rule and government during the ages of childhood and youth; while the affectional nature is predominant, and the understanding and its powers only in the process of forming. Control over them is given to the parents, until such time as by the development of their rationality, they are endowed to act for themselves. This early lesson of subjugation seems absolutely necessary, for the eternal welfare of man; and is guarded by many and important divine sanctions. Obedience to parents is one of the commandments of the decalogue; and our Lord himself, as we read, remained, during his minority, subject to the parental authority of Joseph and Mary. And we read in the Prophet, that "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth."—[Lam. 3. 27.

Now it appears from all history, as well as from the Bible, as though God regarded the childhood of nations and of races, somewhat as he does the childhood of the individual, imposing upon them, in the orderings of His Providence, during their intellectual nonage, the restraints of an analogous subjection and authority. Nearly every people that we know of has passed under the yoke. Indeed, may we not say all? for is there any race or nation, which has arrived at any degree of development, or is capable of sustaining civilization, that has not at some period of its history, been subjected to bondage, serfdom or vassalage of some kind? Even the chosen people were left in Egypt for three hundred years before they were taken out. It seems to be the only discipline sharp enough to pierce through and break up the strata of savagism in the human breast, opening the soil for

the seeds of truth and order. Certain people have more docility of disposition and a greater native adaptation to it than others. Some few races, like those of our American Indians, that cannot be subjected to it, and therefore cannot be taught obedience, are hence almost incapable of civilization, and in all probability must in no long time, perish in their isolated barbarism. Bondage or annihilation, appears to be the dread alternative that is offered to every savage people as soon as it emerges from the shade, and plants its feet within the programme of universal history. Through the door of servitude or of subordination, may be opened to it a way for salvation and the highest culture, which, if missed, destruction only awaits it; thenceforward it must dissolve and disappear.

In the first ages the wicked passions of men are set off against each other. One brutal race, of superior mental energy, rules over another equally or more brutal, but less endowed with intellectual vigor. It is not needful that I draw a picture of slavery as it is practiced among heathen and barbarous nations; it would only be revolting to all our finer feelings, and is already sufficiently well understood; while it is altogether more grateful to our moral sentiments to dwell on the contemplation of those modifying influences which the light of Divine truth brings upon the system, the moment it is allowed to shine upon it.

To bring these teachings home, what, then, is our duty, as citizens of these Northern States, in view of the existence of slavery in the South? To *our* mind, the answer seems clear. In one sense, we are to let it alone; while in another, we may do much—very much for the benefit both of master and slave.

We are to let it alone in every place where we have not proper civil jurisdiction over it. If it be asked how far we ought to consider our civil jurisdiction to extend? I answer, *that is a question which does not belong to the moralist to*

*decide.* It is a legal point. In some sense, it is a question of fact;—a provision of constitutional law, which belongs to the civil plane. It is for the constitutional lawyers,—the statesmen and jurists,—or the legal tribunals of the country to decide, or for authorized conventions to arrange. And every man must form his own opinion on the subject, taking sides as facts and circumstances in his judgment determine. The only point, in this connection, on which the moralist is called upon to speak, is simply to say that in the settlement of the *legal* question there is involved no conscientious question or scruple as to the rightfulness or wrongfulness of slavery itself. That is a point which ought not to come in to determine its settlement. The main point for conscientious consideration here, is to decide exactly according to the facts of the case; to do simple justice on the civil plane; to give them precisely what the law allows them; no more, no less. First, render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and then unto God the things that are God's. We cannot, while refusing to abide by the truths of a lower order, turn round and cloak ourselves under the plea of conscience with respect to the truths of a higher and distinct order. The sacred Scripture nowhere recognizes the rightfulness or purity of such a conscience. We can never advance the cause of truth and justice, or of sound morality, by withholding, even from a bad man, any of his legal rights. The criminal at the bar of justice, charged with murder, and tried for his life, has his rights, which the law secures to him at every step of the process. And when he has been found guilty, they do not cease; the protecting arm of the law is around him still, protecting him from mob violence, as well as from any and every indignity or injury, except alone the single one which the law itself points out.

And so, too, slaveholding communities have their rights, or legal privileges and immunities, which we are all bound to respect; without reference to the sinfulness or unsinfulness of

the institution ; to respect, not merely as a matter of expediency, or state policy, but as a part of that general fealty and obedience which we all owe to the unchanging requirements of divine truth. For look a moment at the wide distance between the two provinces of action. Civil law, in its last resort, rests upon force. While the moral plane of action is one of free thought and reflection. There is a natural tendency in the human mind to disregard this distinction, and to run into the employment of force in cases where moral reasoning would be the only proper instrument. Men *have* sought, in times past, to propagate religious truth and moral reform, by the arm of the law, or civil power. Our Puritan ancestors had a strong infusion of this element in their composition. If they saw any one doing what they thought to be morally wrong, they felt an almost irresistible impulse to go and stop him by force. It was that which led to such acts as the persecution of the Quakers, that hung the witches at Salem, and placed the "Blue Laws" upon the statute books of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which provided among other things, against bonnets of too large a size, and clothing of an improper cut. Now we have inherited more or less of this tendency from our ancestors, and now and then it is apt to come out and show itself. But it is a wrong tendency, and one which we ought to restrain, and not indulge.

As we all acknowledge, it is not for one man to impose upon another *his* conscience as a rule of conduct ; how much less proper, then, would it be for one *community* to attempt to do this in relation to another ? Each people must be left to work out its own destiny, under divine providence, in freedom, according to reason.

The constitutional or legal question once settled, and the line between freedom and slavery distinctly drawn, the course of action on this subject seems quite clear. Once remanded to the *moral* plane, we have free air, a bright sunshine, and

an open sea. We then have ample room for the employment of as much energy as any of us will have to spare, in the cause of Christian civilization and moral reform. The South is to be approached through the channels of rational conviction. Facts and arguments may be used; information may be accumulated, and intelligence diffused.

And we may add, that just so far as our method is calm, conciliatory, and kind, and our arguments candid and just, so far in all probability, will they reach their mark and be productive of good. Denunciations uttered against their institutions and character, will not open their ears to our words of advice. On the other hand, they will close them. Such a course only drives them off, widens the breach between us, lessens our influence with them, and begets in them a repellent and defiant attitude of mind. There is a way of striking a man as violently with *words* as with actual blows; and experience proves that there are individuals and communities that will as indignantly repel a blow struck in one way as in the other.

Besides, it is a truth which we all ought to realize more than we do, that *truth alone* is not calculated to reform men, or to produce the best class of effects. *Truth*, even,—clear, indisputable truth, is not always the best weapon to fight with. When hurled forth in a condemnatory manner, like cannon balls from a battery, in a querulous and ill-natured spirit, such truths have but very little, if any, beneficial influence. To be operative of happy results, truths must be united to good; they must be sent forth in a spirit of love, and be tempered by its influences, and are *then* calculated not only to convince the reason, but also to regenerate and heal the life.

We must remember, too, that it is a greater sin to defame a community, than to speak ill of single individuals, inas-

much as in the former case the character of a larger number is involved.

Let us not, then, approach the South, in the first instance, with the charge, loudly made, that slavery is the worst of sins, and that slaveholders are sinners above all other men, that dwell in Jerusalem. For the sacred Scriptures nowhere bear us out in making such a charge. The slaveholders themselves do not believe it; they have inherited it from their fathers and were brought up in the midst of it; the church among them does not condemn the institution, but rather commends it. And instead of opening a door through which you might hold rational, friendly, and useful intercourse with them, you close their door against you; they look upon your charge of an offence, fall back upon their reserved rights, and search about for arguments and considerations to defend their position, confirming themselves in the whole thing more strongly than before. Do we not by this, impede the healthy movement and block the wheels of reform?

Let us, then, treat the men of the South as brethren, with leniency and forbearance. Remembering that times are in the hands of the Lord, and that we, in our finite prudence, are not the best judges as to how or when changes should come involving the organic structure of a great community, differing widely from ours, and the dearest interests of many millions of men. Let us give them time for reason to work, that they may see for themselves the defect of their own institution; the many corrupting influences to which it exposes them; and the enormous iniquities that are frequently committed under the cover of it.

Let us not refuse to fellowship the church of the South. Let us not denounce her for not declaring slaveholding to be a sin, and for not rejecting slave owners from her communion. Let not our ecclesiastical bodies divide—North and

South—on the question of slavery. For, in the providence of God, the church in the South is the medium through which renovation is to reach that community. Let us not try to weaken her then, or nullify her force. Let us not, by withholding from her our sympathy and aid, leave her to sink to a lower level in struggling amidst the evils that surround her. But let us retain our connection with her, and by wise counsels and considerate aid, help to strengthen her in her work. The only hope of good for the colored race of the South is in the christianization of the white race; and the only hope of christianizing the white race is by the increase and invigoration of the church there.

Let us then aid them by our precept, and by our example. By exhibiting to them in contrast with theirs, a better social system in all respects; a higher morality, a more perfect christianity. A morality, and a christianity, whose salient characteristic is that of humiliation and repentance on account of our own sins, rather than of condemnation of our neighbors on account of theirs. In this way we may continue to live together in harmony, and, so far as we are concerned, the National Union be preserved.

On the other hand, let the South also remember that all duties of brotherhood and companionship are mutual; and whatsoever rule of good conduct is binding upon us, is binding also upon them. And that they will have no right to complain of us for not fulfilling our part in the covenant of friendship and citizenship, if they on their side neglect theirs. The North has its rights which are to be respected, as well as the South.

Let those who seek to found the slave system upon the Bible, and who draw their sanctions for it from various passages of Holy Writ, also remember the obligations they are under to render their institution conformable to the requirements of the Bible. Let them remember that while the



Bible recognizes the mere relation of master and slave, it does not sanction the evil passions in which it originated, the selfishness with which it is too frequently carried on, nor one of the many abominations that wicked men are wont to practice under the system.

Amelioration ought to commence at once, and steadily proceed. A public opinion ought to be created at the South that will enforce the laws already on the statute book for the the protection of the slave; while many provisions of the slave code ought to be entirely re-written. Let the good men of the South labor quietly in the direction of reform until the rights of the servant are recognized by their laws;—his life, his limbs, his immunity from cruel punishments, his family relations. Give him room for the expansion of his growing manhood. And at length, when it is obvious the good of the whole community would be promoted by the change, complete emancipation becomes, not only a wise civil expedient, but also a moral duty.

[Then may the enfranchised and Christianized African say to his original enslavers, in the words of Joseph to his brethren, who had sold him into Egypt,—“ But as for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good, to bring it to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive.” Gen. 50. 20.]

In closing, a single word remains to be said. We all know that *patriotism* is an important Christian virtue. It stands *third* in the order of our obligations. First, is the Lord; next, His Church; then, our country. There come times when, for the sake of their country, men are called upon to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor; then, to stand by those pledges; and, if need be, meet the sacrifices which those pledges involve. And if we may be justly called upon to devote our *lives*, and other im-

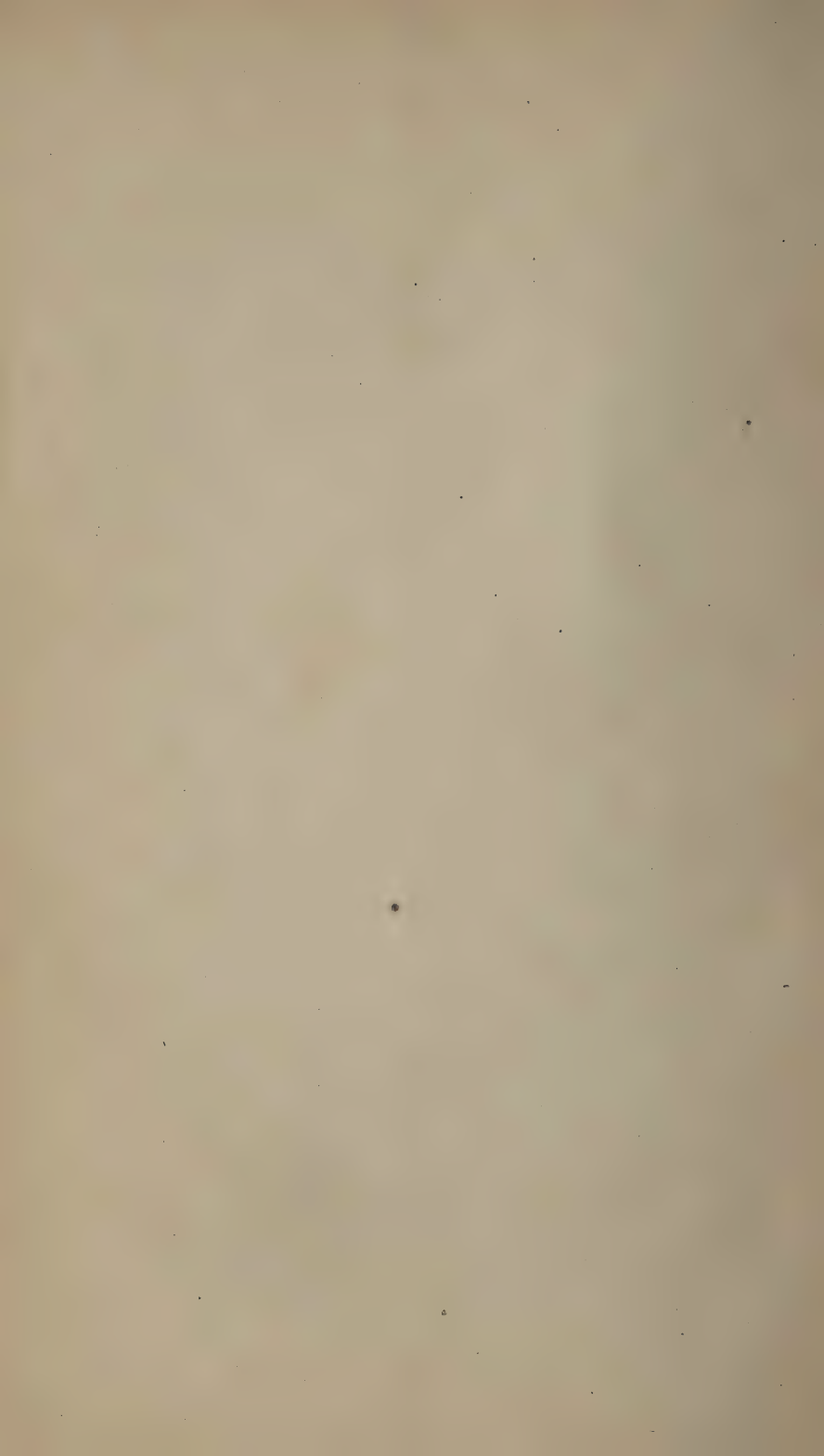
portant interests, of the cause of our country, tell me, Why not such minor things as popularity or position? This duty is equally binding upon you, and upon me. And while it belongs to you to fulfil this obligation, each according to his function, it belongs to me also to perform it according to mine. Let each one, in the place where he stands, utter himself according to his convictions, in the great cause of his country, in all time of her imminent peril. Let him do this regardless of consequences to himself.

It is from a consideration like this that I have been willing to step aside, on a single occasion, from the common path, to utter just *one word*, which I felt inwardly impelled to speak. If it be thought some slight injury, or a personal risk, for a minister to do this,—that is a sacrifice which I believe it is his solemn duty *sometimes* to make. It is one which for once I am willing to meet. It is an offering laid upon the altar of my country, in this her trying hour; when she is moved as she has not been before for three quarters of a century, and may not be again for a life-time. An offering which I have feared to withhold, lest I should be found among those who are willing to yield up their sense of right and duty in a weak subserviency to mere policy, or the passing fears of the hour. An offering—made, I trust, in some degree of sympathy with *that spirit* which carried our fathers through the war of the revolution, which succeeded to lay the foundations of this government, which has consolidated the Union;—into which you and I, my brethren, have been educated from infancy;—a spirit—by which alone any union can ever be preserved, or popular government long maintained.









*Dr. Bowditch* 39 12  
*of Boston*

*Received May 1843*

*With the respect of*  
*The Author*

CASTE AND SLAVERY

IN

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THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

BY

A CHURCHMAN.

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UPRIGHT MEN SHALL BE ASTONISHED AT THIS.—Job.  
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NEW-YORK AND LONDON:  
WILEY AND PUTNAM.

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1843.





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CASTE AND SLAVERY

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4265-540

THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

BY

A CHURCHMAN.

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NEW-YORK AND LONDON:  
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TO  
THE RIGHT REVEREND BISHOPS,  
THE REVEREND CLERGY, AND THE LAITY  
OF THE  
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH  
IN THE UNITED STATES,  
THE  
FOLLOWING PAGES  
ARE  
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,  
BY  
A CHURCHMAN.

*Orator ad vos venio, sinete exorator ut sim.—TERENCE.*

I come to you with entreaties, let me not plead in vain.

NEW-YORK, MAY, 1843.

The Jews would not willingly tread upon the smallest piece of paper in their way, but took it up, for possibly, said they, the name of God may be on it. Though there was a little superstition in this, yet truly there is nothing but good religion, if we apply it to MEN. Trample not on any; there may be some work of grace there, that thou knowest not of. The name of God may be written on that soul thou treadest on; it may be a soul that Christ thought so much of as to give his precious blood for it; therefore despise it not.

LEIGHTON.

What I feel deeply, deeply will I utter. Truth is not detraction, and assuredly we do not hate him to whom we tell the truth, but with whomsoever we play the deceiver and flatterer, him at the moment we despise.

COLERIDGE.

# CASTE AND SLAVERY

IN

## THE AMERICAN CHURCH.\*

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Upright men shall be astonished at this.—JOB.

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It is a principle of justice and common sense, that all new laws shall be properly promulgated; and among the methods that have been proposed of “apprising men, not only of recent statutes, but of such other general heads of the law as are most important to be known,” the learned Professor Wooddeson advises, “that the reading or exhibiting them in places of divine worship might add to the veneration due to our legal polity, more especially to those provisions which are enacted to promote the precepts of natural morality.”† It is a grave question how far morality would be the gainer, were the plan adopted in this country, where laws are so often enacted upon the overthrow of just principle: to gratify the prejudices of the populace, or to advance the interests of a party; but the suggestion is a good one for the promulgation of the new doctrines from time to time established in the Church, the new rules of faith and practice adopted by our Ecclesiastical Assemblies and Church-organs, which every clergyman might expound from the pulpit to his people. “New doctrines in the Church!” exclaims a reader; “this comes

\* The following pages were in part published in two numbers of the “New World,” newspaper, during March and April, 1843.

† WOODDESON’S Lectures on the Laws of England, p. 31.

of Transcendentalism, Unitarianism, and Atheism. Happy am I in being a son of the Episcopal Church, founded upon the Apostles and Prophets, the pillar and ground of the Truth, whose doctrines never change!"

It is of the EPISCOPAL CHURCH, and of that only, that we intend to speak; and as some new rules, established by the Bishops and Clergy together assembled, have been carefully concealed by them from the world, we will reverse the plan of Prof. Wooddeson: and instead of publishing laws from the pulpit, we will disclose doctrines through the press. However acceptable may be this course to Churchmen generally, we are well aware that some will read this paper with displeasure, and others with indifference, either real or affected; and in advance, we advise those who wish to escape all connection with matters of questionable popularity, to follow the example of the ancient sceptics, and when asked their opinion of its truth, to reply in the language of their worthy prototypes—'Ἐπέγω, I refrain from judging, Οὐδὲν ὀρίζω, I define nothing.\*

In the month of June, 1839, the Board of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary, composed of the bishops and clerical and lay delegates from the different States and Territories, met at New-York: and their proceedings were subsequently published in a pamphlet. From the minutes, it appears that a candidate for Holy Orders in the diocese of New-York, now the Rev. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL, applied to them by petition, to be allowed to enter the Seminary as a student; that the petition was referred to a committee consisting of the RIGHT REV. BP. H. U. ONDERDONK, REV. DRS. JAMES MILNOR and HUGH SMITH, and WM. JOHNSON, DAVID B. OGDEN, and EDWARD A. NEWTON, ESQUIRES, who, after deliberate consideration, recommended a resolution of rejection,

\* Quoted by Sextus Empiricus in his Pyrronian Hypotyposes.

which, on the motion of the Rev. FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D., was adopted; that the Right Rev. Bishop DOANE asked leave to enter his protest against the decision, and that leave was not granted. Neither the reasons for their decision, nor the disqualification of the candidate, are even intimated by the minutes; but it does appear, that the right of every candidate for orders to enter the Seminary was expressly guaranteed by the Constitution, which the Trustees were bound to obey: and that this fact was well known to them, also appears from an amendment proposed by the Bishop of New-York, while the matter was pending, to the very clause upon which they were trampling.\*

\* The first paragraph of the 1st Section of Chapter VII. of the Statutes, is as follows: "EVERY PERSON producing to the Faculty satisfactory evidence of his having been admitted a candidate for Holy Orders, with full qualifications, according to the canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, SHALL BE RECEIVED AS A STUDENT OF THE SEMINARY."—*The Act of Incorporation, Constitution and Statutes of the General Theological Seminary, &c.*, 1836, p. 17.

That this statute has been clearly understood as imposing a positive obligation upon the Faculty to admit all persons thus qualified, is evident from a note to an Address delivered before the Trustees, Professors and Students of the Seminary, so long since as Nov. 1, 1824, by the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, now Bishop of New-York. "*The admission (of students) is regulated by the statutes. All candidates for orders in the Church, with full—that is, including literary qualifications—ARE ADMITTED, OF COURSE, ON APPLICATION. In this case, therefore, if the admission has been improper, the fault rests with the ecclesiastical authorities of the dioceses in which they are candidates.*" (Sermon, &c., published at the request of the Trustees, 1825, p. 25.) That this gentleman's views, as to the construction of the clause, remained the same, would appear by an extract from the minutes of the Board of Trustees, while Mr. Crummell's petition was before them. "The Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk, of New-York, gave notice of a proposed amendment in the 1st Section of Chapter VII. of the Statutes, substituting in the first sentence of the section, the word 'BEING,' for the words 'HAVING BEEN ADMITTED,' and changing the phrase 'SHALL BE RECEIVED,' into the phrase 'MAY BE RECEIVED.'"—*Proceedings of the Board of Trustees for 1839*, p. 229.

Mr. Crummell, the rejected candidate, in a letter published in the "Coloured American," Dec. 27, 1839, said: "What gave me still more

The true cause which led the Trustees to nullify the constitution and deny the right of the candidate, and which they were ashamed to acknowledge, was, that he was a *coloured* man; and this was the only cause, his diocesan, Bishop Onderdonk, of New-York, having declared in "The Churchman," (Nov. 4, 1839,) that he explicitly stated to them, "that if they should think it right and proper to admit a COLOURED MAN into the Seminary, he considered the applicant before them, *one in whose case it might with great safety and propriety be done.*"\*

Nothing can be clearer than that the Trustees, by that act, not only exceeded their powers and violated the trust reposed in them, but deliberately established a system of CASTE in the Church—not among its lower members only—not among the laity alone, but among the very clergy who approach us as ambassadors of God, and minister at his altars—Caste as palpable as that which separates, in heathen India, the Brahmin from the Soodra. They establish a principle which would justify us in regarding the coloured man as an inferior being, intended to occupy a lower sphere in the scale of creation; which designates him as one whose constitutional privileges we may innocently annul, whom we may, without a pang of guilt or a blush of shame, insult, injure, and oppress, even though he be one arrayed by Episcopal hands in the robes of the

encouragement to adopt this course, (petitioning the Trustees,) is the fact, that that great good man, the late worthy and lamented Bishop Hobart, the founder of the Seminary, when spoken to with reference to the admission of *coloured candidates* into that Institution, paused, and replied, *that they would be admitted, as a matter of course, and without doubt.*"

\* "I had spent three years of perfect equality with upwards of one hundred white students, of a different denomination, at Oneida Institute, and could not, after a long consideration, discover any reasons why it should be different with those of my own communion—with CHURCHMEN."—*Letter of Mr. Crummell, in "Coloured American," Dec. 27, 1839.*



priesthood, who walks forth a messenger of the Most High.

It was subsequently admitted by some of the Trustees, in private, that they so acted, from dread of popular prejudice, and from fear the southern patronage of the Seminary might be withdrawn, were the candidate admitted. Had their anticipations been well founded, they should not have altered one whit their course of duty. "No, to *fear* the consequences of *obedience*, is to be worldly wise, and go by reason when we are bid to go by faith. Let us dare to do His commandments, leaving to Him to bring us through who imposed them. Let us risk dangers, which cannot, in truth, be realized, however they threaten, since he has bid us risk them, and will protect us in them."\*

By their own showing, they did evil that good might come, acting upon that same principle of expediency in which the African slave trade took its rise, when Las Casas, trusting to human policy rather than to God's command, commenced a system, which, after the lapse of centuries, yearly consigns to wretchedness and death hundreds of thousands of the sons of Africa.

An excuse so base and wicked, however, has not been generally avowed, and as a Churchman, we demand from those who have established Caste in the Church, the reasons of the innovation. Though they have shown little disposition to resemble the old Roman, who was so conscious of his own integrity as to wish for windows in his breast, that the whole world might see what was passing there, we must ask them to open the shutters, and let us know the grounds of the doctrine they have propounded for our adoption. "The public have a right," says an English writer, "and ought to be satisfied with regard to the conduct, ability and integrity of their judges. It is from these sources alone that genuine respect and authority

\* NEWMAN'S Parochial Sermons, Vol. IV. p. 89.

can be derived, and an endeavor to make these appendages to office independent of the personal character and conduct of the judge, is an attempt which, in this free and enlightened country, probably never will succeed. The freedom of inquiry is not only essential to the integrity of the community, but every judge, conscious of integrity and acting honorably, ought to promote and rejoice in the exercise of it.”\*

If there is truth in these remarks as regards the judges, they are equally applicable to the Trustees of the Seminary, and we have been led to think, from their conduct, that they have forgotten in what age they live—“an age,” when, in the words of WEBSTER, “neither nations nor individuals can divest themselves of responsibility before the world.” Our clerical bodies, of all denominations, will do well to remember that they are acting before the eyes of men: that the sanctity of their professions, so far from inducing in the people a belief in their infallibility, only exposes them to a stricter scrutiny; and that every act of clerical inconsistency, every crouching to an unholy prejudice, will be apt to reflect their own dishonor upon the Church at large. Least of all, will the honest christian be disposed to take all things for granted. He well knows, from history, that murder may be committed on the bench, and spiritual oppression may be sheltered by the mitre; and he feels, that although the ermine or the lawn may palliate the act in the eyes of the world, it would be blasphemy to suppose they can lessen its guilt in Heaven’s Chancery above. He must be ignorant, indeed, who supposes the clergy, as a body, to be exempt from the influence of ambition and the love of power. Human nature is not put off when the clerical robe is put on; but as face answereth to face in a glass, so answereth the heart of man to man.

\* Letters to Lord Mansfield by Andrew Stuart.

Let not our clergy fear that the Church will suffer from too close an examination of any doctrine they may propound. *Veritas nihil veretur nisi abscondi*—truth fears nothing but concealment. If the doctrine is wrong, it should be discarded—if true, its claims should be enforced; and we have the promise of Scripture, “he that hath clean hands shall grow stronger and stronger.” No worse plan can be adopted to secure peace, than to attempt to stifle instead of to convince. “To enjoin silence,” remarks Mr. NEWMAN, “upon perplexed inquiries, is not to silence their thoughts, which, in the case of serious minds, naturally turn to the spiritual ruler for advice and relief, and are disappointed at the timidity, or irritated at the harshness of those who refuse to lead a lawful inquiry which they cannot stifle.”\*

In relation to the right of laymen to examine for themselves the doctrines propounded by the clergy, if there are any who entertain the slightest doubt, they may be satisfied by the following authority, from a source whence lax opinions of the powers of bishops are not likely to come. “It has always been agreeable to the principles of the Church, that if a bishop taught and upheld what was contrary to the orthodox faith, the clergy and people were not bound to submit, but were obliged to maintain the true religion, and if excommunicated by such bishops, they were not accounted to be cut off from the Church.”† As for the cry of peace, we have the experience of ages to teach us that peace may be purchased at too dear a price. In the language of Dr. Hook,‡ to which all must subscribe, “Every christian man, whether *laic* or cleric, is in duty bound to consider, *not what is expedient at the moment for the sake of peace*, BUT WHAT IS BENEFICIAL TO THE CAUSE OF

\* The Arians of the 4th century, by John Henry Newman, London, 1832, pp. 156–7.

† Oxford Tracts, 1st Vol. p. 90, Am. ed.

‡ Five Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, 1839, p. 41.

TRUTH." In the words of Bishop WILSON, "*If for a fear of offending men, or from a false love of peace, we forbear to defend the truth, we betray and abandon it.*" According to these just views, there is no reason why we should not scrutinize as closely, and attack as vigorously, prejudice against colour, when it enters the Church of God, robed in the vestments of the priesthood, and armed with ecclesiastical authority, as when it heads a lawless gang of shirtless ruffians, or is applauded in the stupid huzzas of a worthless rabble.

For our own part, we have no hesitation in expressing our conviction, that there is more reason in hanging for forgery and burning for heresy, than in persecuting a man on account of the skin given him by God. We scarcely suppose that the merit of antiquity will be claimed for Caste, founded on colour, while Cyprian, Tertullian and Augustine, are named with reverence; and, however, excellent may be thought the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, "*Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est, &c.*," it was never so believed of Caste. It is a new principle, a new doctrine, a new order in the Church, and one which, judging from appearances, is, without a vigorous opposition, likely to continue. The example set by the Trustees in oppressing a man for the colour of his skin, is, we admit, sanctioned by popular approbation. In New-York, a respectable citizen has been rudely ejected from a railroad car; even as the candidate for holy orders was by them refused admittance to the Seminary. In the same State, the coloured population are deprived of the right of suffrage, unless the disqualifying tint is removed by a property qualification. In Philadelphia they have been again and again exposed to the fury of cruel mobs, their houses have been plundered and burnt, and their families and their little ones, driven forth to meet unsheltered the storm and the tempest, have sought in flight that protection which the municipal authorities did not conceive them-

selves bound to render, to wretches guilty of a coloured skin: their sympathies being rather with the human wolves, whom the hunted fugitives were seeking to escape.

In the Capitol of our country free coloured men are liable to arrest, on suspicion of being fugitive slaves. If unable to prove their freedom, they are sold as slaves: and if, after being incarcerated for weeks within the damp and gloomy walls of a prison, they succeed in obtaining the evidence of their freedom, they are still liable to be sold as slaves for life, if they are too poor to pay the jail-fees. In Alabama a more summary law has been enacted, by which any free man of colour coming into the State after its passage may be seized, and held as a slave for life, by the first white man who catches him—and in Florida, a law obtains, which puts to the blush the tale of Shylock and his single pound of flesh. Free coloured debtors may be sold as slaves to satisfy the claim of any white creditor.

In the Church, also, the example of the Trustees is strictly followed. They rejected a candidate in 1839, and to the end of his days will he and his people suffer from that illegal act of oppression. Another coloured candidate for orders in this diocese is debarred, as we are informed, at the present time for the same reason, from sharing in the privileges of his white brethren. These gentlemen have been blamed for not submitting cheerfully to such cruel treatment, and in the case of the first, his very petition to the Trustees was considered by the bishop, a violation of his duty as a candidate for orders. We know not how far canonical obedience in such matters extend, but we do know that there is a high duty now resting upon the coloured people, both in and out of the Church, to maintain their rights; and if a candidate feels, as justly he may feel, that entrance to the Seminary is not a boon to be asked, but a right to be demanded, we wonder not that the spirit of a man should be aroused within him, at the unconstitutional vote of rejection; like that which swelled

the breast of Paul, when he cowed not before his accusers unmindful of his civil privileges, but with conscious dignity exclaimed, "I am a Roman citizen!"

The Rev. Peter Williams, for many years a respectable clergyman of New-York, was never allowed to sit as a member of the Diocesan Convention, nor has the Church of St. Philip, of which he was the pastor, been yet represented in that body. He died soon after the act of the Trustees, upon which we have been remarking, was exposed to the world; and to counteract, as far as possible, the indignation it had excited, the clergy in a body attended his funeral, and the Bishop of New-York pronounced from the pulpit a high eulogium upon his character. Several of the clergy admitted that it was done merely for effect, and one of them bitterly remarked at the funeral, that the empty honors to the lifeless dust were a poor atonement for the insults so often offered to the living man. The Rev. Mr. De Grasse, another coloured clergyman of the Episcopal Church, of fine talents, excellent acquirements, and amiable disposition, who three years previously to the application of Mr. Crummell, had been excluded from the Seminary,\* and who, after a residence of some years in this

\* The Bishop of New-York, in a letter to the editor of "The Churchman," published in that paper Nov. 2, 1839, thus referred to this gentleman. "Meanwhile two highly respectable presbyters of this city had been kind enough at my request to consent to direct Mr. Crummell's studies, and he was also apprized that the Professors of the Seminary were willing to aid him in their respective departments. \* \* *The same views and similar arrangements had previously been SATISFACTORY to another coloured candidate, now the Rev. ISAIAH G. DE GRASSE, deacon. Unwilling to disturb the peace of the Church, he at an early period of his candidateship withdrew all idea of entering the Seminary, prosecuted his studies under your direction, was ordained and is now a highly respectable clergyman.*"

At the request of some friends of the late Mr. DE GRASSE, and in justice to his memory, we give the following extracts from his "Diary," from which it would appear that his acquiescence in the views of his diocesan, resulted entirely from his sense of canonical duty, and that he

city, sought in the West Indies the respectful treatment and sympathy he could not find at home, and there ended his early years by a Christian's death, once said to the

was *not* satisfied with the arrangements nor with the principles on which they were based.

It may be proper to state, for the better understanding of the matter, that Mr. De Grasse was a light complexioned mulatto.

"GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF AMERICA, 1836.

"Oct. 10.—On Wednesday last I passed my examination before the Faculty of the Seminary, and was thereupon admitted a member of the School of the Prophets.

"Oct. 11.—I called upon the bishop, and he was dissatisfied with the step I had taken in entering the Seminary. Seems to apprehend difficulty from my joining the Commons, and thinks that the South, from whence they receive much support, will object to my entering.

"Thus far I have met with no difficulty from the students, but have been kindly treated. I have thought it judicious, however, to leave the Commons for the present.

"As far as in me lies I will in my trouble let all my actions be consistent with my christian profession, and, instead of giving loose to mortified feelings, will acquiesce in all things, but this acquiescence shall not in the least degree partake of the dogged submissiveness which is the characteristic of an inferior.

"My course shall be independent, and then, if a cruel prejudice will drive (me) from the holy threshold of the school of piety, I, the weaker, must submit and yield to the superior power. Into thy hands ever, O God, I commit my cause.

"Oct. 12.—At 9 A. M., I called on our spiritual father again, and sought advice in relation to my present embarrassing circumstances. He gave me plainly to understand that it would be advisable, in his opinion, for me not to apply for a regular admission into the Seminary, and although I had taken a room, and even become settled, yet to vacate the room and silently withdraw myself from the Seminary. He further said that I might recite with the classes and avail myself of the privileges of the Institution, but not consider myself in the light of a regular member. Never, never will I do so!"

"The reasons of the bishop for this course are as follows :

"That the Seminary receives much support and many students from the South, and consequently if they admit coloured men to equal privileges with the whites in the Institution, the South will refuse to aid (it) and (will) use their influence to keep all from the Seminary south of

writer, with tears in his eyes, "I feel that the bishop and many of the clergy are against us—that they do not want any coloured clergymen in the Church. I have struggled

the Potomac. As head of the Seminary, and knowing the feelings and prejudices of the South, he could not hazard my fuller admission at such an expense.

"From the extreme excitability of public feeling on this delicate subject, and from my known and intimate connection with the people of colour, there would be a high probability not only of bringing the Institution into disrepute, but of exciting opposing sentiment among the students, and thus causing many to abandon the School of the Prophets."

"I think these two form the reasons of the bishop against my being admitted. The course, however, he advises, viz. the being a 'hanger-on' in the Seminary, is something so utterly repugnant to my feelings as a man, that I cannot consent to adopt it. If I cannot be admitted regularly I leave the place; but in leaving I will ever hold the utmost good feeling towards the faculty and my friends. It is a cruel prejudice which drives me so reluctantly from the door, and makes even those who make high pretensions to piety and purity, say to me "stand thou there, for I am holier than thou."

"In this matter, however, I shall acquiesce as a Christian, but shall preserve the independent feelings of a man. My most devoted thanks are due to my dear friends, the Rev. Drs. BERRIAN and LYELL, for the earnest solicitude which they manifest for my welfare. They seem heartily to regret that any difficulty has arisen in the present subject.

"Upon reflection, it is my present opinion that Bishop Onderdonk is wrong in yielding to the '*unrighteous prejudice*' (his words) of the community. If the prejudice be wrong, I think he ought to oppose it without regard to consequences. If such men as he countenance it, they become partakers with the transgressors. He says, by and by Providence will open the way; but will Providence effect the change miraculously? We cannot expect it. He will, however, effect by appointed means, and these means ought to be resorted to by his instruments—men. And what men more suitable than men high in office, high in public favor, high in talents? Particularly should men commissioned to preach the Gospel, which teaches mercy, righteousness and truth, enter upon the work. What makes my case more aggravating and dreadful, is, that the bishop says, that even admitting I have no African blood in me, yet my identity with the people of colour, will bar the door of the Seminary against me. Horrid inconsistency!

"Oct. 13.—Called on the bishop yesterday and had a final interview with him on this mortifying subject. His determination was settled and



against the convictions, but it is impossible to resist it ; the proofs are too strong ; I experience it daily, I know it is so."

In the diocese of Pennsylvania, an express canon de-bars the African Church from being represented in the Convention, and excludes the rector from a seat. Truly! a singular picture to be exhibited by Christians meeting as a Council of the Church ; but the limits of Caste stop not here. Beautifully says the poet—

"Are we not brothers ?  
So man and man should be,  
But clay and clay differs in dignity,  
Whose dust is both alike."

Since Shakspeare wrote, even the *dust* has learned to claim precedence over dust, and *noli me tangere* is daintily inscribed upon the mouldering coffin-lid.

Ay! this "Aristocracy of Color" is maintained, not only in God's temples, but even in that last abode where all distinctions have been supposed to disappear. In the very grave-yard where Death reigns as conqueror, and worms

fixed, that from a sober consideration of all things, the interest of the Seminary—the comfort of myself—and the ultimate good of my people ; I had better silently withdraw, and agreeably to my plan, study privately with a clergyman. He again at this interview suggested the plan of my embracing the privileges of the Seminary without being regularly admitted, to which I would not consent, as it would be both a sacrifice of the feelings of a man, which I felt not disposed to offer, and further a sacrifice of principle, to which I am confident the noble minded among my people would not allow me to submit.

"I cannot but conceive my case to be a very peculiar one, involving much difficulty, and one which will ultimately cause the guardians and controllers of this sacred Institution to hang their heads for shame. This day I am driven in the presence of all the students of the Seminary, and the sight of high Heaven, from the School of the Prophets.

"Oct. 22.—The Bishop further said that the Trustees of the Seminary could receive or exclude any individual from the privileges of it, whom in their wisdom they thought fit, without being amenable to any person, or without being obliged to give any explanation for their course whatever."

revel on the mouldering remains of manliness and beauty; where pride, and pomp, and power, have doffed their trappings, and have said to corruption, thou art my father, and to the worm, thou art my mother and my sister; where the voice of passion is forever stilled, and the heart that has ceased to beat is cold as the marble beneath which it reposes; even here, among the tombs, prejudice has his dwelling like the demoniac of old, and Caste, under the sanction of the Church, rears his hideous and revolting form. How many similar instances there may be, we know not; that we cite has come under our immediate notice. The vestry and wardens of an Episcopal church in the diocese of New-York, a few years since, accepted a deed for a cemetery, which was demised to them upon the express condition embodied in the indenture, "*that they should never suffer any coloured person to be buried in any part of the same,*" and all the subsequent conveyances on the part of the church of vaults and burial places are subject to the same condition. It was at the same time provided, that the Presbyterian minister of the town, whoever he might be, should be interred therein without charge: but had the Rev. Peter Williams died in the town, not all the clergy who followed his hearse, nor the exalted eulogium of his bishop, could have obtained for his bones a resting-place in that aristocratic grave-yard. They might have been fated to remain within the borders of a sister parish, like the corse of the murdered Polidore *ἄκλανστος, ἄτάφος*,\* un-lamented, uninterred.

It matters little, to be sure, to our coloured brethren, where their dust is laid, when the soul, escaped from its prison-house, has reached that happy land, "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest, and"—blest thought for the slave—"the servant is freed from his master," compared with their treatment while

\* Opening speech of the Ghost of Polidore in the Hecuba of Euripides.

denizens of earth ; but we trust that there will not be many grave-yards, when the earth and the sea shall give up their dead at the trump of the Archangel and the voice of God, whose re-animated spirits, clothed in their proper bodies, shall exhibit to the assembled universe before the judgment bar, the spectacle of Caste—an aristocracy of colour, untarnished by the presence of a single soul that in this world had been guilty of a black skin.

History scarcely affords a precedent for contumely like this. Even the Romans, barbarously as they treated their slaves when living, would have scorned to insult their lifeless remains. The rights of burial were not denied them, for as the Romans regarded slavery as an institution of society, death was considered to put an end to the distinction between slaves and freemen. They were sometimes buried with their masters, and funeral inscriptions are found addressed to their *diis manibus*.\*

What is the object of this systematic persecution? The persecutions of ancient times had at least a plausible pretext to support them. The statute, *Ex officio* for instance, procured by the pliant Henry IV. at the request of the bishops, authorized and commanded them to proceed against all persons suspected of being tainted with heresy, and commit all who were found guilty to prison, so long as to their discretion should be thought expedient, and fine them as they should think competent to the offence ; and in case they refused to abjure and recant, the said persons, after the sentence had been pronounced, should “be burned in the sight of all the people, to the intent that this kind of punishment might be a terror unto others.”

Here was a definite object professed,—to prevent other persons becoming heretics ; but what was the object of the Trustees and their many coadjutors? Was it to frighten

\* Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. *Art.* “*SERVUS Roman.*”

the blacks into pale faces, or to induce them to beget white children? Surely they might have remembered the question of old, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?" It is God who hath coloured them, and who were the Trustees to say to their Maker, "What doest Thou, and why hast Thou made them thus?" Pity it is, that in that eventful hour when *Caste* was formally established in the Church, no voice had reminded them of the words, "But the Lord said unto Samuel, *look not upon his countenance*, for the Lord seeth not as man seeth, for man looketh at the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh at the heart."\* As it is, the Trustees may adopt the language of Saul, when he confessed, "I have sinned, for I have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, *because I feared the people, and obeyed their voice.*"†

The blacks, it is true, are a persecuted race, and because persecuted, to some extent degraded; and the Church, so far from affording them a shelter from the storm, becoming to them as rivers of water in a dry place, and the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, giving them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness, joins herself to the army of their oppressors. So far from opening her arms to receive them, and appealing to them in the affectionate tones, "Will ye also go away!" she scourges them from the portals they fain would enter.‡ Possibly,

\* 1 Sam. 16 : 17.

† 1 Sam. 15 : 24.

‡ "Though a coloured man, and identified by colour and in hearty feeling with a disfranchised and oppressed people, yet I am a man, made in the image of God, and reflecting, I hope, even though feebly, a likeness of the Almighty. Though a poor and obscure individual in society, I am, nevertheless, an immortal being, and, I humbly trust, a disciple of Jesus. As such a being I have desired to be treated, but as such a being I have not been treated. I have been recognized, not as a man, but as a *coloured* man; not as a candidate, but as a *coloured* candidate."

"The Bishop said that he should not suffer me to go to the Seminary

the dignitaries of the Church may imagine that the sanctity of their office lightens the burthen of their harsh treatment: the experience of those on whom it falls might tell a different tale. Charles II. of Spain, in 1665, implored the Inquisition to indulge him with an *auto da fe*, and when his request was granted, his royal hands supplied a faggot. "The sticks were gilt, adorned with flowers, and tied up with ribbons," but we do not learn that these graceful ornaments alleviated the anguish of the victims to his kingly malice.

One might imagine that there was enough, in the present condition of our coloured people, to enlist the sympathies rather than the prejudices of Christians. But it seems to be the reverse, and the Episcopal Church, as represented by the Trustees of the Seminary, is now a precedent for every infringement of their rights, however unconstitutional: for every outrage upon their character and feelings, however inexcusable. Such, however, is not the real character of our Church, however it may be the characteristic of inconsistent Churchmen, who sacrifice her Catholic unity and her holiest principles to their own interested views of expediency. In the Church, the claim of universal brotherhood is fully recognized, and he who denies it, is a traitor to her faith. "The Church is one body. \* \* Are we given to make arbitrary bodies for ourselves, parties, little sects, selfish distinctions, churches within the Church? Our hearts, then, are not large enough. We know not how high, how glorious, how angel-like a thing a Churchman's charity is or ought to be."\*

No word of her creed, no line in her articles, lends the slightest sanction to any form of oppression—to the slavery

of any other denomination, *because it was not consistent for 'CHURCHMEN' to be in institutions other than their own.*—*Mr. Crummell's Letter in "Coloured American."*

\* Rev. FREDERICK W. FABER.

of the whip, or the slavery of prejudice. If the voice of humanity speaks forcibly to other Christians, with what words of power does it address itself to Churchmen!—speaketh it not in every page of her noble liturgy!—breatheth it not in her heavenly teachings, her holy devotions, her solemn Litany!—toucheth it not the heart of every true Churchman, when, Sunday by Sunday, in God's house, he unites his petitions with those of the congregation, in commending to “His fatherly goodness *all those who are destitute or oppressed in mind, body, or estate; that it may please him to comfort and relieve them, according to their several necessities, giving them patience under their sufferings, and an happy issue out of all their afflictions;*” or when to the prayer of the priest, “that it may please him to defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows, *and all who are destitute and oppressed,*” the united response rises to Heaven, “We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.”

That bishops should ever side with the oppressor, is strange indeed. To each one, at his consecration, was put the solemn question, “*Will you show yourself gentle, and be merciful, for CHRIST'S sake, to all poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help?*” and from each has come the answer, “I WILL SO SHOW MYSELF, BY GOD'S HELP.” No wonder that Bishop Doane rose in the Board of Trustees to enter his protest against that cruel decision. We know there are some, we trust there are many, who are ready on all fitting occasions to follow his example. Two instances we will mention, because so nearly connected with our subject. The Rev. Mr. BURGESS and the Rev. Mr. COXE, of Hartford,\* have disregarded and treated with contempt the principle acted upon by the Board. The very individual whose petition the Trustees rejected,

\* The Rev. GEORGE BURGESS, Rector of Christ's Church, and the Rev. ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, author of “Athanasion,” “Christian Ballads,” &c., minister of St. Gabriel's, Windsor, and Rector of St. John's Church, Hartford, Conn.

and whose name was stricken from the roll of candidates in this diocese, having been admitted to deacon's orders by the late excellent Bishop Griswold, officiated in the churches of both these gentlemen, was received and treated by them, in the presence of large and fashionable congregations as an equal brother, and not a syllable of disapprobation disturbed the harmony of the scene. Such is the contrast between Christian consistency, and a temporizing expediency; and we venture to believe that the Trustees, although deeply vexed at the silent but stern rebuke administered by these clergymen, will admire their boldness and independence. Soon may the day come, when no person holding the high and holy office of the priesthood, shall be found among the oppressors of the black man. Soon may our clergy learn, that no opposition from without, no malicious slanders, no infidel sneers, can injure their reputation, character and influence, as much as one broad, plain, undeniable inconsistency like this.

The people have a right to look to the Christian Church for guidance, and to Christian ministers for example. Simple declarations, whether uttered by the lips, or inscribed upon charters, carry little weight, and forms of Government are found to be of less importance than the character of those appointed to administer them.

The experience of every day is sufficient to convince the most sceptical that the Constitution and Laws of our Republic are powerless guaranties of Right, and that our boasts of Liberty, repeated to the echo, lessen not one whit the iron rule of slavery. Verily and with reason,

" Earth is sick,  
And Heaven is weary, of the hollow words,  
Which States and Kingdoms utter, when they talk  
Of truth and justice."

The oppression of the defenceless coloured race, by their powerful enemies, is constantly exhibited with a bitterness

and a refinement of cruelty worthy of the cannibals of the South Sea islands. The southern states, not content with grinding into the dust their own slaves, are striving to deprive the coloured people of the North of the few rights still left to them. The legislature of Georgia has recently resolved, "that negroes or persons of colour are not citizens, under the Constitution of the United States, and that Georgia will never recognize such citizenship." By a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, a free coloured citizen of the North may be seized and dragged from his home into hopeless bondage, by any person who chooses to claim him as his slave, unsupported though that claim be by a single title of evidence, or even the mockery of an oath. The right of trial by jury, the birthright of Americans, handed down by their English ancestors through a thousand years, is swept away to give free scope to kidnapping. Monstrous and incredible as the fact may seem, it is yet true; and from the same high tribunal where the glorious maxim proclaimed by the judges of olden time is pretended to be recognized and approved, that "*nothing is consonant to the Common law, which is contrary to the law Divine*,"\* even from the sanctuary of Justice and the Bench itself, have been uttered words, becoming perhaps, in the mouth of the midnight assassin, or the African man-stealer, and which we doubt not would be greeted with infernal plaudits if spoken in the depths of Hell, but which, coming from such a source, may well cause to the Christian a shudder of horror, and excite in the bosom of every true American indignation and disgust. Mr. Justice BALDWIN, of Pennsylvania, in laying down the right of a master over his fugitive slave, in a FREE state, after declaring that he may use as much force as is necessary to effect the reclamation of the runaway, and may

\* De Coster vs. De Pas, 2 Swanston R. 290. "*Summa est ratio quæ pro religione facit.*" Year Book, 12 Henry II.



bind or secure him in any other way to prevent his escape, continued: "*The master may also use every art, device or stratagem to decoy the slave into his power. Odious as these may be in their application to an unlawful act, they ought to be considered as far otherwise when used for a lawful and justifiable purpose!!* \* \* \* **THEY ARE NEITHER IMMORAL NOR ILLEGAL.**"\*

Well might the poet† burst forth in indignant verse at the sight of American slavery, and all the horrors in its train.

"To think that man—thou just and gentle God—  
Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod,  
O'er creatures like himself, with souls from thee,  
Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty!  
Away! away! I'd rather hold my neck  
In doubtful tenure from a sultan's beck,  
In climes where liberty has scarce been named,  
Nor any right but that of ruling claimed,  
Than thus to live where bastard freedom waves  
Her fustian flag, in mockery, over slaves."

Thus, alas! is vital principle throughout the land made to give place to "the purblind guide Expediency;" and when Truth is driven from the legislative halls, the haunts of business, and the temples of Justice, where shall she be sought if not in the Church of God? From whom may we expect consistent conduct if not from the ministers of Christ? From what source are we to look for the embodiment of holy doctrines, if those who preach them from the pulpit, and profess to be guided by them in their lives, teach the people by their example, that most powerful of all lessons, that they may be trampled upon with impunity, whenever passion or prejudice or interest may require the sacrifice? When will our clergy learn that principles avowed have little force, unless by themselves reduced to practice; that they will be regarded by the world as dreamy sentiments, unless exhibited in waking

\* *Johnson v. Tompkins and others*, 1 Baldwin's R. 577.

† Moore's Poetical Epistles from America.

life? With great truth did the late Bishop Hobart declare, in his introductory Address at the opening of the General Theological Seminary:\* “We may display, brethren of the clergy, the learning of Gamaliel and the eloquence of Paul; we may even preach with the fervour and force of the seraph; but if our tempers and our lives, prove that the truths and duties which we inculcate have no efficacy on our own characters and conduct, is it human nature to regard our instructions, or to profit by our exhortations?”

Most unwise, to use no stronger term, has been their course in relation to that great moral movement which a southern bishop† was pleased to stigmatize as the “ill-advised, absurd and malignant philanthropy of abolitionism.” If they are incapable of feeling for the unutterable wrongs inflicted by slavery upon millions of their countrymen; if they can regard, complacently, a system which reduces men to chattels, and makes immortal souls to whom the word is spoken, “be ye perfect, even as your Father is *perfect*,” the degraded subjects of an absolute despotism that tramples upon the Bible‡ and infringes the sovereignty

\* On the 11th March, 1822, at New-York.

† The late Rt. Rev. Bishop Bowen, of South Carolina.

‡ “Generally speaking, they (the slaves) appear to us to be without God and without hope in the world, a NATION OF HEATHEN in our very midst. We cannot cry out against the Papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and keeping them in ignorance of the way of life, for we *withhold* the Bible from our servants, and keep them in ignorance of it, while we will not use the means to have it read and explained to them.”—*Sermon of Rev. C. C. Jones, preached in Georgia before two associations of Planters, 1831.*

“They (the slaves) have no Bible to read by their own firesides, they have no family altars, and when in affliction, sickness or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolation of the Gospel, nor to bury them with solemn and appropriate services.”—*Report in Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, 1833.*

“Throughout the bounds of our Synod there are at least ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND SLAVES, speaking the same language as ourselves, who

of God, and does all this for the sake of gold, they should at least have sufficient charity to refrain from jeers at those whose consciences are more tender, and whose hearts warm toward their afflicted brethren, like that of the Samaritan who knelt by the wounded stranger, while priest and Levite passed by unmoved. They should remember that the verse of Terence,

“ Nil humani a me alienum puto,”

so loudly applauded by the heathen spectators of a Roman theatre, appeals with greater power to Christians, on whose lips it is the response to the command, love thy neighbor—and they may rest assured, despite the vulgar cry of “amalgamation,” from whatever source it may be echoed, that the abolition excitement is the pulse of humanity, beating in the body politic, and that it will not cease to throb in every limb of the nation, until that humanity is annihilated, or slavery is overthrown.

With so steady a course is public opinion changing in the northern and eastern states in favor of those principles of Right and Justice which are yet branded by some as “Fanaticism,” that no one who has yet to receive them, however zealous he may hereafter be, can feel, with Milton, that he has had the glory, through good and evil report, of being the stern advocate of a *discountenanced truth*.

*have never heard of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer.”—Charleston, S. C., Observer.*

Teaching slaves to read is forbidden, under very severe penalties, in nearly all the slave states. In North Carolina, the Diocese of Bishop Ives, who has publicly justified slavery, to teach a slave to read or write, or give him *any* book (the BIBLE not excepted) or pamphlet, is punished with thirty-nine lashes, or imprisonment, if the offender be a free negro, but if a white, then with a fine of \$200. In Georgia, the fine is \$500, and in both states a father may be punished for teaching his own child to search the Scriptures.

They have slumbered long in the hearts of men, but are now aroused to sleep no more. They are

"Truths that wake  
To perish never."

And well may all engaged in reducing such truths to practice, either in the State or in the Church, assume as their motto, "*Nil actum reputans, si quid supereset agendum,*"—while aught remains, esteeming nothing done.

In the North, little has been done to our knowledge, by the clergy of the Episcopal Church, directly in favour of slavery, although much has been done by them indirectly. No rebuke, that we have learned, has ever been administered by them to the Southern bishops and clergy, who hold the very sheep of their pasture in abject bondage—no word has been spoken in our Conventions, disapproving the course of the "Christian brokers in the trade of blood." The right of the slaves to read the Scriptures has been denied by "THE CHURCHMAN," newspaper, published at New-York, the organ of the bishop of that diocese, and by him highly recommended, and a Northern organ of the Church has eulogized a Southern bishop who is an avowed advocate of slavery for having prepared a catechism for the chattels of his diocese, which he declares "contains all that is necessary for salvation." The ancient philosophers, we know, maintained a similar aristocratic tone, confining the more expanded and perfect knowledge to the select few; teaching one doctrine in their private schools, and quite another to the plebeian multitude—but it is something new to find their example followed by a Christian bishop; and there are many, if we mistake not, who will be inclined to doubt the right, even of Episcopal authority, to withhold the immortal truths emblazoned on every page of the Scriptures from one half of the people, and give them a paltry abridgment, made in reference to the compiler's peculiar opinions, as a substitute for the living word of God.

Other occasional signs of a subserviency to slavery in the Church, similar to that so long exhibited in the State, have been displayed at the North, such as the omission of all reference to it in sermons preached on the days appointed for Thanksgiving, which professed to give a full enumeration of our national sins; and the virtual dismissal from the General Theological Seminary at New-York, of the Rev. Thomas Pyne, for having, on such an occasion, alluded to slavery in the most christian terms. A change, however, has lately occurred; and the Episcopal Church of the United States, as represented by one of her appointed organs, now stands before the world, the avowed apologist, defender, and *actual participant!* of slavery. "THE SPIRIT OF MISSIONS, edited for the Board of Missions\* by the Secretaries and General Agents of the two Committees, and published at the Missionary Rooms, in the city of New-York," for the month of March, 1843, has seven pages devoted to a letter of Mr. John McDonough, to the New-Orleans Commercial Bulletin, and contains an avowal of pro-slavery doctrines, more thorough in their extent, and more malignant in their character than any that have yet proceeded from the Northern church. The utter atrocity of this publication invests it with such im-

\* We extract from Sword's Pocket Almanac, for 1843, the following under the head of "Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church."

*Committee for Domestic Missions*—Right Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, D. D. chairman, Rev. Lewis P. W. Balch, Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, Rev. Lot Jones, Rev. Dr. M'Vickar, D. A. Cushman, G. C. Morgan, J. D. Wolfe, B. L. Woolley.

*Secretary and General Agent*—Rev. N. Sayre Harris, office 281 Broadway.

*Committee for Foreign Missions*—Right Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, D. D. chairman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, Rev. Dr. Eastburn, Rev. Dr. Stone, Rev. Dr. Milnor, Lewis Curtis, James F. De Peyster, R. B. Minturn, F. S. Winston.

*Secretary and General Agent*—Rev. James W. Cooke, office 281 Broadway.

portance that we feel bound to notice it at some length, at the risk of unduly extending our article. It commences with a comparison of those "who discuss abstract principles, and broach theories of benevolence," meaning the abolitionists, with those "who grapple with the evils they find around them, and in the fear of God endeavor to mitigate or remove them;" and after observing that their sympathies are with the latter class, they say, "of this class *we know none more deserving of the homage of the good,* than the individual whose letter to the New-Orleans Bulletin has given occasion to the following notice. While a Channing was taxing the powers of a benevolent mind to portray the evils of a system, which to him was but a theory, we find a Southern master *with no aspirations after a niche in the temple of fame,* but with strong sensibilities and a quick sympathy with his kind, applying himself with a wise reference to all the surrounding circumstances of their removal, and in so doing, has solved a problem which will tell upon the interests of this land and of Africa, *long after he has gone to his reward.*"

Let us see who this saintly man is, "than whom" the editor "knows none more deserving of the homage of the good," and who has solved a problem so important. It seems from the narrative, which the editor remarks, "that to say we have read it with deep emotion and the homage of a full heart for the pious, devoted author, but feebly expresses our feelings"—that he is a southern planter, who, some fifteen years ago, became satisfied from experience, that the whip was not the true motive to induce men and women to work; and that the prospect of freedom, however remote, would infuse a spirit of industry and energy which the best overseer in the country could not elicit by the lash. He matured a plan accordingly, and announced it to his slaves. Saturday afternoons he had already given them, as the only part of the whole week when they could work for themselves and their families; and he had ob-

served the large amount acquired both by the men and women in that short period. He proposed that they should employ this time in working for him, until the value of their labour should enable them to purchase for themselves another half-Saturday, which he calculated they could accomplish "*in about seven years!*" that in the course of time, they would be able to purchase another whole day, and in fourteen or fifteen years from the day of commencing, the balance of the week. An account was to be opened on his books, and their valuation charged; but no child who should be born after the agreement had been entered into, was to be charged, as a counterbalance to an interest account; as no interest was to be allowed on the amount of their gains; and such men and women as had no children of their own, should be obliged to work and assist in paying for the children of the others, "so that the whole company should go on the same day on board ship, and sail for their *fatherland!*"

Mr. McDonough further assured them that, as he would not agree to keep an immoral servant, or one whom he would be obliged to have chastised for offences, on any consideration, *any one so offending, should be immediately put up at public sale and sold*, and whatever money they had earned should go to the benefit of the others: and explained to them that "his object was to give them freedom and happiness in Liberia, without the *loss or the cost of a cent to himself*," and that it could only be effected by greater assiduity and exertion, and years of perseverance on their part. The utter hopelessness of the slaves' condition, and their eager longing for freedom which years of bondage cannot quench, may be imagined from the fact that this proposition was acceded to with joy.\* According to the

\* As many persons find it expedient to assert, and some few perhaps are simple enough to believe, that the poor bondsmen of America are happy in their wretchedness and hug their chains, we quote some south-

editor's account, the unhappy wretches, "with tears in their eyes, protested that they had ever regarded him as

ern authorities upon this point, which, as the voluntary declarations of the slaveholders themselves, are decisive—

"The slaves, men, women and children, are longing for freedom.—  
Rev. J. D. PAXTON of *Virginia*.

"The love of freedom, sir, is an inborn sentiment. At the first favourable moment it springs forth and defies all check. Whenever we are involved in war, if our enemies hold out the lure of Freedom, they will have in every negro a decided friend."—JUDGE TUCKER of *Virginia*, *Professor of Law in the University of William and Mary*.

During the debates in the Legislature of Virginia, in 1831-2, Mr. MOORE said—

"They (the slaves) will always be disposed to avail themselves of a favourable opportunity of asserting their natural rights. \* \* It may be safely assumed that wherever the slaves are as numerous as the whites, it will require one half of the whole effective force of the whites to keep them quiet. Such is the fact as to the whole of Eastern Virginia. \* \* I lay it down as a maxim not to be disputed, that our slaves are now and will ever be actuated by the desire of liberty."

Mr. PRESTON, in the same debate said, "My old friend from Halifax (Mr. Bruce) told us that the Virginia slave was happy and contented. Mr. Speaker, this is impossible—happiness is incompatible with slavery. The love of liberty is the ruling passion of man, and he cannot be happy without it."

Mr. CAMPBELL. "The ever-abiding spark of liberty silently, but surely, exists in the bosom of even the most degraded, oppressed, and humble slave on earth."

Mr. GHOLSON, in describing the attempt to prevent the slaves from regaining their liberty—"And think you, sir, that this attempt will not be resisted? Just as sure as a love of freedom and the immediate prospect of attaining it, will influence the heart and inspire revolution, the love of freedom will be armed with desperation."

Mr. McDOWALL, the present Governor of Virginia, said, "Sir, you may place the slave where you please—you may dry up to your uttermost the fountain of his feelings and the springs of his thought—you may close up his mind to every avenue of knowledge and cloud it over with artificial night—you may yoke him to your labour as the ox, which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live—you may put him under any process which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being—you may do *this*, and the idea that he was born to be free will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of



*their best friend, in the light of a father deeply interested in their welfare!"*

The result was such as might have been anticipated ; and Mr. McDonough has satisfactorily proved on his plantation, what the abolitionists have been so often vilified for asserting, " that by presenting some end, an object of desire and hope to the slave, you make him a new man, rouse his moral nature, and develope as you no otherwise can, his energies."\* His letter is interesting and important, as showing beyond the possibility of a doubt, the entire and perfect fitness of the slaves for immediate freedom, and their capability of being influenced by the new and holy motives which, with the first ray of liberty, would be presented to them in the relations of husband, father, and citizen—when they would no longer be kept in brutal ignorance, nor debarred from the word of God. " From the day," he says, " on which I made the agreement with them, notwithstanding they had at all times previous thereto, been a well-disposed and orderly people, an entire change appeared to come over them ; they were no longer apparently the same people ; a sedateness, a care, an economy, an industry took possession of them, to which there seemed to be no bounds but in their physical strength. They were never tired of laboring, and seemed as though they could never effect enough. They became temperate, moral, religious, setting an example of innocent and unoffending lives to the world around them, which was seen and admired by all."

In sixteen years eighty had purchased their freedom, and in June, 1842, were sent from the country to Liberia. It does not appear from the Spirit of Missions what number during that period were sold under the hammer, or

immortality ; it is the ethereal part of his nature which oppression cannot reach ; it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of Deity, and not to be extinguished by the hand of man."

\* Spirit of Missions, p. 71.

dropped into the grave. The editor intimates that Mr. McDonough's reward for this "*philanthropic*" conduct, is to come in another world. Perhaps it may: he seems, however, in his own estimation to have been sufficiently rewarded here. He says: "In the space of about sixteen years which these people served me, since making the agreement with them, *they have gained for me, in addition to having performed more and better labour than slaves ordinarily perform in the usual time of labouring,* A SUM OF MONEY (including the sum they appear to have paid me in the purchase of their time) WHICH WILL ENABLE ME TO GO TO VIRGINIA OR CAROLINA AND PURCHASE A GANG OF PEOPLE OF NEARLY DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF THOSE I HAVE SENT AWAY."

It is important here to know the character of the American slave trade to which so great an impulse will be given, if the plan recommended by the "Spirit of Missions" is generally adopted by the planters of the South, and we may form some idea of its atrocity from a speech of Mr. THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH, made in 1832, in the Legislature of Virginia, one of the States from which Mr. McDonough proposes to renew his stock of human chattels.

"The 'Ancient Dominion' converted into one grand menagerie, *where MEN ARE REARED FOR THE MARKET like oxen for the shambles!!* Is it better,—is it not worse than the (African) slave trade?—that trade which enlisted the labour of the good and wise of every creed and every clime to abolish. The (African) trader receives the slave, a stranger in language, aspect and manner from the merchant, who has brought him from the interior. The ties of father, mother, husband and child have already been rent in twain; before he receives him, his soul has become callous. But here, sir, individuals whom the master has known from infancy—whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood—who have been ac-

customed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mother's arms, and sells into a strange country, among strange people, subject to cruel taskmasters."

The editor goes on to disclose, with the coolest *nonchalance*, the astounding fact, "that the Bishop of Georgia, in his Montpelier Institute, is *testing the sufficiency of slave labour to support it!*" and then makes a proposition which will cause the Churchmen of the North and those of our Mother-land to open wide their eyes in undisguised amazement. "Let the proposed mission school be placed with the consent and under the auspices of Bishop Polk, in Louisiana. *The first expense (could it not be met?) would be the only one; the purchase of a plantation which might be worked by slaves, who should come under a similar agreement to that noticed above. \* \* \** In honour of the noble man who for so many years has noiselessly and perseveringly pursued the work of PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY to a successful issue, and whose praise will doubtless be in the church above, let it be named the *McDonough Institute!*"

That this plan may be fully understood by the Churchmen of America, we copy some extracts from Mr. McDonough's letter, not contained in the Spirit of Missions, being part of his address to his slaves.

"There is but one way, one mode to effect it, that I can see or devise, and that is by greater assiduity and exertions in the slave at his labour during the usual hours of day labour, and especially by EXTRA HOURS OF LABOUR BEFORE DAY IN THE MORNING, AND AFTER NIGHT IN THE EVENING. \* \* \* Two hours extra labour before day in the morning, and two hours after night in the evening, would be four hours extra in twenty-four hours of day, which would be the one third part more of time devoted to labour than is generally demanded of the slave, which is equivalent to five entire years of additional and extra labour in fifteen years. \* \* \* As the whole of your time belongs to your master, if he was to permit you to work on a certain part of it to make money to purchase your

freedom, he would in reality, in so doing, make you a gift of your freedom, which few masters could afford to do. But in the mode which I propose, and now explain to you, that you may fully comprehend and understand it, *your master will not make you a present of an hour of your time*, and you, in reality, will have gained and placed in his hands, previous to the going out free, a sum of money arising *from your extra labour, fully sufficient to enable him to purchase AN EQUAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE WITH YOURSELVES, MAN FOR MAN, WOMAN FOR WOMAN, AND YOUTH AND CHILD FOR YOUTH AND CHILD.*”

Give ear, right reverend bishops of the North, to the pressing wants of your brother of Louisiana. Call on your clergy and people to contribute of their charity to buy slaves and a plantation for his mission school. “The first expense (*can it not be met?*) will be the only one.” The negroes shall do the rest, by extra work before day in the morning and after night in the evening; and if he shall manage them as prudently as “the noble man” whose praise the Hosts of Heaven are waiting to sing, the Southern church may be enabled, in sixteen years, “to go to Virginia or Carolina, and purchase a gang of people of nearly double the number.” *Largesse, largesse, Christians all, for the pet child of the Spirit of Missions—THE McDONOUGH INSTITUTE!* If we may be allowed to suggest a text for the sermons to be preached by our clergy, when this collection shall be made in their parishes, and the advantages to accrue to the Church from slaves purchased and worked by the bishops of the South are held up to the view of their congregations, we would name, as peculiarly appropriate, the fourth and fifth verses of the eleventh chapter of Zechariah: “Thus saith the Lord my God, *Feed the flock of the slaughter, whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty; AND THEY THAT SELL THEM SAY, BLESSED BE THE LORD FOR I AM RICH, AND THEIR SHEPHERDS PITY THEM NOT.*” Should it be thought advisable, as it doubtless will be, to celebrate the opening of

“THE McDONOUGH INSTITUTE” with a discourse from the pulpit, on the blessings it is to call down upon the heads of the founders, there is a verse of Holy Writ so clear and explicit, that the preacher may speak with perfect confidence on this point. The great Head of the Church has already spoken and said : “*WOE unto him that buildeth his house with unrighteousness and his chambers with wrong ; THAT USETH HIS NEIGHBOR’S SERVICE WITHOUT WAGES, AND GIVETH HIM NOT FOR HIS WORK !*” If the reverend editor of the Spirit of Missions should fill the pulpit on this occasion, he will, of course, attempt to prove, as he now asserts, that no wages ought to be paid, as “the masters cannot afford it.”

A proposition more monstrous than that of the “Spirit of Missions,” we venture to believe, was never made to the American Church. A cool, deliberate proposition to Churchmen, to speculate in the bones and muscles of their brethren, to make the Church a trafficker in “slaves and the souls of men.”\* When the whole world is ringing with denunciations of slavery, and the voice of philanthropy is echoed from the kingdoms of Europe to their colonies of the sea : from the nethermost parts of Asia to the land of Cortez and the Republics of the South : from the Autocracy of Russia to the Beylic of Tunis, demanding the liberation of the captive, and justice for the slave : the appointed organ of the Episcopal Church dares to stand forth, the open apologist and defender of that dark system of oppression—to declare that “Christian prudence” demands its continuance, and to propose that the Churchmen of America contribute to endow a mission school with human chattels. What disciple of Machiavelli, whose brazen sophistry puts Jesuitism to the blush, has crept into the Church and assumed the editorial chair of its Mission organ, striving to degrade it before the world,

\* Revelations 18 : 13.

to gain for it the hiss of scorn, the finger of contempt, and the jeer of the infidel—"Aha! aha! art thou become as one of us?" If we had been admitted to orders in the Episcopal Church, to preach the truth as it is in Jesus, and had afterwards persuaded ourselves that it was expedient to oppress our brother if his skin were black, we would not add hypocrisy to unbelief, by continuing to stand in the holy place, with the word of God upon our lips and a lie within our heart. Were we consistent, we would doff the robes of our priesthood and don the mantle of infidelity; or were we honest—did we know the plague-spot within our breast, like the leper, we would bare our head and rend our clothes, and put a covering upon our lip, and warn every Christian from approaching us, crying, "Unclean! unclean!" We would persuade ourselves, if possible, that Revelation was a fiction, and Truth a lie; that the immortality of the soul was but an illusion, and future responsibility a bug-bear of the imagination; and then, with a quiet conscience, could we join hands with the advocate of slavery, and clasp the slave-trader as a brother: for we could assure them that self was the proper god for our idolatry, that expediency was the true rule of action, and that our life was but a span, with no eternity to follow. Ay! we too, could we so harden our heart, might trample, like this reverend editor, upon our brother's rights, and treat with scorn, oppression and contempt, the humble brethren of the Redeemer, if we believe no God of justice reigned above, that we might boldly demand, "who art thou Lord?" without receiving the awful answer, "I am Jesus whom *thou* persecutest."

The editor, in a passage quoted by us, expressed his feelings on reading the letter of Mr. McDonough: we will be equally frank, and assure him that to say we have read his comments upon that letter with deep sorrow, burning indignation, and sickening disgust, but faintly expresses *our* feelings. We trust that they will raise such a storm

of righteous anger among all true Churchmen, as we see by articles in "The Chronicle and Record," "The New-York American," and "The Episcopal Recorder," they have already begun to do, that the Board of Missions will fully apologize for the infamous doctrines of their subordinate, and as soon as possible remove from a situation he has disgraced, one who has trampled upon the holiest principles of the Church, tarnished her fair fame throughout the world, and endangered the peace of her members by casting among them the fire-brand of slavery.

And *this* is the man who pretends to sneer at the philanthropy of a Channing—to compare with his pure and disinterested benevolence the pecuniary prudence of a slave-dealer. This is the man who meanly intimates that Channing's benevolence was heightened by aspirations after a niche in the temple of Fame, though he well knew that it was when the storm of prejudice howled the loudest, and the cry of amalgamation against all who had a heart to feel for the slave was borne upon every breeze, and loudly echoed from the pulpits of our land, that Channing, counting but as dust in the balance the popularity of which he was the idol, and the warm approval of endeared friends, manfully attacked the monster slavery, which Southern mammon so fondly cherishes, and the Southern Church so carefully guards.

While we lament the errors of Channing's faith, his principles of action were infinitely more orthodox than those of this man, who, in the name of the Church, unblushingly proclaims to the slaveholders that they ought not to emancipate their slaves, because *they cannot afford it!!!*\* "What is this," to use the indignant language of

\* "What are the difficulties in the way of emancipation? 1. *The master cannot afford it.* 2. The slave is not fit for it; so that it would be ruinous to both, and therefore *Christian prudence* forbids. It would not be loving yourself or your neighbour."—*Spirit of Missions for March*, page 68.

How strikingly does this cool-blooded, selfish and Jesuitical argument

WILBERFORCE, uttered in reference to similar blasphemy, "but to establish a competition between God and Mammon, and to adjudge the preference to the latter? What but to dethrone the moral Governor of the world, and to fall down and worship the idol of interest? \* \* We have discarded our old prejudices. We have discovered that Religion and Justice and Humanity, are mere rant and rhapsody. Why, sir, these are principles which Epicurus would have rejected for their impiety, and Macchiavel and Borgia would have disclaimed, as too infamous for avowal, and too injurious to the general happiness of mankind."

On another page the editor declares, that the gift of christianity to the slaves "is our ample recompense for their captivity." Let him go himself into bondage as a chattel of the mission school, and be repaid by their instruction, for he is not initiated, as yet, into the first rudiments of christianity; and with this advice we hasten to dismiss so revolting a subject.

It may not be out of place to devote a few moments to the consideration of the character of that system of which the "Spirit of Missions" declares that *Christian prudence* demands the continuance, a system whereby nearly three millions of immortal beings like ourselves are subjected to the unrestrained, unlimited authority of self-appointed masters, and are, in the language of the law, "taken, sold, held and reputed to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners, to all intents and purposes whatsoever." To find slavery existing in a Christian land, is more contrast with the earnest and anxious language of a conscientious slaveholder, trembling at the thought that he is guilty of oppression, and asking guidance from above. The excellent Bishop MEADE, of Virginia, published a Manual of Devotion, in which a prayer, to be used by the master of a family in a slave region, has this affecting petition. "O Heavenly Master, hear me while I lift up my heart in prayer for those unfortunate beings who *call me master*. O God, make known unto me my whole duty towards them and their oppressed race; give me courage and grace to do it at all events. *Convince me of sin if I be wrong in retaining them another moment in bondage.*"



gusting to a rightly constituted mind, than it could have been to enter, of old, the temples of Egypt, glittering with gold and silver and amber, and find the snake or the crocodile the enshrined divinities to whom they were dedicated. The truth that all men are born with the equal and absolute right to life, liberty and the government of his actions, a truth so self-evident, so perfectly deducible from the constitution of our being and the Gospel Revelation, and so written on our hearts by the finger of God, that it is part and parcel of a Christian's creed, so surely as he believes in individual accountability—a right so sacred that neither the law of the land nor the social compact can lessen or destroy it—this Truth and this Right slavery annihilates. “The right of every individual,” says Cole-ridge, “to retain his whole, natural independence, even in the social state, is absolutely inalienable. He cannot possibly concede or compromise it, for this right is one of his most sacred duties. He would sin against heaven and commit high treason against the Reason which the Almighty Creator has given him, if he dared to abandon its exclusive right to govern his actions.” Yet this right, inalienable by the person himself, for upon it rests his duty and his responsibility, slaveholders snatch by violence from unoffending men, and then attempt to legalize and christianize the robbery.

If slavery were solely the institution of avowed infidels, of men who openly denied the existence of a God, denounced His word, despised His commandments and contemned His threatenings, how hideous would it appear to all; but it is not so. Christian clergy and bishops, as we have seen, sustain it, and it is owing entirely to its being supported by the Church, that slaves yet breathe in this land of freedom. Human nature is the same in all ages, and as among the heathen nations of antiquity the priests always flattered the prejudices of the people, and rarely sought to change the objects of their adoration, but

only to consecrate their worship, and fashion it for their own purposes, so in our christian land, the clergy at the South find slavery a popular idol: and though hideous in all its aspects as the vilest reptile that was fed by sacerdotal hands in the nome of Arsinoe, or honoured with a place in the temple of Isis, they have adopted it as their own: they have recognized its power and hallowed its worship: they have thrown around it the shield of the Church, and claimed for it the sanctity of an heavenly ordinance. The result has been what might naturally have been expected. As some of the early Fathers of the Church, by endeavouring to accommodate truth and falsehood, paganized christianity in order to christen paganism;\* so our clergy, who strive to reconcile the law of oppression with that of love, miserably fail, and instead of christianizing slavery, enslave the Church, religion and themselves.

They mislead their flocks from the great truth that we are all the equal children of a common Father, and without distinction of nation or tongue or creed or colour, should treat one another as brethren, by referring to the existence of a system of servitude under the Jewish Theocracy. How fearful to war in the livery of heaven against heaven's highest ordinance of justice and mercy, to mislead their flocks from the paths of righteousness by christening the walks of the oppressor, and quoting the letter of the Old Testament to contradict the spirit of the New. Despite the accuracy of the quotation, he who applies it to sustain American slavery utters a lie—a lie against God, a lie against his brother. He insults alike the Divinity of the Creator and the humanity of the creature. In truth, his verbal accuracy greatly enhances the guilt of his reasoning; for the careless hearer, knowing the premises to be correct, readily admits the conclusion, when it comports with his selfish interests, his cruel practices, and relieves his conscience

\* Coleridge.

from a burthen which, notwithstanding the participation of thousands and tens of thousands around him in the same system of oppression, would sometimes press heavily upon him and awaken fearful misgivings of the sinfulness of his course, and fearful forebodings of a punishment to follow. But when the flattering words come from the lips of the preacher, an ordained minister of God: and the false argument is pretended to be based upon His own Scripture, they fall like oil upon the troubled spirit of the slaveholder; and his misgivings and forebodings laid to sleep, he goes forth from the house of prayer to seize, with ruthless hand, a brother's earnings; to trample, without fear, upon a brother's rights; to tear the wife from her husband's side, the stripling from his father's arms, the helpless infant from its mother's breast, and barter them for gold; sell them, whom God made to be free as the wind that sweeps the ocean, sell them, with all their mighty faculties of soul and body, to endless toil and wretchedness and death, and put the price of their blood into his pocket in the name of God; and this, without expecting the lightning to blast, or the earth to engulf him. Thus not only are Righteousness and Justice offered on the altar of slavery, but God's own word is made the witness and the approver of the sacrifice; and He, the Almighty Ruler and Lawgiver, infinite in holiness, in wisdom, and in love, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, eternal and unchangeable, is by these daring ministers condemned out of His own Scripture; here shown to be the God of love, and there of oppression; here commanding justice, and there smiling upon tyranny; now proclaiming his people to be men and himself their God, and again recognizing them as chattels personal in the hands of owners mere mortals like themselves.

Thus do they destroy the integral character of God and of their own moral being. His unity destroyed, the component parts lose all their significance, and were this foul

libel true, the Christian's God would be little better than the ideal divinity of Bolingbroke, who removed love, justice and choice from Power and Intelligence, and yet pretended to have left unimpaired the conviction of Deity. The guilt of the law of slavery may be measured by the priceless value of the Gospel, for its chiefest commandments, its worthiest privileges, it utterly annihilates. Originating in avarice and lust, it is based on cruelty and wrong : no forfeiture of his natural rights, no crime on the part of the coloured man is requisite to endow the master with a title to his unrequited services forever, and a right to spur his energies with the lash. It is a system of robbery of the worst kind ; it seizes that which money cannot buy, nor the loss of which can money repay. It seizes *the man's personal freedom*, and chains him to another's will. It not only confirms the relation of master and slave where they now exist, but it authorizes any man, no matter how cruel his disposition, or violent his temper, or infamous his principles, to buy, with gold, despotic, tyrannic power, over a fellow creature and a fellow countryman : and for the conducting of this detestable traffic it establishes auction marts, where the unhappy wretches are exposed for sale, body and soul, flesh and sinew, bone and muscle, and all the mighty enginery of beings made in the image and likeness of God, and consigned by the strokes of the hammer to be chattels personal in the hands of the buyer, through all the fleeting term of years allotted them to prepare for an eternity that shall have no end, to the last hour when death shall set them free, restoring the mortal to the dust and the spirit to God. Nor only this, but condemning to the same bondage, the same brutal tyranny the innocent offspring yet unborn, of the wretched women exposed upon the platform ; so that before God, in his providence, hath said to the spirit, "Come forth," or hath fashioned it in the womb, the unborn immortal is appropriated by the grasping avarice of the bold usurper, and the title to the uncreated being, yet re-

posing in the bosom of his father, is sold under the hammer, that he may be seized and held as a chattel from the first moment his eyes open upon this vale of tears, the scene of his probation.

What a commentary on the text, "Take heed that ye offend not one of these little ones, for their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven!"

And *this* is the system surpassing in inherent wickedness, in selfishness, cruelty and excessive injustice, all other inventions which the devil or man ever conceived, for which God's ministers claim the sanction of heaven, proclaiming from the pulpit to the lordly despot, and the suffering slave, that God himself has established the relation, and confirmed the master title, and smiles upon the institution of American slavery.

"*Slavery*," said Dr. DALCHO, of South Carolina, "*is NOT forbidden by the Divine law, so it is left to our own judgment whether we hold slaves or not.*"

"*No man or set of men*," said the Rev. Mr. FREEMAN, in a sermon preached before the Rt. Rev. Bishop IVES in 1834, and afterwards published with his full endorsement, "*No man or set of men are entitled to pronounce it wrong, and we may add, SLAVERY AS IT EXISTS IN THE PRESENT DAY IS AGREEABLE TO THE ORDER OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE.*"

It can excite no surprise after the avowal of such opinions, that the bishop, and clergy of the South are practical, as well as theoretical supporters of the vilest system of tyranny and oppression, that stains the dark record of the world's history, or that they have afforded ten thousand proofs in the persons of their domestics of the touching words of HOOKER, "To live by one man's will is the cause of many men's misery." But the fact opens to us another view. When God's ministers lend themselves to the support of slavery and the wicked system of *Caste*, resulting from it; when ecclesiastical bodies representing the church at large establish and confirm it; when the

holy temple of the most High is made the theatre for the enactment of parts of that sad tragedy which is daily acted throughout our land, where all is sad reality and no fiction, where the groans are earnest and the tears real, what may we not expect from the scoffer, the infidel, the sensual and the cruel! "If these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" And what clouds of vengeance hover over the nation where such deeds are perpetrated! In the language of a poet who has lately strung his harp in the cause of Right, and who with fearless voice sounds the alarm, when the appointed watchers are sleeping on their posts,

There is a poor blind Sampson in this land  
Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,  
Who may, in some grim revel raise his hand  
And shake the pillars of this common weal,  
Till the vast Temple of our liberties,  
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies.

LONGFELLOW.

We have disclosed facts which the welfare of our Church requires should be known, and at which, in the language of Job, "upright men shall be astonished."

The establishment of a system of CASTE which, trampling principles under foot and setting constitutions at defiance, debars candidates for Holy orders from the Seminary, and excludes clergymen and their parishes from seats in the Convention, and continues to treat with ignominy the lifeless remains, when the spirit has returned to the God who gave it, is not only revolting to every christian feeling, but is startling to those who remember that "usurped power swells like an avalanche."\* Let the rule be once adopted in the Church, "sic volo, sic jubeo—stat pro ratione voluntas,"† and we may discard, as useless lumber, her Articles and her Canons. The general crouching of our bishops and clergy to popular prejudice—with, indeed,

\* D'Aubigné.

† As I wish, so I command, my will stands in the place of reason.

noble exceptions—their frequent disregard, in practice, of the golden rules they teach, and their withholding of all aid from the philanthropic efforts of the age, will lead many to fear, and with justice, that the Church is lagging behind, prevented by the fears of her ministers from performing her appropriate work. Such remissness in the cause of humanity will lessen the love of her children, the respect of the world, and the confidence of all Christians who may feel and say,

“Non tali auxilio  
Nec defensoribus istis tempus eget.”\*

If the “upright men” to whose hands these pages may come, have been astonished to find Caste in the Church, they will scarcely have been less astonished to find that the Church is also the great bulwark of slavery, and that, through its acknowledged periodical, it hath said that “Christian prudence” demands its continuance.

To see the Board of Missions lamenting the condition of foreign heathen, and then deliberately lending their influence to keep millions in a state of heathenism at home, reminds us of Xerxes weeping as he viewed his large army of 1,300,000 men, to think that no one of them would survive at the close of a century, and himself consigning to death the greater portion of that immense multitude within two short years thereafter. But the comparison is in favour of Xerxes, that he foresaw not the result, nor deliberately intended it, while every Christian who upholds slavery, knows with the certainty of moral truth, that he is sustaining a system which inevitably leads thousands upon thousands not only to temporal but to eternal death.†

\* Not such aid, nor such defenders, do the times need.

† “The negroes are destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and ever will be under the present state of things. \* \* They may justly be considered *the heathen* of this country, and will bear a comparison with heathen in any country in the world. \* \* Thousands and thousands

More than seven centuries ago, in the year 1102, in the canons of a council held at London, it was said, "Let no man, from henceforth, presume to carry on that wicked traffic by which men in England have been hitherto sold like brute animals."\* And the organ of the Episcopal Church now declares, that the traffic ought not to cease, because the masters cannot afford it, and bishops set the example of becoming slave-traders. By a law of "the Koran," we are told no Musselman is allowed to enslave one of his own faith, and Plato, in his perfect state, desired that Greeks should not be slaves to Greeks; but American Christians, without fear, enslave their brethren, and boast that those whom they hold as chattels and sell like brutes, are not only the ransomed children of the Eternal Son, but the living temples of the Holy Spirit.† We are forcibly

hear not the sound of the Gospel, or ever enter a church from one year to another."—*Report of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, to whom was referred the subject of the religious instruction of the coloured population, at its late session in Columbia, S. C., published by order of the Synod, 1834.*

\* Wilkin's Concilia.

† So vast is the gulph between profession and practice, that some, doubtless, who daily trample upon their coloured brothers, will read with apparent raptures of approval these verses of KEEBLE. Pity is it that they confine their humanity to the fields of poetry, and allow it no scope in the walks of life.

But he whose heart will bound to mark  
 The full bright burst of summer morn,  
 Loves too each little dewy spark  
 By leaf or floweret worn :  
 Cheap forms and common hues, 'tis true,  
 Through the bright shower-drop meet his view;  
 The *colouring* may be of this earth,  
 The lustre comes of heavenly birth.

Even so who loves the Lord aright,  
 No soul of man can worthless find :  
 All will be precious in his sight,  
 Since CHRIST on all hath shined :  
 But *chiefly* Christian souls, for they,  
 Though worn and soiled with sinful clay,  
 Are yet to eyes that see them true,  
 All glistening with baptismal dew.

*Second Sunday after Trinity.*



reminded of Carneades, a Cyrenian philosopher, who was sent by the Athenians as ambassador to Rome, and there argued before the magistrates and people, with great power and eloquence, in praise of Justice. The next day, to establish his doctrine of the uncertainty of all human knowledge, he undertook to refute his former arguments and prove them false, whereupon the Senate, fearing that he would corrupt the morals of the nation, sent him home. Our pro-slavery clergy would seem to belong to the school of this philosopher, but they have carried his doctrines to an extent never dreamed of by their founder. By maintaining, at the same time, Christianity and Slavery, they would show, if it were possible, not the uncertainty of human knowledge, but the baseless chameleon-like character of divine truth and eternal principle. The time has been when we were liable to be seduced into vice by infidels and atheists, but now it is the gowned priest and the mitred bishop who teach us, by their precept and their example, to enslave our brethren upon christian principles, and act the tyrant in the name of God.

Our Saviour drove with thongs, from the Jewish temple, those who sold therein sheep and oxen, but the ministering servants of our better temple would make *their* Father's house, a house of *human merchandise*.

Since this article has been ready for the press, the April number of the Spirit of Missions has been published, in which it was fully expected the Mission Committees would disavow the infamous proposal of the editor, that the Church should become a speculator in human flesh. *Not one word upon the subject do we find.* The Board of Missions, through their Committees, have adopted it as their own—"THE CHURCH," as represented by the Board of Missions, approves the plan. May God pardon those who so misrepresent her! We trust due notice will be given of the day when collections are to be made in our parishes to establish this brokerage in the trade of blood, which to

Mr. McDonough has yielded, despite *the hardness of the times*, CENT PER CENT, "Man for man, woman for woman, youth and child for youth and child;" and in that same hour let the prayer ascend from every Christian in the land, to our common Father, beseeching him to "grant that His Church, being always preserved from false apostles, may be ordered and guided by faithful and true shepherds."\* And in behalf of the poor slaves held in abject bondage, let the petition of Zacharias ascend "That they may be saved from their enemies, and from the hand of all that hate them"—that being delivered from the hand of their oppressors they may read the Bible and serve God without fear. To you, right reverend bishops, to you, reverend presbyters, to you, all true Churchmen, clerical or lay, whether dwellers at the North or South, whether distinguished as high or low, do we appeal, earnestly, deeply, affectionately appeal, to rise in your might, and vindicate the purity of our Holy Faith.

Be not deterred from the plain path of duty by any fear of popular clamour—or the cry of "amalgamation," which will be raised against every attempt to abolish CASTE IN THE CHURCH, and will be used to bring odium upon "that genuine Christian charity to which the worldling loves tauntingly to refer, whilst its real character and nature are to him as colour to the blind, or as melody to the deaf." Forget not the noble example of Bishop RIDLEY, when he refused to move his cap to the representative of the Pope, lest he should be thought to do it in derogation to the verity of God's word. And in view of this "unrighteous prejudice" and unholy servitude, discard forever from the Church of God "the all unsettling scheme of EXPEDIENCY, which is the anarchy of morals."†

It may be a grave question for your consideration, how far this formal rejection of the first principles of christian-

\* Collect for St. Matthias's day.

† COLERIDGE.

ity, this annihilation of the law of love, are to be regarded, not only among the *vestigia morientis libertatis*—the footsteps of departing liberty—but as *signa cadentis ecclesiæ*—the signs of a falling Church.

We should not be surprised, if this vindication of the doctrines and honor of our Church, should be stigmatized, even by some among her dignitaries, as *fanaticism*. To all who may be disposed thus to brand it, we say, in conclusion, in the words of that noble prelate, Bishop Horsley, “Beware, my lords, how you bring under the opprobrious name of fanaticism, the obligations which you owe to the great duties of justice and mercy, for the neglect of which, if you should neglect them, YOU WILL BE ANSWERABLE AT THAT TRIBUNAL WHERE NO PREVARICATION OF WITNESSES CAN MISINFORM THE JUDGE, WHERE NO SUBTLETY OF AN ADVOCATE MISCALLING THE NAMES OF THINGS, PUTTING EVIL FOR GOOD AND GOOD FOR EVIL, CAN MISLEAD HIS JUDGMENT.”

A CHURCHMAN.

THE END.





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