

Beloved Brethren,

This is a great, a most important truth, involving the most momentous, interests, which I deem expedient and necessary, on this melancholy occasion, to present to your earnest consideration. "Justice exalteth a nation: but sin maketh nations miserable." Proverbs 14:34 We learn this important lesson from the Wise Man who has written the Book of Proverbs; but it is not the result of his individual and personal wisdom which I present to you: it is the 'unerring dictate of the Holy Ghost, it is the word of Him who is truth itself.' The rise and fall of nations, consigned in the pages of history, is but a continual application and confirmation of this principle of unerring truth.

The great Doctor of the Church, the patron of this city and congregation – St. Augustine, in his admirable work. "Of the City of God" does not hesitate to say, that this temporal prosperity of the Roman Empire was the reward of the moral virtues which illustrated that nation in the first centuries of her existence, and which were never more conspicuous than in the men whom she placed at the head of her armies, and to whom she gave the direction of her civil and political affairs. They have left us admirable examples of justice, integrity, and fortitude, on most trying occasions. Such was their love of justice, that one of their enemies, who had even fought against them with success dearly bought, knowing that gold, which is so powerful on men could have no effect on the chief officer of Rome to bribe him and corrupt him, remarked that it would be easier to turn the sun from its course, than the Roman Consul from the path of justice.

As long as its love of justice lasted, the Supreme Ruler of events gave success to their arms, and extended their conquests far and wide, until the whole earth was under their sway. But, at a later period, injustice, iniquity, ambition, covetousness, and bribery crept into the Empire, and were found degenerating the leaders of the nation. It was then that Almighty God permitted that hordes of Barbarians should invade that Empire, now fallen from its pristine justice and integrity and those Barbarians devastated and over-turned the colossal Empire.

Such is then the plan of Divine Providence in the government of this world. If iniquity, injustice, rapine, and bloodshed seem sometimes to meet with success, it is only temporary and ephemeral, similar to the devastation produced by a swollen torrent, but such causes cannot establish, settle, and place on a permanent basis, any civil and political institution, any government that rests upon injustice, must necessarily crumble with its tottering foundation. "Justice exalteth a nation, but sin maketh nations miserable."

Our beloved country is now undoubtedly under the operation of that stern and inflexible rule of justice, at the hands of the Author of justice. We have hitherto been a nation prosperous beyond even the most exaggerated conceptions of a wild imagination. The United States a paragon of riches, peace, and freedom. But this aspect is suddenly changed, the political horizon has become gloomy, a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer is kept over the land, to avert impending evils, the horrors of war, and of the worst kind— of civil war – are staring us in the face.

The cause must no doubt be, that we have forgotten justice, and that sin has crept frightfully among us to make us miserable, for Almighty God hates in us

only sin, and the disorderly bend of our wills, by which we transgress His law. Slavery is the origin of the present disturbances, and is the fatal sand bank upon which the Ship of State has already made a total or partial shipwreck. Injustice has then been committed on this point, and I deem the present occasion to be a very favorable one, to place before your eyes some truths which are of great importance to the nation. I wish to show, on the one hand, how unjust, iniquitous, unscriptural, and unreasonable is the assertion of Abolitionists, who brand Slavery as a moral evil, and a crime against God, religion, humanity, and society, whereas, it is found to have received the sanction of God, of the Church, and of Society at all times, and in all governments. On the other side, I wish to show the Conditions under which slavery is legitimate, lawful, approved by all laws, and consistent with practical religion and true holiness of life in masters who fulfil certain conditions.

Servitude is the state of a person dependent on a master, so as to be obliged to work all his life for that master, with the privilege of the master to transfer that right to another person by sale. Divines and civilians who examine the foundations of social life, inquire what things can come under the domain or ownership of men, and they agree that we have not a perfect domain or property over our own life and limbs, but only the use of them, that is a life-interest in them. Hence a master, not being the true owner of his own life and limbs, cannot be the owner or proprietor of the life and limbs of a slave. This high domain belongs exclusively to our Maker. A master can claim a right on his slaves's labor and industry, and of his children. This being premised, we can show, to the satisfaction of every one who is not determined to shut his eyes against the truth, that the state of servitude is reprobated neither in natural law, nor by the Divine positive law, nor by the ecclesiastical law, nor by the civil laws. These four kinds of laws are the sources of all justice, of all right, and from them emanate all the directions and prescriptions which govern the actions of men. Natural or moral law is that which arises from the nature or essence of moral and reasonable beings, and is engraved in our hearts by our Maker. Divine positive law is that command of God which requires something in addition to natural law. Such was the prescribed circumcision laws to the Jews, or baptism to Christians. Ecclesiastical law comes from the Church, which God has established, with an express command to us to hear her. "He that heareth you, heareth me, he that despiseth you, despiseth me." (Luke x. 16) Civil law comes from the governments under which we live, and which it is our duty to obey. "Let every soul be subject to higher powers." (Rom.29:1) Now Slavery is condemned by none of these laws, as it is easy to show.

As to natural law, it must be said, indeed, that natural law does not establish Slavery ([abortion](#)). No one ([baby](#)) is, by nature, ([a child](#)) the slave of another, but natural law approves of reasons and causes by which a man may become the slave of another man ([a woman may terminate a pregnancy](#)). The case stands here precisely as with regard to the division of property. No land belongs to anybody by the right of nature, but legitimate titles constitute it the property of individuals. Anyone ever so little conversant with history, finds slavery ([unwanted pregnancies](#)). Writers on this branch of science ([political pundints](#)) assign the various ([legal rights](#)) titles which legitimate a state of slavery, and which, no legislation must have been originally the source and beginning of its introduction among men.

The first title they assign, is the sale that a man makes of himself to a master. A man may sell his labor, and work for a day, a week, a month or a year. Why then, may he not sell it for all his life? If it be said that a sale requires a consideration, and an equivalent price between the contracting parties, this is very true. But the master gives an equivalent, namely – food and clothing to the slave, with the guarantee and security to him to feed them at all times, and especially the promise of support, and maintenance in sickness and in old age, when He will be unable to work.

The slave receives indeed an equivalent, in this certainty of being always provided for, a certainty which many distressed and starving families in Europe, and in the large cities of Africa, would indeed appreciate highly as they know what a source of interminable care, anxiety, and solicitude this matter is for them. It is truly remarkable, how gay, cheerful, and sprightly are the slaves of the South. I do not hesitate to say, that they seem to be better contented than their masters, assuredly more so than the sullen and gloomy population found in the workshops and factories of large cities. The master therefore gives an equivalent. This is so true, that, for me personally, I would not accept persons who would offer their services for life, on condition of maintaining them forever, precisely on account of the danger of having services that might prove unacceptable, and on account of the heavy charge such persons occasion in sickness and old age. I know of masters who were poor when they had slaves, and had become rich by setting them free, and I have no doubt it is one of the reasons for which slavery has become gradually extinct in Europe.

Another title of servitude ([legal right supporting slavery](#)) mentioned by canonists and jurists, is capture in a just war. Since a conqueror could put them to death it is assuredly a better lot for them that they be sold as slaves. ([this is a perfect example of how Christian morality cannot make sense without PJPII's 3 epocs of history](#))

Christianity has introduced a more humane legislation in reference to prisoners of war, for which we must thank our Redeemer. but nature ([is this fallen human nature or nature without the corrupting chemical change of selfishness, greed and lust?](#)) alone and strict justice declare that, in a just war, the vanquished forfeits his life to the victor, who does him kindness by granting life at the expense of liberty.

Another title ([legal right](#)) I must mention, is condemnation to Slavery for crimes committed, or even for non-payment of debts. This is likewise a point of which Christianity has introduced milder forms of punishment. But we must not forget that they are a boon, that is to say an extension of a generous heart and not a strict requirement. He who is condemned to hard labor in a penitentiary, would find his lot much improved in the condition of a slave. Again, if a man cannot pay his debts, he may be compelled, in strict justice ([is this the strict justice found in the Garden of Eden or that justice found in the community of our fallen corrupted human family?](#)) to work in order to pay them, and this, no doubt, must have been a frequent title of servitude. Our Lord mentions it in one of His parables, without a word to censure what was then a normal practice. "One was brought who owed his lord ten thousand talents and as he had not the wherewith to pay it, his lord commanded that he should be sold, and his wife and children and all that he had as payment."

A spirit of philanthropy ([social justice](#)) has induced modern legislators to reduce prison time much more than slavery. And these dishonest debtors are very partial to such a legislation. But the ancients entertained different ideas of stern and strict justice, for which we blame them not.

Birth from a mother in a State of Slavery, is also admitted by writers to be a just cause of continued slavery. A child follows the condition and state of his parents, is a maxim in law. If the child could speak, he would prefer being a slave to being exposed to the necessity of dying for want of sustenance, and hence this title has been readily admitted wherever slavery has at all existed, and the Scripture, as we shall soon see, confirms it. Finally, there is the right known as prescription. This is a title introduced by the general consent of nations, for the security of property. If we have possessed something for a long time in good faith, thinking it is ours, it is really ours, although there might arise after a long lapse of years some disputes about the validity of the original title.

We see, therefore, that there are many ways in which slavery, may lawfully exist, and that such a state is not reprobated reason, or by the 'natural and innate notions' of justice. Civil laws may condemn some of these titles in the present refined state of society, in which case, such titles will be invalidated, but not because they are adverse to the natural law, but because they are made void by the law of the land.

Let us now examine whether Divine positive law condemns Slavery. If slavery by immoral in itself no Divine law can render it approved because God cannot legitimize something immoral. But if it is not immoral in itself, God could still forbid it as He forbid the eating of pork and other things. In this respect, however, we find that God, in the Old Testament, under the law of nature, and under the law of Moses, not only did not prohibit slavery, but sanctioned it, regulated it, and specified the rights of masters, and the duties of slaves.

Abraham assuredly was a good man and he was a slaveholder, and a very large one indeed. When his nephew, Lot was taken prisoner the numbered of the servants born in his house was three hundred and eighty well appointed. Also, Sara, the wife of Abram, was obliged to treat with severity her servant Hagar who ran away. Then an angel of the Lord having found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, he said to her "Hagar, handmaid of Sarai, whence comest thou? and wither goest thou?" And she answered, I flee from the face of Sarai, my mistress. And the Angel of the Lord said to her, "Return to thy mistress, and humble thyself under her hand" How strange must all this be for abolitionists who retain their belief in the Bible! God sends, an Angel purposely to tell a runaway slave to return to her mistress, and humble herself. And abolitionists have set aside all laws, and torn the fundamental articles of the Constitution, to enable runaway slaves to escape the pursuit and just demands of their masters. The angel proclaims obedience and submission to slaves, and they excite them to revolt and are ready to aid them in shaking off the authority of their masters. Nothing more is needed to show that the spirit of abolition is not the spirit of the angels of God, the spirit of the Bible, the spirit of truth and justice. This is the demon of anarchy, discord, stubbornness, and pride.

Again, the following chapter of Genesis mentions that Abraham circumcised all the males of his house, not only of those who were born in his house, but also the bought servants. Genesis shows that the sale of slaves is not condemned by Scripture. Indeed, it seems that every page of Holy Writ contains some statement to demolish the false and unjust principles of abolitionism. Those men must be ignorant even of the Ten Commandments of God, for the Tenth Commandment also forbids coveting our neighbor's property nor

his servant, nor his handmaid, nor his ox. The Lord here forbids designing to take servants from their masters, and the modern fanatics not only desire, but actually take iniquitous means to release servants from their masters, in defiance of the plainest laws of God.

Finally, the 21st chapter of Exodus contains laws, emanating from God himself, to regulate slavery among the Jews. The Jewish servant or slave who had sold himself, could be retained only until the year of the general jubilee, by a special law of the Jews. The same chapter contains several provisions relating to the same subject. They all suppose servitude to be lawful. (Is it lawful or simply allowed? Recall Jesus' reference to divorce, which was allowed by Moses, because of your stubbornness)

The 25th chapter of Leviticus allows Jews to have bondmen of the nations that are round about them. "These you shall have for servants and by right of inheritance, shall leave them to your posterity, and shall possess them forever" Here is slavery again sanctioned and approved (is it approved or allowed??) by the law of God himself consigned in a Book which all revere as the Word of God. Can there be anything, then, more unscriptural than abolitionism? If this country be the country of the Bible, abolitionism must be then of exotic growth.

I am aware of an objection – which is indeed a serious one but which I meet at once, because it will wonderfully strengthen my argument. The Jews were a rude and carnal people, their religion was but figurative, and very imperfect. These defects have been amended in the New Law, which has brought all things to perfection. Hence some might think that Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Founder of the New Law, has abolished slavery, although it was allowed in times past. Indeed, this is what has taken place with regard to some points relative to marriage. Divorce, and polygamy were allowed to them of old. Still no one could sanction the practice of them by the example of the good men of the Old Testament, or by the Law of Moses. But the case is as clear and obvious as possible. Our Lord has expressly, formally, and pointedly abolished divorce and polygamy. "They shall be two in one", "What God has joined, no man can put asunder" But He has not proscribed or forbidden Slavery. There is not a word in the New Testament to prohibit it, but there are, on the contrary, plain and evident approbations of it.

In St Matthew 8, a Centurion slave holder comes to Our Lord to ask for the cure of his servant, and, in the course of the conversation, the Centurion says, "I have soldiers under me, and I say to this man go, and he goeth and to another come, and he cometh and to my servant do this, and he doeth it. And Jesus hearing this said, "Amen I say to you, I have not found so great a faith in Israel." How different was this way of acting from that of an abolitionist. The latter would have reproached the Centurion for the crime of injustice, barbarity, and inhumanity in keeping slaves. Jesus, on the contrary, not only has no rebuke to administer on the score of slavery, but admires and praises the faith of that man, and grants a cure to his servant, a manifest and incontestable proof that Our Lord did not hold the Centurion guilty for having a slave.

The Apostles, who were taught by Our Lord, and who preached His Gospel and established His Church in every part of the world, had also to speak of slaves, and they, have done so, in their inspired writings, so as to leave no doubt about the right which a master has to keep his slave, and on the obligation of a slave to honor and obey his master. St. Paul, in the 17th chapter of the First Corinthians, says positively, that each one must live

in the state of life in which he was when called to Christianity, slave, if he was slave, free, if he was free, for this is of little consequence, viewed in reference to the next life. Let every man abide in the same calling in which he was called. Art thou called being a bondman? Care not for it but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that was called to the Lord being a bondman, is the freeman of the Lord. Likewise he that is called being free, is the bondman of Christ. We see how far the Apostles were, from the doctrines and practice of modern fanatics, who exhort slaves to make themselves free by any means. (Isn't part of the abolitionist's call a call to make slavery outlawed? Are they not then recognizing that the law does bind the slave to the master, but that the law is unjust and needs to be changed???)

St Paul in several of his Epistles, speaks of the mutual duties of slaves and masters. He never preaches of the duty for the master to liberate his slave, and the duty for the slave to run away from his master. The inspired Apostle tells the slave to obey, as a necessary means of salvation and he tells the master to treat his servant with justice and kindness." Thus, Corinthians chapter 22 says "Servants, obey your masters according to the flesh, not serving to the eye, as pleasing men, but in simplicity of heart, fearing God. Masters, do to your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that you also have a Master in Heaven."

Similar admonitions occur in, several other Epistles. It would be superfluous to quote them. There is a passage yet more pointed, I Tim, Whosoever are servants under the yoke, let them count their masters worthy of all honor, lest the name and doctrine of the Lord be blasphemed"

These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to the sound words of Our Lord Jesus Christ and to that doctrine which is according to piety, he is proud, knowing one thing and truly abolitionism is but a compound of insufferable pride and unpardonable ignorance. St. Peter, First Epistle, 2:18, points out the duty of obedience to servants in all cases whatever, " Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the forward." But facts instruct us better than words, and we have to see the conduct of St. Paul with regard to a fugitive slave, to judge better of the glaring opposition of abolitionism to the Apostles, and to the Sacred Scripture. The Epistle to Philemon is a short page of the Sacred text, which the abolitionists should indeed desire to expunge. Philemon had a slave called Onesimus, who ran away from his master, a citizen of Colossa, and whom St. Paul found in Rome, and converted to Christianity. Now St. Paul found in Onesimus qualities which made him desirous of his services in his ministry. What did the great Apostle do? Did he tell Onesimus that he had been right to run away, and procure his liberty at any price? No, he sent back Onesimus to his master with an Epistle, which is a perfect model of sweet, persuasive eloquence, begging Philemon to forgive his slave, and send him back to him, as he needed his services in the bonds of the Gospel. Paul had just claims on the gratitude of Philemon, still he would not detain his fugitive slave without his consent, but sent him back, that his master might be perfectly free, to grant or to refuse the favor asked of him. How different are these views of St. Paul, and of the Word of God, from those which are entertained by abolitionists!

We have now seen how both the New and Old Testaments admit, sanction, and authorize slavery, from which we conclude that this state of life

is not against the Divine and positive law. We add now that the Church has made no general law against slavery, but has kept up the teaching and the examples of the Apostle. On this point, leaving masters at liberty to keep or to free their slaves, as they thought proper. The book I have in my hands, beloved brethren, is the Canon Law, or Law of the Church. Now the book is full of passages relating to slaves and to attempt to prove that the Canon Law recognizes slavery, would almost be ludicrous, and would be tantamount to an attempt to prove that the sun shines in the heavens at mid-day as there are whole chapters on that matter.

Not to detain you too long, beloved brethren, I will content myself with one or two quotations that will, indeed, cover the whole ground of the discussion. The Canon Law contains several provisions in relation to the ordination of slaves, as the example of St. Paul ordaining Onesimus, seems to have been a precedent for such appointments. The Eighty-first Apostolic Canon says that slaves may be ordained if permitted by their masters, but if they be admitted to the clergy without the will of their masters, they must be returned to their masters. Now we for this to have been done from the same Canon Law, Distinct 54, chapter 10, where the Pope orders one Onetius, who had been promoted to the lower ranks of the clergy, to be under subjection and obedience to his master in the condition of a slave. Assuredly the Church could not have recognized the rights of masters in a more forcible and pointed manner. No one, then, has a right to take slaves from their masters. (This maybe so under the present laws, but abolitionism was ALL about the changing of unjust laws, so as the law changes the master lose this unjust though legal right)

The Canon Law, can.xvii ques4,c.37, contains a decree of the Council of Gangres, held in the beginning of the fourth century, which condemns heretics who maintained the principles of modern abolitionists whence we see that the fanatics of our day have not the merit of having invented their hypocritical schemes of false philanthropy their bad predecessors in the early ages of the Church, who wished to liberate slaves, amid denouncement of masters as guilty of injustice and inhumanity. Here is now the decree of the Council against those heretics, "If any one teaches the servant of another, under the plea of religion, to condemn his master, and to quit his service, instead of teaching him to Serve his master in good faith and with all respect, let him be anathema." No law could be framed more expressive and more pointed against abolitionism. The highest penalty inflicted by the Church that of anathema or excommunication, is pronounced against those who teach the doctrine of abolitionists, and it is only an aggravation of their guilt to allege pretexts of religion, and wrest Holy Writ in support of their attempt.

This is indeed more than sufficient to show that slaveholders have the sanction of the Church and of Religion in retaining the possession of their servants. Ecclesiastical History tells us, as we gather from authentic documents, that the Church and Monasteries owned slaves and St. Gregory the Great, the learned and pious Pope, to whom England is indebted for her conversion to Christianity with the money of the Roman Church bought Barbary slaves. We learn from the letters of the Pontiff himself.

And the War of Independence recognizes the relations of master and slave, and that the law of the United States gives right to the master to reclaim and seize his fugitive slave, wherever he maybe found within the United States. These statements are unquestionable and there is no occasion for me to dwell on a point known to everybody. Those States which have enacted

laws against the Constitution and the Legislation of the United States, have sapped the very foundation of social order, and are the true and responsible causes and agents of the misfortunes which have already befallen the nation, and of the greater calamities with which it is threatened.

The words of my text receive here their application, "Justice exalteth a nation but sin maketh nations miserable."

Before concluding this first' part of my address, I must take a cursory notice of the reasons and objections raised by abolitionists against the doctrine delivered in my preceding remarks. I will not notice the allegation of agrarians and anarchists that "all men are born free and equal." This assertion, although liberal and popular with a certain class of persons is however, a glaring falsehood. Some are born poor, and others rich. Some are born weak, puny, and unhealthy. Some are born dull and stupid, others of quick and penetrating intellect, etc. The true ground of equality is that we will be condemned by our Maker only for guilt voluntarily and freely incurred, or rewarded in the next life only for the supernatural grace we will have accomplished in this life. In all these respects a slave is absolutely on the same footing with his master, but the Bible is Brought forward against slavery and abolitionists of course quote the Bible in support of their theories, although it must be apparent to every one from the quotations already adduced, that if the battle of abolitionism is to be founded on Scripture they are already discomfited. Indeed, it is enough to remark, that some of the modern fanatics have gone to that length of impiety and blasphemy as to assert unblushingly that if the Bible upholds slavery, the Bible must be amended.

No better confutation of abolitionism need be adduced than the necessity to which it leads its defenders to uttering impieties and blasphemies.

Abolitionists often say, that there is no slavery in the Christain religion. But it is evident the bible speaks of spiritual liberty which is the true liberty, the only liberty that matters. Liberty from corrupt inclinations, from Satan, and not liberty from civil powers and masters to whom the bible teaches positively and expressly, that obedience is due, so that to resist them is to resist the appointment of God. Hence, the passage which says there is no slave, runs against Galatians vii:28, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female For you are all one in Christ Jesus." Words which it would be ludicrous to allege as intimating the extinction of domestic slavery.

The passages of Scripture, however, which the abolitionists urge with greater confidence, are those which command men to pay the wages of their laborers and hirelings. The following are those they quote: Lev,xix 13. the wages of him that hath been hired by thee shall not abide with thee until the morning. Deut. xxiv. 14 has a text of the same import and St. James in the New Testament, rebukes thus the rich. Ch v.4. "Behold, the hire of the laborers, who have reaped your fields, of which you have defrauded them crieth and the sound of their cries entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

But it is perfectly obvious that these quotations have no bearing whatever on the question. When our slaveholders hire laborers, they pay them according to the agreement made, and this is all that the Scripture speaks of. The texts here quoted, speaks of laborers and hired servants, and not of slaves belonging to masters. The very fact that the Scriptures make the distinction

between hired men, or laborers and slaves, shows that the slaves are not entitled to any wages, because they are not hired by the day. Slaves, however, receive their hire or a compensation for their services in the food, clothing and dwelling which they receive. Care is taken of them during their infancy, and in the assurance they have to be provided for in time of sickness, and in old age.

The preceding remarks must convince every candid mind, that the pretensions of abolitionists have no foundation whatever in nature, or morality, or the word of God, either in the Old or New Testament, or in the enactments of lawgivers of the religious or the political order. The fact is, that there has been, in the northern part of the country, an Actual conspiracy against justice and truth and I am sorry I have to state, (but a just regard for truth and justice compels me to do it,) this conspiracy against justice and truth, is headed by fanatical preachers, whose only object is to inflame the wicked passions of their hearers! Yes, beloved brethren, the chief cause, the true source of the misfortunes which weigh already upon the land, and bid fair to increase a hundredfold, lies in the misrepresentations of ignorant and fanatical zealots who desecrate and pollute the Divine word, speaking in the name of God although they gainsay all the teachings of God. They are the false prophets, of whom the Scripture say (Jer. 29:1(?)) "I did not entice prophets but yet they ran, I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesized." Now, beloved brethren, they are the ones who have heretofore assailed, calumniated, vilified our church, and have resorted to the vilest and most iniquitous devices which infernal malice can suggest, in order to destroy our holy religion, or that church which is founded on the chair of Peter, and recognizes the Pope as the visible head of the church on earth. It is to their nefarious machinations that we are to ascribe the burning of the Charlestown Convent, which in the middle of the night drove innocent and defenseless females out of their home into the fields and the Philadelphia riots, where arson and murder against Catholics, became the order of the day and so many other acts of crying injustice, cruelty and barbarity, during that religious excitement from which we are just now emerging. I mean the movement of the Know Nothings. During that period, the press, which is more or less under the sway of those fanatical leaders, has teemed with the most absurd, unjust, obscene, and revolting slanders and lies against Catholic Institutions, chiefly Convents, (as in the case of Maria Monk,) and against Priests, Bishops, and the Pope. That party, although a thousand times unmasked as a party of lies has kept on its path of violence, deception, misrepresentation.

It seemed quite impossible for them to learn any lesson from truth or moderation, because they were urged on by blind fanaticism, and by the demon of religion or rather anti-religious bigotry. Their blind leaders, quitting the sphere which they seem to claim, when they style themselves reverend, have sent petitions to Congress on points evidently out of the pale of political and civil legislation. They have also invaded State legislatures, and in those places have disgraced their proceedings by iniquity and injustice! It is that same party which baffled its attempts against the Catholic Church, which has opposed only patience, silence and prayer to its unholy attacks and exasperated by the rebuke it received from the nation, (for it could not destroy the sense of justice so deeply engraved in the American breast) has now turned its weapons against the South, advocating in the name of the Bible, the liberation of slaves. But the South has not been, and will not, as a Nation, be as patient as the Catholic Church.

As an additional proof that this abolitionism has lately waged war against the Catholic Church, I have only to state a fact asserted by the late illustrious and eloquent Bishop of Charleston, Dr. England in his treatise on slavery, which his death left imperfect, a fact of which he had been an eye witness, namely, that the abolitionists of England presented regularly every year two petitions to Parliament, one to ask that the slaves of America be set free, the other to ask that the vexations and bloody penalties enacted against Irish Catholics be executed and strictly enforced. I must likewise make another remark, the truth of which struck every thinking mind at the outbreak of the present disturbances.

Protestant writers have been extolling the Republic of the United States, as endowed with wonderful strength, authority and order compared with the Republics of South America, in which the majority of the people profess the Catholic religion. It is often said that free and liberal institutions could not prosper under our Church. As if Protestantism alone could establish and maintain our cherished institutions. The present state of affairs shows how ill grounded these views have been. The fact is, that religion has nothing to do with the disturbance and agitations of the Governments of Spanish origin, which have sprung up South of the United States. The true cause of those agitations lies in the ambition, and other wicked passions of men who are unwilling to be controlled by religion, and who deem it right to attack religion in order to become rich from its spoils. But in the United States, it will be bigotry that will have destroyed the beautiful fabric of Washington and the other great men who wished so much to keep the Government and religion separate from each other.

The Catholics of America have scrupulously adhered to those constitutional provisions and have interfered only by praying for the republic, and the general peace and welfare of their fellow citizens. As for the Protestant Clergy, with of course, honorable exceptions, they have brought about this deplorable state of things, in which the South is engaged against the North, and in which war, bloodshed and all the atrocities of civil discord may yet have their sad exhibition. Protestant intolerance and bigotry have demolished this beautiful edifice, which wisdom, moderation and prudence had reared to political liberty.

I must now, brethren, pass to the second part of my discourse, and first having shown the lawfulness of slavery in general I must show the conditions upon which this state of things receives the sanction of justice, of God himself and of the church that visible guide given us by Our Lord Jesus Christ. It is in this part that I may have to mention the wrongs which the South ought to acknowledge and confess and if these wrongs be persevered in, this may be the reason why the Almighty, in his justice and wise severity, may sweep slavery out of the land, not because slavery is bad in itself, but because men will abuse it through wanton malice. The necessity of some conditions for the legitimacy of slavery must appear evident to everybody. A man by being a slave, does not cease to be a man, retaining all the properties, qualities, attributes, duties, rights and responsibilities attached to human nature, or to a being endowed with reason and understanding, and made to the image and likeness of God. A master has not over a slave the same rights which he has over an animal, and whoever would view his slaves merely as beasts, would have virtually abjured human nature, and would deserve to be expelled from human society. I will then state the various conditions which must accompany a legitimate possession of slaves.

In the first place it is domestic slavery which we advocate to be lawful, and to have the sanction of God himself, but not the slave trade. The slave-trade is absolutely immoral and unjust, and is against all laws natural, divine, ecclesiastical and civil. The slave-trade consists in kidnapping negroes by fraud and violence on the coasts of Africa, and bringing them to America for sale. This trade is evidently condemned by justice and humanity. What right has any man to steal another man and enslave him? This, next to murder, seems to be the grossest violation of justice that can be conceived. It is no palliation of this trade to assert that the condition of those poor creatures will be bettered by selling them to Christian masters in America. Evil is not to be done, in order to obtain a good result. It is absolutely evil to deprive them of liberty without any just cause, no good effect can render it lawful. Besides, that good effect is doubtful, as the religion and civilization of the whites who commit such horrible theft, must be hateful to those, poor negroes. It is not an excuse for the trade, but an additional monstrosity, to say that those negroes are sold to the captains of vessels by other tribes who have captured them in war, for the war is for no other reason than to make prisoners, it is not a war, but an abominable plunder of human beings. Hence the slave-trade has been most severely prohibited by nearly all European Governments, it is, as all know, expressly forbidden by the United States, and we hear frequently of vessels engaged in that abominable traffic, having been seized and captured by the men-of-war of the Nation. As to the ecclesiastical law, his Holiness, Gregory XVI, in the year 1839, issued apostolic letters forbidding most 'expressly this shameful commerce, forbidding any one to teach that it is lawful. In that document, his Holiness quotes decrees of his predecessors who had condemned the slave-trade. The letter of Pope Gregory XVI, was solemnly read in the council of American Prelates, held in Baltimore in the year 1840. All laws stigmatize and reprove the slave-trade, and it must be a subject of regret and mortification for the true friends of the Southern cause and Southern rights, that some people have expressed, or hinted, a desire, that the trade should be revived, and that the prohibition of it by the Government should be repealed.

Fortunately the number of the advocates of this infamous trade is so small, that it may well be considered as nothing. Indeed if a Southern Confederacy was to authorize this worst of piracies, we could predict with certainty its speedy downfall, because it would not be founded on justice, but on iniquity. "Justice exalteth a Nation but sin maketh Nations miserable." But there is not the slightest fear of this.

The second condition of legitimate slavery, is that the rights of free colored persons be respected. Today some colored people have acquired, or possess lawful exemption from Slavery so it is as unjust to enslave them again, as it would be to enslave a white man, because the ground of slavery is not in the color of the skin, but the titles which make one, the legitimate servant of another. It would be then a terrible violation of all justice to sell them, or to expel them from the State, or to vex and molest them merely because they are colored. There is as much injustice in vexing the free colored population, as there would be in vexing white men, either on account of their origins because, for instance, they are Irish or German or on account of their religion. It has been a subject of bitter debate for the lovers of Justice and humanity to learn that only State legislatures have had before them laws for banishing or selling such persons. I trust the legislature of Florida will not be sullied in such unjust statutes and that the love of justice in which all are especially interested will for ever prevent the attempt of such unwise legislation. Some slaveholders may imagine

that the expulsion of free negroes would strengthen their tenure of slaves, but they are mistaken. Injustice will not uphold anything. Injustice is a rotten fruit, which will only accelerate the fall of whatever rests on it. Hence the friends of justice and order have been highly gratified at the late proceedings of the South Carolian Legislature, on the occasion of a bill which was introduced to sell all free persons of color. The gentleman who had to report on the bill, following the dictates of justice, which is never more imperious and more sacred than in the case of a contest between the strong and the weak, pointed out both the injustice and the impolicy of such a measure, and concluded energetically against it in the following strain, which I can quote only in substance: "Forbid it justice, forbid it humanity, forbid it conscience. Let us not by such a glaring act of injustice disgrace our cause, and render ourselves unworthy of the smiles and countenance of the Supreme Arbitrator of all events, in this the hour of our need."

This conclusion of the report does great honor to the head and heart of those who lead politics in Charleston, and indeed there is not a more crying, cowardly, infamous tyranny than that of a strong Government on colored people, precisely because the latter are weak, defenseless, and incapable of protecting themselves.

Here is another condition I must mention in the name of morality, in the name of public decency, in the name of religion, in the name of Christianity: it is that the whites do not take advantage of the weakness, ignorance, dependency, and lowly position of colored females, whether slaves or not availing themselves of the impunity which, hitherto, laws in the South have extended to this sort of iniquity. It is indeed right that the two races should be kept distinct, and public sentiment repudiates amalgamation, and hence such connubial alliances are not to be encouraged and formed. But, things being on that footing, every outrage against morals should be repressed. It is the duty of the clergy to protest against every violation of the moral law. I discharge but too weakly and imperfectly a sacred obligation, attached to the responsible and dangerous office of Bishop, which I hold in the Church of God. I am a sincere and devoted friend of the South, to which Divine Providence has sent me. And I am ready to undergo any hardship, to make any sacrifice, for the true welfare of the people among whom I live.

Still I must say it for conscience sake I must admonish my countrymen that obscure, secret, and hidden crimes, often call for an open, public and solemn chastisement at the hands of the Supreme Moderator of events and I must remind them that the waters of the flood, in which the whole race of mankind was swept off, save a small remnant were sent by the Almighty to punish an impure and lewd generation. I must remind them that Sodom and Gomorra were consumed in a shower of burning pitch and brimstone, because of the unnatural lusts of its profligate inhabitants. It is but right that means should be taken to check liberalty and licentiousness, and that the female slave have sufficient protection to save them from dishonor and crime.

The Southern Confederacy, if it should exist, must rest on morality and justice, and it could never be entitled to a special protection from above, unless it professes to surround slavery with the guarantees that will secure its morality and virtue.

This leads me to another condition on a subject kindred to the preceding. It is that matrimonial relations be observed among slaves, and that the Laws of marriage be enforced among them. All know that there have been, and there are frightful abuses about this point, and leave it to the conscience, reason, and good sense of any upright and virtuous man whether God can bless a country and a state of things in which there is such disregard of the holy laws of marriage. It is my duty to proclaim to masters that they have indeed a right on the labor of their slaves, they can justly require of them obedience, respect, and service. But they are not the masters of their slaves in such a way that they can forbid them marriage or prescribe it at pleasure. Although they can give directions and advice to their servants on this point, still those servants are their own masters as to that. The titles to slavery include only labor and service, but they cannot change the nature of men. It would be unnatural and foolish to suppose that the whole race is deprived of the faculty of marrying by their servile dependence and it would be too shocking, hideous, and abominable conclusion, to admit that they must live in concubinage and adultery. Hence religion and morality point out to masters a strict and rigorous duty, not only not to oppose the marriage of their servants, but to promote it and to procure for them all the necessary means of avoiding immorality and crime. Slaves must be encouraged to marry and the laws of marriage must be observed among them exactly as among the whites.

The law of God admits of no distinction in this respect. The laws of morality are not different with the different races of men, and a state of things which is criminal with the whites, cannot be excusable with the colored people. There is but one Christian code of morality and of domestic order. Our Lord Jesus Christ has appointed laws and sacred prescriptions for marriage, which He has, indeed, raised to the dignity and excellence of a sacrament. He has not exempted anybody from the operation of these Divine laws. Divorce and polygamy must be excluded from Christians, or else the anger of God will necessarily be provoked by the violation of His laws. Slavery, to become a permanent institution of the South, must be made to conform to the laws of God, a Southern Confederacy will never thrive, unless it rests upon morality. The Supreme Arbiter of Nations will not bless with stability and prosperity a state of things which would be a flagrant violation of His holy commandments. Hence marriage must be established and enforced among slaves, and all the laws of Christian marriage must be held up to their faithful observance, as they are among the whites in every decent form of society and the law of the Apostle must apply to servants "Marriage honorable in all, and the bed undefiled." Heb.13:4.

Another condition arises from the nature of connubial society it is that the husband and wife are joined together until death parts them. Our Savior's word on this cannot pass away. What God has joined together let no man put asunder." Hence families ought never to be separated, when once established. It is unreasonable, unchristian, and immoral to separate a husband from his wife and children, and to sell the husband North, and the wife South, and the children East and West. A master ought not to be allowed to do this merely for the sake of greater profit. Cupidity would not render that conduct excusable, but would only heighten its black hue. Legitimate gain from slaves cannot be obtained at the expense of morality, religion and humanity. This is a horror which can but bring to a speedy ruin a fabric that would rest on it and admit of it. The separation of families is fraught with evils and inconveniences which shock the moral sense of everybody at once. Yet in the eyes of Religion it

presents yet a greater inconvenience. This married man, this married woman, now separated from each other cannot live in continency; that would require a miracle of fortitude and virtue, which cannot be expected from the generality of men, much less from a race more inclined to pleasures than any other. Indeed, the strength and violence of animal propensities is in the inverse ratio of intellectual and moral faculties, which are decidedly weaker in the African race, as all persons of experience will testify. Hence these people will be necessarily exposed to adultery, for the laws of God cannot be set aside or ignored. Their first marriage still subsists and hence the separated parties will live in adultery and crime, and be in the impossibility of serving God and of working out their salvation. What a dreadful responsibility for any master who has not yet extinguished altogether in himself the fear of his Supreme Judge! There ought to be therefore, a provision made and sanctioned by the civil law, to be a bar against cupidity, that families shall never be separated, and specially that husband and wife will be looked upon as one person, inseparable and indivisible. The only exception to this law would be the commission of great crimes by one of the parties, which would render them subject to legal punishments, as imprisonment in the penitentiary, for in such cases even among the whites the husband is separated from his wife.

Among the conditions necessary to render slavery lawful and reasonable, it is scarcely necessary to mention that the master must really and in good faith provide food, clothing, and dwelling for his servant. This is a duty of the master which requires no proof, and is admitted by all, and practiced by all generally speaking and it is indeed a striking feature of the South, that the slave is better fed and clothed than the free negro. There is, we know, much misrepresentation and calumny resorted to on this point by abolitionists. Their appalling stories about the hardships of slaves are no more than a malicious fiction, if there have been cruel tyrannical, tiger hearted masters, it is only a proof that there may be mobsters in the human race but such monsters are found as well in free as in slave regions. As for the generality of masters in the South, they are humane and kind, and more inclined to be too mild than too severe to their servants. This kind treatment is the necessary effect of religious feeling and practical religion among masters, and hence it ought to be the great study of ministers of religion to spread the spirit of Christianity among the people. It will do incomparably more for the relief and the happiness of the slave than all the fanatical efforts of abolitionists.

This spirit of Christianity will teach the master to treat his slave with humanity and kindness, as a fellow being, and as a partaker of the same nature, the same promises, the same hope of eternal happiness, which exalt so much the human race when received in the light of faith and Christian revelation, and hence I can do nothing better than to write down here the teaching and recommendation of the inspired Apostles concerning the relative duties of masters and servants. "Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not serving to the eye, as pleasing men, but in simplicity of heart, fearing God. Whatsoever you do, do it from the heart, as to the Lord and not to men, knowing that you shall receive of the Lord the reward of inheritance. Serve ye the Lord Jesus Christ. For he that doeth an injury shall receive for that which he hath done unjustly, as there is no respect of persons with God. Masters, do to your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that you also have a Master in heaven." Col,22.

What an extensive subject of meditation for servants and masters. If both come up to the requirements and exhortations of Christian morality laid down by the Apostles themselves, then servants will truly be happy, and will love and serve their masters from their hearts, and masters will also find in their servants protectors, devoted friends, loving subjects, who will take their interests to heart, and be more like children than slaves. Such, indeed, were the servants of Abram, whose virtue, faith, and religion, are a theme of praise in the Sacred Scripture, who numbered three hundred and eighteen born in his house, who exposed their lives for the interests of their master, and obtained for him a glorious victory. These are the dispositions which true religion would instill in the breasts of servants, and which we would witness generally among servants, if religion presided over our families and plantations. In the absence of this element of order and peace, alas masters have often no greater fear than from their servants. And what blessing then would it not be for masters themselves, if their servants would imbibe the true and genuine spirit of Christianity?

This leads me to the last condition which I wish to mention for the lawfulness of slavery. It is, that servants must be provided with the means of knowing and practicing religion. This is a sacred, indispensable, duty of masters, the neglect of which alone, if they had committed no other fault, would expose them to eternal damnation. Servants are moral, responsible and rational beings, accountable to the Supreme Arbiter of all things, as the masters themselves. They must save their own souls, and have, as well as their masters, no other affair worthy of the name in this world. They have an immortal soul, made to the image and likeness of God, and redeemed by the blood of Christ. The loss of such a soul is a greater misfortune than the destruction of the whole world. Man is on earth, only to save that soul by the love and service of God, and the slave has the same rights and duties as the white man. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male, nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Gal 3:28. It is therefore, evident that the slave must be made acquainted with everything necessary that he may save his soul. The master who has the time, and the services of his slave, is bound by natural law, as also by the divine and ecclesiastical law, to instruct his servants in their religious duties, or to have them instructed by proper persons. He has, with regard to that, the same obligations which parents have with regard to their children. Hence it would be a great crime, and a great folly at the same time, in masters to keep their servants in ignorance of every religious doctrine. Those lost souls would cry out to heaven against them for vengeance, and this flagrant injustice against the souls of slaves would be the sure way to render slavery an untenable and ruinous institution, deserving the contempt of men, and the vengeance of God. It would be treating slaves like beast! And as this is supremely unnatural, such a state of things would force and violent society, and could not stand, and God would bring about the speedy ruin of such an unjust and iniquitous institution.

On the contrary if the slave be taught his religion, the nature and destination of his soul, his duties to God and the rewards as well as the chastisements of the next life, he will then act reasonably. A Christian and religious master may easily become a most effectual missionary, enforcing among his servants, by his words and examples, the love of morality and virtue, gaining them to God, and by his kindness winning their affection and love. He will thus be served far better in this world, and will be the instrument of the eternal happiness of many in the next world, which is indeed the highest aim of human ambition. Happy are the masters who own those

slaves and happier the servants to whom they belong. The number of such-masters is not very large. But we have known some who had truly upon this, the Christian, Spirit, and did not hesitate, to sacrifice one afternoon every week, calling in a Clergyman to give the servants a sermon and familiar instruction adapted to their wants, besides the Sunday which they had free for the performance of their religious duties.

The subject which I have presented today to your consideration, beloved brethren, is one of great importance, and is to have a powerful influence over the stability of the Southern Confederacy. Such a Confederacy will, to all appearance, be formed, and such is the rapid march of events, that the dismemberment of the Union is already consummated, and the faint hopes of a permanency of the Union, which existed yet when the first pages of this paper were written, have altogether vanished, and the new flag of the Southern Confederacy is now given to the breeze, and waves under my eyes. Now if that Confederacy is meant to be solid, durable, stable and permanent, it must rest upon justice and morality. "Justice exalteth a Nation but sin maketh Nations miserable." It is undoubtedly true that the law of God does not reprove slavery, it is undoubtedly true that now the sudden and abrupt freeing of slaves would be a misfortune of appalling magnitude, more so yet for the slave than for the master. Let then the wise and the virtuous unite and combine their prudence, their patriotism, their humanity, and their religious integrity to divest slavery of the features which would make it odious to God and man. Now is the time to make a salutary reform, and to enact judicious regulations. I propose as the means of setting the new Confederacy upon a solid basis, that a servile code be drawn up and adopted by the Confederacy, defining clearly the rights and duties of masters, and the rights and duties of slaves. This will be the means of proving to the world that the South is on the side of justice, morality, reason and religion. This will be a just vindication of Southern views sanctioned by the Great Arbiter of Nations. This will be a most triumphant confutation of the charges which bigotry, ignorance, and malice, which have for years been heaped against Southern Institutions.

We have assembled to humble ourselves under the remembrance of our manifold transgressions the subject which has been presented to you. Both for the North and for the South all must subject themselves to humiliation, sorrow, confusion and humble accusation before the Almighty. Let us, beloved brethren, accompany these sentiment of humiliation and grief with great confidence in the mercy of God who often permits transitory sufferings in order to derive from them substantial and lasting good. Let us remember how the Jews, under Esther having recourse to penance and prayer were saved miraculously from their enemies, who themselves fell into the pit they had dug for their unoffending brethren. Let us remember how the threats against Nineva were averted by the humiliation and penance of the people. Let us hope, in the midst of the rumors and cries of civil war which seem to become every day nearer and nearer, that Divine Providence, who has in his hands the heart of kings, rulers, and statesmen, will avert calamities or at least grant us the grace of so profiting by the temporal evils to which we may be subjected, that by patience, resignation, submission to the will of heaven, we may expiate our past faults, cancel at least a part of the debt which we owe to the Divine Justice and render ourselves worthy of the eternal happiness which is promised to the true children of God in the next world.