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It Shines for All

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The Harpers' Ferry Tragedy.

SERMON

BY

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Reported by T. J. Ellinwood and revised by Rev Mr. Beecher for *The New York Sun.*

"For I will stretch out my hand upon the inhabitants of the land, saith the Lord. For from the least of them even unto the greatest of them, every one is given to covetousness; and from the prophet even unto the priest, every one dealeth falsely. They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace. Were they ashamed when they had committed abomination? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush; therefore they shall fall among them that fall: at the time that I visit them they shall be cast down, saith the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. But they said, We will not walk therein. Also I set watchmen over you, saying, Hearken to the sound of the trumpet. But they said, We will not hearken. Therefore hear, ye nations, and know, O congregation, what is among them. Hear, O earth: behold, I will bring evil upon this people, even the fruit of their thoughts, because they have not hearkened unto my words, nor to my law, but rejected it."—Jer. vi. 12-19.

This is a terrible message. It was God's word of old by the mouth of his prophet Jeremiah. The occasion of it was a sudden eruption upon Judah of victorious enemies. God sent the prophet to reveal the cause of this disaster. The prophet declared that God was punishing them because they were selfish and unjust and covetous, and because the whole church was whelmed with its ministry, in the same sins. These mischiefs had been glozed over, and excused, and palliated, and hidden, and not healed. There had been a spirit that demanded unanimity, rather than purity and safety. God therefore threatens further afflictions, because of the hardness of their hearts; and then—for such always is the Divine lenity—as it were, giving them another opportunity and alternative, he commands them to seek after God; to look for a better way; to stand and search for the old way, the right way, and to walk in it!

I need not stop to point out the remarkable pertinence which these things have, in many respects, to our nation in the past, and to our times in the present. I avail myself, this evening, after a long silence upon this subject, in your midst, of the state of the public mind, to utter some words of instruction on the present state of our land.

The surprise of the whole nation, at a recent event, is itself the best evidence of the violation of that event. A burning fragment struck the earth near Harper's Ferry. If the fragment of an exploding aerolite had fallen down out of the air, while the meteor swept on, it would not have been more sudden, or less apparently connected either with a cause or an effect!

Seventeen men, white men, without a military base, without supplies, without artillery, without organization more than a squad of militia, attacked a State, and undertook to release and lead away an enslaved race! They do not appear to have been called by the sufferers, nor to have been welcomed by them. They volunteered a grace, and sought to enforce its acceptance. Seventeen white men surrounded two thousand, and held them in duress. They barricaded themselves, and waited until the troops of two States, the employes of a great railway, and a portion of the forces of the Federal Government could, travelling briskly night and day, reach them. Then, at one dash, they were snuffed out!

I do not wonder that Virginians feel a great deal of mortification! Everybody is sympathetically ashamed for them! It is quite natural that every effort should be made to enlarge the proportions of this escapade, that they may hide their weakness and incompetency behind a smartly upblown horror! No one doubts the bravery of Virginians. It needs no praising. But even brave men have panics. Courage is sometimes caught at unawares. Certainly, it strikes us, at a distance, as a remarkable thing, that prisoners three to one more than their captors, and two thousand citizens should have remained days and nights under the fear and control of seventeen white men. Northern courage has been at a discount in the South hitherto. It ought hereafter to rise in value—at least in Virginia!

The diligence which is now shown, on the part of many public presses, to inflame the public mind, and infect it with fear, is quite foolish. The inoculation will not take. The North may not be courageous, but it certainly is not silly. There is an element of the ludicrous in this transaction which I think will effectually stop all panic.

Seventeen men terrified two thousand brave Virginians into two day's submission—*that* cannot be got over! The common sense of common people will not fail to see through all attempts to hide a natural shame by a bungling make-believe that the danger was really greater than it was! The danger was nothing—and the fear very great, and courage none at all. And nothing can now change the facts! All the newspapers on earth will not make this case appear any better. Do what you please—muster a crowd of supposed confederates, call the roll of conspirators, and include the noblest men of these States, and exhibit this imaginary army before the people, and, in the end, it will appear that seventeen white men overawed a town of two thousand brave Virginians, and held them captives until the sun had gone laughing twice around the globe!

And the attempt to hide the fear of these surrounded men by awaking a larger fear, will never do. It is too literal a fulfilment, not exactly of Prophesy but of Fable; not of Isaiah, but Esop.

A fox having been caught in a trap, escaped with the loss of his tail. He immediately went to his brother foxes to persuade them that they would all look better if they, too, would cut off their caudal appendages. They declined. And our two thousand friends who lost their courage in the presence of seventeen men, are now making an appeal to this nation to lose its courage, too; that the cowardice of the few may be hidden in the cowardice of the whole community! It is impossible. We choose to wear our courage for some time longer.

As I shall not recur to this epic in Virginia history again to-night, I must say a word in respect to the head and heart of it. For it all stood in the courage of one man.

An old man, kind at heart, industrious, peaceful, went forth, with a large family of children, to seek a new home in Kansas. That infant colony held thousands of souls as noble as liberty ever inspired or religion enriched. A great scowling slave State, its nearest neighbor, sought to tread down this liberty-loving colony, and to dragoon slavery into it by force of arms. The armed citizens of another State crossed the State lines, destroyed the freedom of the ballot-box, prevented a fair expression of public sentiment, corruptly usurped law-making power, and ordained by fraud, laws as infamous as the sun ever saw, assaulted its infant settlements with armed hordes, ravaged the fields, destroyed harvests and herds, and carried death to a multitude of cabins. The United States Government had no marines for this occasion! No Federal troops were posted by cars, night and day, for the poor, the weak, the grossly wronged men in Kansas. There was an army there that unfurled the banner of the Union, but it was on the side of the wrong doers, not on the side of the injured.

It was in this field that Brown received his impulse. A tender father, whose life was in his sons' life, he saw his first-born seized like a felon, chained, driven across the country, crazed by suffering and heat, beaten by the officer in charge, like a dog, and long lying at death's door! Another noble boy, without warning, without offense, unarmed, in open day, in the midst of the city, was shot dead! No justice sought out the murderers. No United States attorney was dispatched in hot haste. No marines or soldiers sided the wronged and weak.

The shot that struck the child's heart, crazed the father's brain. Revolving his wrongs, and nursing his hatred of that deadly system that breeds such contempt of justice and humanity, at length his phantoms assume a slender form, and organize such an enterprize as one might expect from a man whom grief had bereft of good judgment. He goes to the heart of a Slave State. One man—and sixteen followers! he seizes two thousand brave Virginians and holds them in duress.

When a great State attacked a handful of weak colonists, the Government and nation were torpid, but when seventeen men attacked a sovereign State, then Maryland arms, and Virginia arms, and the United States Government arms, and they three rush against seventeen men!

Travelers tell us that the Geysers of Iceland—those singular boiling springs of the north—may be transported with fury by plucking up a handful of grass or turf, and throwing them into the springs. The hot springs of Virginia are of the same kind! A handful of men was thrown into them, and what a boiling there has been!

But, meanwhile, no one can fail to see that this poor, child-bereft old man, is the manliest of them all. Bold, unflinching, honest, without deceit or dodge, refusing to take technical advantages of any sort; but openly avowing his principles and motives, sloying in them in danger and death, as much as when in security—that wounded old father is the most remarkable figure in this whole drama. The Governor, the officers of the State, and all the attorneys, are pigmies compared to him.

I deplore his misfortunes. I sympathise with his sorrows. I mourn the hiding or obscuration of his reason. I disapprove of his mad and feeble schemes. I shrink from the folly of the bloody foray, and I shrink, likewise, from all the anticipations of that judicial bloodshed which, doubtless, ere long, will follow—for when was cowardice ever magnanimous? They will kill the man, not for treason, but the disclosure of their cowardice.

Let no man pray that Brown be spared. Let Virginia make him a martyr. Now, he has only blundered. His soul was noble; his work miserable—But a cord and a gibbet would redeem all that, and round up Brown's failure with a heroic success.

One word more, and that is as to the insecurity of those States that carry powder as their chief cargo. Do you suppose that if tidings had come to New York that the United States Armory in Springfield had been seized by seventeen men, New Haven, and Hartford, and Stamford, and Worcester, and New York, and Boston, and Albany, would have been thrown into a fever and panic in consequence of the event? We scarcely should have read the papers to see what became of it! We should have thought that it was a matter which the Springfield people could manage. The thought of danger would not have entered into our heads. There would not have been any danger. But in a State where there is such inflammable stuff as Slavery, there *is* danger, and the people of the South know it; and they cannot help it. I do not blame them so much for being afraid—there is cause for fear where they have such a population as they have down at the bottom of society. But what must be the nature of State and domestic institutions which keep brave men at the point of fear all their life long?

I do not propose, at this time, to express my opinion upon the general subject of Slavery. I have elsewhere, and often, deliberately uttered my testimony. Reflection and experience only confirm my judgment of its immeasurable evils. It is double-edged evil, that cuts both ways, wounding master and slave; a pest to good morals; a consumption of the industrial virtues; a burden upon society, in its commercial and whole economic arrangements; a political anomaly, a nuisance, and a cause of inevitable degradation in religious ideas, feelings and institutions. All other causes of friction, put together, derived from the weakness or the wickedness of men, are not half so mischievous to our land as is this gigantic evil.

But it exists in our land, with a broad spread, and a long-continued hold. The extent of our duties toward the slave and toward the master, is another and separate question. Our views upon the nature of Slavery may be right, and our views of our duty toward it may be wrong. At this time it is peculiary necessary that all good men should be divinely led to act with prudence and efficient wisdom.

Because it is a great sin, because it is a national curse, it does not follow that we have a right to say anything or do anything that we may happen to please. We certainly have no right to attack it in any manner that will gratify men's fancies or passions. It is computed that there are four million colored slaves in our nation. These dwell in 15 different Southern States, with a population of ten million whites. These sovereign States are united to us not by any federal ligaments, but by vital interests, by a common national life. And the question of duty is not simply what is duty toward the blacks, not what is duty toward the whites, but what is duty to each, and to both united. I am bound by the great law of love to consider my duties toward the slave, and I am bound by the great law of love also to consider my duties toward the white man, who is his master! Both are to be treated with Christian wisdom and forbearance. We must seek to benefit the slave as much as the white man, and the white man as really as the slave. We must keep in mind the interest of every part—of the slaves themselves, of the white population, and of the whole brotherhood of states federated into national life. And while the principles of liberty and justice are one and the same, always, and everywhere, the wisest method of conferring upon man the benefit of liberty and justice, demands great consideration, according to circumstances.

How to *apply* an acknowledged principle in practical life, is a task more difficult than the defence of the principle. It is harder to define what would be just in certain emergencies, than to establish the duty, claims and authority of justice.

Can any light be thrown upon this difficult path? Some light may be shed; but the difficulties of duty can never be removed except by the performance of duty. But, some things may be known beforehand, and guide to practical solutions.

I shall proceed to show The Wrong Way and The Right Way.

I. We have no right to treat the citizens of the South with *acrimony* and *bitterness*, because they are involved in a system of wrong-doing. Wrong is to be exposed. But the *spirit* of rebuke may be as wicked before God, as the spirit of the evil rebuked. Simplicity and firmness in truth is more powerful than any vehement bitterness. Speaking the truth in love, is the Apostle's prescription. Some men so love that they will not speak painful truth, and some men utter truth so bitterly as to destroy love; and both are evil-doers. A malignant speech of slavery will not do any good; and, most of all, it will not do those any good who most excite our smypathy—the children of bondage. If we hope to ameliorate the condition of the slave, the first step must not be taken by setting the master against him. We may be sure that God will not employ mere wrath, for wisdom; and that he will raise up and send forth, when his day comes, fearless men, who shall speak the truth for justice, in the spirit of love. Therefore, it is a matter, not merely of political and secular wisdom, but of Christian conscience, that those that have at heart the welfare of the enslaved should maintain a Christian spirit. This can be done without giving up one word of truth, or one principle of righteousness. A man may be fearless and plain-spoken, and yet give evidence of being sympathetic, and kind-hearted and loving.

2. The breeding of discontent among the bondmen of our land is not the way to help them. Whatever gloomy thoughts the slave's own mind may brood, we are not to carry disquiet to him, from without.

If I could have my way, every man on the globe should be a free man, and at once! But as they cannot be, will not be, for ages, is it best that bitter discontent should be inspired in them—or Christian quietness and patient waiting? If restlessness would bring freedom, they should never rest. But I firmly believe that moral goodness in the slave is the harbinger of Liberty! The influence of national freedom will gradually reach the enslaved. It will hereby inspire that restlessness which precedes development. Germination is the most silent, but most disturbing of all natural processes. Slaves are bound to feel the universal summer of civilization. In this way they must come to restless yearnings. We cannot help that, and would not if we could. It is God's sign that spring has come to them. The soul is coming up. There must be room for it to grow. But this is a very different thing from early discontent, stirred up from without, and left to rankle in their unenlightened natures. The time is rapidly coming when the Southern Christian will feel a new inspiration. We are not far removed from a revival of the doctrines of Christian manhood, and the divine right of men. When this pentecost comes, the slaves will be stirred by their own masters. We must work upon the master. Make him discontented with slavery, and he will speedily take care of the rest. Before this time comes, any attempt to excite discontent among the slaves will work mischief to *them*, and not good. And my experience—and I have had some experience in this matter—is that men who tamper with slaves and incite them, are not themselves to be trusted. They are not honest men, unless they are fanatical. If they have their reason, they usually have lost their conscience. I never will trust such men with money, nor place any confidence in them whatsoever. I do not know why it is so, but my experience has taught me that men who do such things are crafty, and come forth from such tampering unreliable men. Conspirators, the world over, are bad men. And if I were in the South—and I think I have the reputation there of being a tolerably stout abolitionist—I should, not from fear of the master, but from the most deliberate sense of the injurious effects of it to the slave, never by word, nor sign, nor act, do anything to excite discontent among those that are in slavery. The condition of the slave must be changed, but the change cannot go on in one part of the community alone. There must be change in the law, change in the church, change in the upper classes, change in the middle, and in all classes. Emancipation, when it comes, will come either by revolution, or by a change of public opinion in the *whole community*. No influences, then, are adequate to the relief of the slave, which are not of a proportion and power sufficient to modify the thought and the feeling of the whole community. The evil is not partial. It cannot be cured by partial remedies. Our plans must include a universal change in policy, feeling, purpose, theory, and practice, in the nation. The application of simple remedies to single spots, in this great body of disease, will serve to produce a useless irritation; it will merely fester the hand, but not cure the whole body.

3. No relief will be carried to the slaves of the South, as a body, by any individual or organized plans to carry them off, or to incite them to abscond.

The more enlightened and liberty-loving among the southern slaves, bear too much of their masters' blood not to avail themselves of any opening to escape. It is their right: it will be their practice. Free locomotion is an incident to slave property, which the master must put up with. Nimble legs are much used in providence to temper the severity of slavery. If, therefore, an enslaved man, acting from the yearnings of his own heart, desires to run away, who shall forbid him? In all the earth, wherever a human being is held in bondage, he has a right to slough his burden and break his yoke if he can. If he wishes liberty, and is willing to dare and suffer for it, let him! If by his manly courage he achieves it, he ought to have it. And I honor such a man!

Nay, if he has escaped and comes to me, I owe him shelter, succor, defence, and God-speed to a final safety. If there were as many laws as there are lines in the Fugitive Slave Law, and as many officers as there were lions in Daniel's lions' den, I would disregard every law, but God's, and help the fugitive! The officers might catch me, but not *him*, if I could help it. A man whose own heart has inspired liberty and courage sufficient to enable him to achieve what he desired, shall never come to my door, and not be made as welcome as my own child. I will adopt him for God's sake, and for the sake of Christ, who heeds over the weak and perishing. Nor am I singular in such feelings and purposes. Ten thousand men, even in the South, would feel and do the same. A man who would not help a fellow creature flying for his liberty, must be either a villain or a politician.

But all this is very different from stirring up discontent, and setting on men to escape by outside influence.

I stand on the outside of this great cordon of darkness, and every man that escapes from it, running for his life, shall have some help from me, if he comes forth of his own free accord; yet, I am not the man to go in and incite slaves to run away, to send any other man to do it, to approve it, or to countenance it. I do not believe we have a right to carry into the system of slavery exterior discontent; and for this reason: *that it is not good for the slaves themselves.* It is short-sighted humanity, at best, and poor policy for both the blacks and the whites. And I say again, I would not trust a man that would do it. It would injure the blacks chiefly and especially. How it would injure them, will appear when I come to speak positively of what is the right way to promote the liberty of the enslaved. I may say here, however, that the higher a man is raised in the scale of being, the harder it will be to hold him in bondage and to sell him; while the more he is like an animal, the easier it will be to hold him in thrall and harness. The more you make slaveholders feel that when they oppress and sell a man, they are oppressing and selling God's image, the harder it will be for them to continue to enslave and traffic in human beings. Therefore, whatever you do to inspire in the slave high and noble and godlike feelings, tends to loosen his chains; and whatever shall inspire in him base, low and cruel feelings, tightens them.

Running away is all fair for single cases. It is God's remedy for all cases of special hardship. It is the natural right of every man who is of a manhood enough to resent even the first chain of bondage. But we are not speaking of the remedy for individuals—but the remedy for the whole system. Four million men cannot run away, until God sends ten Egyptian plagues to help them. And those who go among the slaves to stir up such a disposition, will help the hundreds at the expense of the millions. Those left behind will be demoralized, and becoming less trustworthy, will grow sullen under increased severity and vigilance.

4. Still less would we tolerate anything like insurrection and servile war. It would be the most cruel, hopeless, and desperate of all conceivable follies, to seek emancipation by the sword and by blood. And though I love liberty as my own life; though I long for it in every human being; though, if God, by unequivocal providences, should ordain that it should come again as of old, through terrible plagues on the first-born, and by other terrors of ill, I should submit to the Divine behest; yet, so far as human instrumentation is concerned, with all the conscience of a man, with all the faith of a Christian, and with all the zeal and warmth of a philanthropist, I protest against any counsels that lead to insurrection, servile war, and bloodshed. It is bad for the master—bad for the slave—bad for all that are neighbors to them—bad for the whole land—bad from beginning to end! An evil so unminded and malignant, that its origin can scarcely be doubted.

I believe, however, in the right of a people to assert and achieve their liberty. The right of a race or nation to seize their freedom is not to be disputed. It belongs to all men on the face of the globe, without regard to complexion. A people have the right to change their rulers, their government, their whole political condition. This right is not either granted, or limited in the New Testament. It is left, as is air, water and existence itself, as things not requiring command or legislation. But according to God's words, so long as a man remains a servant, he must obey his master. The right of the slave to throw off the control of his master is not abrogated. The right of the subject to do this is neither defined or limited.

But the use of this right must conform to reason and to benefit. The *leaders* of a people have no right to whelm their helpless followers into terrible disaster by inciting them to rebel, under circumstances that afford not the slightest hope that their rebellion will rise to the dignity of a successful revolution.

The nations of Italy are showing great wisdom and fitness in their leaders for their work, in this very thing, that they are quelling fretful and irregular outbreak, and holding the people steadfast till success shall surely crown uprising revolution. This has been the eminent wisdom of that Hungarian exile—Kossuth.

In spite of all that is written and said against this noble man, I stand to my first full faith in him. The uncrowned hero is the noblest man, after all, in Europe! And his statesmanship has been shown in this: that his burning sense of the right of his people to be free, has not led him to incite them to premature, partial, and easily over-matched revolt. A man may give his own life rather than abide in servitude, but he has no right to lead a whole people to slaughter, without the strongest probabilities of success.

If nations were all armed men, it would be different. Soldiers can die. But a nation is made up of other materials besides armed men—it is made up of women, and children, and youth. These are to be considered—not merely men of muscle, and knuckle, and bone. And a man that leads a people has no right to incite that people to rise unless there is a reasonable prospect that they will conquer.

Now, if the Africans in our land were intelligent; if they understood themselves; if they had self-governing power; if they were able first to throw off the yoke of laws and constitutions, and afterwards to defend and build themselves up in a civil State; then they would have just the same right to assume their independence that any nation has.

But does any man believe that this is the case? Does any man believe that this vast horde of undisciplined Africans, if set free, would have cohesive power enough to organize themselves into a government, and maintain their independence? If there be men who believe this, I am not among them. I certainly think that even slaves would be made immeasurably better by liberty; but I do not believe they would be made better by liberty gained by insurrection or rebellion. A regulated liberty; a liberty assessed with the consent of their masters; a liberty under the laws and institutions of the country; a liberty which should make them common beneficiaries of those institutions and principles which make us wise and happy—such a liberty would be a great blessing to them. Freedom, with law and government is a good, but without them it is a mischief. And anything that tends to incite among men a vague insurrectionary spirit, is a great and cruel wrong to them.

If, in view of the wrongs of slavery, you say that you do not care for the master, but only the slave, I reply that you *should* care for both master *and* slave! If *you* do not care for the fate of the wrong-doing white man, *I* do care for the fate of the wrong-doing white man! But even though your sympathy were only for the slave, then for his sake you ought to set your face against, and discountenance, anything like an insurrectionary spirit.

Let us turn, then, from these specifications of the wrong way to some consideration relating to the right way.

1. If we would benefit the African at the South, we must *begin at home.* This is to some men the most disagreeable part of the doctrine of emancipation. It is very easy to labor for the emancipation of beings a thousand miles off, but when it comes to the practical application of justice and humanity to those about us, it is not so easy. The truth of God respecting the rights and dignities of men, are just as important to free colored men, as to enslaved colored men. It may seem strange for me to say that the lever with which to lift the load of Georgia is in New York; but it is. I do not believe the whole free North can tolerate grinding injustice toward the poor, and inhumanity toward the laboring classes, without exerting an influence unfavorable to justice and humanity in the South. No one can fail to see the inconsistency between our treatment of those amongst us who are in the lower walks of life, and our professions of sympathy for the Southern slaves. How are the free colored people treated at the North? They are almost without education, with but little sympathy for ignorance. They are refused the common rights of citizenship while the white negro may claim even ride in the cars of our city railroads. They are snuffed at in the house of God, or, colorated with ill-disguised disgust. Can the black man be a mason in New York? Let him be employed as a journeyman, and every Irish lover of liberty that carries the hod or trowel would leave at once, or compel him to leave! Can the black man be a carpenter? There is scarcely a carpenter's shop in New York in which a journeyman would continue to work, if a black man was employed in it. Can the black man engage in the common industries of life? There is scarcely one in which he can engage. He is crowded down, down, down, through the most menial callings, to the bottom of society. We tax them, and then refuse to allow their children to go to our public schools. We tax them, and then refuse to sit by them in God's house. We heap upon them moral obloquy more atrocious than that which the master heaps upon the slave. And notwithstanding all this, we lift ourselves up to talk to the Southern people about the rights and liberties of the human soul, and especially the African soul! It is true that slavery is cruel. But it is not at all certain that there is not more love to the race in the South than in the North. They love their property. We do not own them, so we do not love them at all. The prejudice of the whites against color is so strong that they cannot endure to ride or sit with a black man, so long as they do not *own* him. As a neighbor, they are not to be tolerated, but as property they are most tolerable in the house, the church, the carriage, the couch! The African, *owned*, may dwell in America; but, *unowned*, he must be expatriated; emancipation must be jackal to colonization. The choice given to the African is *plantation* or *colonization.* Our Christian public sentiment is a pendulum swinging between *owning* or *exporting* the poor in our midst.

Whenever we are prepared to show toward the lowest, the poorest, and the most despised, an unaffected kindness, such as led Christ, though the Lord of glory, to lay aside his dignities, and take on himself the form of a servant, and to an ignominious death, that he might rescue men from ignorance and bondage—whenever we are prepared to do such things as these, we may be sure that the example of the North will not be unfelt at the South. Every effort that is made in Brooklyn to establish schools and churches for the free colored people, and to encourage them to educate themselves and become independent, is a step toward emancipation in the South. The degradation of free colored men, in the North, will fortify Slavery in the South.

2. We must quicken all the springs of feeling in the free States in behalf of human liberty, and create a public sentiment, based upon truth and true manhood. For if we act to any good purpose on the minds of the South, we have got to do it through a salutary and pure public sentiment in the North. When we have corrected our own practice, and set an example of the right spirit, then we shall have a position from which to exert a beneficial public influence on the minds of southern slaveholders. For this there must be full and free discussion. Under our institutions, public opinion is the monarch, and free speech and debate form public opinion.

The air must be vital with the love of liberty. Liberty with us must be raised by religion from the selfishness of an instinct to the sanctity of a moral principle! We must love it for ourselves and demand it for others. Since Christ took man's nature human life has a Divine sanctity. We must inspire in the public mind a profound sense of the rights of men, founded upon their relations to God. The glory of intelligence, refinement, genius, has nothing to do with men's rights. The rice slave, the Hottentot, are as much God's children as Humboldt or Chalmers. That they are in degradation only makes it more imperative upon us to secure to them the birthright which they in ignorance might sell for a mess of potage.

These things must become familiar again to our pulpits. Our children must be taught to glow again in our schools over the heroic ideals of liberty. Mothers must twine the first threads of their children's life with the golden threads of these divine truths, and the whole of life must be woven to the heavenly pattern of liberty!

What can the North do for the South, unless her own heart is purified and ennobled? When the love of Liberty is at so low an ebb, that churches dread the sound, ministers shrink from the topic; when book-publishers dare not publish or republish a word on the subject of slavery, cut out every living word from school-books, expurgate life-passages from Humboldt, Brougham, and all foreign authors or teachers; and when great religious publication society, enjoined for the very purpose of speaking fearlessly the truths which interest would let perish, pervert their trust, and are dumb, first and chiefly, and articulate only in things that thousands of others could publish as well as they—what chance is there that *public sentiment*, in such a community, will have any power with the South?

But the end of these things is at hand. A nobler spirit is arising. New men, new hearts, new creeds, are coming forward, led on by all those signs and auspices that God foresends when he prepares his people to advance. This work, well begun, must not go back. It must grow, like spring, into summer. God will then give it an autumn—without a winter. And when such a public sentiment fills the North, founded upon religion, and filled with fearless love to both the land and the free, it will work all over the continent, and nothing can be hid from the shining thereof.

3. By all the ways consistent with the fearless assertion of truth, we must maintain sympathy and kindness toward the South. We are brethren; and I pray that no fratricidal influences will be permitted to sunder this Union. There was a time when I thought the body of death would be too much for life, and that the North was in danger of taking disease from the South, rather than they our health. That time has gone past. I do not believe that we shall be separated by their act or ours. We have an element of healing, which, if we are true to ourselves and our principles, and God is kind to us, shall drive itself further and further into the nation, until it penetrates and regenerates every part. When the whole lump shall have been leavened thereby, old prejudices will be done away, and new sympathies will be created.

I am for holding the heart of the North right up to the heart of the South. Every heart-beat will be, ere long, not a blow riveting oppression, but a throb carrying new health. Freedom in the North is stronger than Slavery in the South. We are yet to work for them, as the silent spring works for us. They are a lawful prey to love. I do not hesitate to tell the South what I mean by loving a union with them. I mean liberty. I mean the decay of Slavery, and its extinction. If I might speak for the North, I would say to the South, "We love you, and hate your Slavery. We shall leave no fraternal effort untried to deliver you, and ourselves with you, from the degradation, danger and wickedness of this system." And for this we cling to the *Union.* There is health in it.

4. We are to leave no pains untaken, through the Christian conscience of the South, to give to the slave himself a higher moral status. I lay it down as an axiom, that whatever gives more manhood to the slave sickens the bonds that bind him, and that whatever lowers him in the scale of manhood, tightens those bonds. If you wish to work for the enfranchisement of the African, seek to make him a better man. Teach him to be an obedient servant and an honest, true, Christian man. These virtues are God's stepstones to liberty. That man whom Christ first makes free, has a better chance to be civilly free than any other. To make a slave morose, fractious, disobedient, and unwilling to work, is the way to defer his emancipation. We do not ask the slave to be satisfied with slavery. But, feeling its grevious burden, we ask him to endure it while he must, "as unto God and not unto man;" not because he does not love liberty, but because he does love Christ enough to show forth his spirit under grevious wrong. Poor slaves will never breed respect, sympathy and emancipation. Truth, honor, fidelity, manhood—these things in the slave will prepare him for freedom. It is the low animal condition of the African that enslaves him. It is moral enfranchisement that will break his bonds.

The Pauline treatment is the most direct road to liberty. No part of the wisdom of the New Testament seems to me more divine; wise than Paul's directions to those in slavery. They are the food that servants need, now, at the South, everywhere, the world over! If I lived in the South, I should preach these things to slaves, while preaching on masters' duties to those who hold them. I should do it with a firm conviction that so I should advance the day of their liberty!

In order to labor the most effectually for the emancipation of the slaves, I would not need to say one word, except to preach Christ, and purity and manhood, and to enjoin upon them faithfulness in every duty belonging to their state. I should be conscious that in doing this I was lifting them up higher and higher. I should feel that I was carrying them further and further toward their emancipation. There is no disagreement between the true spirit of emancipation, and the enforcement of every single one of the precepts of the New Testament respecting servants.

5. The things which shall lead to emancipation are not so complicated or many as many people blindly think. A few virtues established, a few usages maintained, a few rights guaranteed to the slaves, and the system is vitally wounded. The right of chastity in the woman, the unblemished household love, the right of parents in their children—on these three elements stands the whole weight of society. Corrupt or enfeeble these, and there cannot be super-incumbent strength. Withhold these rights from savage people, and they can never be carried up.—They are the integral elements of associated human life. We demand, and have a right to demand, of the Christian men of the South, that they shall revolutionize the moral condition of the slaves in this regard.

I stand up in behalf of two million women who are without a voice, to declare that there ought to be found in Christianity, somewhere, an influence that shall protect their right to their own persons; and that their purity shall stand on some other ground than the caprice of their masters. I demand that the Christian Church, both North and South, shall bear a testimony in behalf of marriage among the slaves, which shall make it as inviolable as marriage among the whites. It is not to be denied that another code of morals prevails upon the plantation than that which prevails in the plantation house. So long as husband and wife are marriageable commodities, and to be sold apart, to form new connections, there can be no such thing as sanctity in wedlock.

Let it be known in New York that a man has two wives, and there is no church so feeble of conscience that they will not instantly eject him; and the civil law will instantly visit him with penalty. But the communicants of slave churches not only live with a second, while their first companion is yet alive, but with a third, and fourth; nor is it any disqualification for church membership. The church and the state wink at it. It is a part of the commercial necessity of the system. If you *will* sell men, you must not be too nice about their moral virtues.

A *wedding*, among this unhappy people, is but a name—a mere form, to content their consciences, or their love of imitating their superiors. And every auctioneer in their community has the power to put asunder whom God has joined. And marriage is as movable as misfortune itself. The bankruptcy of their owner, is the bankruptcy of the marriage relation, in half the slaves on his plantation.

Neither is there any Gospel that has been permitted to rebuke these things. There is no church that I have ever known in the South, that bears testimony against them. Neither will the churches in the North, as a body, take upon themselves the responsibility of bearing witness against them.

I go further; I declare that there must be a Christian public sentiment, which shall make the family inviolate. Men sometimes say, "It is rarely the case that families are separated." It is false! It is false! There is not a slave mart that does not bear testimony, ten thousand times over, against such an assertion. Children are bred like colts and calves, and are dispersed like them.

It is in vain to preach a Gospel to slaves that leaves out personal chastity in man and woman, that leaves out the sanctity of the marriage state, and the unity and inviolability of the family. And yet no Gospel has borne such a testimony in favor of them, as to arouse the conscience of the South! If ministers will not preach liberty to the captive, they ought at least to preach the indispensable necessity of household virtue! If they will not call upon the masters to set their slaves free, they should at least proclaim a leaven this purity subject to another's control! or that Christianity that protects woman, childhood and household!

The moment a woman stands self-poised in her own purity; the moment man and woman are united together by bonds which cannot be sundered during their earthly life; the moment the right of parents to their children is recognized—that moment there will be a certain sanctity and protection of the eternal and Divine government resting upon father and mother, and children; and Slavery will have had its death blow struck! You cannot make Slavery profitable after these three conditions are secured! The moment you make slaves serfs they become a difficult legal tenure, and are uncurrent in the market; and families are so cumbrous, so difficult to support, so expensive, that owners are compelled, from reasons of pecuniary interest, to drop the system.

Therefore, if you will only disseminate the truths of the gospel, if getting timid priests out of the way, and lying sophistries, whose cowardice slanders the Gospel which they pretend to diffuse, you bring a whole solar flood of revelation to bear upon the virtues and practical morals of the slave, you will begin to administer a remedy which will inevitably heal the evil, if God designs to cure it by moral means.

6. Among the means to be employed for promoting the liberty of the slaves, we must not fail to include the power of true Christian prayer. When Slavery shall cease, it will be by such instruments and influences as shall exhibit God's hand and heart in the work. Its downfall will have been achieved so largely through natural causes, so largely through reasons as broad as nations, that it will be apparent to all men that God led on the emancipation; man being only one element among the many. Therefore, we have every encouragement to direct our prayers without ceasing to God, that he will restrain the wrath of man, inspire men with wisdom, overrule all laws, and control the commerce of the globe, so that the poor may become rich, that the bond may become free, that the ignorant may become wise, that the master and slave may respect each other, and that, at length, we may be an evangelized and Christian people. May God, in his own way and time, speed the day

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Collision on the Sound.

One Man Killed and Three Missing.

The steamer Champion, Capt. John Brown, of the New York and New Haven Line, which left this port about 3 o'clock Wednesday morning, bound to New Haven, when off Mattinacock Point, about 5 o'clock, came in collision with the screw steamer Albatross, from Providence, cutting the Champion down below her water line, and she immediately began to sink. The Albatross struck her about ten feet forward of the wheel house, on the larboard side, cutting through to the boilers. The boilers instantly exploded with a loud report, and immediately after, amid the hissing of the scalding steam thus let loose, could be heard the cry of one of the firemen calling for help. Efforts were made to rescue him, but it was found to be impossible, and he is numbered among the lost. His name was not ascertained.

The passengers were nearly all in their berths at the time, and a scene of wild confusion ensued, men and women rushing out of the cabins and staterooms in their night clothes, and clutching at the life-preservers, settees, and other moveable articles, expecting to be obliged to swim. It was still quite dark, and it was some minutes before the cause of alarm could be explained. By this time the Albatross was seen near the Champion, and their fears were quieted. Every facility was afforded the passengers for getting on board the propeller, which was found not to be seriously injured, and in a short time all who wished to leave had an opportunity of doing so, much of their personal baggage, in the confusion of the moment, being left behind. The steamer Croton, bound for New York, soon came along, and took off the passengers remaining on the Champion, as well as some who had taken refuge on the Albatross, and brought them to this city. Three of the passengers are missing, and are supposed to have been lost. One of them is thought to be a Mr. Steele, of New Haven, the others are unknown. The Champion had on board twenty or thirty passengers, and a crew of eight or ten men. In addition to the passengers on board, she had a large amount of freight, including four horses and eight mules. The animals, of course, were all drowned. None of the baggage of the passengers was saved, and many of them escaped with but very little clothing. Captain Hoffmeyer, of the Croton, and Capt. Jones, of the Albatross, supplied such garments to the sufferers as they were able to.

Within twenty minutes from the time of the disaster, the Champion sunk till her upper deck was under water. She was then taken in tow by the Albatross and steamer Acton, and finally grounded off Red Spring Point, where she now lies, and the Company have dispatched a steamer and force of men to save the freight and baggage.

The Champion does not belong to the regular line of New Haven boats, but was supplying the place of the steamer Traveler, which was laid up on account of having been run into the night previous by a schooner. The Albatross is a freight propeller belonging to Providence, and is said to have been heavily loaded. The Champion is some ten or twelve years old. Until she is raised it cannot be certainly known that the missing passengers are drowned.

Capt. Jones, of the Albatross, states that the Champion was first seen at a point and a half on their starboard bow, and should have kept her course, passing to the northward of the propeller, instead of which, the steamer put her helm hard a port and came square across the propeller's bow, which struck the Champion nearly amidships.

Mr. C. W. Townsley, of this city, who was on board at the time of the accident, did not go to bed that morning.

As he walked about the boat, he had a strange presentiment that something would happen, that he had better not go to sleep that night, and this feeling was so strong that he never took off his clothes, but continued roving about until the collision occurred. He even went through the cabin and counted the passengers, and states that there were 13 males in the berths in the gentlemen's cabin. About five o'clock on Wednesday morning he was standing by the engine room, and listening to the engineer, who was instructing a fireman how to manage the engine. He had just stepped back into the cabin, and taken a chair, when he heard the concussion, and found the steam rushing through the vessel. His presentiment was strongly aroused; he knew that something had happened, and going to the berth, and finding his son in a sound sleep, he took him out bodily, and carried him up on deck without waking him. The lad did not wake up until he was safe on the upper deck. The water filled the cabin so quickly that Mr. Townsley is confident that had he stopped to wake the boy up he would have been drowned. He says he was surprised that the noise of the collision was so slight; he could liken it to nothing but striking a dull axe into a rotten log. Had he been asleep it probably would not have waked him. On reaching the deck he went at once to the ladies' cabin. He was surprised to find no confusion or excitement on board; he heard only one scream from the females, and that was from the chambermaid; and he met the ladies coming out of the cabin deliberately and in perfect order, as if under the direction of a marshal. They walked deliberately out, and from the steamer they went directly on board the propeller, which still stuck to the Champion.

George W. Hotchkiss, of New Haven, who was a passenger, says:

I went aboard, and went to bed in the after cabin there being no state-rooms on the boat. I suppose she left her dock at about three o'clock, being engaged some two hours in unloading and taking in freight. I was awakened by a loud crash, jumped up and rushed on deck. On reaching the promenade deck, I saw that we were foul of a propeller, and were sinking rapidly, while the propeller kept up.—She had struck us on the port side, just forward of the smoke stack, remaining imbedded in the side of the Champion until after the passengers had gone aboard of her from