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RANK AND NOBILITY.

A STORY—BY JEANNE MARIE.

Translated for the Era, by Dr. Edwin A. Atlee.

GOING TO CHURCH.

Several days elapsed, without intelligence received by Baler of Mrs. Müller. He had begun to be easy, for he believed his mother had taken his words into consideration, and was of the same mind with himself, when one evening he received the following letter from her:

"MY DEAR SON: Thou avoidest seeing me again, and I can explain the cause that withholds thee from visiting my house. Thou art afraid of not meeting me alone. And, really, our interview might easily suffer interruption, for both my youngest sons are much with me; but I have found an expedient to allay the thirst of my heart. I must see thee again, Baler—too mighty is my longing for a sight of thee; therefore hear my plan: To-morrow's Sabbath calls me to the worship of God, in church, with quite singular feelings. Adrian will preach in the cathedral. I do not fear for this his first public appearance; for I am convinced that my son, a worthy successor of his father, and, like him, an advocate for Truth and its zealous announcer, will sow the seeds of virtue in the hearts of his hearers.

"I cannot, therefore, think of a more glorious opportunity for thee to prove thy brother, than this solemn morning, and earnestly entreat thee not to refuse my first request, but to be in the cathedral at ten to-morrow morning. Place thyself opposite the pulpit, so that I can see thee. On the left, near it, by the first choir, is my seat. How my heart throbs at the thought! Adrian in the pulpit, and Baler opposite me, eye to eye with his brother.

"In anxious expectation, thy mother,

"CLARA MULLER."

While Mrs. Müller was writing these lines, a hope was raised afresh that Baler, as soon as he heard Adrian, would be charmed with his eloquence, the force of his diction, his whole appearance—would feel a glowing desire to press him to his heart as his nearest relation. But, had she witnessed the impression her request made on the Count, her spirit would have sunk. Baler, displeased, threw his mother's letter into the flames, which obviated all discovery, and cast himself upon the sofa. Must he betake himself next morning early to the church, have his toilette finished by ten o'clock, he, who was in the habit of rising at that hour, and in soft night-gown and slippers amusing himself, from morning till the visiting hour, with light reading? This going to church really interfered much with his favorite practices; and he could not, without a slight shudder, think on the approaching cold morning, and on the preaching which he should be compelled to hear. He had no inclination whatever to come in contact with his brother, and, least of all, in public. Notwithstanding, he had no intention to stay away, and cause his mother to wait gratuitously for him. He had hastily resolved to write that he felt too unwell to go out, but to thank her for her care, and hope to be able soon to visit her, personally, at her house; but he destroyed the letter, hoping that if he submitted this time, he would oppose her in this way again. He therefore gave orders that they should wake him next morning earlier than usual.

Baler found the church already crowded when he entered, at the time appointed, and only with great difficulty obtained the place opposite the pulpit, which his mother had designated. There, where difference of rank was at an end—where the peasant stood beside the nobleman—where each one thought himself equal to any other—where rank and worth were not taken into consideration—the elegant Count Sternhof had to degrade himself, to be squeezed between two honest countrymen, and take his allotted little place. But he was not unmindful of the great sacrifice which he made to his mother, who at a glance observed him. She smiled placidly when she noticed him, and Baler blushed up to the hair; for he imagined that the whole congregation were at that moment looking at him and the woman who smiled to him, and that his secret was betrayed. He dared not raise his eyes to her a second time; for he was aware that the pew of the Glöben family was immediately adjoining his mother's, and that the Minister's lady, with Erika, sat therein; so that he really suffered the pains of hell in the temple of the Lord; and as the organ was now prepared to play, and the psalm was given out, his torment increased to an intolerable degree. He had brought no psalm-book with him; but a person next him was so obliging as to let him look into his—an offer that Baler could not well refuse, much as he was annoyed by the harsh voice of the singer. Together with this, it happened that some one near him had too strong an odor of bad tobacco, which seemed very ungrateful to his finely-organized sense. He felt as if a severe headache threatened him, and took out his handkerchief, scented with the finest perfume, to blunt the harsh odor of the tobacco, or at least to lessen its effect.

The psalm was now ended, and the preacher appeared in the pulpit. Baler's heart beat more irregularly than usual, with the thought that this handsome young Paul, to whom all eyes were directed, was his brother Adrian, whose appearance, notwithstanding his youth, was truly imposing. He bore a strong resemblance to the painter; but his features were sharper, more prominent, his figure taller and stouter, which gave him something of a commanding air. The sound of his voice was like that of his brother, as pliable and clear, but fuller toned. Though it is an agreeable preeminence to possess a clear, sonorous voice, as it often indicates great power, like beauty itself, yet this gift can no more be acquired than that of a public orator. It aids him, so that his words find their way to the heart; it softens and inspirits, gives the discourse a loftier sense, the thought a nobler devotion, and eloquence a more radiant dress.

When Adrian opened his lips and uttered the prayer, every word sounded melodiously through the halls and in the hearts of the hearers; and when the discourse commenced, it rushed forth in a brilliant stream, as if it had been arranged at the moment, or were the suggestion of a higher spirit who animated and inflamed him. It was transporting, and the limpid tears were seen to bathe the cheeks of the audience. Baler himself was captivated. His brother spoke with an assurance and clearness that made the indifferent and lukewarm tremble. After reading the text, he showed from it, with striking clearness, the contrast between the love of the world and the love of God; explained the different meanings of the word, and that the Apostle's words were not to be understood as requiring men to flee society and bury themselves in solitude, or, released from all connections, shut out from all temptations, to lead a life of self-introversion, contemplation, and inactivity; that our strength increases in union with society, in conflict and labor; and that, since the soul is susceptible of earthly enjoyments, we ought not to shut out the real pleasures of the world, but that these may be ennobled by the right apprehension and enjoyment of them; that they ought not to obtrude the highest and most holy joy in man, the love of God, consequently the endeavor to fulfil the requirings of His holy will, nor render him weak, and powerless, and incapable of resistance.

"Is there one among you, my brethren," concluded he, "who, led astray and enchained, is pining in degrading slavery to the world? Let him arise and go to Christ, who will liberate him, who has promised to comfort the weary and heavy laden. With Him, the unwearied Giver, the gentle consoler, the guide and light of all who have lost their way, he will find himself restored and directed in a better path. But he must not linger, or drag with him the burden that presses him down till prostrate under it; he must with powerful hand break the chains of sensuality that bind him to transitory things; must elevate his spirit on the wings of devotion to God. With the thoughts of the Eternal One, while wafting his affections towards His throne on high, everything will appear little and miserable, on which his heart had till then hung in false hope; his former blindness he will find to be inconceivable, and will in freedom rejoice in his restoration. What else is the strife for liberty, but for deliverance from our errors and enslaving habits, our prejudices, false views, and degrading self-deceptions—chains which pride, self-interest, indolence, and ignorance, have forged, and under which our better self languishes in atheistical stupidity? But what leads to this freedom, this elevation and power, this forgetfulness of self in higher motives? What invests us with ability for great deeds, for patient resignation, for confiding perseverance? It is Faith, this firm, unshaken, unbending giant, who lifts us in his arms over what is perishable and earthly, and leads us on through all seasons, suffers us not to fall, to stumble, or waver; who exalts our self-consciousness, and ennobles us as children of God and immortal beings. In order that we may not lose this faith in God, which imparts such strength, and not be robbed of it by others; in order to stand fast in all temptations, and be ever upright in all our conduct, according to inmost conviction, we must closely adhere to the words of Scripture, and not seek Truth in the mind-distracting books of Philosophy. The Scriptures are given us in simple words, and to act according to them is the whole wisdom of religion, the whole compass of this doctrine. He who is not satisfied with the security that Christ hath given him, who doubts the truth of His Divine Existence, defrauds himself of the peace of his soul, of the most exalted hope.

"Now, since God hath so loved the world that He sent His Son to be our redemption and deliverance, we ought to love God—that is, the good, the just, the true, above all, and to lay at His feet the world, with its sensual pleasures, its vanities, its perishing enjoyments and toys, that we may be free, and be called the children of God. Amen."

Baler's eyes were magnetically drawn towards his mother, whom for empty prejudice and vain selfishness he had opposed, with conscious hardness of heart, ingratitude, and unfilial harshness, and was deeply dissatisfied with himself. Feelings, however, with him, were but humors, and those of this day were changed as soon after the close of the sermon as he could leave the church and set foot in the street, where the festively-adorned parti-colored world fluttered about him. He was weakened, exhausted, his head ached, and he resolved to enter the nearest and best wine store, and recruit himself with a glass of Burgundy.

He had just come in, when he heard loud talking in the adjoining apartment, and in the bustle recognised the manly and penetrating voice of Glöben. Willingly would he have retreated without being noticed, for he felt himself in no disposition to join in the laugh of the young gentlemen; but he was observed through the glass door, and Glöben bade him a loud "good morning."

He entered the room, where six or eight young fellows lay or sat on cushioned sofas, whiffing cigars.

"Good morning, good morning," repeated Glöben; "good morning, stranger! Gentlemen, I have the honor to present you, in Count Sternhof, a convert. You should have seen with what a sanctified and pious devotion he sang psalms out of shoemaker Müller's book, the same who has the honor of making my boots. With what contrition, I say, did he sing out of the shoemaker's psalm-book. You would have had quite a different opinion of him, and no longer have esteemed him the pantheist, atheist, and philosopher, for which he alternately passes himself. But our Sternhof does such business quite secretly; he is thoughtful for the salvation of his soul, while he appears as if he he needed it not. If I had not accidentally gone within the house of God to-day, his pious walk would long have been a mystery to us. I really believe that it is all connected with the old house No. 3."

"Duke Reichsfeld invited me to hear his new preacher, who appears to be a great favorite of his, and to-day represented the cathedral preacher, R——," said Baler, calmly.

"And he may well be charmed with him," cried Glöben, "for Countess Erika herself, I never saw her so affected; and when I handed her into the carriage, her eyes still glistened with moisture. Now, the sly Mirabeau affirms that love penetrates men through the eyes, but women through the ears."

"A splendid vocal organ has this young preacher, and an eloquence, a boldness, a power of persuasion, such as I never heard before."

"Thou hast seldom heard a sermon," answered Baler.

"Truly, not very often. The long-winded gentlemen of the pulpit are too tedious for me, too orthodox, and I would not have thought of going to-day, if I had not been accidentally present when Countess Eisheim took aunt to church. At first, my intention was to go with the ladies only to the door; but—as it often happens—didst thou not see me, Sternhof?"

"No, I did not look about at all."

"Pardon. While I believe you in this, yet there suddenly appeared to me a striking likeness. Thou and the young preacher resemble each other in speech."

This, too, next, thought Baler.

"I did not notice that," said he, with indifference.

"Of that matter the participator himself is not a judge," remarked one of the officers.

"You are right, Count A——. But Sternhof need not be displeased with the resemblance. The young preacher is one of the handsomest men that I know. Not a John's or Apostle's face, but yet something noble, full of spirit."

"Thank yourself, Count Sternhof."

"Müller is the name of the young preacher. Perhaps the son of your shoemaker, Baron Glöben!"

"I know not, Count H——. I almost believe it. Most of the mechanics let their sons study. If this continues, we shall soon have to clean our own boots."

"As much as I have heard from the Duke, the preacher is the son of a deceased clergyman at Reichsfeld, and the *quasi* mentor of young Prince Hyppolith," said Baron B——.

"Just such a one as I think Byron would be to me."

"Frightfully wild is Hyppolith—did you see how he danced?" said Herr Von L——.

"But he rides superbly," remarked B——.

"His Ismene, however, is a little doe," observed A——.

"I don't fancy her; she is too skittish for me, and carries her head badly," affirmed L——.

"The Prince will ride that beast to death—he goes constantly at full gallop," added B——.

"He is generally half wild, which does not speak very favorably for his mentor," said Count H——.

"You dare not tell him so," cried Herr Von L——.

"Is he so narrow-minded as that?" asked A——.

"By the bye, he does not step with energy," answered B——.

In this manner the conversation was kept up for some time, while the room was gradually becoming full, and Baler found opportunity quietly to withdraw.

At this time Erika sat meditating in her chamber; and at length, as if waking from a dream, said:

"I should like to be better acquainted with this man."

"With whom?" asked her father, who just then came in.

"The preacher," answered she.

"Then you were edified, comforted by the sermon?"

"I never heard anything like it, father. It was not a discourse—a sermon—it seemed to be only familiar conversation. You may smile; but I thought the preacher was speaking to me alone, and that the rest of the audience were not present."

"The Duke has been speaking to me of the young man. He wishes him well, was favorable to him from childhood, as he also was to his father. He must be a very firm character."

"Oh that people in the metropolis had a nearer acquaintance with him; that they are forced to move in circles from which the serious and profound are debarred, where each one is at pains to seem as superficial as possible."

"It pains me, Erika, that at thy age thou hast no taste for the pleasures of youth, and I ascribe the ground of this want of interest to thy education, to which, perhaps, I gave too serious a direction."

"No reproaches, my father, either to thee or me. Am I not happy, contented? Was I not quite happy in Eschen, and will I not be so again?"

"People say thou art cold—believe thee to be without feeling. Erika; and this grieves me, since I know what kind of heart beats in thy breast."

"Cold, unfeeling! Well, probably I may be; but what shall warm me, make me glow, in a saloon where toilettes flutter and dissimulation reigns? I am used to acting openly and freely, to love the forest as my saloon, the purling brook as my music, and cannot find myself in the artificial life of the world. When shall we return to Eschen?"

"As soon as thou in a definite manner shall ask me. As soon as I see thou really desirest it, not to please me, but from a motive of thy own, I will not defer our return a single day. The Convention of the States' Diet will close the day after to-morrow, when I shall have no engagements to bind me to this place. Therefore, the day after to-morrow, my child, thou canst decide—till then, think on it, pro and con."

"Thanks, a thousand thanks, dear father."

Erika hung on the Count's neck, and kissed him affectionately for the permission.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

ANTI-SLAVERY CHRISTIANS OF THE UNITED STATES.

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN: We address you in behalf of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Approving of the principles avowed and the measures pursued by that association, we beg leave to submit to you the considerations which peculiarly entitle it at the present juncture to the active sympathy and effectual aid of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause.

While the advocates of constitutional government in Europe are lamenting a wide-spread reaction in behalf of despotic authority, the friends of the inalienable rights of man behold with grief and mortification a similar reaction in our own Republic, in behalf of a despotism more inexorable, and more hostile to human progress and happiness, than any which afflicts the Eastern continent. In both instances, the reaction is more apparent than real. Opinions in favor of human liberty remain the same, but the expression of them has to a greater or less degree been stifled by a sudden, mighty, and combined effort of capitalists and politicians, aided to a great extent by ecclesiastical influence, and in each case accompanied with violated pledges and revolting perfidy.

In our own community, the cause of Christian morals has been deeply wounded, and a new impulse given to infidelity, by the various modes adopted by merchants, politicians, and divines, to conciliate the slaveholding interest. Doctrines have been advanced on high authority respecting the supremacy of human laws, which, if true, convict the "noble army of martyrs," including the blessed apostles themselves, of being but felons and traitors. Public men, and even public meetings, have professed in unqualified terms their ignorance of a higher law than the Federal Constitution. Rich men among us have given of their abundance to reduce to slavery the fugitive from bondage; and lawyers, heretofore regarded as reputable, have not shrunk from taking reward against the innocent, and prostituting a noble profession to the service of the slave-catcher. The sympathy heretofore felt for the victim of oppression who had escaped from his prison-house, and the repugnance manifested to aid in his arrest, have been denounced as "prejudices to be conquered;" and lips which once uttered noble words in behalf of human rights, have been busily employed in proclaiming to republicans the duty of catching slaves. Nay, some professed ambassadors of the merciful Jesus have announced from their pulpits that HE has sanctioned the conversion into articles of merchandise of beings charged with no crime, made a little lower than the angels, and redeemed by his own blood! A law has been passed for the recovery of fugitive slaves, which, for its cool violation of all the received and acknowledged principles of judicial justice, for its outrages on humanity, and for its arbitrary requirement of every citizen to assist in a slave-hunt when commanded by an official menial, is unexampled in the legislation of any Christian country. Yet an active agency in the execution of this most detestable law has been made, even by professed ministers of the Gospel, a test of Christian obedience.

The success which has thus far attended the combined effort to which we have referred has been in a great measure owing to the fancied security of the North and the simulated violence of the South.

EXTENSION OF SLAVERY AND PANIC ABOUT THE UNION.

The war against Mexico was waged for the acquisition of slave territory, and great was the fear felt by the North that human bondage would be extended to the shores of the Pacific. No less than fourteen States protested, through their Legislatures, against any enlargement of the area of slavery. The voice of Daniel Webster was raised to warn his countrymen of the impending calamity, and to approve and enforce the great principles announced by the Free Soil Convention at Buffalo. The innate love of liberty was awakened throughout the North, and its representatives in Congress bowed to the will of their constituents; and all the devices of the slaveholders to procure territorial Governments for the conquered territories, allowing the slavery of a portion of the inhabitants, were defeated. Soon, the Wilmot proviso, applied, with the assistance of Daniel Webster, to Oregon, secured that important territory to freedom. This was followed by the joyful intelligence that New Mexico and California had both adopted State Constitutions prohibiting slavery. A shout of victory ascended from the North, and the greatness of the triumph was supposed to be attested by the wailings of desperation uttered by the slaveholders. It was at this moment of fancied security that the capitalists and politicians contrived a panic about the Union, and traders in Southern votes and merchandize devised the patriotic work of saving the Union, by surrendering the territories of New Mexico and Utah to the slaveholders, and making slave-hunting a national duty, under regulations of extraordinary cruelty. The work was hastened on by the most astounding treachery, supported by the audacious assumption that the law of physical geography and Asiatic scenery rendered it physically impossible that any portion of the vast region conquered from Mexico could ever be trodden by slaves.

A dissolution of the Union could have no other effect on the slaveholding interest than to break down those bulwarks which the Federal Government, from its beginning, has been busy in raising around it, and to rouse all beyond the slave territory into active hostility. But, although the Union was in little danger, the work of saving it was no less profitable than patriotic, as it tended to prevent the political and commercial non-intercourse threatened by the South; and the proceedings of Union-saving committees were found a convenient mode of advertising for the trade and the votes of the slaveholders. In this manner an influence was exerted which, aided by the supposed security of the North, led to the so-called Compromise, in which the fruits of the recent victory were all thrown away, with the single exception of the anti-slavery Constitution of California. Something was indeed gained to the *character* of the national capital, by prohibiting the importation of slaves for sale, but nothing to the cause of humanity, since the traffic was only transferred from Washington to Alexandria. In return for the Californian Constitution, which Congress could not have prevented and did not dare to annul, we have had the prodigious enlargement of the slave State of Texas, the abandonment of New Mexico and Utah to slavery, and the enactment of the Fugitive bill, as drafted by the slaveholders themselves, forced through the House of Representatives without discussion, and so intensely odious and wicked, that not even personal interest nor party discipline could induce one half of the members of the lower House to incur the infamy of giving it their votes.

The political parties, having thus conciliated the slaveholders, entered upon a new race between themselves for power and office, and mutually agreed to prevent, as far as possible, all interference in the race by the avowed friends of human rights. The anti-slavery agitation was to be suppressed at all hazards; and every man who expressed sympathy for the oppressed, or indignation against slave-hunts, was to be driven from either party. By virtue of this compact, similar in its spirit to that which in Europe is smothering every aspiration for freedom, all who protest against the oppression of millions of native-born Americans are to be deemed disturbers of the public peace, while the powers of slaveholders, like those of kings, are to be regarded as held by the grace of God, and too sacred to be discussed or questioned.

SLAVERY ANTI-SCRIPTURAL AND SINFUL.

It is, under these circumstances, painful, mortifying, and unexpected, that we address ourselves to the Anti-Slavery Christians of the United States. The whole question of the duty of opposition to slavery rests on the sinfulness of reducing innocent men and women, and their childeren after them, to articles of merchandise. If human beings may be held as chattels, they are, of course, legitimate subjects of traffic, and the African, no less than the American slave-trade, is a commendable and a Christian commerce. The lawfulness of slavery in no degree depends on the complexion of its victims, since the slavery alleged to be recognised in the Scriptures was unquestionably that of Asiatics and Europeans. None of our clerical champions of the institution ever venture to dwell on its accordance with the attributes of the Deity or the precepts of the Gospel. On what ground, then, is the moral vindication of American slavery rested? On the alleged fact that God permitted the Jews to hold certain heathen as slaves, and that, consequently, it cannot be morally wrong in Americans to hold their own countrymen, and even their fellow-Christians, and often their own children, brothers, and sisters, as slaves. Without admitting the premises, we utterly deny the conclusion drawn from them. The Creator and Judge of all men, infinite in wisdom, goodness, justice, and power, selects his own modes of maintaining his moral government, and of inflicting deserved punishment; and none may say unto Him, "What doest thou?" To him belongeth vengeance, and none may execute it in his name, except by his appointment. He saw fit to destroy by water a guilty world; but will it be inferred from this act of divine sovereignity that saints have a moral right to drown sinners? For their extreme wickedness, the seven nations of Palestine were doomed to extermination, and the Jews were ordered to take possession of their land, and to put all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the sword; to make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them. Does this commission to the Jews confer upon us similar rights in other lands? The nations adjoining Palestine were idolatrous and otherwise excessively depraved; and we are assured by pro-slavery divines that God, by an *express revelation*, gave the Jews the privilege of buying and holding their inhabitants as slaves; and hence we are taught that, without any similar revelation to ourselves, we are authorized to keep our own brethren in bonds, and to reduce them to the condition of beasts of burden, in defiance of the express commands of God to do justice and to love mercy, and to do to others as we would they should do unto us. We utterly deny the authorized existence of hereditary chattel slavery in the Jewish commonwealth, such slavery being absolutely forbidden by the universal emancipation proclaimed on each returning Jubilee. But so far as relates to the lawfulness of *American* slavery, it is wholly immaterial whether the Jews held slaves or not, since it is admitted by all that if they did, they acted by virtue of a special and express permission from God, while it is equally admitted that no such permission has been given to us. If American slavery be sanctioned by the religion of Jesus Christ, then, indeed, is that religion an inexplicable riddle, both tolerating and forbidding every species of cruelty, injustice, and oppression.

Friends and brethren, we believe before God that American slavery is hateful in his sight, and utterly irreconcilable with the holy and merciful precepts of the Gospel of his Son. Hence, we believe it morally wrong to render any voluntary aid in upholding an iniquitous system, or in reducing a fellow-man to bondage.

GOVERNMENT IMPLICATED WITH SLAVERY.

We are continually told that the Federal Government has nothing to do with slavery, and yet from a very early period its powers have been exerted to protect, to extend, and to perpetuate the institution. It is the object of the A. and F. A. S. Society to effect, as far as possible, an entire divorce of the Federal Government from the subject of slavery. In relation to the constitutional powers of the Federal Government, we indulge in no opinions more ultra than such as have been avowed by Daniel Webster himself. With him we hold that Congress is fully authorized to abolish and to forbid slavery in its own territories, to suppress the commerce in slaves between the States, and to refuse admission into the Union of new slave States. We also cordially concur in his "judgment," expressed in his speech in the Senate, on the 7th of March, 1850, that the Constitution does not confer on Congress the right to legislate respecting fugitive slaves. In accordance with these views, the A. and F. A. S. Society aims at delivering the General Government from all entangling alliance with slavery, and they desire to effect this much-desired deliverance by inducing the people to select for their representatives in Congress such men only as will absolutely refuse to legislate in behalf of slavery.

THE CHURCHES IMPLICATED WITH THE SIN OF SLAVERY.

But as Anti-Slavery Christians, our duties in regard to this horrible and sinful system extend beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, and reach even to the slaveholders themselves. True Christianity is an aggressive religion. "Go ye into all the world," was the command of its divine Founder. Can it be our duty to send missionaries into China and Hindostan, to rebuke the sins of their inhabitants, and to prostrate in the dust their altars and their gods, and yet to observe the silence of the grave in regard to a sin which, in our own country, reduces millions to ignorance, degradation, and wretchedness, and, by denying them the lamp of life, keeps them in virtual heathenism? Convinced that slavery is a sin, we not only have the right, but are bound by the obligations of Christianity, to oppose it, and to use all lawful means for its abolition, whether in our own or other countries. If slavery be not sinful, then we know not what degree of cruelty and injustice amounts to a violation of the law of God.

A combination of circumstances has led many of our clergy of the North, and nearly all at the South, to regard slavery, with all its inseparable abominations, as an exception from the Christian code. We must love all men as ourselves, with the exception of such as are black. With the same exception, we must do good unto all men, and exercise justice and mercy to all. We must give Bibles to men of all lands and all races, except to about three millions of our countrymen. The laws must protect the marriage tie, except in the case of these same millions. Supplications must be made for all men, except those among us who are of all men the most miserable. In short, as Christians, we must rebuke every sin except that giant sin of our nation which involves the perpetration of almost every other. But it is affirmed, by way of apology, that we at the North are free from this sin, and have therefore no concern with it. Were the assertion true, the apology would be equally valid for not attempting to overthrow the idolatry of the Hindoos, or the delusions of the false prophet, and for recalling all our missionaries to the heathen. But, unfortunately, the assertion is utterly destitute of truth. Probably not a sermon is preached in our large city churches which is not listened to by slaveholders; probably not a congregation is assembled in the free States which does not include persons directly or indirectly interested in slavery. How many of our sons are constantly removing to the South, and becoming slaveholders! What numbers of our daughters are mistresses on slave plantations! How many Northern clergymen now descant from Southern pulpits on the divine rights of slaveholders! And shall we be told that Northern Christians have no cause to raise their voices against a sin which is daily corrupting their sons, their daughters, their politicians, and their clergy? Alas! there is a mighty conspiracy, prompted by selfish considerations, to suppress all discussion of this sin, all exhibition of its withering influence on human virtue and happiness. We have great national societies for disseminating Christian truth; but no reader of their tracts and Sunday-school books learns from their pages that it is sinful to rob black men of all their rights; to compel them to labor without wages; to deny them the Holy Scriptures; and to send fathers, mothers, and children, to market, like cattle and bales of cotton. All other sins are in these publications faithfully and freely rebuked; but every allusion to this great and all-pervading sin of our nation is carefully excluded. Occasionally, a tract or religious biography from the other side of the water is deemed worthy of republication; but it is first submitted to a process significantly termed "cottonizing," and which consists in carefully expunging every expression condemnatory of human bondage. The A. and F. A. S. Society, utterly repudiating such a time-serving view of Christian duty, aims at convincing the hearts and understandings of all, both at the North and at the South, of the sinfulness of American slavery.

THE WICKEDNESS AND INHUMANITY OF CASTE.

It must, however, be understood, that this Society directs its labors to the abolition of CASTE as well as of slavery. We have among ourselves a population, each individual of which is a swift witness of our cruelty and unchristian conduct. While protesting against the injustice and oppression practiced by our Southern brethren, let us not forget the deep guilt of our Northern community in their treatment of the free people of color. No casuistry can reconcile the scorn and contumely poured upon these people with the precepts of the gospel of Christ—of that gospel which makes love for each other the badge of the Redeemer's disciples. It is unnecessary to dwell on the privations and disabilities to which our colored citizens are subjected. When the professed ministers of Christ refuse to sit in the councils of the church with their reverend brethren not colored like themselves, and when colored candidates for the ministry are excluded from theological seminaries solely on account of the tincture of their skin, it is not surprising that others should be as regardless of the temporal, as certain of the clergy are of the spiritual welfare of men to whom God has been pleased to give a dark complexion. When the pious colored youth is denied the usual facilities for qualifying him to minister to the diseases of the souls of his people, who shall rigidly condemn the professors of the healing art for denying similar facilities for ministering to the diseases of the body, by excluding colored students from their lecture-rooms? Surely, the ruffians who insult and abuse the colored man, and the demagogues who, availing themselves of a popular prejudice, deny him equality before the law, have high examples to extenuate, if not to justify, their pride and cruelty. In striving to secure to our colored people the rights freely accorded to all others, and thus giving them the means of maintaining themselves by honest industry, of developing and improving their talents, and of studying the things which belong to their peace, the Society is pursuing an object in perfect accordance with Christian benevolence, and one that must commend itself to every unprejudiced mind.

ATROCITY OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT.

In our opposition to slavery and caste, we desire to use no instruments of unsanctified temper; nor have we any wish to conceal those we do use. Believing it sinful to compel an innocent man to serve as a slave, we must refuse to be partakers of other men's sins; and hence, under no circumstances can we aid in catching or securing fugitive slaves, whatever may be the penalties of our disobedience to a sinful act of Congress. It will be the endeavor of the A. and F. A. S. Society to dissuade all from joining in slave-hunts, as a palpable violation of Christian duty. Setting aside the moral turpitude of slavery, the Fugitive Slave Act comprises a mass of iniquity in no degree required by the provisions of the Constitution. The act points out the mode of seizing and surrendering, not slaves, but *persons owing service or labor*, and is therefore applicable to white apprentices, and to persons under contract to labor for a limited time. Apprentices have already been surrendered under it, and there is no reason why others, who are alleged to have hired themselves out for a month or a year, may not be. To illustrate the intense injustice of this act, let us suppose a young man to leave his father's home, in Boston or New York, for California. After the lapse of a year or two, he returns. While pursuing an honest calling, he is arrested in the street, on the charge of stealing—the stereotype charge, in such cases, to prevent resistance—and hurried before a Commissioner. An affidavit made in California, and there certified by a judge, is read, setting forth that the prisoner is the apprentice of the deponent. Immediately, without being permitted to produce any testimony to rebut a document which the law declares SHALL BE CONCLUSIVE, he is put in irons, and sent on board a vessel departing for the Pacific, without being permitted to take leave of his parents, wife, or children. Do we revolt at the mere supposition of such barbarity? But does the barbarity and injustice depend on the complexion of the victim? That the Constitution requires the perpetration of such horrible outrages on justice and humanity, is denied even by Daniel Webster, the great champion of the law, since he proposed giving the accused the benefit of a trial by jury. We should be faithless to the cause not only of Christianity, but of civil liberty, did we not oppose an enactment so detestably atrocious; one which establishes a title to property in an intelligent, accountable, immortal being, on testimony which in no civilized country would support the claim to a dog.

The cruelty and heartlessness attending the execution of this law, the extraordinary zeal which our rich men and politicians manifest in its behalf, the sanction given to it by popular divines, and the infidel sneers which many of our party presses have deemed it expedient to cast on the advocates of "a higher law" than an act of Congress, have unitedly exerted a most disastrous influence on the tone of public morals. One of the most striking instances of this influence is the vile attempt made in Pennsylvania, under the special countenance of the Federal Administration, to convert resistance to the execution of the Fugitive Act into the capital crime of high treason. A fugitive, who had been arrested at Boston, was liberated by some of his colored friends, who, finding the door of his room in the court-house open, hustled the officer, and secured the escape of the intended victim. Not a weapon had been provided, not a wound was given; yet the rescue was boldly proclaimed by Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, to be an act of treason, a levying of war against the United States!

THE CHRISTIANA AFFAIR.

On the 11th September, 1851, a more serious affair occurred. An armed party, headed by a deputy marshal, attempted to arrest some fugitive slaves in Pennsylvania. The fugitives, aided by some others, stood on their defence. The claimant, a Maryland slaveholder, was shot in the affray, and the fugitives escaped. Five days after, the Governor of Maryland was officially informed, from the "Department of State," that "the District Attorney was specially instructed to ascertain whether the facts would make out the crime of TREASON against the United States, and, if so, to take prompt measures to secure all concerned for trial for that OFFENCE." Faithfully and zealously were the orders from Washington obeyed. Incredible as it may seem, a grand jury was found with consciences sufficiently pliant to present no less than seventy-eight indictments against thirty-nine persons, alleged to have been concerned in the riot. All were indicted for TREASON, as well as for various crimes of inferior grade.

Let it be recollected that the Constitution, to prevent tyrannical prosecutions for constructive treason, declares: "Treason against the United States shall consist ONLY in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." It may well be supposed that the Government selected for the commencement of the prosecutions the strongest case of the thirty-nine. On the 25th of November, Castner Hanway, a white man of irreproachable character, was placed at the bar, charged on the oaths of the grand jury, that on the 11th September, 1851, "HE DID WICKEDLY AND TRAITOROUSLY LEVY WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES." The only offence proved against him was, that he was near the scene of action, unarmed, and on horseback, and that, when ordered by the deputy marshal to aid him in capturing the fugitives, like an honest man, he declined rendering the required assistance. The presiding judge charged the jury that "The Court feel bound to say, that they do not think the *transaction* with which the prisoner is charged with being connected, rises to the dignity of treason or of levying war;" and a verdict of not guilty was returned without hesitation. This verdict led the Government to abandon all the indictments for treason, among which was one against Samuel Williams, a colored man, for levying war against the United States, by *giving notice to the fugitives that a warrant had been issued for their arrest!* But still an effort was made to punish him for this act of benevolence, and he was tried on an indictment for misdemeanor, under the Fugitive Act, for obstructing the arrest by his notice, and for which, if convicted, he was liable to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months. The trial by jury was again vindicated by a verdict of acquittal. All the prosecutions were then abandoned in despair; and, if the gallows and the prisons were denied their intended victims, the Government could at least beseech the slaveholders to accept the will for the deed, especially as it is said no less than seventy thousand dollars were expended on these prosecutions from the public treasury.

COERCING PEOPLE OF COLOR.

In connection with the Fugitive Act, we ask your attention to the renewed efforts to transport the free people of color to Africa. We freely acknowledge not only the right of these people to seek a more favorable home than this country affords, but also the right and duty of others to afford them, according to circumstances, the aid they may desire for this purpose. But the American Colonization Society proffers them *undesired aid*, and some colonizationists recommend their removal to Africa, as rendering slavery more secure and more profitable, and relieving the country of a population which they represent as a "nuisance." To induce them to accept the proffered aid, the oppressions they here suffer are excused and often justified, while attempts to render their condition here more tolerable, by promoting their intellectual improvement and enlarging the field of their industry, are often discountenanced. In short, the whole tendency of the Society is, by rendering their condition here intolerable, to extort their consent to go to Africa. We all know the extreme anxiety of the slaveholders to expel the free blacks from within their borders. Says a late South Carolina paper,* recommending the State "to ship her free negroes to another land:" "The very condition and the circumstances that surround the free negro *are in direct hostility and diametrically opposed to the institution of slavery.*" Mr. Webster, in his memorable speech of 7th March, 1850, adroitly recommended himself to his new patrons by declaring that EIGHTY MILLIONS had been received from the sale of lands ceded by Virginia; and that, "if Virginia and the South see fit to adopt any proposition to RELIEVE themselves from the free people of color among them, they have my free consent that the Government shall pay them *any* sum of money out of the proceeds which may be adequate to the purpose." And again: "If any gentleman from the SOUTH shall propose a scheme of colonization, to be carried on by this Government upon a large scale, for the transportation of her colored people to any colony *or any place in the world*, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish the object." Of course, the Secretary of State is willing to tax the whole Republic to any amount not exceeding eighty millions, not to benefit the free people of color, not to civilize and Christianize Africa, but to banish to any part of the world hundreds of thousands of his own countrymen, solely and avowedly to *relieve* the slaveholders, and give additional security and permanence to the system of human bondage; and this gentleman is now the public champion of the American Colonization Society.

DELINQUENCY AND DUTY OF THE CHURCH.

We have in our country a population, free and bond, of between three and four millions, who, merely on account of their complexion, are treated with an almost total disregard of that justice and humanity enjoined by the religion we profess. The A. and F. A. S. Society are laboring to secure to them that Christian treatment to which the gospel of Christ entitles them. In this work of mercy, they invoke, and have a right to invoke, the countenance and aid of the Church. We are not unconscious that the Church has, in past ages, been frequently faithless to her high mission of cultivating peace and good-will among men; and he is but little acquainted with passing events who is ignorant that the American Church is at this moment one of the strongest buttresses of American caste and slavery. Would we, then, if we could, destroy the Church? God forbid. If the world is so full of sin and wretchedness notwithstanding the Church, what would it be without a Church? The answer may be found in the cruelties and abominations of paganism. But the ministers of Christ are men of like passions with others, and liable, like others, to be swayed by popular opinion and motives of self-interest. It is possible many of the clergy have not reflected that, in supporting and vindicating slavery, they are lending their countenance to an institution which outrages every moral precept they inculcate from the pulpit. What answer will the Northern clerical slave-catcher, or the Southern reverend slave-breeder and slave-trader, return to the inspired question, "He that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" Surely it is worthy of remembrance, that, at the day of final account, the Judge will consider as done to himself both the kindness and the cruelty shown to the least of his brethren.

We are constantly reminded that the Church is the great instrument of moral reform. Most gratefully do we allow that the precepts of the gospel are sufficient for all the moral necessities of man. "Do to others as you would they should do unto you," is a law which, if obeyed, would of itself banish slavery and oppression from the face of the earth. But unhappily the Church, or at least a portion of her ministers, have not always applied the precepts of the gospel to existing and popular sins. It is certainly no exaggerated statement, that not one sermon in a thousand delivered at the North contains the slightest allusion to the duties of Christians towards the colored population; while at the South, multitudes of the clergy