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A Tract for the Times.

SLAVERY & ABOLITIONISM

BEING THE

SUBSTANCE OF A SERMON,

Preached in the Church of St. Augustine, Florida,

ON THE 4th DAY OF JANUARY, 1861,

Day of Public Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer.

By the Right Rev. A. VEROT, D. D.,

VICAR APOSTOLIC OF FLORIDA AND NOW BISHOP OF SAVANNAH.

NEW EDITION.

NEW ORLEANS:

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TO THE PUBLIC.

Although this Sermon be of a remote date, having been preached on the 4th of January last, before the Secession war consummated, still it is so well adapted to our Institutions, that we thought we would render service to the community at large, by reprinting it and spreading it all over the country.

Tho' written in a plain and unpretending style, it is quite forcible, and presents the most instructive and most practical tract we ever read, on the rights and duties of Slaveholders.

New Orleans, December 8th 1861.

THE EDITOR.

SERMON.



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JUSTICE EXALTETH A NATION : BUT SIN MAKETH NATIONS MISERABLE.
(PROV. XIV. 34.)

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." 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, who inspired and directed the sacred penman to record, in that portion of Scripture, a maxim which is an imperishable truth, because it is the word of Him who is truth itself,—who can neither deceive nor be deceived; and indeed, heaven and earth shall pass away, but His words shall not pass away. But, independently of the unexceptionable authority of Him who has promulgated this sublime maxim of true and genuine statesmanship, and of sacred and divine politics, we have history to bear witness to the truth of the sentence of the Wise Man—"Justice exalteth a nation: but sin maketh nations miserable." 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," undertook to show the true reason of the unexampled prosperity of the Roman Empire. That Empire was the most extensive and the most prosperous that ever existed: it extended itself to the remotest corners of the known universe. Even the wild nations that could not be reached by its authority, respected and dreaded the very name of the Romans. That illustrious Doctor does not hesitate to say, that this temporal prosperity of the Empire was the reward of the moral virtues which illustrated the Roman 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

his course, than the Roman Consul from the path of justice. As long as this 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 disgracing even 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 overturned the colossal Empire, and swept its authority, its grandeur, and its very name from the earth.

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; productions of every kind lavished by our soil; an abundance, not to say an overflowing, of the circulating medium; extensive factories, an active commerce, and the rich and exuberant fruits of industry by sea and by land, have made the United States a paragon of riches,—a sort of elysian fields, in which the overflowing population of Europe came to enjoy abundance, riches, peace, and freedom. The 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; discord and disunion are rapidly spreading over the length and breadth of the land; the horrors of war, and of the worst kind—of civil war—are staring us in the face, and the prosperity, hitherto unparalleled, of the country, has given way to mutual distrust, uneasiness, suspension of commerce, stagnation of industry, suffering, and the anticipation of evils yet worse to come. 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 at large,—to the North, and to the South,—to the people collectively, and to individuals,—to masters, and to servants. I wish to show, on the one side, how unjust, iniquitous, unscriptural, and unreasonable is the asser-

tion 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 servitude is legitimate, lawful, approved by all laws, and consistent with practical religion and true holiness of life in masters who fulfil those 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, in the latter, 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 *usufruct* of them,—that is, a life-interest in them; and 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 no other right than the *usufruct* of his slave,—that is, a right on his labor and industry, and the labor and industry 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 by natural law, nor by the Divine positive law, nor by the ecclesiastical law, nor by the civil laws. Those 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, the Author of Nature. Such are the Commandments *Thou shalt not kill,—Thou shalt not steal, &c.* Divine positive law is that command of God which requires something in addition to natural law. Such was the circumcision prescribed to the Jews, or baptism prescribed now 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. XIII. 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 or institute Slavery: no one is, by nature, the slave of another; but natural law approves of reasons and causes by which a man may become the slave of another man. 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. Any one, ever so little conversant with history, finds Slavery established among all nations of antiquity, and it is not improbable that it is coeval with the division of property. Writers on this branch of science

assign the various titles which legitimate a state of Slavery, and which, no doubt, 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 may he not sell it for all his life ? If it be said that a sale requires a consideration, and an equivalent between the contracting parties, this is very true. But the master gives an equivalent, namely—food and clothing to the slave, with the assurance and security to him to find 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 equivalent given by the master may be a sufficient inducement for some individuals to offer their work and liberty for ever. 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 America, 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 work shops 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 for ever, 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 mentioned by canonists and jurists, is capture in a just war, as history tells us how the captives in war used to be sold as slaves. The conqueror could put them to death ; it is assuredly a better lot for them that they be sold as slaves. Christianity has introduced a more humane legislation in reference to prisoners of war, for which we must thank our Redeemer ; but nature 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 I must mention, is condemnation to Slavery for crimes committed, or even for non-payment of debts. This is likewise a point on which Christianity has introduced milder forms ; but we must not forget that they are a boon, and not a strict right : 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, 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 general practice. "One was brought who owed his lord ten thousand talents, and, as he had not wherewith to pay it, his lord commanded that he should be sold, and his wife and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made. — Matt. xviii. 25. A spirit of philanthropy (whether judicious or not I do not examine) has induced modern legislators to suppress imprisonment, much more Slavery, for debt, and dishonest debtors are very partial to such a legislation; but the ancients entertained different ideas of stern and strict justice, for which we are not at liberty to blame them.

Nativity, or birth from a mother in a State of Slavery, is also admitted by writers to be a just cause of servitude; *partus sequitur ventrem* is an axiom in law. A child follows the condition and state of his parents, and the child must perish, unless it be maintained and supported by the master; 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, we mention long possession in good faith, with an apparent title, to be a legitimate cause for holding slaves. This title was called prescription by the Latins, and has retained that name in almost all modern European languages. 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 contestations 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 by reason, or by the natural and innate notions of justice, when some of those titles exist. Civil laws may condemn some of these titles in the present refined state of society: in that case, such titles will be invalid, 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 the Divine positive law condemn Slavery. If Slavery by immoral in itself, no Divine law can commend it or approve of it, because God cannot commend or authorize something immoral; if it be not immoral in itself, still God could forbid it, as He forbade, in old times, the eating of blood and of 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. It would certainly be tedious to adduce all the proofs of my assertion which could be extracted from the Old Testament; — a few of the most striking will be amply sufficient. Abraham assuredly was a good man; now Abraham was a Slaveholder, and a very large one indeed. When his nephew, Lot, was taken prisoner (Gen. xiv. 14) "he numbered of the servants born in his house three hundred and eighteen well appointed," pursued and defeated the invaders, and de-

livered Lot and all the people. The Scripture here approves of the title of nativity, by mentioning that these slaves were born in his house. In the same page of Genesis, chap. xvi, we find a more striking, and pointed approbation of Slavery. For reasons stated in that chapter, Sara, the wife of Abram, was obliged to treat with severity her handmaid — or female servant — Agar; the latter ran away, and “an angel of the Lord having found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, he said to her: Agar, handmaid of Sarai, whence comest thou? and whither 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”—v. 7. 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 to her; 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 wanted to show that the spirit of Abolitionists is not the spirit of the Angels of God, the spirit of the Bible, the spirit of truth and justice,—but 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 those who were born in his house, but also “the bought servants,” — v. 23 and 27, — which 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,” &c. — Exod. xx. 17. The Lord here forbids desiring and 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 twenty-first 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. The twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus allows Jews to have bondmen and bondwomen 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 for ever”—v. 44, 45, 46. Here is Slavery again sanctioned and approved 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: and, if this country be the country of the Bible, as some have asserted, 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 rudimental and 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 the eighth chapter of St Matthew, a Centurion Slaveholder 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 wondered, and said: "Amen; I say to you, I have not found so great 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. Let it be remarked that the word servant, here in the passages already quoted, means a slave, — in Latin, *servus*, — and when the Scripture speaks of servants in a limited sense, as are the white servants among us, they are called hirelings or laborers. 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 on 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 seventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, says positively, that each one ought to remain 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 is 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." From

which we see how far the Apostles were, from the doctrine and practice of modern fanatics, who exhort slaves to make themselves free by any means they can, *per fas et nefas*. St. Paul, in several of his Epistles, speaks of the mutual duties of slaves and masters; he never dreams of the new duty invented by Abolitionists — the pretended duty for the master, to liberate and manumit his slave, and the duty for the slave to run away from his master, even by using violence, and causing bloodshed. The inspired Apostle tells the slave to obey, as a point of conscience, as a necessary means of salvation; and he tells the master to treat his servant with justice and kindness. Thus, Colos. iii. 22: "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 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., c. vi: "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 nothing;" and truly Abolitionism is but a compound of insufferable pride and unpardonable ignorance. St. Peter, First Epistle, ii. 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 froward." 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 Volume, which they should indeed desire to expunge. Philemon had a slave called Onesimus, who ran away from his master, a citizen of Colossæ, 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 Apostles on this point, leaving masters at liberty to keep or to manumit 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, and countenances masters in retaining possession of their slaves, 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, indeed, and sections 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 manumitted 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 see this to have been done from the same Canon Law, Distinct. 54, cap. 10, where the Pope orders one Leontius, 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 against the will of those masters. The Canon Law, can. xvii., ques. 4, 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; they had predecessors in the early ages of the Church, who wished to liberate slaves, and who denounced 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 contemn 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 attempts. 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 English slaves, and also Barbary slaves—to use the former in evangelizing England, and the latter in the service of the sick in a Roman hospital. We learn this from the letters of the Pontiff himself. Assuredly no slave owner need scruple to do what so holy, so zealous, and so learned a Pope has done.

We come now to the civil law in relation to Slavery. The civil law can modify, introduce, or suppress things or practices whenever such enactments are not in direct opposition to moral and natural law. Hence the civil law may prohibit Slavery, and it does prohibit it in several countries, and perhaps in the greater part of Christian nations. But such a prohibition takes its force and efficacy solely from the civil law. As for the United States, it is as plain, that the Constitution, framed after the War of Independence, recognises the relations of master and slave, and that the law of the United States gives a right to the master to reclaim and seize his fugitive slave, wherever he may be found within the United States. These statements are undeniable, 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 the 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, false and a glaring falsehood. Some are born poor, and others rich. Some are born weak, puny, and unhealthy; others strong and healthy. Some are born dull and stupid, others of quick and penetrating intellect, etc., etc.; for the enumeration would be too long. The true ground of *equality* in men 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 good 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 fought on Scripture ground, 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 drives its defenders of uttering execrable impieties and blasphemies.

Those who would not set aside the authority of the inspired volume, allege from it these general maxims, that Christ has liberated us; that there is no slave in the Christian religion. But it is evident they speak of spiritual liberty, of the true liberty, the only one which deserves the name, liberty from sin, from corrupt inclinations, from Satan, and not liberty from civil powers, and masters, to whom they teach 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 thus, Galat. iii. 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, 15, 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 cry of them hath 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, speak of laborers and hired servants, and not of slaves belonging to the masters, for whom they work. The very fact that the Scripture makes 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, in the care that 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 law-givers 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 hundred fold, 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 says, Jer. xxiii. 21: "I did not send prophets, but yet they ran; I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied." Now, beloved brethren, they are the same 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 recognises 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 defenceless females out of their home into the fields, and the Philadelphia riots, where arson and murder against unoffending 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 Know Nothingism. 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 and convinced of perjury, lies, and palpable injustice, has kept on its course of violence, deception, misrepresentation. It seemed quite impossible for it to learn any lesson from truth, moderation, and justice, because indeed it was urged on by blind fanaticism, and by the demon of religion, or rather anti-religious bigotry. Those blind leaders, quitting the sphere which they seem to claim, when they style themselves reverend, have sent remonstrances 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 in 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 is the same party which 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, stability and order, when compared with the Republics of South America, in which the majority of the people profess the Catholic religion. The invidious comparison has often been made; as if free and liberal institutions could not prosper under our Church, and as if Protestantism alone could found, establish, and foster Republican 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 disturbances 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 properly and clearly religion or rather 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, 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 arrayed 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 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—the visible guide given us by Our Lord Jesus Christ. It is in this part that I may have to mention 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 law-

ful, and to have the sanction of God himself, but it is not the "slave-trade," or the African 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: for 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 civilisation 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 authorise 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. The moment some colored people have acquired, or possess lawful exemption from Slavery, 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 palpable

and unreasonable 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 origin, because, for instance, they are Irish or German, or on account of their religion. It has been a subject of bitter mortification for the lovers of justice and humanity to learn that some State legislatures have had before them laws for banishing or selling such persons. I trust the escutcheon of Florida will not be sullied by such unjust statute, and that the love of justice in which all are equally interested, will for ever prevent the attempt of such unwise legislation. Some Slaveholders may imagine that the expulsion of free negroes would strenghten their tenure of slaves, but they are mistaken; injustice will not uphold anything; injustice is a rotten prop, 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 Carolina 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 Arbiter 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, defenceless, 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, dependance, 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, and by making the present remark, 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—who knows whether the Almighty does not design to use the present disturbances for the destruction of frequent occasions of immorality, which the subservient and degraded position of the slave offers to the lewd. I hope I am a false prophet : but, at the same time, 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 Gomorrha 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 libertinism and licentiousness, and that the female slave be surrounded with sufficient protection to save her 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 I 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 a woful 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 a 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 excepted 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 and order; 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. XIII. 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 Saviour'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. Covetousness and cupidity would not render that conduct excusable, but would only heighten its black hue. Legitimate gain from slaves cannot be censured; but gain at the expense of morality, religion, and humanity, 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; but 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; it would be requiring 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; the former 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 practised 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 monsters 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 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."—Colos. III 22. "Servants, obey your carnal masters with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your heart, as Christ, not serving to the eye as it were pleasing men, but as servants of Christ, doing the will of God, from the heart, with a good will doing service, as to the Lord and not to men, knowing that whatsoever good every one shall do, the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And you, masters, do the same things to them, forbearing threatenings; knowing that the Lord both of them and you is in Heaven, and there is no respect of persons with him."—Eph. VI. 5. "Exhort servants to be obedient to their masters, in all things pleasing,

not contradicting, not defrauding, but in all things showing good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things."—
 Tit. II. 9. What a useful and 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 practising religion. This is a sacred, indispensable, bounden 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. III. 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 contract 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 malediction

of God. It would be treating slaves like beasts, and as this is supremely unnatural, such a state of things would be a forced and violent one, and could not stand, and God would owe it to his mercy, wisdom and justice, to 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; many will follow the admonitions of the apostles, and thus the mutual happiness and satisfaction of servants and masters will be surely and efficaciously promoted. 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 who belong to them. 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 their servants once a week, a homely 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 to day 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 manumission 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 Arbitrer of Nations ; this will be a most triumphant confutation of the charges which bigotry, ignorance, fanaticism and malice, cloaked under a reverend garb, have for years 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 on this occasion affords to the North and to the South just subjects of humiliation, sorrow, confusion and humble accusation before the Supreme Ruler. Let us, beloved brethren, accompany these sentiments 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 Nineve were averted by the humiliation and penance of the people, and let us hope, in the midst of the sed forebodings which reach us every day, and 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 from our heads, 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 Servants of God in the next world.

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The first of these is the fact that the Government has been unable to secure the necessary funds to carry out its programme of reconstruction. This is due to a number of reasons, the most important of which are the following: (1) the Government has been unable to secure the necessary funds from the international community; (2) the Government has been unable to secure the necessary funds from the private sector; (3) the Government has been unable to secure the necessary funds from the public sector.

We have assembled in London on the 25th of July 1946 a group of experts on the subject of the reconstruction of the Middle East. The group was composed of representatives of the British Government, the United States Government, the United Nations, and other interested parties. The group has held a series of meetings and has produced a report which is being published in London on the 27th of July 1946. The report contains a number of recommendations which are being considered by the Government and the United Nations. The most important of these recommendations are the following: (1) the Government should secure the necessary funds from the international community; (2) the Government should secure the necessary funds from the private sector; (3) the Government should secure the necessary funds from the public sector. The report also contains a number of other recommendations which are being considered by the Government and the United Nations.

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